King's College London

Issues and ideas

For reforming society

A collection of ideas from the Policy Idol 2016 finalists

July 2016

Preface

Issues and ideas for reforming society **is an assimilation of the best pitches from Policy Idol 2016 – an annual competition for staff and students at King's College London. The competition is currently in its second year and continues to go from strength to strength.**

This collection of policy ideas were all delivered by the finalists of Policy Idol 2016 at the live final hosted by Mark Easton on 22 March 2016.

To select the best ideas, heats were run across King's campuses, with standout pitches selected for the final. Before the final, everyone was offered bespoke training in policy analysis and communications, and a chance to improve their pitch. On the night, they had 3 minutes to convince an elite panel of leading figures from the worlds politics, academia and industry, as well as a live audience. Judges assessed each pitch on both style and substance.

Every essay in this publication was written by the finalists based on the pitches they delivered at the final and is a reflection of their views alone. Although congratulations go to all entrants, the efforts of those who made the final should be particularly praised. Chief amongst these are Elle Wadsworth and Lindsey Hines, who were crowned overall winners of Policy Idol 2016 for their pitch entitled 'A greener UK: The roadmap to cannabis regulation'; Lincoln Pigman, Derek Eggleston, Ilya Klyachin and Arnie Kreho who were awarded the runner-up substance prize for 'A bittersweet truth: Mitigating child labour in the West African cocoa industry'; Sammi Hope and Stuart Finn who received the runner-up style prize for their pitch on 'Using social media to eradicate rape as a weapon of war'; and lastly, to Erica Arcudi, whose pitch 'Food waste: Time

for supermarkets to take ownership' was voted for on the night of the final as the audience's favourite pitch.

Throughout the heats stage of the Policy Idol 2016 competition there were a number of individuals who gave up their time to help us select the finalists you see published in this report. My thanks go to:

- Charles Clarke, Former MP and Home Secretary

- Richard Danbury – Research Associate in the Faculty of Law at the University of Cambridge

- Jon Davis – Director of Partnerships and Networks at the Policy Institute at King's

- Bobby Duffy, Managing Director of the Ipsos MORI Social Research Institute

- Paul Greatbatch – Former partner of Genesis Investment Management

- Tony Halmos – Former Director of Public Relations at the City of London Corporation

- Kirsty Hughes, writer and commentator on European and International politics

- Jeremy Jennings, Head of the Department of Political Economy at King's and Professor of Political Theory

- James Johns, Director of Corporate Affairs at Hewlett Packard Enterprise

- Paul Lewis – Reader in Economics and Public Policy at King's College London

- Denise Lievesley, Principle of Green Templeton College, Oxford University

- Jill Manthorpe – Director of the Social Care Workforce Research Unit at King's College London and Professor of Social Work

- Anand Menon – Director of the UK in a Changing Europe Initiative at King's College London and Professor of European Politics and Foreign Affairs

- Martin Moore, Director of the Centre for the Study of Media, Communication and Power

- Delyth Morgan – Chief Executive of Breast Cancer Now and cross-bench peer in the House of Lords.

- Anne-Marie Rafferty – Dean of the Florence Nightingale School of Nursing and Midwifery and Professor of Nursing Policy

- Annette Rid – Senior Lecturer in Bioethics and Society at King's College London

- Patsy Robertson – Chair of the Ramphal Institute

- Hetan Shah – Executive Director of the Royal Statistical Society

- Alice Sherwood, Chair of the Kit Kat Club

- Helen Wall, Industry Engagement Manager at Government Digital Service

I would also like to thank Alice Sherwood, Dr Sarah Rawlings, Professor Jennifer Rubin, Adam Kamenetsky and Dr Ben Wilkinson for coaching the finalists as part of their training. In addition, I would also like to extend my thanks to Mark Easton, who hosted the final, to Ross Pow for leading the training sessions and to Dr Matthew Lam and Dr Sarah Rawlings for organising the competition and editing this publication.

Finally, I would also like to extend my warmest thanks to Dame Margaret Hodge, Dame Sally Davies, Professor Frans Berkhout and Sue Cameron, who formed the final judging panel.

Professor Jonathan Grant
Director of the Policy Institute at King's

Mark Easton host of Policy Idol 2016

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Introduction

It was a great pleasure to be back at Policy Idol to host the final. This policy pitching competition has now completed its second year and I was delighted to host an event that is inspiring jealous glances from universities and talent shows alike. Once again I felt privileged to guide the audience through an evening of sharp ideas, delivered by some of the great talent at King's College London.

This competition is not a walk in the park. Those that made it to the final endured a grueling selection of heat stages that put them in a room to pitch their idea to a formidable array of powerful figures from academia, politics and business. Ten of the pitches were selected for the final where after refinement and bespoke training the finalists had to pitch again – this time in front of a 120 strong audience and a panel of judges that included Dame Margaret Hodge, Dame Sally Davies, Professor Frans Berkhout, Sue Cameron and Professor Jonathan Grant. No mean feat, I assure you.

This publication pulls together each of the ten pitches and it is evident from a glance at the contents page just how diverse these policy ideas are. From the introduction of gender neutral pronouns to the legalisation of cannabis, these ideas capture themes that are at the forefront of policymaking and reflect the individual passions of the people pitching them.

I hope that you enjoy reading these ideas as much as I enjoyed hearing them at the final. The judges were looking for brilliance, and I think they got it. Brilliant policy proposals, brilliantly sold by a group of young, inspiring people that will likely go on to play a big part in shaping the future of policy around the world.

Mark Easton

BBC News Home Editor

Elle Wadsworth (left) and Lindsey Hines (right)
- overall winners of Policy Idol 2016

1 | A greener UK: The roadmap to cannabis regulation

Elle Wadsworth and Lindsey Hines

Winners of Policy Idol 2016

Elle Wadsworth is a Research Assistant in the Addictions Department at the Institute of Psychiatry, Pyschology and Neuroscience at King's College London.

Lindsey Hines is a final year PhD student studying Addiction Sciences in the Addictions Department at the Institute of Psychiatry, Pyschology and Neuroscience at King's College London.

1 | A greener UK: The roadmap to cannabis regulation

In the UK, cannabis is a class B drug with a five year prison penalty for possession. Despite this, in 2014 and 2015, 1 in 20 of us reported using cannabis.[1] It is the most commonly used illicit drug globally,[2] but compared with the rest of Europe, the UK has one of the highest levels of use.[3] As a result, thousands of British people each year are brought into contact with the criminal justice system (CJS),[4] jeopardising their future.

Illegality and prohibition are clearly not discouraging use, and the maintenance of a cannabis black market introduces users to dealers who can boost their profits by encouraging harder and more frequent drug use. Cannabis strength has increased; the proportion of police seizures of high-strength "skunk" cannabis had risen from 15 per cent in 2002[5] to 81 per cent in 2007[6,7]. Worryingly, emerging evidence suggests

stronger cannabis increases mental health risks,[8] raising concerns of increased pressure on the NHS.

Things do not have to stay this way. The UK's policy on cannabis can be changed in three steps: decriminialise, cultivate and regulate. At each stage, existing data sources on drug use, crime statistics and medical treatment can be used to evaluate the policy changes through monitoring changes in the effects of cannabis, treatment seeking, drug-driving and cannabis-related crime. Implementing rigorous reviews of the health and social consequences of each step allows amendments to be made if unexpected consequences occur, adapting to the country's needs.

The first step is decriminalisation, where it remains illegal to sell cannabis, but not illegal to possess it. This has been the case in Portugal since 2001, and levels of drug use have remained low.[9] Decriminalisation relieves pressure on the CJS by redistributing police resources, and cannabis use can be reframed as a health issue by issuing treatment assessment referrals instead of prison sentences[10].

Second is personal cultivation, where individuals can grow a limited number of cannabis plants at home. This is the policy in Spain, where cannabis clubs are formed to share produce. Cannabis clubs are registered with the government and have to make sure members are not overindulging.[11] This step allows cannabis users to move away from illegal dealers, and removes that link to harder and more frequent drug use.

1   Home Office, *Drug Misuse: Findings From The 2014/15 Crime Survey For England And Wales*, second edition, July 2015, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/462885/drug-misuse-1415.pdf.

2   Degenhardt, L., & Hall, W., 'Extent Of Illicit Drug Use And Dependence, And Their Contribution To The Global Burden Of Disease', *The Lancet*, 2012, 379(9810), 55-70.

3   World Health Organization, *Health Behaviour In School-Aged Children (Hbsc) Study: International Report From The 2013/2014 Survey*, 2016, http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/303438/HSBC-No7-Growing-up-unequal-full-report.pdf?ua=1.

4   Dunt, I., 'Britain Secretly Decriminalised Cannabis – And It's A Disaster', *politics.co.uk*, 10 September 2014.

5   King, L.A., Carpentier, C., & Griffiths, P., *Emcdda Insights - An Overview Of Cannabis Potency In Europe. Office For Official Publications Of The European Communities*, 2004, European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Addiction.

6   Hardwick, S., & King, LA., *Home Office Cannabis Potency Study*, 2008, Home Office Scientific Development Branch, UK.

7   Freeman, TP., & Winstock, AR., 'Examining The Profile Of High-Potency Cannabis And Its Association With Severity Of Cannabis Dependence', *Psychol Med*., 2015, 45 (15): 3181-9.

8   Di Forti, M., et al., 'Proportion of patients in south London with first-episode psychosis attributable to use of high potency cannabis: A Case-Control Study', *The Lancet Psychiatry*, 2015, 2, 233–238.

9   European Monitoring Centre For Drugs And Drug Addiction, *Drug Policy Profiles - Portugal*, 2011, pg 20, http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/publications/drug-policyprofiles/portugal.

10 Hughes, CE., & Stevens, A., 'What can we learn from the Portuguese decriminalization of illicit drugs?', 2010, *British Journal Of Criminology*.

11 Encod, 'Code of conduct for european cannabis social clubs', http://www.encod.org/info/code-of-conduct-for-european.html.

Third is regulation, where cannabis is sold, sanctioned and profited from by the government. This final step is not a commercial system but by learning from the tobacco and alcohol industries, this policy will restrict sales heavily and avoid creating a cannabis industry that has the advertising and lobbying power to promote a product that is not harm-free.

Importantly for health, we also advocate prohibiting adverts and setting limits on cannabis strength. Prices can undercut the illegal market, but still create tax revenue. This tax can be directed to fund health and social care, counteracting the cost of cannabis harms on our society and on the individual.

Society is currently at a point of unprecedented change. Canada[12], some American states[13] and European countries[14] have recently taken steps to alter their approach to cannabis. The UK has a fantastic opportunity to look around the world at the successes and negatives of these policies. In doing so, we can create a policy that will benefit health and minimise harm.

12 Associated Press, 'Canada's new Liberal government repeats promise to legalize marijuana', *theguardian.com*, 4 December 2015, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/04/canada-new-liberal-government-legalize-marijuana.
13 Rowley, L., 'Where Is Marijuana Legal in the United States? List of Recreational and Medicinal States', *mic.com*, http://mic.com/articles/126303/where-is-marijuana-legal-in-the-united-states-list-of-recreational-and-medicinal-states#.EjcbmHZTu.
14 Ingraham, C., 'Portugal decriminalised drugs 14 years ago – and now hardly anyone dies from overdosing', *Independent*, 6 June 2015, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/portugal-decriminalised-drugs-14-years-ago-and-now-hardly-anyone-dies-from-overdosing-10301780.html.

Elle Wadsworth (centre) and Lindsey Hines (right) recieve their prize from Professor Ed Byrne (centre), Principal of King's College London.

2 | A Bittersweet Truth: Mitigating child labour in the West African cocoa industry

Lincoln Pigman, Derek Eggleston, Ilya Klyachin and Arnie Kreho

Runners-up (Substance)

Lincoln Pigman is a first year undergraduate studying for a BA in War Studies from the Department of War Studies at King's College London.

Derek Eggleston, Ilya Klyachin and Arnie Kreho are all first year undergraduates studying for a BA in International Relations in the Department of War Studies at King's College London.

2 | A Bittersweet Truth: Mitigating child labour in the West African cocoa industry

There is a menace in West Africa that is not only growing but has been allowed to fester for decades - the devastating practice of child labour and child trafficking in the region's cocoa industry. International knowledge of this issue has existed since 2001 following the signing of the Harkin-Engel Protocol (HEP), but in the last 15 years not enough has been done to address the bittersweet truth behind everyone's favourite sweet treat.[1]

The HEP has been the most ambitious effort so far to tackle this humanitarian issue, as it commits global chocolate companies to eliminate child labour in the West African cocoa industry. Yet as the 2005 and 2008 deadlines for the HEP's implementation passed, it came to resemble an exercise in agenda-setting rather than action. The HEP's authors have pushed their deadline to 2020, but history leaves little hope that effective solutions will be achieved.[2] A study from 2015 reported that two million children were still working in hazardous, slave-like conditions on cocoa farms in West Africa, an increase of as much as 51 per cent since 2009.[3]

The failure of the HEP begs the question: What does it take to prevent children being enslaved and so denied a prosperous future? A three-pronged approach is needed that revolves around books, borders and consent - and assigns responsibility to those best placed to mitigate child labour in the production of cocoa: West African states themselves.

There is no better preventive measure than education, and it follows that governments should do their utmost to keep kids in school. The International Cocoa Initiative (ICI), a unique partnership between NGOs, labour unions, cocoa processors and the major chocolate brands, has in the past attempted to make quality education more accessible[4] - but could not overcome a lack of government cooperation.[5] Although the ICI's programme eventually came to an end, its briefly effective promotion of informal primary education, fitted to a rural context and emphasising practical skills, offers a framework to be adopted at the state level.

With child trafficking a major contributor to child labour in West Africa,[6] strong border management is the greatest protective measure available. In Ghana, law enforcement agents are personally responsible for sheltering the children they rescue from slave labour.[7] The decentralisation of authority within border management agencies means that corruption and a lack of oversight prevent the consistent enforcement of key anti-trafficking legislation.[8] The responsibility for protecting children liberated from forced labour must instead fall to the state and any institutional barriers, such as corruption, should be removed through reform.

Yet even national legislation suffers from an inexcusable defect: a permissive stance on parental consent to child labour, a pernicious culture that stifles prevention and protection. Whether out of desperation or ignorance,

1   Berlan, A., 'Child Labour and Cocoa: Whose Voices Prevail?', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy,* 2009, 29: 3/4, 141 - 151.
2   Bhavnani, K.K & Schneider, E., 'Nothing Like Chocolate', in Dragiewicz, E. (ed.), *Global Human Trafficking: Critical Issues and Contexts*, 2015, 188, New York: Routledge.
3   School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, Tulane University, *Final Report: 2013/14 Survey Research on Child Labor in West African Cocoa Growing Areas*, 30 July 2015, 35, Tulane University.

4   International Cocoa Initiative, *Annual Report 2013*, 2014, 6.
5   *Ibid*, 2, 4.
6   UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, *Child Trafficking in West Africa: Policy Responses*, April 2002, 1-30.
7   Sertich, M. & Heemskerk, M., 'Ghana's Human Trafficking Act: Successes and Shortcomings in Six Years of Implementation,' *Human Rights Brief,* 2011, 19:1, 5.
8   Sosuh, M.M, 'Border Security in Ghana: Challenges and Prospects,' *KAIPTC Occasional Paper 32*, March 2011, 28-29.

parents in West Africa all-too often choose to send their children to work in inhumane conditions. Laws such as Ghana's Human Trafficking Act,[9] which identifies parental consent as a mitigating factor and justifies lenient treatment of complicit parents, inexplicably legitimises such behaviour.[10] Those guilty of participating in the vicious exploitation of West African children should first be educated about the reality of child labour and secondly held to a higher degree of responsibility by the legal system.

Should West African governments fail to implement these measures, the results will be depressingly predictable: another postponement of the HEP's deadline and the unchecked growth of child labour in West Africa. Scholars and policy makers alike speak without end of creating a world in which Africa's future generations can thrive. It's about time they acted on it, with facilitation from the international humanitarian community and direct action from West African states themselves.

9   Parliament of the Republic of Ghana, *Human Trafficking Act 2005,* https://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/human-trafficking-act--2005_html/Human_Trafficking_Act.pdf.
10 Sosuh, M.M, 'Border Security in Ghana: Challenges and Prospects,' *KAIPTC Occasional Paper 32*, March 2011, 5, 7.

Ilya Klyachin, Arnie Kreho, Derek Eggleston & Lincoln Pigman recieve their prize from Ed Byrne, Principal of King's College London.

Sammi Hope (top) and Stuart Finn (bottom) pitch their policy idea at the final.

3 | Using social media to eradicate rape as a weapon of war

Sammi Hope and Stuart Finn

Runners-up (Style)

Sammi Hope and Stuart Finn are both MA students studying Defence Studies in the Defence Studies Department at the Joint Services Command and Staff College, Shrivenham.

3 | Using social media to eradicate rape as a weapon of war

How has the world sought to address rape in conflict so far? Awareness of the issues has increased, with efforts to prevent it and support survivors coming from the highest levels of government and the international community, including the United Nations (UN).

The legislation exists, evidence is being gathered and prosecutions are being made. However, rape as a weapon of war is still happening in areas of conflict, routinely and systematically perpetrated against women, children and men. In ten months alone last year in the Central African Republic, 30,000 people were raped: that is 100 people a day.[1] Typically this has been a hidden crime, with victims resigned to suffer in silence and without justice.

A tool to combat this awful crime is likely sitting within arms reach. To date, social media has been used for educational campaigns but none so far have used it to provide early warning and situational awareness of rape as a weapon in conflict. The UN campaign, 'StopRapeNow'[2] needs to harness social media and link it with the explosion in global mobile internet access – not just for education – but to alert organisations that can help in-country and globally.

Social media provides a platform to give a voice to communities traumatised in war to connect them with the international community and galvanise a swift response. By 2020, smartphone ownership is forecast to be 70 to 80 per cent globally, with the majority of new ownership in Africa, the Middle East and Asia, where mobile Internet access is also set to double.[3]

Analysis of social media has huge application to detect crises and gain situational awareness rapidly through open sources. Citizen analysts, such as the Bellingcat team[4] are already fusing social media sites like Facebook, Twitter and Google Earth to understand what is happening in a conflict zone. Recent events in the Mediterranean have shown that for millions of refugees who have lost everything, social media is their link to hope.[5] Other experiences in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have shown that enhanced situational awareness, through engagement with the local population, linked to an early warning system and a rapid response system, can help prevent wholescale rape.

The UN should lead an information campaign to explain how social media can be used to prevent rape as a weapon of war. UN members could create an international hashtag such as #StopRapeNow that could become the modern equivalent of 'SOS'. Social media is a 'disruptive technology' to stop this hidden crime. If the UN employs social media as a means to generate in-country situational awareness, it could create an early warning messaging system, link it to organisations that scan open source data for situational awareness and alert those who can respond. By utilising existing commercial social media applications and the explosion in personal smartphone ownership, this would be low-cost, but high-impact.

For those concerned about misuse of social media (for example, deliberately fabricating stories), all information needs to be verified. However, governments, NGOs and

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1   UNHCR, December 2015.
2   http://www.stoprapenow.org.

3   GSMA, *The Mobile Economy 2015*, http://gsmamobileeconomy.com/global (accessed 6 January 2016).
4   http://www.belingcat.com.
5   Byrne, A., & Solomon, E., 'Refugees seek help from Social Media', *Financial Times*, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/09625b90-56fc-11e5-a28b-50226830d644.html#axzz46SlZloNj.

journalists already do this and have developed expertise in verifying reports and imagery.[6]

Rape in war has existed for centuries. It has persisted because of a sense of impunity. However, we have never had social media before or a more inter-connected world. Social media has a key role to play as a 'force multiplier' to help communities protect themselves. Research shows that not all armed groups choose to use rape as a weapon of war.[7] It is possible to change behaviours and we have achieved the 'impossible' before in war: for example, banning child soldiers,[8] cluster munitions[9] and anti-personnel land mines.[10]

In the information age, when we cannot always gain access to a region, information has no borders. Our proposal is for social media to be used upfront – to alert those who can do something about it. The UN needs to utilise social media more effectively to give a voice to those who are unheard, to influence world leaders and provide situational awareness and early warning to stop rape in conflict. For those who have nothing else, social media is their lifeline.

6   BBC Academy, 'Social Media Verification', http://www.bbc.co.uk/academy/journalism/article/art20130702112133524 (accessed 14 March 2016).
7   Wood, E.J., 'Rape is not inevitable during war', in Kuehnast, K., de Jonge Oudraat, C., & Hernes, H., *Women and War: Power and Protection in the Twenty-First Century*, 2011, Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press.
8   UNSCR 1261, 25 August 1999, https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N99/248/59/PDF/N9924859.pdf?OpenElement.
9   UNOG, 'Convention on cluster munitions', http://www.unog.ch/80256EE600585943/(httpPages)/F27A2B84309E0C5AC12574F70036F176.
10   United Nations, Convention on the prohibition of the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of anti-personnel mines and on their destruction, 1997, http://www.un.org/Depts/mine/UNDocs/ban_trty.htm.
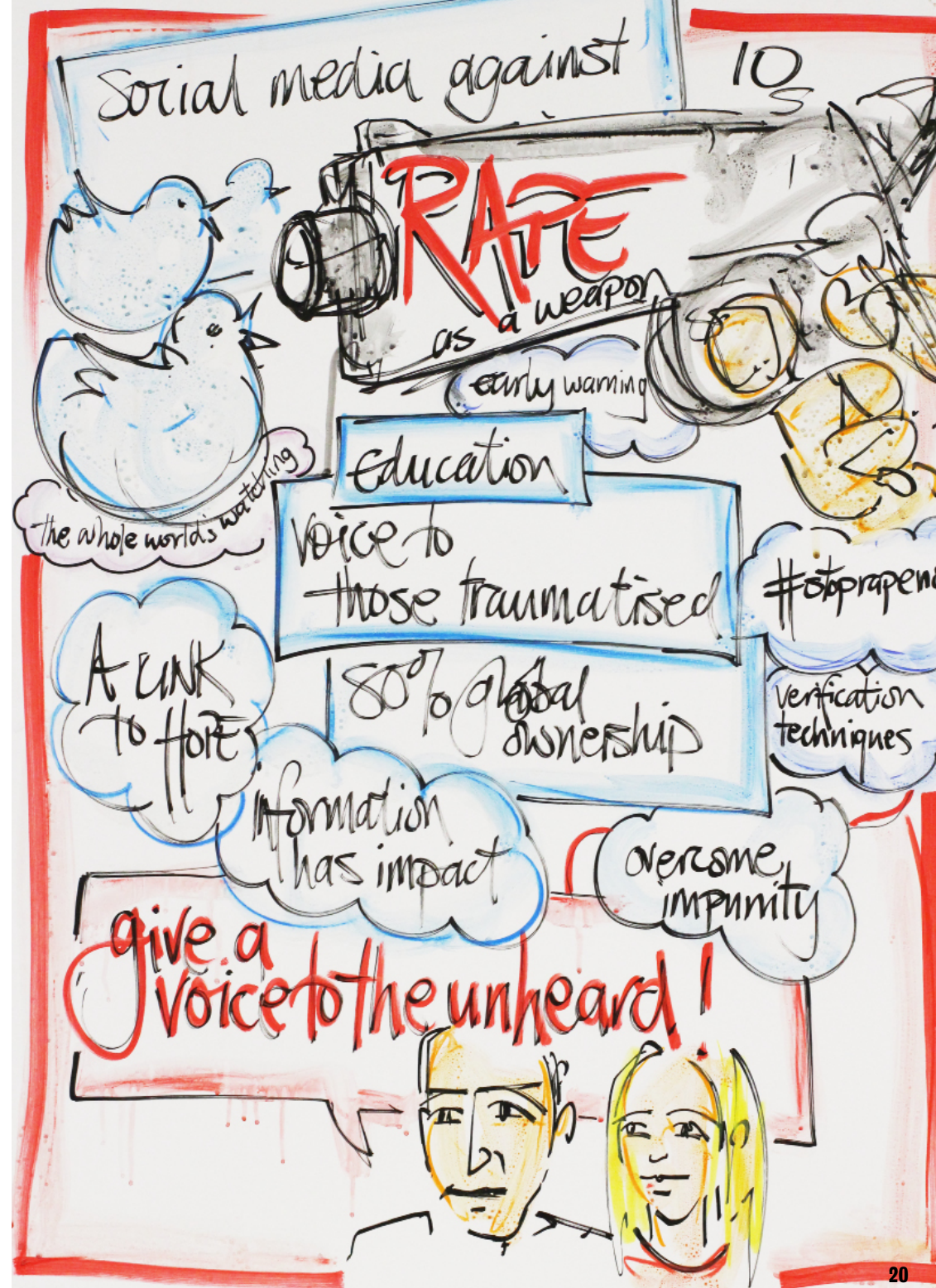
4 | Food waste: Time for supermarkets to take ownership

Erica Arcudi

Audience prize winner

Erica Arcudi is a final year undergraduate studying for a BSc. in Political Economy in the Department of Political Economy at King's College London.

4 | Food waste: Time for supermarkets to take ownership

Each year the UK wastes around 15 million tonnes of food,[1] equating to a loss to business of at least five billion pounds every year.[2] This staggering amount of waste is approximately one-third of the food produced in the UK, making us the worst offender in Europe in terms of food wasted, both in quantity and in percentage of production.[3]

The UK Government has been confronted with this problem before, including by the Environment, Food, and Rural Affairs Committee (EFRA). In March 2015, Anne McIntosh, Chair of the Committee, publicly asked the government to intervene and stated that the UK is officially 'currently producing too much waste that is edible'.[4] There are three steps which can be taken to resolve this problem: collect reliable data, incentivise waste reduction and promote the redistribution of food waste.

It is a major issue that we currently have unreliable data on how much food is rejected before being put on the shelves.[5] One issue is that supermarkets may provide poor forecasting and so order more from farmers and manufacturers than what they know they will actually buy.[6]

Supermarkets should be required to publish audited figures of food waste, which are routinely and randomly checked by the government. This will provide a way to monitor the good and bad industry performers when it comes to food waste.

A clear cut way to reduce waste is to incentivise supermarkets to reject less. As one study found, supermarkets reject approximately 40 per cent of the crops produced by farmers – usually just because they don't meet cosmetic standards.[7] Incentives, such as tax exemptions if supermarkets demonstrate they reject less than five per cent of what they order, would help alleviate this level of rejection.

It is acknowledged that supermarkets rejecting less food may initially increase the amount of food available on the shelves and so potentially increase waste. This can be tackled by redistributing the food that doesn't sell. In the UK, food waste goes almost exclusively to anaerobic digestion – where it is broken down for energy. Instead of this, food waste could be redistributed to food banks, with estimates suggesting that more than half of our food waste could be avoided in this way.[8,9]

It is vital that the government subsidises redistribution and enforces fines if over 40 per cent of food waste is sent to anaerobic digestion. This is a solution to a pressing issue. British food prices have recently risen by over 33 per cent, whilst wages did not see a similar rise.[10] This has resulted in six million people in the UK currently at risk of

1 House of Lords, *Counting the Cost of Food Waste: EU Food Waste Prevention,* EU Committee 10th Report of Session 2013-2014, April 2015, 53.

2 Ibid.

3 Yeung, P., 'How much Food Does the EU Waste?', *Independent*, 18 December 2015, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/how-much-food-does-the-eu-waste-a6778351.html.

4 Commons Select Committee, 'Food security: demand, consumption and waste report published', *parliament.UK*, 22 January 2015, http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/environment-food-and-rural-affairs-committee/news/report-food-security-demand-consumption-and-waste.

5 Stop the Rot, *Lifting the Lid on Industry Food Waste: This is a Rubbish Report*, 2015, 3, http://www.stoptherot.org.uk/assets/stop-the-rot-report_compressed.pdf.

6 Ibid.

7 Stuart, T., 'Food Waste Facts', *tristramstuart.co.uk*, 2015, http://www.tristramstuart.co.uk/foodwastefacts.

8 House of Lords, *Counting the Cost of Food Waste: EU Food Waste Prevention,* EU Committee 10th Report of Session 2013-2014, April 2015, 46.

9 House of Lords, *Counting the Cost of Food Waste: EU Food Waste Prevention,* EU Committee 10th Report of Session 2013-2014, April 2015, 38.

10 Jeavans, C., 'Recession hits family spending on fresh food', *BBC News*, 4 November 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-24773201.

malnutrition, of which one million rely on food banks to put food on their tables.[11]

It is time for change in the UK when it comes to food waste. We need to start by demanding accurate data on food waste from supermarkets, rejecting less and targeting the redistribution of leftover food. With over one million people struggling to put food on their table, the government must consider implementing these policies to tighten up waste not only at home, but also at the farm and supermarket.

11   Trussell Trust, 'Latest stats', trusseltrust.org, 2016, https://www.trusselltrust.org/news-and-blog/latest-stats.
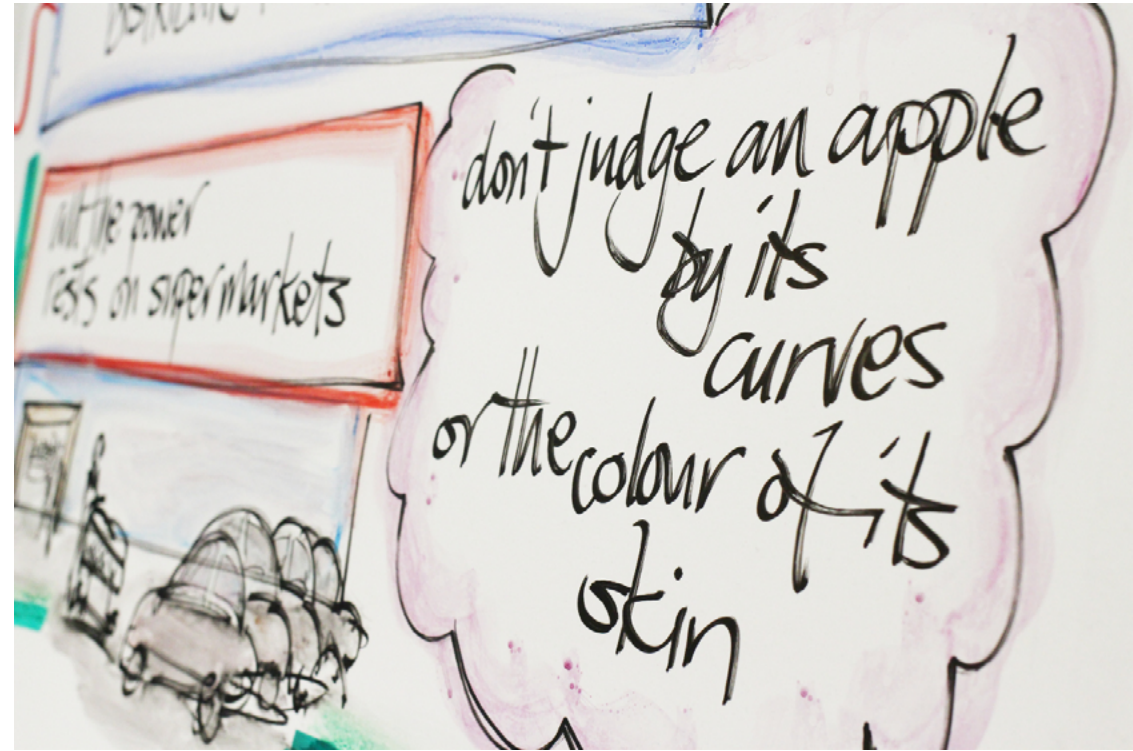
Erica Arcudi recieves her prize from Professor Ed Byrne, Principal of King's College London.

Craig Terblanche (left) and Ben Walters (right)

5 | Making the world more equal, one word at a time

Ben Walters and Craig Terblanche

Ben Walters and Craig Terblanche are both on the Advanced Command and Staff Course at the Joint Services Command and Staff College, Shrivenham.

5 | Making the world more equal, one word at a time

Gender inequality is found everywhere in our society. Women account for just 22 per cent of MPs and peers, 20 per cent of university professors, six per cent of FTSE 100 executives and three per cent of board chairpersons.[1] It is clear that legal equality has simply not been enough. We still need to change the way we think and feel – and to do that we need a new word.

The English language is inherently sexist, because it inadvertently perpetuates gender stereotypes. The lack of a gender neutral third person pronoun means that it is too easy to reinforce unintentional gender bias as shown in these phrases: 'a captain must stay with his ship' and 'a nurse must care for her patients.' Consequently, some professions and roles are strongly associated with a specific gender, making it difficult to change entrenched cultural perceptions.

The traditional identities of 'male' and 'female' can no longer reflect our increasingly diverse society. Homosexual and transgender people are now celebrated as evidence of our society's tolerance and openness. In the Republic of Ireland it is now legally possible for an individual to choose their own gender without needing a medical examination or approval.[2] Similarly, there are now growing numbers of people who wish to be identified as gender-neutral – a status officially recognised in Australia.[3]

In the English language there is no fair way to refer to a gender-neutral individual unless you want to use the word 'it'. A lack of a suitable word may even encourage the use of slang or derogatory terms. We need a neutral pronoun.

The British people are the custodians of the Queen's English – our arts, our culture, our academic institutions can lend real credibility to this idea. English is also the language of the internet, making it a powerful tool to influence billions of people across the globe. Our language can be an effective instrument of Britain's soft power and this is a real opportunity for Britain to demonstrate its cultural leadership and positively change the global view on gender equality.

Other languages, such as Swedish, have recently introduced a gender neutral pronoun to promote equality.[4] Some universities in the US have also adopted gender neutral language to help students and staff to avoid gender stereotyping or discrimination.[5]

Language can be extremely emotive and the introduction of new words especially so – they are unfamiliar and take time to get used to. It is paramount then that the right word is chosen that is not only accepted by all but is also useable. To choose the right gender neutral pronoun and help develop the momentum needed to ensure its use, the word(s) should be chosen democratically through a national competition. This process should be sponsored by the Department of Media, Culture and Sport and promoted by a mass media organisation, such as the BBC, using all media channels. A judging panel should be formed of academics including scholars such as the Poet Laureate whose role would be to provide a shortlist of potential words. The public would then vote for the nationally recognised

1   The Centre for Women & Democracy, http://www.cfwd.org.uk.
2   Houses of the Oireachtas, *The Gender Recognition Act 2015*, http://www.oireachtas.ie/documents/bills28/acts/2015/a2515.pdf.
3   Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Sex and gender diverse passport application', Australian Government, https://www.passports.gov.au/passportsexplained/theapplicationprocess/eligibilityoverview/Pages/changeofsexdoborpob.aspx.

4   Sendén, M., G., Bäck, E., A., and Lindqvist A., 'Introducing a Gender-Neutral Pronoun in a Natural Language: The Influence of Time on Attitudes and Behavior', *Frontiers in Psychology,* July 1 2015, 6, doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00893.
5   Chak A., 'Beyond 'he' and 'she': The rise of non-binary pronouns', *BBC News* http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-34901704.

pronoun for use in the English language. This would provide the publicity that would be required to get the word used within British society quickly and effectively.

Over 1,000 words are added to English dictionaries each year[6]; twerking, emoji and selfie – to name just a few. It is now time we added a gender neutral pronoun. Its introduction would be gradual, through evolution not edict, offering a choice for people – similar to the title Ms which provides women today with the option to define themselves out with their marital status. Many women opt not to use Ms, but it provides a choice for those that do.

Once a gender neutral pronoun is recognised it will enter the lexicon and be available to be taught in schools and even be included in the Queen's speech. This policy is simple, it is low cost and it will make our society fairer; with just one word.

Craig Terblanche (left) and Ben Walters (right) pitch to the judges at the Policy Idol final

our language is holding us back

changing the world one word at a time

initiated from top

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6   Oxford Dictionaries, 'OxfordDictionaries.com August 2013 new words update', Oxford University Press, http://blog.oxforddictionaries.com/august-2013-update.

Sweta Raghavan talks through her idea at the Policy Idol final

6 | Fixing a broken promise: Educate a girl, educate a family

Sweta Raghavan

Sweta Raghavan is a third year PhD student studying Cell and Molecular Biophysics at the Randall Division of Cell and Molecular Biophysics in the Faculty of Life Science and Medicine at King's College London.

6 | Fixing a broken promise: Educate a girl, educate a family

Education as a basic right is beyond the reach of an estimated 65 million girls around the world today, and over 50 per cent of them will never enter a classroom.[1] Unsurprisingly, most of them come from the poorest countries and live in conflict affected, marginalised or socially fragile societies.[2]

Having recognised this deficit in equality, the UN's Global Partnership for Education pledged to enrol more girls into schools and provide quality education. Thus, when the UN Girls Education Initiative (UNGEI) was established, it was promised that every girl would be in school by 2015.[3] Today that promise remains unfulfilled.

To improve the availability of quality education to poor and marginalised girls we need to allocate resources and implement effective new policies. Patriarchal culture and political will, or rather the lack of it, have so far prevented girls from reaching a classroom. The parents of these girls play an important role in removing barriers to education. In many countries, from sub-Saharan Africa to South Asia, girls are often devalued and perceived as being inferior and so education for them is unwarranted.[4,5] One particular

survey conducted in Pakistan revealed that 40 per cent of girls did not attend school because their parents did not allow it.[6] We need to change the cultural mindset of parents who often find it hard to capture the benefits of educating their daughters. It is, therefore, as important to invest in programmes that can create awareness of the importance and benefits of girls' education among parents, as it is to build more schools.

To influence the parents we have to target local decision making. Community leaders who have been successful in mobilising girls into schools or are aware of the issues in their local area must be invited to take part in the policy making process to ensure that the decisions made will benefit the girls in their community. Not only will they bring their rich experiences on board but are also in a unique position to influence and involve their community in driving the girls education agenda forward. By empowering these local leaders we would also be sending a strong message to millions of girls around the globe.

Influencing from the top down is not an issue if there is a national political leadership that is committed to fostering an equitable society. Sadly, corruption is common place in most developing and under-developed countries where the majority of 'out-of-school' girls live.[7] The global leadership, in this case the UNGEI, needs to take up a stronger diplomatic role in these countries. They must seek greater transparency in the implementation of policies and be prepared to ask for accountability of the money given out to improve access to education.

It is important to usher in a culture that combats inequality – an issue which sits at the heart of this problem. As a first step, governments should be lobbied to include gender studies in their national education curriculum. This

1 UNESCO, 'Girls' education- the facts', *Education for All Global Monitoring Report Fact Sheet*, October 2013, http://en.unesco.org/gem-report/sites/gem-report/files/girls-factsheet-en.pdf.
2 Ibid.
3 UNGEI, *All Girls Achieving and Learning - Policy Advocacy Agenda*, 2013, http://www.ungei.org/resources/files/paa_ungei_2013_FINAL2.pdf.
4 Kombo, B., Sow, R., & Mohamed, F.J., *Journey to Equality: 10 Years of Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa*, 2013, http://www.equalitynow.org/sites/default/files/MaputoProtocol_JourneytoEquality.pdf.
5 Ministry of Education, Trainings & Standards in Higher Education, *National Plan of Action to Accelerate Education-Related MDGs 2013-16 - Achieving Universal Quality Primary Education in Pakistan*, September 2013, Governemnt of Pakistan, Islamabad, http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Pakistan/Pakistan_National_plan_of_action_2013-2016.pdf.
6 Ibid.
7 UNESCO, UNESCO eAtlas of Out-of-School Children, http://tellmaps.com/uis/oosc/#!/tellmap/131424561 (accessed on 16 April 2016).

will help raise a generation who will abandon the archaic perceptions of girls as inferior and sensitise communities on the importance of sending every child, girl or boy, to school.

This is not an impossible task. Bangladesh, with its fractured politics and stunted economy, offers a great example of how it can be achieved. Despite spending only 2.2 per cent of its GDP on education they have made tremendous progress with education equality.[8,9] This success has been put down, in part, to the removal of social shackles that restrain women.[10] There isn't a better way to liberate girls and women across the world than to educate them. We must resolve to fix the broken promise and avoid failing another generation of girls.

8   Asadullah, MN., Savoia, A., & Mahmud, W., 'Paths to development: Is there a bangladesh surprise?', *World Development,* 2014, Oct; 62:138-54.
9   World Economic Forum, *Global Gender Gap Report*, 2013, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GenderGap_Report_2013.pdf.
10 Sen, A., 'What's happening in bangladesh?', *The Lancet,* 2013, Dec; 382 (9909): 1966-8.

Alexis Lee (left) and Rocky Howe (right)

7 | Empowering women in disaster

Rocky Howe and Alexis Lee

Rocky Howe is a first year LLB student in Politics, Philosphy and Law at the Dickson Poon School of Law, King's College London.

Alexis Lee is a MSc. student studying Emerging Economics and International Development in the International Development Institute at King's College London.

7 | Empowering women in disaster

Between 1995 and 2001 there were over 7,000 world disasters that affected approximately four billion people.[1] A disproportionate number of those affected were women, as along with children they are 14 times more likely than men to perish in a disaster.[2]

There has been increasing recognition that gender-mainstreaming is important in disaster management, as seen in the 2015 Sendai Framework that calls for women and persons with disabilities to 'publicly lead and promote gender-equitable and universally accessible approaches during the response and reconstruction phases.'[3]

The main challenge lies in translating such high-level objectives into actionable initiatives at the scene of disaster. We have identified three specific areas that will help address this issue.

There should be mandatory equal participation in decision-making for women during disaster relief efforts. Both local governments and disaster relief NGOs need to recognise the importance of women's knowledge in the design and execution of relief planning and management. Community norms, such as traditional roles of care-giving, can translate into empowerment in disaster. Women's knowledge of the emotional and nutritional needs of their

family in disaster are paramount towards making needs-targeted and practical decisions.[4] It is equally important to recognise that these norms are not immutable, and that communities can re-envision gender relations in the face of disaster.[5] Mandatory equal participation is a simple and practical tool that will institutionalise the role of women in the recovery process, transforming the perception of women in these communities.

Local female support and kinship networks should also be utilised to help distribute relief and to share knowledge and practices in disaster recovery. Social networks are critical to disaster recovery, as trust and social capital allow relief to reach those generally invisible to external organisations, and create buy-in for interventions.[6]

Tapping into such networks serves as social mobilisation, rebuilding community bonds and functions. After Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar, community kitchens were set up to enable disaster survivors to work together.[7] Such initiatives bringing people together serve as an important psycho-social intervention for survivors suffering from trauma.[8]

Finally, NGOs and local governments need to collect gender-disaggregated data. Without such data, gender-specific vulnerabilities such as violence against women and trafficking remain unaddressed.[9] This data can also be used

1   United Nations, *The Human Costs of Weather Related Disasters 1995-2015*, 2015, http://www.unisdr.org/2015/docs/climatechange/COP21_WeatherDisastersReport_2015_FINAL.pdf.
2   United Nations Development Programme, *Gender and Disaster Risk Reduction*, 2013, http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/gender/Gender%20and%20Environment/PB3-AP-Gender-and-disaster-risk-reduction.pdf.
3   The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030*, 2015, 36, http://www.unisdr.org/we/inform/publications/43291.

4   Ariyabandu, M.M., 'Sex, Gender and Gender Relations in Disasters' in Enarson, E. & Chakrabarti, P.G.D. (eds.), *Women, Gender and Disaster: Global Issues and Initiatives*, 2009, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
5   Mehta, M., 'Reducing disaster risk through Community Resilience in the Himalayas' in Enarson, E. & Chakrabarti, P.G.D. (eds.), *Women, Gender and Disaster: Global Issues and Initiatives*, 2009, New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
6   Dynes, R., 'Social Capital: Dealing with Community Emergencies', *Homeland Security Affairs*, 2006, 2(2): 1-26.
7   Metta Development Foundation, *Rehabilitation, Reconstruction & Development: A Post Cyclone Nargis Initiative*, 2012, http://www.metta- myanmar.org/publications/Nargis%20RRD%20Final%20Report.pdf.
8   Paratharayil, M., 'Basic versus focused psychosocial interventions for community wellbeing: lessons following the Nargis cyclone interventions in Burma/Myanmar', *Intervention*, 2010, 8(2); 148 - 157.
9   Sohrabizadeh et. al, 'The Gender Analysis Tools Applied in Natural Disasters Management: A Systematic Literature Review', *PLoS Currents*, 2014, 6, doi: 10.1371/currents.dis.5e98b6ce04a3f5f314a8462f60970aef.

to help identify the community and social support networks required for relief action. Data gathering should actively include feedback from sources such as support networks, so as to inform decision making to address the needs and vulnerabilities of women.

There are currently significant institutional gaps that hamper recovery and survival of women in disaster zones. Shelters built by relief efforts often do not take into account the privacy of women, or fail to be gender-segregated, which leads to their low usage in conservative communities.[10] Women also often lack access to mental health support, even where they are known to have a greater vulnerability to such conditions post-disaster.[11]

The proposal, outlined here, seeks to link bottom-up participation with top-down decision-making and institutionalise participation for women in disaster management. Disasters are contingent and precarious situations. Its solutions are often highly localised and emergent from pre-existing social infrastructure. In recognising the contribution women can make to disaster recovery, we empower them to make a difference to their lives and that of their communities.

10   International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, *Gender-sensitive Approaches for Disaster Management*, 2010, http://www.ifrc.org/PageFiles/96532/A%20Guide%20for%20 Gender-sensitive%20approach%20to%20DM.pdf.

11   Nahar, N., et. al, 'Increasing the Provision of Mental Health Care for Vulnerable, Disaster-affected in Bangladesh', *BMC Public Health Open*, 2014, http://bmcpublichealth.biomedcentral. com/articles/10.1186/1471-2458-14-708.

Dame Sally Davies frames a question for Alexis and Rocky during the Policy Idol final

Aaron Jacob at the Policy Idol final

8 | Equity financing of higher education

Aaron Jacob

Aaron Jacob is a MA student studying Politics and Contemporary History in the Institute of Contemporary History at King's College London.

Equity financing of higher education

There is a pervasive sense of inequity amongst the millennial generation. Rising housing costs (not least the difficulty in getting on the housing ladder), shrinking job opportunities and soaring debts are but three of the main gripes consistently raised. My proposal does not pretend to hold the elixir with which to solve these problems but by radically changing the financial structure of higher education we can take one step towards solving this sense of inter-generational injustice.

The main problem with current higher education funding arrangements in England is that the system has effectively been privatised. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) classifies our system as private payment[1] and even Lord David Willetts, one of the architects of the current system, has stated that our system 'is an example of 100 per cent private payment',[2] although admittedly it does enable universal access for full-time students and repayments depend on earnings.

Despite being privatised, market forces do not seem to play a role in our current higher education funding system. This has two consequences. Firstly, the risk of funding is taken solely by the taxpayer picking up the tab for the estimated 46 per cent of loan repayments that will not be repaid by graduates.[3] Secondly, this repayment model distorts incentives. Universities are able to sell dubious courses at high prices, seemingly indifferent to a student's

future earnings potential. The taxpayer is evidently not in a position to manage or diversify their risk.

Equity financing of higher education could be the viable alternative. In essence, a private investor would pay for a student's education in return for a claim on a certain percentage of their future income. Just as dividends accruing to a shareholder depend on a firm's profits, a graduate's repayments would ebb and flow with future income.

This system enjoys three main advantages. Firstly, the costs of Higher Education will be reduced because unpopular courses would have to trim their spending or face extinction. This is unlike other ways to reduce costs, such as those proposed in the USA to subsidise colleges, which attempt to treat the symptom, not the root cause.[4] Secondly, students would be provided with more accurate information on the suitability of particular courses as private investors would not be prepared to fund those courses or institutions that do not provide good returns. Thirdly, there will be a greater element of competition between different institutions because students would be attracted to those institutions which enjoy a good relationship between up-front costs on the one hand and future expected earnings on the other.

The diversification of risk lay at the centre of this form of financing. A key way of doing this would be through asset securitisation. Investors would be able to sell a portion of the loans to other investors which will increase the funds available to students by increasing the quantity of the investor pool. To entice investors, an element of redistribution will be necessary: to ensure a return, investors will have to back the potential barristers and baristas. The best students would consequently be offered the most attractive funding arrangements. Enticing the best students can be achieved by setting a cap on the total amount of

1 OECD, *Country note - Education at a glance 2014*, 2015, 6, http://www.oecd.org/unitedkingdom/United%20Kingdom-EAG2014-Country-Note.pdf.
2 Willetts, D., *Issues and Ideas on Higher Education: Who Benefits? Who Pays?*, June 2015, 20, London, The Policy Institute at King's College.
3 Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, BIS performance indicators - funding per student in higher education, June 2014, 3, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/318628/BIS_performance_indicators_Funding_per_student_in_HE.pdf.

4 The Economist, 'Better Ways to pay for college', *The Economist*, 22 August 2015, http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21661663-hillary-clinton-and-especially-marco-rubio-have-promising-ideas-how-finance-university.

income paid out by graduates and by setting a time limit, for example 25 years, in which income can be given up. This redistributive element ensures that our higher education funding system is progressive, which is consistent with a central tenet of the UK taxation system.

It is acknowledged that this proposal risks appearing reductionist by concentrating mainly upon financial returns. Cardinal Newman, the clergyman and Oxford academic, argued that 'knowledge is capable of being its own end. Such is the constitution of the human mind, that any kind of knowledge, if it be really such, is its own reward'.[5] Whilst acquiring knowledge is in itself an intrinsic good, this argument also risks being reductionist because it presupposes that higher education is the only conduit through which knowledge can be acquired. This is not the case. General workplace experience, apprenticeships and increasingly, online courses, are but three alternative avenues to knowledge accumulation.

In August 2015, the Charted Institute for Personnel and Development (CIPD) found that 59 per cent of graduates are in jobs not deemed to be graduate roles, highlighting a skills mismatch.[6] We need to equip tomorrow's workforce with the skills they need for tomorrow's workplace, where outsourcing and automation are common. We must not fixate on an idealised conception of what higher education ought to be for, or that everyone should attend university.

Greater overall efficiency of the higher education market, increased amounts of funding and an element of redistribution make this proposal genuinely innovative. The benefits are clear. We can no longer ignore reality. It is now over to the political process to decide the fate of the next generation.

5   Newman, J.H., *The Idea of a University: Defined and illustrated*, 1999, 78-79, Yale.
6   Chartered Institute for Personnel and Development, *Over-Qualification and Skills Mismatch in the Graduate Labour Market*, August 2015, http://www.cipd.co.uk/publicpolicy/policy-reports/ overqualification-skills-mismatch-graduate-labour-market.aspx.

Aaron Jacob pitching his idea to the judges at the Policy Idol final

9 | The Mediterranean Cloister

Serena Mazzei

Serena Mazzei is a MSc. student studying Public Policy and Management in the Department of Management at King's College London.

9 | The Mediterranean Cloister

The Mediterranean boasts a diverse range of countries, each with their own set of difficulties and successes. Economic performance is heterogeneous in the region, and according to the UN, many North African countries are still classified as developing.[1] On the other side of the sea, the developed countries in Europe are suffering from high unemployment, with the youth unemployment rate hitting 53.9 per cent in Greece and 57.9 per cent in Spain between 2012 and 2015.[2]

One unique characteristic shared by all of the Mediterranean nations is their rich cultural and artistic heritage. However, this heritage is not being exploited for the economic and social development of the region. Artistic heritage, such as the Tunisian craft dedicated to windows, Moroccan leather manufacturing and Greek hand painted home furniture, represent a large portion of the informal economy – ie they are partially or fully outside government regulation, taxation and observation.

This type of economy results in a loss in government budget revenue and subsequently the availability of funds to improve infrastructure and other public goods and services.[3] By including these traditional artistic endeavours in the legal circuit, issues such as unemployment and a lack of public funds could be tackled efficiently and

creatively. Creating a cross-border programme called the 'Mediterranean Cloister' is an innovative way to exploit the artistic heritage of the region for economic and social gains.

The 'Mediterranean Cloister' programme has the ultimate goal of using the regenerative power of the arts to revitalize the urban pattern of cities in the Mediterranean region and to create an economic core - funding for which would be from public-private partnerships that are territory based, artist-led and promote inclusiveness.

This idea takes inspiration from 'Made in Cloister', a project that was conceived in Naples in 2012 with the desire to combine the promotion and innovation of traditional craftsmanship with the preservation of the architectural heritage of the city.[4] Following a fruitful crowd-funding campaign and unique collaborations between international artists and local artisans, the initiative has led to the development of a network of creative businesses and the beginning of a dialogue with museums and educational institutions whose role is to train young artisans. This artistic hub has become the engine of the city's dormant creativity.

By replicating 'Made in Cloister', the establishment of several cultural hubs in sister cities around the Mediterranean will create business networks that invest in the skills and talents of local residents in order to accelerate urban regeneration. Citizens and artists will work together renewing artistic buildings and rediscovering traditional techniques, mixing and reinventing them.

The buildings will become training centres with workshops, exhibitions and events. In this way it will be possible to recreate job opportunities while respecting the connection with the territory. By creating growth in the

1   United Nations, *World Economic Situation and Prospects 2014*, 2014, http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wesp/wesp_current/2014wesp_country_classification.pdf.
2   WorldBank, *Unemployment youth total*, 2016, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.1524.ZS (accessed 1 April 2016).
3   WorldBank, *Informal economy*, 2016, http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALPROTECTION (accessed 1 April 2016).

4   Made in Cloister, http://www.madeincloister.it/index.php/en.

local economy and employment, this programme represents a valid alternative for social and economic development.

In the UK, there is evidence that visual art has a positive impact on economic indicators.[5] Although the Mediterranean is a more complex reality, for example because of rudimentary family businesses that base their survival on fiscal evasion, a crushing unemployment and, overall, a weak or absent market, this is exactly the challenge that The Mediterranean Cloister seeks to address: to create a strong domestic economy by re-establishing the ancient Mediterranean bond based on art, culture and philanthropy.

5   Arts Coucil England, *The power of art visual arts: evidence of impact, regeneration, health, education and learning*, 2006.

Philip Mhango pitches his idea at the Policy Idol final
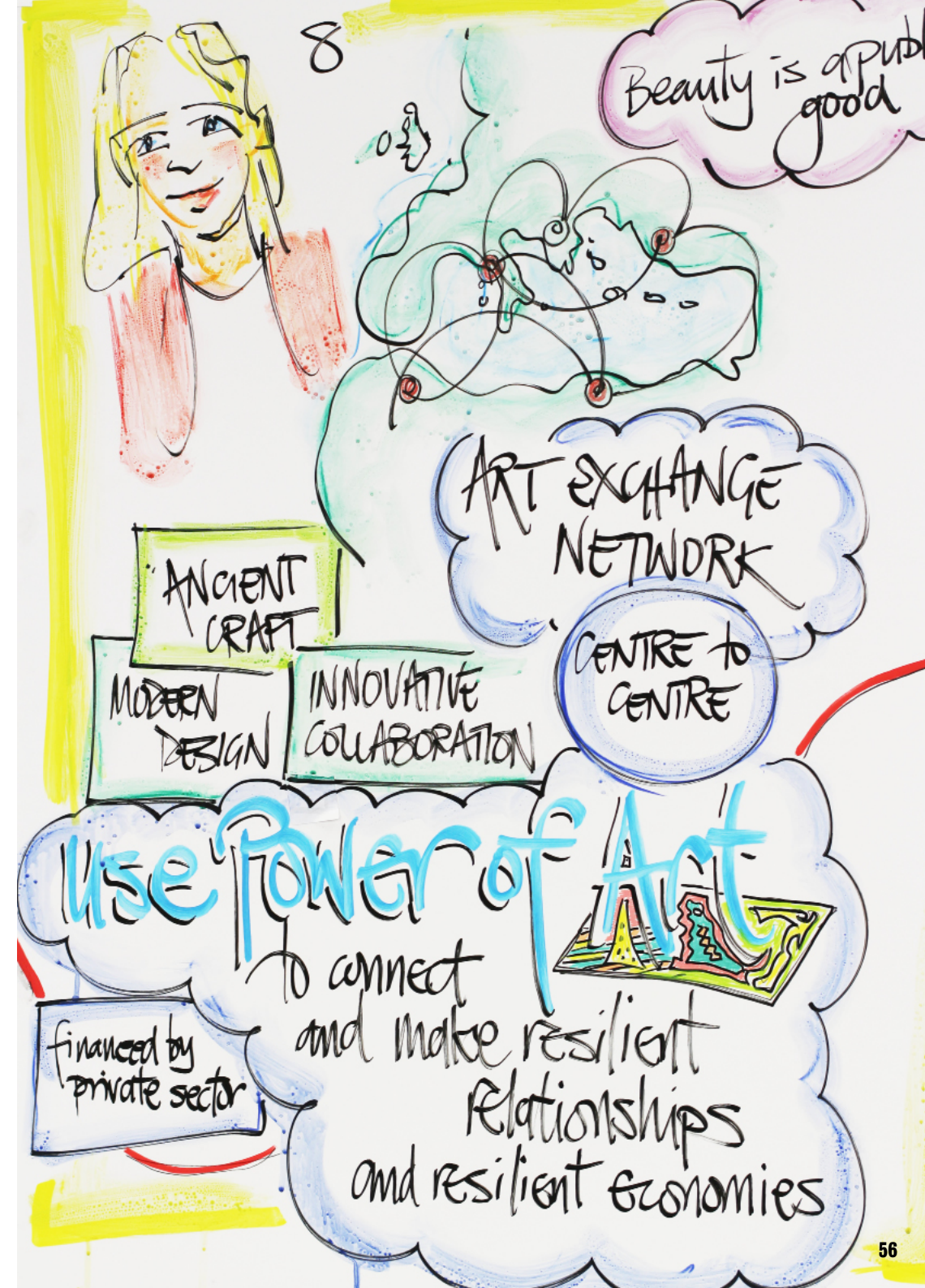
10 | The internationalisation of ungoverned space

Philip Mhango

Philip Mhango is a MSc. student studying Security Studies in the Defence Studies Department at the Joint Services Command and Staff College, Shrivenham.

10 | The internationalisation of ungoverned space

Ungoverned territories are defined as failed or failing states where the state's ability to control its borders, security or to extend its authority is either poor or non-existent.[1] These fragile states are characterised by a lack of authority and resources required to protect citizens from violence or to provide access to basic services including education, water and health.

By 2045, 40 per cent of the worlds projected population will live in fragile or collapsed states[2] – one billion of them in North, sub-Saharan and West Africa. These regions are in close proximity to EU countries and could spur mass migration on a scale similar, if not greater than, what we are witnessing today. The persistent poverty, corruption and often ineffective governance present in these regions is likely to prevent huge numbers of refugees from ever returning home, even when conflicts end.[3]

This prediction arguably reflects the prevailing conditions in states like Syria and Libya; where a partial or complete breakdown of the state has given rise to physical and conceptual sanctuaries for trans-national criminal gangs, terrorist organisations and weapons proliferators. Subsequently, over half of the 'Tier One' National Security threats to the UK including terrorism, international conflict and instability overseas are attributable to these ungoverned spaces.[4]

The recent International response has mainly focused on increased Overseas Development Aid (ODA), military intervention and Host Nation Security Sector Reform underpinned by respective EU and National Stabilisation policy. However, even with over $1.7 trillion in ODA spending since 2001[5] and several military interventions, sovereign state power across the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) is increasingly in decline. This has resulted in the unprecedented security migration from MENA states to the EU today.

In the future, the international community must have the ability to impose international territorial control over ungoverned territories. They will need a coherent framework to shape development aid, military assistance and institutional development in alignment with recognised, legitimate political institutions and standards of governance, rather than in the absence of them. Where this can't be achieved by the host regime or government, there is a clear case for the International Administration of that territory.

My proposal is to reinstate the UN Trusteeship Council, dormant since 1994, and apply it to the stabilisation of ungoverned space. Originally established in 1947 to administer former colonies and territories of the Axis and Allied powers until independence following the Second World War, it could now provide an effective and legitimate governance 'life support' mechanism for failing states and ungoverned territories.

The UK would need to use its extensive influence in the UN, EU and NATO, in order to propose to the United Nations General Assembly and the United Nations Security

1   Rabasa, A., Boraz, S., Chalk, P., Cragin, K., Karasik, T.W., Moroney, J.D.P, O'Brien, K., & Peters, J.E., *Ungoverned territories: Understanding and reducing terrorism risks,* 2007, RAND Corporation: Santa Monica, California.

2   Ministry of Defence, *Strategic Trends Programme: Global strategic trends - out to 2045*, 2014, 5th edition, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/348164/20140821_DCDC_GST_5_Web_Secured.pdf.

3   UNHCR 2014 figures show the number of 'Returnee Refugees' is the lowest they have been for 31 years - http://www.unhcr.org.uk/about-us/key-facts-and-figures.html (accessed 2 April 2016).

4   HMG, *National security strategy and strategic defence and security review 2015*, 2015, Annex A - 2015 National Security Risk Assessment, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/478936/52309_Cm_9161_NSS_SD_Review_PRINT_only.pdf.

5   OECD, Custom aid statistics query, http://bit.ly/1TVdgRT.

Council (UNSC) a revival of the Trusteeship Council by amendment of Articles 2(1), 77 and 78[6] of the UN Charter. These articles provide for the framework from which UN oversight of territories could be brought under the Trusteeship Council, but to date are restricted only to 'Non-Self Governing Territories'. The amendment would therefore expand the scope of the Trusteeship Council to include failing and failed sovereign states. Submitting to UN governance would primarily be voluntary but could be imposed on failed or failing states. For example, a UN International Administration was imposed in both Kosovo and East Timor in 1999, to prevent ethnic cleansing and government collapse.

Clearly this model will require great care, political thought and local consideration in its future application, but it can undeniably deliver governance, security and administration to fragile states, where it will be most needed.
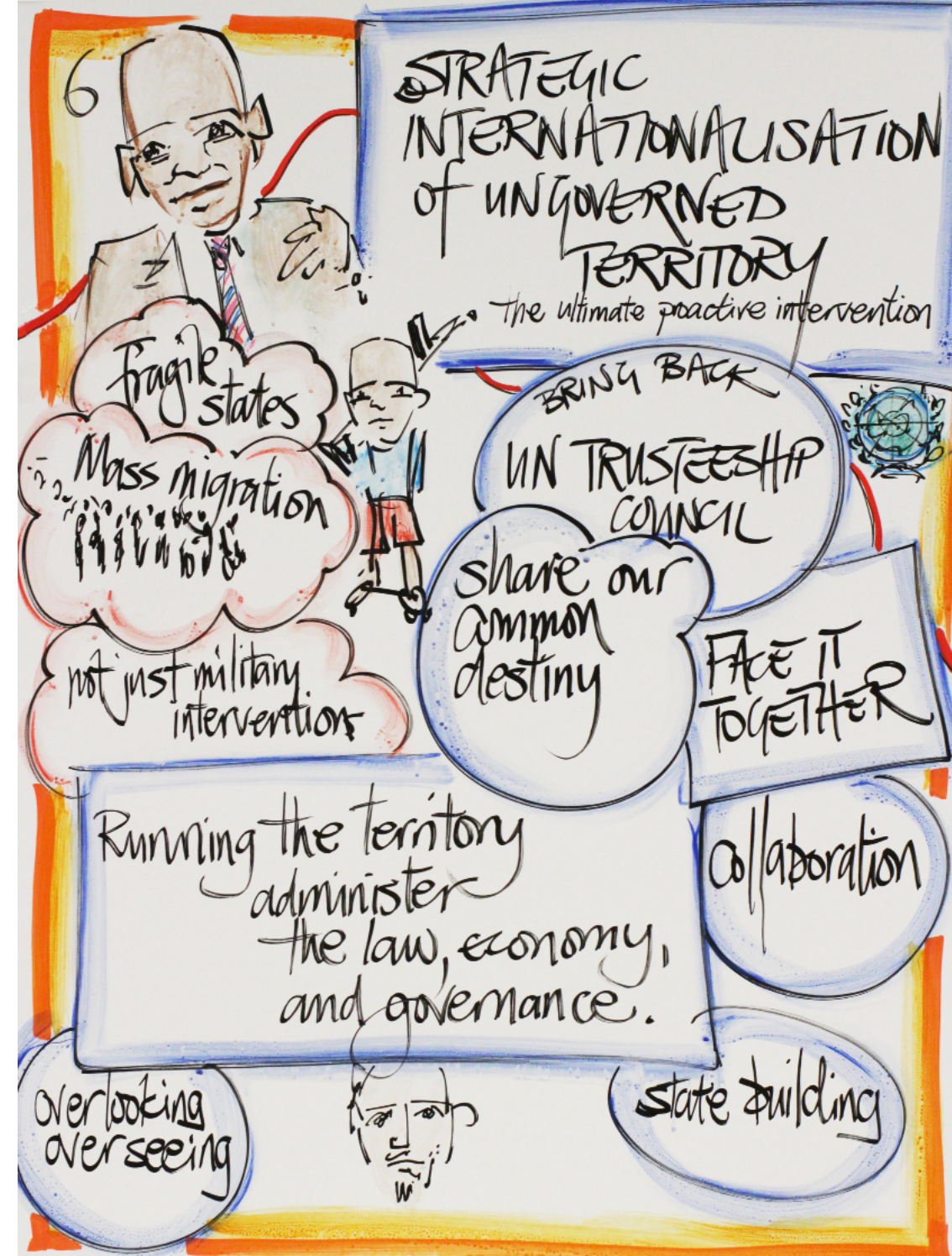
6   Parker, T., The Ultimate Intervention: Revitalising the UN Trusteeship Council for the 21st Century, 2003, 37, Centre for European and Asian Studies at Norwegian School of Management: Sandvika, Norway, http://www.bi.edu/cccFiles/CEAS-Files/03-03The_Ultimate_Intervention.pdf.

The Policy Idol final judges and host Mark Easton (centre). From left to right: Professor Jonathan Grant, Dame Margaret Hodge, Sue Cameron, Dame Sally Davies and Professor Frans Berkhout.

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