

PART II. Achieving an economics of wellbeing

“Our doubts are traitors,
And make us lose the good we oft might win
By fearing to attempt.”
– Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*



Moving from Vision to Reality

Economic forces shape our jobs, our lives, and our communities. The business of selling arms shadows our conflicts: both war and reconstruction are profitable for a handful of powerful companies. Economics determines which investments governments consider worthwhile: whether they choose to subsidize industry or to support health care and education. Greed is the motivating force for those whose agendas lead to greater poverty and increased inequality. It is not possible to escape from the grasp of economics, but it *is* possible to use what is known about economics to promote greater wellbeing instead of incessant consumption.

Most academic economics departments teach mainstream economics and ignore or ridicule the idea of an economic system based on wellbeing. Mainstream economists tell those working to improve health, the environment, or the situation of the worst off that economic development, no matter how unhealthy, polluting, or underpaid, is the *only* path out of poverty, and that any effort to restrict it will only make poverty worse. Too many people believe that economics is a difficult or uninteresting subject that is better left in the hands of professionals and are too ready to accept being told that their ideas are naïve or unrealistic or even dangerous.

Part I of this book discussed a number of common myths that exist about economics and suggested better ways of looking at the situation. The first step in moving forward is to understand what holds people back and to identify some of the better options that exist. The next step is to implement some of the needed changes. Part II of this book focuses on how to address the issues raised in Part I; in other words, how to move from vision to reality.

Change will involve challenging the goal of GDP growth. Change will involve challenging the idea that it is necessary to choose between health and wealth, and between a healthy environment and wealth. It will involve changing the focus from what is good for corporations to what is good for individuals. It will involve reducing the power of the Bretton Woods Institutions or radically remaking those institutions so that they serve people, rather than people serving the institutions. It will involve challenging and supporting governments to redress much of what is wrong in this world, and increasing public participation in governance.

The issues raised in this book will be challenging to address, but the potential rewards make the effort worthwhile. Fortunately, many organizations and individuals around the world are already addressing these issues and have made progress in many areas. Failure is guaranteed only if people do not try to work for something better. There are essentially unlimited intellectual and creative resources that can be brought into play. But where does one start?

Getting Involved

To try or not to try: choose an issue

An important lesson in advocacy is to select one's fights carefully. Each success usually requires an enormous amount of time and effort, so it is important to decide where to target one's limited resources. A focused approach is likely to be a much better use of time than a scattered one. There seems to be an endless assortment of potential causes to work on that go to the root of the problem. Here are some issues to consider as you decide where to focus your energies:

1. How likely is success? Especially for those new to advocacy, it helps to start with smaller battles. Otherwise, it is easy to get discouraged. There are lessons to be learned from successes and failures, but if one only has failures, one might learn the wrong lessons or think that success is impossible.
2. How exciting is the issue? It is far easier to sustain a difficult and prolonged campaign if the issue is personally exciting and interesting. Some people are fired up by taxes while others find the issue painfully boring. If the idea of doing research on the topic is repugnant, pick a different issue!
3. Who else is working on the issue? If too many groups are already involved, there may be little room for another individual to make a difference. If nobody is working on it and it is difficult to find others to join in, then it could be a very lonely campaign. The easiest way to stay committed is to find other like-minded individuals or organizations where working together proves pleasurable, but where the field is not already overrun.

Find a group to support

Some people have a little time to spare; for others, this work is their career. Some can only write a small cheque, while others wish to donate large amounts. Whatever the case, it is important to do some research before deciding which group to work with or which campaign or organization to support. Take time to learn about different groups before making a decision. Do an Internet search. Read the materials of different organizations. If feasible, visit them. Try to gauge how much of the organization's substance is about being glossy and non-threatening and how much is about challenging conventional beliefs and working for real change.

The approaches that an organization uses and promotes tell a lot about that group. The easy way is usually not the most effective one, but because it is easy, many groups will promote it. It is far easier to recruit people to engage in non-political and one-off activities (to give money for the education of poor children or to sign onto an online petition) than it is to try to take down Nestlé, Coca Cola, British American Tobacco, or the World Trade Organization. It is far easier to inspire charity – acts that make the doer feel good without bringing into question their economic or political philosophy – than it is to engage them in an approach rooted in social justice.

Changing the world requires day-to-day work that systematically challenges the authorities. My own experience with various successful advocacy campaigns indicates that one point that they all have in common is that they are a lot of work. Another is that they create enemies. NGOs can play an important role in policy change, but, understandably, many NGOs are not willing to do so. Although the world does not become better just by sponsoring poor children while accepting the status quo, it is much easier for an NGO to address symptoms (feeding the hungry) rather than causes (why are people hungry in the first place?).

Some NGOs are motivated almost entirely by profit. Others are quite genuine in their intentions but have not thought out their approach well enough, and are thus unlikely to make significant progress. For example, ‘empowerment’ is a big buzz word in the NGO world, but it is of little use when an NGO limits its efforts to teaching people what their rights are rather than helping them to find ways to ensure that those rights are respected. Countless organizations seek to empower women by teaching them their rights, regardless of whether those in power, including their husbands, intend to respect those rights. Nor does it seem particularly fruitful to ‘empower’ factory workers by telling them they have the right to form a union if by doing so they will lose their jobs. People need to become aware of their rights, but it is not enough to focus such educational efforts on the least powerful. It would be far more helpful to the un-empowered if efforts also addressed gaining the passage and implementation of laws that contribute to making such rights a reality.

NGOs that have carefully thought through the issues they address and that seek to make sustained change in policies that affect the lives of many have to find funding somewhere. This is not easy, as many donors are reluctant to challenge the system (and a number of donors are part of it). Many donors are looking for quick and simple fixes. They want to see the change their money has brought. Their interests may also change on a regular basis, making it difficult for NGOs to maintain any single approach long enough to achieve success. It is relatively easy

to excite donors about building hospitals but not about providing basic equipment or paying doctors' salaries year after year. Donors may be willing to provide expensive machinery but less enthusiastic about allocating funds for repairs. Donors also typically avoid challenging their political masters. NGOs may find themselves spending more time and effort pleasing the donor – in part by writing endless reports – than carrying out the actual work that needs to be done. More importantly, NGO efforts may be directed to issues that the donors are willing to fund rather than to those where significant impact is possible.

Some might say that the situation is bad enough to warrant not supporting any charitable organizations at all. To take one famous example of abuse of people's generosity, Greg Mortenson, the author of *Three Cups of Tea*, has been accused of using his charity more to promote the sale of his book and lucrative speaking tours for himself than to build schools for girls in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Even where his charity did build schools, some are not used; there is a lot more to a school than just providing a building.¹

A healthy dose of cynicism is sometimes helpful, but cynicism or justified scepticism can also be too easy an excuse for those who are comfortable in their lives or do not wish to devote their resources to helping others. NGOs can waste money, certainly, but does that really mean that it is better to spend one's money on designer handbags and exclusive vacations than on attempts to make the world a better place?²

I personally shy away from any organization that looks too glossy, or uses pictures of malnourished children (always alone and sometimes covered in flies), or that prefers emotional to intellectual appeals. I am wary of groups that make overly ambitious claims, such as 'ending poverty.' And, as should be clear by now, I prefer groups that work on policy to those that simply seek to offer direct support to those in need. It is of course important to improve conditions for the poor, but if we are so busy that we fail to notice or protest the policies that contribute to poverty in the first place, then our efforts will always be of limited benefit. We should be fighting for much bigger change, not just trying to bandage the inevitable and never-ending wounds being inflicted by an economic system whose values fail to reflect so much of what matters. Whether you are writing a check or

¹ Apparently there are handbags that cost \$5,000 and more. I assume that most of the readers of this book are not in the category of such consumers, but *someone* must be buying them, and those same people might well turn up their noses at most charities.

devoting time and effort to a group, try to choose one that is working for fundamental change.ⁱⁱ

There is a list of potentially interesting groups tackling some difficult issues on the resources page of the Institute of Wellbeing in Dhaka, which I helped to establish: www.instituteofwellbeingbd.org. As for advice on how well NGOs/charities make use of the donations they receive, a couple of websites are helpful by showing how much the organization spends on administrative costs versus on actually doing the work they set out to do.ⁱⁱⁱ One may object, understandably, to giving money to an organization whose director earns several times more than does the generous donor. Some organizations pay extremely high executive annual salaries: from \$770,000 to more than \$2 million.² However, CharityNavigator and CharityWatch, while providing some useful information, do not distinguish between groups that are trying to change the system and those that simply respond to the symptoms; that you have to learn for yourself.

Finally, there is no need to support only NGOs. Many community groups are also working to address local problems, in the high-consumption nations as well as the low-consumption ones. Some of the smaller groups may compensate for their small size by being more flexible and courageous in what they will take on. Those working successfully for change could be a small community group or student activists or union organizers or a bunch of homemakers who meet regularly at the local park. Contributions of your time and ideas can be at least as important as donating your money. Be creative in thinking about what you can donate.

Stay motivated

It is easier to stay motivated when one experiences at least the occasional success, which is why choosing easier battles, at least initially, is a good idea. Successes are important not only for the obvious reasons but also because each and every success in influencing a government budget or changing a policy or stopping a deceitful advertising campaign can show that corporate forces will not always win and that protests can pay off.

ⁱⁱ These are not always easy to find, though there are plenty of good groups around. For obvious reasons, any NGO that relies on fundraising from the public is unlikely to push for unpopular policy changes. Thus it is difficult to find an environmental group that works for higher taxes on petrol, and NGOs that seek to address poverty will not necessarily support higher taxes on the wealthy.

ⁱⁱⁱ See, for example, <http://www.moneysense.ca/the-2013-charity-100-grades> and <http://www.charitynavigator.org>. For other advice on giving, see <http://www.charitywatch.org/tips.html>.

It is important not to measure success only in terms of the result. The activities that were part of the campaign can have an important influence, even if the result is disappointing. Thousands of people can see a letter in the newspaper; some of them may be inspired by it. Letters to government officials can give them the support they need to make better decisions in the future. A speech at a public event may help to create the next generation of activists. When even a few people get together to protest for better health care, better schools, or more government investment in sanitation, they send a message that the community cares and is involved.

Successful advocacy requires an incredible amount of hard work, patience, and creativity, but the work can be fun. It is most effective when done with others, in a sociable manner. Studying an issue, writing letters to newspapers and policymakers, recruiting groups and individuals, and meeting with politicians can be enjoyable and stimulating. Make sure you have some fun along the way; otherwise, it will be difficult to maintain energy and commitment.

A Few Advocacy Tips

The most useful thing I learned in graduate school is that political will usually has to be created. Most policymakers will not act on behalf of the public unless they are essentially forced (shamed, coerced) into doing so. If there are policymakers who are keen to serve the public good, then activists' jobs become far easier: offer support and perhaps suggest some areas for intervention. It is usually up to activists, however, to convince policymakers that they will not survive the next election or that the media barrage will be too humiliating unless they act on behalf of public wellbeing rather than on behalf of their corporate sponsors.

Likewise, the problem is not usually a lack of good information. While it is important to have information and evidence to show policymakers, it is naïve to expect that information alone will win the cause. Corporations will shower policymakers with attractive materials claiming that their mine or factory or tax break will result in countless jobs and endless prosperity. Their glossy materials need to be countered by simple, clear, and convincing materials that make the case for wellbeing. However, those materials will be of little use if phone calls, letters, meetings, protests, newspaper articles, and so on do not accompany them, all demanding action. Even then, policymakers may still choose to serve the corporations because those corporations contribute to their election campaigns or to their bank accounts. Attaining political will often means making it impossible for policymakers to act on their corporate sponsor's agenda because the public outcry has become too great to resist.

A lone voice is almost always less powerful than a unified one; it is also more dangerous – and less fun – to work alone. When doing anything that is politically contentious, it is always safer to work with a broad group of allies, whether by joining with others or forming one's own alliance. Within that broader group, it is likely that there will be key people who have access to high-level policymakers; it is enormously useful to try to recruit them to one's campaign. It also helps to show that one is speaking on behalf of a larger group, whether it is a students' collective, an association of garment workers, or a coalition of environmental NGOs. Politicians are more likely to respond to a coalition or alliance than they are to an individual or even to an individual organization. Within that larger group, it is important to have a few people who understand the issue in depth and who can (and will) speak about it at public meetings, to the media, and with policymakers. If such people do not yet exist, encourage others to learn about the issues and to gain skills in public speaking – or do so yourself.

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A confession: I am often not an effective advocate in meetings. I get too angry. I prefer to share information and ideas with my colleagues and let them respond to the questions and objections that inevitably arise.

Several years ago, against my will, I was coerced into giving a talk for World Habitat Day, at which both government officials and NGO representatives would be present. It did not take me long to put my presentation together, but I spent hours trying to train myself to stay calm. I was determined not to explode when people made their inevitable outrageous remarks.

After my talk, a number of people made positive comments. Finally, what I was waiting for happened: a government official spoke about the need to give more space to cars and to ban the cycle rickshaw. Before I could even think about delivering a calm, deliberate reply, a young man in the room whom I had never seen before gave an eloquent response.

Various other people seconded him, and the official, on finding himself alone, became too embarrassed to continue and kept quiet. I later asked who the young man was who had spoken so well. It turns out that prior to the seminar, my colleagues had brought a group of young environmental activists together and briefed them on urban planning and transport issues, including putting them through role plays to prepare them for just that situation. The young man was one member of that group.

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Advocacy can involve communication with policymakers through letters, faxes, email, and telephone calls. It can also involve face-to-face interactions. Face-to-face meetings with policymakers will usually be extremely brief. In such cases, it is important to get immediately to the point – but a friendly demeanour can go a

long way. An antagonistic approach is far less likely to succeed. It is always more pleasant, and sometimes correct, to believe that the official in question just needs some pushing to support a good cause. It also helps, when meeting with government officials, to remember their human side. One colleague spent a lot of time at a meeting advising a delegate on the best schools for his child; in return, the delegate listened to my colleague's suggestions and agreed to speak publicly on behalf of her issue.

The media is a vital tool for reaching policymakers.^{iv} Even mainstream, corporate-owned media can sometimes make space for opposing views. Sometimes newspapers publish articles that run counter to their views in order to show how open-minded they are, or to raise the ante for the businesses that pay for ads to counter such messages. Given the size of the audience, it is important to be heard via newspapers, radio, TV, and the Internet. Sometimes newspapers reject more liberal articles not because of the views expressed in them but because they are not well written or do not take a sufficiently interesting or controversial stand. Look at what the media prints and try to identify techniques that you can use to improve your own writing or to make your topic more compelling. To gain media coverage, gather a few friends to join in holding a banner outside city hall or a corporation's headquarters. Distribute handbills outside a hotel where a meeting is being held or hold protest signs across the street. Be creative and colourful – the more original and photogenic your demonstration, the more likely it is to get media attention. Costumes, face or body paint, papier-mâché villains, and die-ins are a few of the endless tactics you can try. Be sure to notify journalists ahead of time of your plans and to follow up afterwards with a press release and photos.

Even if the media fails to cover your event, you may make some progress. It is difficult to reach a large number of people by handing out leaflets on a street corner, but campaigns that allow for face-to-face interaction can be helpful for recruiting allies and for learning the sorts of responses and questions that people have, which can then feed into a media campaign.

Nor should we underestimate the importance of social media. While I personally have not yet come to understand or make much use of it, I watch with awe as my younger colleagues reach tens of thousands of people via Facebook, Twitter, and blogs. One of my colleagues uses social media for a number of purposes, including to raise awareness of the need for better transport policies and to identify highly qualified allies who provide *pro bono* assistance to his NGO's work. There are all

^{iv} I have written a guide to accessing the media and designing focused research studies: *Using Media and Research for Advocacy: Low Cost Ways to Increase Success*, available for free download on the HealthBridge website (www.healthbridge.ca).

sorts of 'tricks' to getting more people to read your blog or visit your website; it is well worth investing the time in learning some of them. Social media alone will not 'save the world' but it can certainly be a great way to spread the ideas and plan some of the meetings that will do so.

While this is the exception, sometimes even a minimal effort can change a policy. When the Bangladesh government announced that it would lower the tariff on alcohol from around three hundred percent to two hundred percent in order to increase tourism, the newspapers had a field day: "what kind of tourists are we trying to attract?" and "is the main reason people don't visit that they can't get cheap booze?" The government promptly rescinded its decision. When developers have decided to take over local parks or playing fields in Dhaka to build shops on them, local children and adults have stood in the park with hand-painted signs. Often their presence alone (supported by a few campaigners and journalists eager for a news story) has stopped the destruction of the park.

As an American, perhaps being brash and loud comes a little too easily for me. Nevertheless, I have discovered that those personal traits are highly useful in my advocacy work. The type of etiquette I try to observe in my social life does not work when it comes to defending the causes that I believe in. It is important to be vocal about countering conventional and convenient beliefs when those beliefs happen to lead to further enriching the wealthy at the expense of the poor and the environment. It is only by making a lot of noise (and engaging in the steps mentioned above) that my Bangladeshi colleagues successfully influenced the language of the national health policy and the national water law, kept user fees from being instituted for government health services, gained a separate ministry for rail, and achieved the passage and implementation of several tobacco control policies.

Courage, conviction, smart planning, and hard work do not always pay off, but they sure reap a better reward than a defeatist attitude. I would also recommend that you get directly involved in whatever issue you decide to take on. Sitting in front of a computer signing Internet petitions is not going to make the essential difference.

Remember also that you do not have to be an expert on an issue to contribute your voice. Never assume that there is already a surplus of well-informed, thoughtful, well-intentioned people addressing the issue. Yours may be the needed voice of reason and experience. For example, one thing that many people could bring to discussions on economic wellbeing that is currently missing is the experience of the poor and middle class. Too many decision-makers live sheltered lives with no real understanding of how the policies that they develop and pass actually

affect people in, for instance, the world's slums. I remember a plan to provide low-cost health care to the poor in Boston. The originator of the plan was surprised when people objected to its location. "It is only a short drive from where many of the poor live!" he argued, completely unaware that the poor did not have cars. A government minister in Dhaka commented that he didn't care about air pollution because he lived in an air-conditioned home and travelled by air-conditioned vehicle; he might be surprised to learn that many of his fellow citizens do not even have electricity, much less air conditioning.

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***You do not have to win the case to get great publicity.** Corporations place extremely high value on their brand names. They typically sell a brand more than a product, and do not wish to see that name tarnished. When a few activists from a tiny British organization handed out leaflets in the street attacking McDonalds, the company (crazily enough) decided to sue them. While most of the activists involved agreed to settle, two of them decided to fight the mega-corporation. The resulting court battle, a modern day rendition of David vs. Goliath, lasted for ten years. In the end, the defendants were able to prove many of their allegations, and the case essentially ended in a draw, with both sides declaring victory.³ It makes a company look bad to sue the 'little guy,' and all the media coverage of the case gave the activists a much larger platform through which they could publicize the wrongdoings of the Big Corporation.*

A colleague who sued the government in Uganda over the issue of second-hand smoke had planned to use the lawsuit simply to gain attention to the problem, as he realized that lawsuits make great publicity. To his surprise, he also won the case.

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Dealing with a Sense of Hypocrisy/Inconsistency

Now wait a minute. Does working for wellbeing and greater equality mean that one first must give up all one's privileges and reduce one's own personal consumption to the level of a typical Sudanese? How does someone in a comfortable home with a more than adequate income work towards 'radical' ideas of economic thought and redistribution while enjoying the privileges that result from that very inequality? For those who have worked hard to afford some material comforts, the idea of getting by with less so that others can have more, including those who have not made the same effort to get ahead, may itself ring of injustice. Even those who truly wish to see change and would happily get by on less so that others could have more may feel that it is hypocritical to speak out or even study the topic until they have demonstrated a willingness to sacrifice their own perks. They may also feel that their action, as an individual, will have no impact on the world, so why bother? The frequent flyer might conscientiously abstain

from working on climate change, or the car owner from joining the World Carfree Network.^v Or, by the same logic, someone who has enjoyed a well-written story by a famous author in *Playboy* magazine might feel the need to abstain from attacking pornography – or so at least is the hope of the magazine's producers.

Social critic Neil Postman wrote that if it is hypocritical to wish to protect children from influences that adults enjoy, then it is better to be a hypocrite than to fail to act in the interests of children.⁴ If people spend too much time worrying about their own actions and beliefs, are too firm in the necessity of 'Physician, heal thyself,' then they may never get around to healing others. Of course people drive cars when their cities make it the easiest and most convenient, or perhaps the only viable, form of transport. Of course people enjoy privileges and benefits while they are there for the taking and abstaining from them might benefit no one. Just because someone benefits from privileges and would hate to lose them does not mean that she does not also wish to see those benefits spread more widely, or would be willing to forego them if some obvious good would result from doing so.

Without attempting to model one's life on Mother Theresa, there are plenty of ways to move closer to one's ideals. These include treating people with respect based on their behaviour, not their income; buying from small local businesses and trying to avoid supporting large corporations; raising the issues in this book at the dinner table, at work meetings, and elsewhere; growing braver at questioning those who promote mainstream economic theory and more active in donating time to agencies that are working to improve wellbeing and social justice throughout the world or in your own neighbourhood/city. From my own advocacy experience, I would recommend a mix of direct service work (such as serving meals to the homeless or delivering them to the housebound) while also working on policy. Otherwise, the frustrations of advocacy work can become too discouraging. If working for change while continuing to enjoy one's lifestyle makes people hypocrites, then it is far better to be a hypocrite than to consistently avoid attempting to remedy some of the world's many problems.



^v Yes, such a network did exist, providing a much-needed forum for those who see that cities would be far more liveable places without the automobile. Its website (www.worldcarfree.net) still contains some useful resources. While it is not currently active, www.carfree.com is.

What Can I Do?

“Only a widespread debate on the issues, by a well-informed public, will ensure that when changes are made [to the money system] they are along the right lines.”

– Richard Douthwaite⁵

“If you want to make changes in the world, you’re going to have to be there day after day doing the boring, straightforward work of getting a couple of people interested in an issue, building a slightly bigger organization, carrying out the next move, experiencing frustration, and finally getting somewhere. That’s how the world changes. That’s how you get rid of slavery, that’s how you get women’s rights, that’s how you get the vote, that’s how you get protection for working people. Every gain you can point to came from that kind of effort — not from people going to one demonstration and dropping out when nothing happens or voting once every four years and then going home.”

– Noam Chomsky⁶



The good news is that it is not necessary to be a full-time political activist willing to risk a jail sentence in order to work for change. There are many ways to contribute and join the movement for greater equality and more humane policies. The very fact that one approach to economics so dominates the debate is itself an opportunity: there is a desperate need for more people to raise their voices and demand change. The voices of those who are appalled by mainstream economics need to be heard.

Meanwhile, some actions speak far louder than others. In the words of Arundhati Roy, it is important to strike, like Gandhi, “at the heart of empire”:

The Salt March – the Dandi march – when Indians marched to the sea to make salt, was a strike against the salt tax. It wasn’t just a symbolic weekend march, but struck at the heart of the economic policies of the colonial regime. What has happened in the evolution of non-violent resistance is that it’s become more and more symbolic, and less and less real. ...

Fifteen million people marched against the war in Iraq on 15 February 2003, in perhaps the biggest display of public morality ever seen. It was fantastic. But it was symbolic. Governments of today have learned to deal with that. They know how to wait out a demonstration or a march. ... Unless civil disobedience becomes real, not symbolic, there is very little hope for change.

That’s a very important lesson that we need to learn from the civil disobedience and the non-violent resistance of the Indian independence struggle. It was fine political theatre, but it was never, ever merely symbolic. It was always a real strike against the economics of imperialism. ... It was saying, ‘Don’t buy British products.’ It was saying, ‘Make your own yarn. Make your own salt. We have to take apart the economic machinery of empire now and strike at it.’ These marches and songs and

meetings of today – they are beautiful, but they are often mostly for us. If all our energies go into organizing these things, then we don't do any real damage to the establishment, to the empire.⁷

The power of truth and the power of numbers are on the side of wellbeing. It is an extremely small, elite group that benefits from mainstream economics; virtually everyone would benefit from a focus on wellbeing. As powerful as money is, the power of truth and of the ninety-nine percent are even more powerful...as long as enough people see beyond the economic myths and are strategic, active, and vocal in working for change. How does one ensure that protest is not simply symbolic? Some suggestions follow.

Actions you can take as an individual

- ⌘ Join in boycotts. Enact your own personal boycotts. Where and what you buy does matter. Resist the privatization of water by refusing to drink bottled water.^{vi} Resist Big Food by avoiding beverages sold by the major companies, not eating at the major fast food chains, and cutting back on heavily processed foods: your pocketbook as well as your body will thank you. Refuse to buy from unaccountable multinational corporations, including the tax dodgers. A little Internet research will reveal which companies use offshore registration to avoid paying taxes, which ones locate their companies in places with minimal laws for the environment and worker safety/rights, which ones do not allow unions, and which ones fail to pay a living wage. Simpler still, bypass large corporations altogether. Buy from small, local, independent shops.
- ⌘ To the extent possible, eat food that is grown without chemicals or heavy machinery, locally, and is in season. Support organic or sustainable farms, including farms transitioning into organic. Join a community-supported agriculture (CSA) program in which people pay the farmer in advance and receive fresh produce on a regular basis: more if the crops do well, less if they fail. Start by making some of these changes and then try to influence others – colleagues, friends, your workplace, your local government – to do likewise.
- ⌘ Resist not only Big Food but also Big Transport. Replace some car trips with trips by foot, bicycle or public transport. If it is not practical to move around without a car, tell local officials and journalists about the improvements that are needed. Join existing groups or recruit others to join in demands for better non-car-based transport options. Nothing will hurt the oil industry more than

^{vi} This is relatively easy if you live somewhere with potable water: simply carry a metal bottle around and fill it from a tap or water fountain. If you live somewhere where the tap water is of questionable quality, it is usually still possible to avoid plastic bottles by filling

people avoiding their cars. Next time there is a disastrous oil spill or a war fought for oil, protest by refusing to drive.^{vii} Work on convincing your co-workers, neighbours, family, and friends to follow your example. Ask your employer to give a cash-back benefit to those who do not drive to work, since providing free parking costs a lot of money.

- ⌘ Search the Internet for like-minded groups in your neighbourhood, town, or city and attend meetings. If you find a group you like, offer to volunteer. You might start (as I did) by stuffing envelopes, but often even trivial volunteer opportunities can open the door to more significant involvement. This is also a great way to meet like-minded people, and it is only through strong community that we can solve our problems.
- ⌘ If you hear of an interesting protest, join in. This is also a great way to meet people who might introduce you to more significant ways to contribute.
- ⌘ Be aware of the advertising and propaganda that bombards people daily, especially by the mass media. Question what the news is telling you to believe about an issue, by looking at what they cover and what they ignore. Read books by Noam Chomsky or other authors who can provide insight on how to do this. Get into the habit of countering such messages and try (without becoming completely maddening) to convince those around you to question them. Take the time to search for alternative views on the Internet or in other media.
- ⌘ Start a blog. Write letters to the newspaper or to your local elected officials. Run for office yourself.

your bottle with filtered or boiled water. Since becoming sensitized to this issue, I have almost entirely avoided bottled water despite spending much of my time in places where the water is probably not potable (and I live to tell the tale!).

^{vii} Oil leaks into our environment from everyday car use, not just from major oil spills. Driving and environmentalism are not compatible; again, if there is no choice but to use a car, at least support organizations seeking to move towards better, non-car-based transport solutions. Hybrid cars or alternative fuels are not the answer; it still requires far too much fuel and water to build and dispose of the vehicle, and most alternative fuels either provide no net gains over the fuel used to harvest them, or suffer from other problems such as taking farmland away from food. Electric vehicles would only be an improvement if the electricity *and vehicle* were produced at little cost to the environment, which is essentially impossible – even solar requires panels that must be built and disposed of, and a car running on any other fuel can still kill if driven too fast, occupies space needed for other uses, and makes it harder for others to walk, cycle, or move about easily by public transport.

- ⌘ Vote. If you live in the United States, work for election reform to help free politicians from their indebtedness to corporations. If you really wish to register your disgust, rather than staying home from the polls see if you can register a blank vote or write in a vote for someone you admire. Otherwise, it is impossible for politicians to distinguish between anger at corporate influence and mere lethargy.
- ⌘ Arrange a video night to watch a Michael Moore film or some politically important documentary. After the film, discuss with your friends what action you could take on the issue. Volunteer to keep your group active and ensure that at least some of your commitments lead to action.
- ⌘ Read about alternatives to mainstream economics. If you are in the position of managing staff, encourage them to read more and provide them with a suggested reading list on economics, politics, and social change.
- ⌘ Offer your home as a meeting space, or organize events and meetings in a local public space – such as a park or plaza or the local library – for people eager to have more input into local decision-making and to recruit more people to the movement. Set up a stall at a local fair. Publicize community activities, including the meetings you organize, through the local newspaper and via social media.

Potential causes to support

Throughout the Better Way sections of this book, I have made suggestions of potential causes that one could support in an effort to prioritize wellbeing. I list a few of these here again, although the list is not exhaustive.

- ⌘ *Alternatives to GDP.* If measures of wellbeing were used to assess the health of a country, many other improvements would be sure to follow. Join the dialogue.
- ⌘ *Tax reform.* This includes closing loopholes that allow corporations to register offshore and avoid paying taxes; preventing tax breaks issued by governments to attract corporations to a specific locale; and making taxes truly progressive so that those who can afford to pay the most.
- ⌘ *Campaign finance reform.* If companies pay for the election campaigns of politicians, the politicians are expected to return the favour by passing legislation that is favourable to those companies. It need not be so.
- ⌘ *Anti-privatization, including public-private partnerships.* Do not just grumble to your friends; speak out.

- ⌘ *Introduction of local currencies.* Guides on several websites explain how to set up a local currency system. These include the Complementary Currency Resource Center^{viii} and Local Exchange Trading Systems (LETs) – a common form of local currency.^{ix}
- ⌘ *Slow money.* In the Slow Money movement, investors seeking to improve the soil rather than get rich put money into small-scale organic agriculture. They form personal connections with the farmers in whose business they invest, sometimes receiving dividends in alternative currency such as chickens.
- ⌘ *Participatory budgeting.* Join or create a movement to increase public involvement in local budgeting decisions.
- ⌘ *Small, local businesses.* Supporting them can include creating a directory of local shops and services, including skills that people in the community have and would be willing to teach or share with others. This can also include creating and supporting community gardens, CSA, and markets or barter spots for distributing produce and seeds.
- ⌘ *Global treaties* on reducing weapons, on the right to water and the need to keep water services under public not corporate control, on the rights of nature, or on other issues. Such treaties offer great learning experiences for those involved in their drafting and ratification, strengthen international networking, and give greater force to local campaigns.
- ⌘ *Programs to end corporate welfare and to free government from corporate control.* Some sorts of time constraints should be applied to slow the revolving door between business and government, so that people cannot rapidly move between the two. Corporate welfare can be countered by challenging existing subsidies, by supporting minimum wage legislation that allows the working poor to afford a decent lifestyle, and through work on tax reform.
- ⌘ *Better transport systems and the urban planning that supports them.* As I have written repeatedly in this book, a shift from a car-based system to one that makes it possible and pleasant to move about by foot, bicycle, and public transit would benefit our health and environment as well as our economies.
- ⌘ *Ending corporate abuses.* If corporations engage in abusive practices, it helps to shine a spotlight on them. The worst thing to do is to stay silent. Corporations

^{viii} <http://complementarycurrency.org>

^{ix} See, for example, <http://www.reconomy.org/economic-enablers/alternative-means-of-exchange/complementary-currencies>

do not enjoy negative publicity, and some can be shamed into changing their act. You can counter such abuses by boycotting specific companies, by organizing colourful protests in front of office headquarters and putting a video of your action on the Internet, by writing letters and blogs, by handing out leaflets in public places, and so on.^x

The possibilities are nearly endless; if an issue is particularly interesting, look at suggestions in the Towards a Better Way section or do your own search to find ways to get involved.

Can We Succeed?

Can approaches such as those outlined above work in the 'real world'? Effecting change is difficult. It is no simple matter to ensure that it is governments, not corporations and unaccountable international institutions, that – aided by public input – set the rules that corporations must obey. However, there is a world of difference between the difficult and the impossible. In country after country, on issue after issue, organized protest has led to change. Years of protests led by Infact (now Corporate Accountability International), in the face of extreme resistance, succeeded in changing Nestlé's marketing strategies regarding infant formula. Some countries, including Australia, have overcome the resistance of the gun lobby and enacted strong gun control.^{xi} The following are a few examples of successful campaigns, including ones in which I have been personally involved. All relate directly to wellbeing, and at least indirectly to alleviating poverty. They all illustrate the fact that it *is* possible to achieve success even when your opponents are large, powerful, and well funded.

Tobacco Control

Tobacco contributes not only to ill health but also to poverty, via both the diseases it causes and through expenditures on tobacco products. International experience in tobacco control has made it clear that the tobacco industry will fight tooth and nail to prevent the passage and implementation of strong laws to reduce

^x One of my favourite examples is of young tobacco control advocates who tried to take a lie detector into the headquarters of a major tobacco company to ask the marketing staff whether nicotine is addictive. They did not get past the guard, but the video was a big hit. Wendy Melillo, "Anti-Tobacco Ads Stir Protest," *AdWeek*, 6 March 2000.

^{xi} A quick Internet search on the topic reveals just how contentious the issue is: gun advocates claim that fewer guns in Australia have led to *more* homicides. They even claim that the government staged some gun violence in order to create the momentum to get the gun control laws passed.

smoking. International experience has also made it clear that it is possible to overcome industry opposition and gain not only the passage of laws but also their effective implementation. Many countries have enacted laws that prohibit all forms of tobacco advertising and promotion; that mandate large, sometimes pictorial warnings on cigarette packs; and that make most public places and public transport smoke-free. Many countries have also significantly raised taxes on tobacco products. Those that have passed these measures have seen large declines in smoking rates. NGOs that worked on the passage of these laws and policies focus now on their implementation. Their efforts were greatly enhanced by a global treaty, the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, and by global organizing via the Internet and via national, regional, and global conferences, workshops, and other gatherings. Having been involved in the treaty process, I saw just how much hard work was involved but also the potential for a well-organized and well-connected group of people around the world to come together and convince governments to rein in an enormously powerful industry.

A tobacco ad ban: Sometimes a ‘small’ effort can lead to something bigger; if nothing else, it can prove to be an excellent training ground. I knew nothing about advocacy when I started my work. I learned as I went along, and have since written guides about how to conduct successful advocacy campaigns. Often the successes in which I have been involved came as a surprise. I moved to Vietnam in 1994 shortly before the United States lifted its trade embargo on that country, almost twenty years after the war had ended. Immediately following the lifting of the embargo there was an explosion of cigarette ads on billboards, storefronts, and inside cafés and restaurants. When I complained to the, at the time, lone official in charge of tobacco control at the Vietnamese Ministry of Health about the ads, he looked at me innocently as if to say ‘what ads?’ In disgust, I enlisted the help of a friend. We took photos of ads and other promotional campaigns sponsored by the tobacco companies in Hanoi and, on a very small budget, printed a full-colour report that included the photos, a little information about the types of advertising found throughout the city, and a copy of the strong Thai law that prohibited tobacco advertising. Perhaps what then happened was unrelated to our work, but shortly afterwards the government banned the outdoor advertising of tobacco products, and virtually all the cigarette ads disappeared. I realized only later that it had probably been a smart strategy not to say how many (that is, how few) copies of the report we had actually printed, nor where we had distributed them. Sometimes the spectre of public shame is enough to convince a bureaucrat to take action.

Countering a tobacco ad campaign, which led to a national law: There will be the occasional happy surprise when something works relatively easily. In Bangla-

desh, there is a highly dynamic tobacco control alliance of several hundred groups active throughout the country. The alliance got its start when a couple of local organizations sought to counter an advertising campaign put out by a transnational tobacco corporation. One man, who later became the leader of the alliance, talked to a few people, realized that the company had not received the proper permission to hold its promotional events, and convinced the government to cancel the industry's campaign. A well-known human rights lawyer then filed a court case. The court, in response, demanded that the government pass a comprehensive tobacco control law. One quick and easy success – originally meant to stop one advertising campaign – turned out to be a great basis for an alliance that then found the patience to take on far more difficult tasks, such as ensuring that the government follow through on its responsibility and not only pass, but also enforce the law (which it strengthened years later).⁸

Doing Away with Plastic Bags and Bottles

Plastic bags are bad for the environment and can be deadly to animals, birds, and fish. When they are eliminated, the need for a replacement can open the way for local industries to produce environmentally-friendly alternatives. Plastic bottles not only are hazardous to the environment but represent wasted money (people purchasing water when they could, in many cases, get safe water at no cost). When plastics destroy marine life, they also hurt fishermen and reduce access to seafood, a key source of protein.

The Irish government vastly reduced the use of plastic bags in the country by imposing a direct tax on the bags charged to the consumers, not to the shopkeepers. Many other countries have taken up this model. Plastic bags have been banned (with varying levels of implementation) in San Francisco, coastal North Carolina, and Portland, Oregon (in the United States), Modbury (in the United Kingdom), Mexico City, and various towns and cities in India, Bangladesh, Rwanda, and Australia. Other countries, including Italy, Belgium, Ireland, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and parts of Canada, tax or otherwise force consumers to pay for plastic bags. Of all those places, apparently only one has reversed the ban after implementation: Taiwan.⁹ In Ireland, the tax not only cut plastic bag use by over ninety percent but also raised millions of Euros in revenue.¹⁰

Ban the Bottle is an organization devoted to getting disposable plastic bottles banned and that reports on events organized to encourage such bans.¹¹ The mayors of various cities in the United States have announced that they will no longer purchase bottled water for events and meetings hosted by the city, since the tap water is perfectly good. In other cities around the world, local campaigns to ban plastic bottles from specific venues are in place, such as a ban on selling bottled water at the University of Ottawa in Canada.¹²

How do campaigners manage to get a tax or ban on plastic bags or bottles passed? An early step is to gather some eye-catching statistics, such as the millions of plastic bags or bottles thrown away each year, the percentage of visible garbage in one's town or city that is plastic bags or bottles, or the notable decline in fisheries due to the presence of plastics in the oceans.^{xii} Far more important than a detailed research report that may be admired but never read are one or two key statistics that grab attention and make good sound bites. The next step is to generate publicity for those numbers. This could involve organizing a press conference, convincing a journalist to write a feature article, standing outside some key venue holding banners, or whatever else is likely to work. It is important to have a specific demand, such as a tax, a charge at point of sale, or an outright ban. Examples of other places that have successfully addressed the issue of plastic bags and bottles are helpful, as policymakers are often afraid to be the first to do something and are eager to learn whether the desired change has been successful elsewhere. A few simple campaign materials – a cover letter and a factsheet – need to be drafted and sent to politicians and the media. Then there is follow-up, and more follow-up. Similar methods will work for other issues.

Resisting the Privatization of Water

Access to clean water should be a basic human right. When water services are privatized, clean water too often becomes unaffordable for the poor. Private companies can also profit by failing to maintain water systems, leading to long-term public costs. Privatization of water is the privatization of one of the basics of life, and it indicates a blatant disregard for human rights.

When my colleagues in Dhaka went to talk to the policymakers who, with 'technical support' from ADB, had drafted a law that would have allowed the privatization of local water sources, the drafters said, "What do you want us to put in the law?" My colleagues provided them with some language about the need to recognize that water is a public resource whose control should be kept in public hands, and in it went. Things are rarely that easy, but in some cases, policymakers simply accept information from businesses as a shortcut to getting their job done. They are not even necessarily eager to promote the business. In this case, they needed language on a topic and simply accepted what was offered. Policymakers may face impossible or at least difficult deadlines for drafting legislation. The easiest solution for them is to accept the draft that is handed to them for free by a lobbyist,

^{xii} One frightening example of ocean garbage is the Great Pacific Garbage Patch, also known as the Pacific trash vortex.

whether he represents industry or the World Bank or Asian Development Bank.^{xiii} The way to counter such activities is to do a better job of providing your own information and sample language. Tell governments precisely what is needed and why. Give them information. Share examples of good laws and policies from other places, information that is often easily accessible on the Internet. Begin by assuming that the problem is lack of information, not corruption. Rather than assume that policymakers are always eager to serve the corporate interest, assume that they do not have the time or staff to research every topic on which they work. Then help to create the public demand for the law's passage and implementation.

Saving a Park

What do parks have to do with poverty and wellbeing? A big park such as the one discussed here is the site at which many self-employed workers sell a variety of goods and services. Parks are an essential place for recreation, for socializing, and for exercise. Parks also provided needed greenery and access to water bodies, which are good for the environment and for people's mental health.¹³

As part of its events to celebrate the one-thousandth anniversary of Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam, the local government decided to allow a company to convert a large and exceedingly popular park into a sort of Disneyland, complete with parking lot, movie theatre, and shopping mall. In the eyes of developers, the much-loved park represented under-utilised space. By the time my colleagues at HealthBridge Vietnam learned of the government's intention to destroy the park, the officials had already entered into an agreement with a local construction company.

Vietnam is not a country that tends to have many protests. We faced two choices: assume that we could do nothing and allow the destruction of the park, or attempt the seemingly impossible. Naturally, we chose the latter.^{xiv}

Activists took various steps taken during the campaign, but I would argue that the most important was that first decision to try, despite all odds, to prevent the destruction of the park. Once we made the decision to get involved, the rest

^{xiii} The World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and other similar organizations sometimes 'help' governments to draft legislation, including legislation to privatize assets and services. Of course, nothing is 'for free'; what the industry lobbyist expects in return is favourable wording in the new law or policy that would generate more profit for his particular industry or company.

^{xiv} We', mind you, involves a large group of individuals and agencies; I had the honour of playing only a very small role, and that from a distance. I had a personal stake in this fight for two reasons: not only do I work for HealthBridge, but I am a faithful user of the park in question.

followed naturally. We took journalists to see the park and to talk to its users, and encouraged them to write about the planned demolition. We organized a seminar, ensuring that various high-level people would come and speak out about the value of the park and the fact that the government had no right to destroy it. We started an online discussion forum that generated comments from people around the world. The most exciting development was the fact that after we had begun our protest, many others joined us. They had either not known of the plans or had felt powerless to prevent them, but once they saw us coming forward, they were happy to join and even lead. Momentum built, and finally local authorities met and passed a series of decisions that, while not directly cancelling the contract, made its implementation impossible; this included banning the cutting of trees and the construction of new buildings within the park.

The success had further repercussions: when, despite the ban, the developer started work on a fancy hotel within the park, it took very little effort on the part of my colleagues to prevent it.^{xv} Others were already quite eager to join in the cause. Illegal construction in other parks in the city was also removed, and the mayor of Hanoi announced his intention to review all big development projects in the city to ensure that public spaces were respected.

Recently we got the opportunity to move from the position of fighting the negative to encouraging the positive. We are now working with the local governments of two small cities in Vietnam to improve and expand their public spaces. While at the time of the initial campaign I feared that our organization would be kicked out of the country, we are now being asked to advise local governments on their policy decisions.

Saving Traditional Markets

As urban populations increase, so does the price of urban real estate. The value of the land on which a city park or traditional market sits is a strong temptation to real estate developers. Those developers influence policymakers, who then can pass policies to replace traditional markets with shopping malls or supermarkets. The process started in Hanoi a few years ago when a major local market was bulldozed to make room for a high-end shopping mall. Several other local markets were slated for similar destruction (more politely termed development). Building on our experience at saving a major park, HealthBridge Vietnam joined with other organizations and individuals to highlight the importance of traditional markets

^{xv} So much for the government's earlier decision not to allow new buildings! So it often is with advocacy: success is not necessarily permanent, and one must keep fighting.

as popular, inexpensive places to buy fresh fruits and vegetables close to home. Supermarkets tend to be fewer in number and thus require people to travel farther, increasing motorized traffic. Supermarkets also promote highly processed foods, leading to unhealthy dietary changes. They do not offer the same opportunities for vendor-customer interactions. And they mean that many small vendors lose their livelihoods. The building of a strong alliance, the use of media, and regular meetings with policymakers all had their effect: while the campaign is ongoing, the government has decided to preserve, protect, and expand traditional markets rather than destroy them.^{xvi}

Campaigning for a Separate Rail Ministry

The safest, most comfortable, least expensive, and most environmentally friendly way to travel long distances is by train. Trains are also extremely popular. Unfortunately, they lack the same powerful interest groups that promote road investments. As a result, in many countries, rail is subsumed under transport and given vastly less attention than roads and highways. My colleagues in Bangladesh decided that it was too much work to campaign for each individual improvement needed in the train system. Since ministries have large budgets and a fair amount of power, they felt that it would be useful to campaign for a separate Ministry of Rail. At the time, I thought they were crazy. They ignored me and organized a nationwide campaign. Just over a year later, to my surprise and our delight, the government announced that it was establishing a separate Ministry for Rail. It gets better...the Minister, new to the topic, turned to my colleagues for information and support. He read from our promotional materials at his first press conference and he and his successors regularly call our office for information and ideas. The remaining work of advocating for specific changes is now easier, thanks to the existence of the separate ministry.

A Word of Caution

It seems only fair to warn my readers that there is a long history of people being treated very badly when they campaign for the types of changes that I describe in this book. Union leaders, community organizers, advocates of land reform, and populist politicians have regularly been arrested, tortured, and even killed. The interests that we seek to oppose are not only strong financially; they also tend to have some rather scary people at their beck and call. I do not seek to discourage you from activism, but simply to warn you to go about it intelligently. Martyrs

^{xvi} You can read more about this particular campaign in Issue Two of HealthBridge's NCD and Poverty Newsletter:
http://www.healthbridge.ca/Newsletter_2_NCDs_and_poverty_final.pdf

may advance the cause, but usually we can do more while still alive and in one piece.

Try to form a reasonable assessment of the sorts of activities you can do safely and the ones that are more likely to land you in jail (or worse). Difficult though it is, try to find the middle ground between being hopelessly naïve about personal danger and being overly timid. Most importantly, whenever possible, try to act along with others. Groups usually provide some protection; it is far easier to pick off individuals than collectives.

You can do a great deal without getting into any trouble at all. The more dangerous activities are not necessarily the most important or effective ones. A lot of consistent hard work and perseverance is necessary to get ahead; such work is not flashy, but neither is it normally dangerous. But if you do not enjoy making a few enemies, this may not be the right work for you. The answer to our great problems is not to be found with a little tinkering at the edges and with avoiding upsetting people in power. If we are effective, we will make people angry. If we act intelligently, we should be able to continue angering people for many, many years...and to bring about positive change as we do so.

A Few Final Words of Advice

Silence benefits the status quo; more voices are needed to challenge and change it. A single demonstration will not change the world; unprecedented protests against the Iraq War did not stop it. But protest can show our leaders that we are not blind followers. Joining in protests can also help us identify people and organizations with whom to work to put some of the ideas in this book into practice.

Remember the words of Arundhati Roy: protests alone are not enough. Visible and vocal protests in the streets need to be combined with actions that prove that the protesters are serious. If enough people not only say but show that they value wellbeing more than consumption, then indeed it will be possible to make conservative mainstream policymakers flinch...and to gain better policies for a better world. To again quote Chomsky,

...to oppose a long-standing program of imperial ambition...takes more thought, more dedication, more long-term engagement [than opposing a military attack]. It's the difference between deciding, I'm going out to a demonstration tomorrow and then back home, and deciding, I'm in this for the long haul. Those are choices people have to make. The same was true for people in the civil rights movement, the women's movement, and in every other movement.¹⁴

The good news is that we can succeed.

Notes

¹ "Schools are easy. Learning is hard." It does little good to build schools if you aren't paying to run them. See Annie Lowrey, "Don't Build Schools in Afghanistan," *Slate*, 5 May 2011.

² American Institute of Philanthropy, "Top 25 Compensation Packages," <http://www.charitywatch.org/hottopics/Top25.html>).

³ McSpotlight, "Stop Press," www.mcspotlight.org, accessed 24 September 2014.

⁴ Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985).

⁵ Richard Douthwaite, *The Ecology of Money* (Devon: Green Books Limited, reprinted 2010).

⁶ Noam Chomsky, *Imperial Ambitions: Conversations with Noam Chomsky on the Post-9/11 World* (London: Penguin Books, 2006).

⁷ Arundhati Roy, *The Shape of the Beast* (Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2009).

⁸ Debra Efroymson and Saifuddin Ahmed, "Building Momentum for Tobacco Control: The Case of Bangladesh," in Joy de Beyer and Linda Waverley Brigden, eds., *Tobacco Control Policy: Strategies, Successes & Setbacks* (Washington: The World Bank and Research for International Tobacco Control, 2003) and Debra Efroymson, *Sometimes We Win: Tobacco Control Success Stories from Asia* (Dhaka: HealthBridge, 2010).

⁹ How Stuff Works, "How Many Cities Have a Ban on Plastic Bags?" <http://people.howstuffworks.com/how-many-cities-have-a-ban-on-plastic-bags.htm>

¹⁰ "Irish Bag Tax Hailed Success," *BBC News*, 20 August 2002.

¹¹ Ban the Bottle, www.banthebottle.net

¹² Emily Chung, "Bottled Water Sales Banned at Ottawa Campus," <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/bottled-water-sales-banned-at-ottawa-campus-1.900754> accessed 21 April 2010.

¹³ Rebecca A. Clay, "Green is Good for You," *American Psychological Association Monitor*, April 2001, Vol 32, No. 4 and Debra Efroymson, Tran Kieu Thanh Ha, and Pham Thu Ha, *Public Spaces: How they Humanize Cities* (Dhaka: HealthBridge and WBB Trust, 2009).

¹⁴ Chomsky, *Imperial Ambitions*.