



Encouraging The Reflective Citizen

Part 1. THE SHARING OF PREOCCUPATIONS AND EXPERIENCES

In this part of the Listening Post participants were invited to identify, contribute, and explore their experience in their various social roles, be those in work, unemployed, or retired; as members of religious, political, neighbourhood or voluntary or leisure organisations, or as members of families and communities. This part was largely concerned with what might be called, 'the stuff of people's everyday lives', that relating to the 'socio' or 'external' world of participants.

We live in a time of preoccupations regarding the future; nothing is like 20 years ago. Preoccupations are expressed both at individual and societal levels. The current situation is asking for mobilising mechanisms that help resisting the societal dynamics. However it is very difficult to resist to today's dynamics and at the same time hoping for a future and making it happening. The youngest members of society underline how their generation has started to resist long time ago and their preoccupation is not to get too much used to a position of resistance. One gets to being 30/35 year old without the autonomy to buy a house, have children and starting a family. The risk to think only in short terms has been expressed through a metaphor "I feel as we are on a frozen lake in which you jump from one place to the other without knowing what will be the outcome of the jump". It is as if thinking the future is constrained by time. This is experienced also in the kind of employment available: short term contracts.

Some other younger members of society presented a different picture. They tell their experience of developing at the same time their professional and personal (e.g. starting a family) lives highlighting how these can grow and develop together. This is a challenge to the traditional view that one needs to establish his/her professional career before starting a family. The experiences of some younger members of society tell a different story, it is possible to develop the two together and 'translate' the experience of one dimension into the other.

Members of society expressed the difficulty of collaborating (doing and working together) as the result of a rampant individualism developed in the last decades. The current crisis if on one hand increases individualistic forms of life on the other hand seems to let emerging the desire to stay together. The family is still a strong component of the Italian welfare. However some of the younger members of society experience this as a sort of humiliation: it is the sign that they cannot be independent, autonomous and have to rely on family economic support.

Members of society compared the current crises to the one experience by previous generations after the end of War World II. Those generations had to take risks in order to think and build their future. The question is how much the current generations are ready to take risks? However there is a difference between realistic risk and phantasy risk. In other terms are we following an achievable dream or are we loosing ourselves following a phantasy? A lot of people are choosing the latter and gamble on slot machines or other legal forms of gambling. This is perceived as an unrealistic way of taking risk.

It seems that one emerging profile of members of society is that of having everything but with the least effort. This is a way of denying any form of learning. Members of society have reported examples of societal experiments among young people where the individualistic tendency is overcome through setting up small groups that are taking collective risks. Experiences have been presented of these groups that allow the formation of family type links without being a family.

In the conversation these examples have been welcomed and young members of society express pride in being members of these small groups.

Members of society express how political parties have lost their ideal nature and have become routes to gain power. This is associated with the lost of face-to-face relations that have been replaced by Facebook and other social media. It seems as if the lost of political parties and of face-to-face relations have weakened the possibility to have collective dreams. As if in moving from the real world to the virtual one we lost the social.

Once upon a time it was a dream for people to migrate to Europe. Today a new form of awareness is describing Europe as dying or dead. Europe is impoverishing and it demonstrates the end of a Western way of living.

Part 2. IDENTIFICATION OF MAJOR THEMES

In Part 2 the aim was for us to collectively identify the major themes emerging from Part 1. The following represents some of these themes.

The identified themes are as follows:

1. The humiliation of new generations and the burden of taking risk
2. The tension between individualistic drives and the desire to be together
3. Being trapped between the difficulty to take risk and the unrealistic risk of gambling
4. Acquired rights (human, civil etc.) are under attack and hope is lost
5. Not taking responsibilities as a way not to invest too much

Part 3. ANALYSIS AND HYPOTHESIS FORMATION

In this part of the Listening Post the members were working with the information resulting from Parts One and Two, with a view to collectively identifying the underlying dynamics both conscious and unconscious that may be predominant at the time; and developing hypotheses as to why they might be occurring at that moment. Here the members were working more with what might be called their 'psycho' or 'internal' world, their collective ideas and ways of thinking that both determine how they perceive the external realities and shape their actions towards them.

From the previous two parts three working hypothesis can be formulated:

- Being in between
- We are orphans
- Brotherhood

Analysis and Hypothesis 1

Being in between

Analysis: Society is experiencing an endemic job insecurity that is not impacting just on the experience of employment. Old certainties have been eroded for good. It is an in-flux state and it is not clear what we are building. The elements on how to get out of this situation are not clear or explicit. We are hanging in the balance, however this does not mean that there is no hope. As in any crisis we are experiencing the break of an old way but this produce a way to look forward.

We are experiencing a crisis that is bigger than the one experienced by the post War World II generation. Community links existed then and from those it was possible to rebuild societies. We have experienced a model of society were individualistic drives have been strong and successful. This model was based on the absence of community links. Thus social links and bonds are weak or lost and it is harder to think of and take risk as a 'together'. We have experienced individually the wealth before the crises as well as we are individually experiencing the current crisis.

We are witnessing the crumbling down of social movements, institutions and political parties. What is similar in this process is the theme of social links. Social links are crumbling in all the spheres of our societal life.

It seems that the family and other small societal groupings are resisting, it seems that the glue is the self-help. It seems that were community links and self-help are preserved the crumbling is halted. It is as if we are back to the 1960s, a time of self-help, societal investment and strong links.

Hypothesis: Feeling 'in between' is a strong experience. Members of society seems to be aware of this transition from one system to another, some innovations/intuitions on how to move are visible however the future is still difficult to imagine. It is clear that the transition is not of one aspect but it is a systemic societal transition. The prevalence of individualism in our societies has made us impotent and 'unable' to exercise some aspects of our citizenship that are crucial to be able to identify and build the future.

Individualism has destroyed the collective spirit of our grandparents, from the post WWII to today, and we are left without the communitarian links but also without the ability to build these links.

Analysis and Hypothesis 2

We are orphans

Analysis: The model of the extended family, a large system and with strong social links, as meant and experienced by our grandparents is no longer. Today our children cannot make this experience. We have two houses, four parents and they are signs of a crumbling social institution. The educational role of the family is in crisis and missing. It is a cultural and educational issue. The family is not an innocent institution. Being the first educational institution it has to bear some of the responsibilities. The parent is no longer one who is the father or the mother. They are friends of their children and dress the same cloths. There is no longer expression of generational conflict between parents and children.

Hypothesis: Members of society are experiencing something similar to being orphans. There is no guide from any authority; there is a perception of a lack of emotional safety, lack of life plan and future. There is awareness, mixed with a significant anxiety, that there is no more a protective vertical regulation. The crumbling and destruction of social institutions like the family and the State is depriving members of society of societal systems able of containing fears and uncertainties as a way of providing for fundamental individual and collective needs. Both are no longer capable or in the position of providing support and trust.

It is perceived and expressed the emerging awareness of a time that is no longer and that is gone for good. Members of society are orphans of a 'golden age', e.g. wealth, wellbeing and rights for all. From an age built with a collective spirit for achieving common good (e.g. welfare) to a wild situation in which it is prevalent the idea that individual freedom leads to happiness. Today members of society are orphans of a social system that at the same time reassured and now has led to a form of deprivation. It feels as if only rediscovering forms of the societal can tip the balance.

The absence of these forms of societal order generates anxiety and is challenging on how it is possible to self-manage these emotions and fears and at the same time thinking and imagining the future.

Analysis and Hypothesis 3

Brotherhood

Analysis: Members of society are aware that the job insecurity is a vital aspect not just of one's employment but of one's life. The context of any job seems to take on a significant role.

Being part of a collective effort is a way of taking up and learning how to being responsible. It seems that the ability to mirror one's effort in his/her colleagues or in the final beneficiaries of the work is very important. As if the Obama's "We can..." is relevant.

It seems that today members of society aspire to have much with less effort. It seems as if there is a dependency from unknown others to find out a solution to the anxieties. However, and paradoxically, members of society express at the same time the belief that a new form of groupness, still unclear, could address the situation. It is as if everybody pays tax then the social will be better off.

Hypothesis: It seems as if the father and mother figures are fading away whilst it is growing the role of brotherhood and sisterhood, as if the father and mother figures are replaced by the siblings figure. As if the vertical dimension of authority is replaced, or is going to be replaced, by a horizontal dimension. Members of society have repeated this in more than one way.

It is as if one aspect of transition in society today is moving from paternal/maternal to brotherhood/sisterhood. These seem to be aspects of how to think the future through looking inside us.

A solution from an authority above is no longer expected. It seems that also the concept of super ego is crumbling. The dimension of 'sibling' appears to 'call for attention'. The question then is what is brotherhood in the era of globalisation? How does this speak to the need of facing the crisis together, regrouping and reorganising as a collective?

It seems that a new meaning for 'common good' is taking shape. No longer linked to an old past (e.g. welfare) but one that is promoting a sort of 'relational us' where to explore and establish new societal ties.

Convener: Marina Galati

Northern Italy and the World at the Dawn of 2013 **Report 2 of a Listening Post held in Milan on 10th January**

Part 1. THE SHARING OF PREOCCUPATIONS AND EXPERIENCES

In this part of the Listening Post participants were invited to identify, contribute, and explore their experience in their various social roles, be those in work, unemployed, or retired; as members of religious, political, neighbourhood or voluntary or leisure organisations, or as members of families and communities. This part was largely concerned with what might be called, 'the stuff of people's everyday lives', that relating to the 'socio' or 'external' world of participants.

The discussion went on according to the established schedule. The emotional atmosphere was talkative, fluent and cooperative up to the end of the meeting.

The first intervention was: "Shall we seat closer?" (and with the convener's permission the group realized the movement of creating a closer network around the table). And the second was: "Have you ever had the experience of being fired?"

The discussion was organized around the difficulties of processing data (too much information) and organizing personalized analyses and judgements (I don't know what I think: the situation is so complicated and complex...but can we avoid to ask ourselves 'why?'); adjusting/adapting to the social changes while facing paternal responsibilities (what do we do? what should we do?); the present political uncertainties, the need for hope/faith and the lack of confidence/reliance or trust (it's time of propaganda and political campaign for the national government election in Italy in these days).

Part 2. IDENTIFICATION OF MAJOR THEMES

In Part 2 the aim was for us to collectively identify the major themes emerging from Part 1. The following represents some of these themes.

During the second step, the group worked in three subgroups and produced three brief series of issues. Two major themes were easily identified and, therefore, 'emerged', but then merged into a single macro-issue: paternity.

1. web, social networks, deluge of information and difficulties in processing them

The group is intrigued by the difficulties of developing and organizing the thinking processes. The formulation of a personal judgement is getting more and more complicated, up to the point that we hardly know what we really think. Amount and speed of data flux is such that we are in great trouble when we try to master it. On the other hand, we know that the system of information-construction and propagation is also manipulated and manipulative.

2. paternity: responsibilities, difficulties, guilt

Preoccupations tend to focus on the social phenomena that make difficult to become/remain a responsible father. Only the families who live within a criminal framework of mind (someone in the group has just participated in a tribunal court session about a teen-ager Serbian gang of thieves) have a common culture and can go on perpetuating their 'professional' tradition. The responsibilities to be faced while being fathers push everybody in a troublesome position: a role that is nowadays difficult to understand and to be interpreted.

Part 3. ANALYSIS AND HYPOTHESIS FORMATION

In this part of the Listening Post the members were working with the information resulting from Parts One and Two, with a view to collectively identifying the underlying dynamics both conscious and unconscious that may be predominant at the time; and developing hypotheses as to why they might be occurring at that moment. Here the members were working more with what might be called their 'psycho' or 'internal' world, their collective ideas and ways of thinking that both determine how they perceive the external realities and shape their actions towards them.

One single expression seems to condense many different thoughts and several, relevant perspectives. A participant quotes a neologism he read on the newspaper during the last days: something that struck him very much: Berlusconi. The word can be disambiguated in two ways: Berlusconi and orfani (i.e. B's orphans) or Berlusconi and scorfani (the 'scorfano' is scorpion-fish: a fish with a proverbially ugly look).

Analysis and Hypothesis 1

web, social networks, deluge of information and difficulties in processing them

Analysis: The group discusses the great and widespread expectations that were generated by the new information channels and electronic technologies. The network, the web and the instruments that connect us in our present global world, are objects of a continual and intense utilization. The amount of data that we receive through them, though, is huge and we have increasing difficulties in processing data and in getting oriented. The group explores the idea that the confusion is a fault of ours: we ask to those instruments the wrong questions. They function along the Google way of functioning: a clear and simple request obtains a clear and simple answer. We ask them something that those instruments cannot give us. We are probably orphans of the old and useful/reassuring ideologies and we would like that the new technologies could satisfy our old needs. We are looking much more than just 'apps' (applications).

On the other hand, we are more and more disappointed by newspapers and TV news because of their lack of accuracy and sometimes by their deliberate, manipulative intentions.

While facing the 'scorfani' (awful beasts with cold blood), we feel 'orfani' (orphans that are realizing that the **padroni** – the owners and industrial leaders – are not **padri** – fathers).

Hypothesis: Information technologies are at the same time object of disappointment/suspicion (we have reasons to think of being target of misleading disinformation and manipulation: Berlusconi and his troops) and also magical expectations (as if they were phantasied as a leading authority which could/should help us). The group seems to realize that those channels are not to be confused with the reliable fathers that we are looking for. (Convenor's hypothesis: group's nostalgia of absolute truth and a confused, half-recognized search for certainties of God-like power).

Analysis and Hypothesis 2

paternity: responsibilities, difficulties, guilt

Analysis: The recognition of paternity as a major theme is both obvious and somewhat inarticulate. At the beginning, for the group it is 'obvious' that fatherhood is a central issue. Once said this, though, it is not easy to go on expressing why the issue is so important. The group 'feels' it.

The group's thinking during the step 3 is extremely rich but very controversial. The many conceptual antinomies discussed, are fuelled by male competition between participants (many facets are explored but NOT the female/male relationship) but also by a relevant amount of anguish for unmet social responsibilities. The children are sent out in a world felt as unsafe and destructive.

The 'construction' of paternity is a process that takes time – like good wine and good cheese, someone says. And the construction of fathers' authority is not a personal and merely subjective work, but needs social preconditions and a shared culture. The processes of this globalized social development are far from providing these preconditions.

On the other hand, we are guilty – the group says – because we have not been able to think about the present situation and to worry about our children's future. We have not been able to protect them, without understanding (let alone fighting) what was occurring in the world. Even harsher is the idea of the web as a nursery where fathers have accepted to segregate their offspring: a huge narcissistic kindergarten left without government to avoid contradictions and to circumnavigate conflicts.

The nostalgia about the past conditions generates the opposite idea: but is it true that in the past the father was better? Someone (a woman) suggests that new fathers are in fact much better than old fathers.

The present fathers are nearer to their children but without knowing what to do and where to go. The group's representation of this idea is captured by the title of the work of an artist recently exposed in Venice: going nowhere with a precise goal.

Hypothesis: The group generated and discussed many contradictory hypotheses which could be ranked in two opposite sets. Trying to summarize: on the one hand, collective guilty feelings for unmet paternal responsibilities; and on the other, social and cultural changes have made more and more difficult to behave and think as responsible fathers. In the background, an open question about the sense of the processes of social change: are they to be seen as good and trustable? Or are they not-good and untrustable? The very idea of progress is at stake.

Convenor's hypothesis: the urgency of paternal responsibilities is such that the development of thinking processes is somewhat hampered. The relationships between fathers and mothers tend to be curiously out of focus (simply forgotten? denied? repressed?...why?)

Convener: Giovanni Foresti

Central Italy and the World at the Dawn of 2013
Report 3 of a Listening Post held in Rome on 25th January

Part 1. THE SHARING OF PREOCCUPATIONS AND EXPERIENCES

In this part of the Listening Post we were invited to identify, contribute, and explore our experience in our various social roles. This part of the evening was largely concerned with what might be called, ‘the stuff of people’s everyday lives’, that relating to our social context.

The first part of the LP was held mostly in Italian, with English used only at the very beginning – something which silenced the non-Italian group members. The members began by introducing themselves. The first to do so was a young Italian woman, who began speaking in English but quickly shifted to Italian and spoke of her disappointment in Italy and especially education. “I shall send my children to study abroad,” she said. The introductions continued clockwise, skipping the English man, and all spoke rapidly in long monologues.

Education or rather disappointment from Italian education is one principled theme that rises. Members mention children but with little hope for them in Italy. “Italy is just good for its cultural and artistic heritage”. Democracy is also mocked, and seen as an empty word that is just used so people can act selfishly and do what they want, “in democracy I can do as I like”. There is a strong sense of disillusion from a society that does not live and keep its promises, and finally actually based on raccomandazioni and connections, of mafia style.

One question that emerged in the discussion was whether one can shape one’s own destiny, and is it really possible to choose, in a system that is failing to support the whole, who is privileged?

Towards the end of the first part of the discussion, the issue of territory in relation to identity and responsibility was mentioned. Can people working far from their home communities be accountable in their roles? Is it a privilege to be living in a world with access to different countries with open boundaries or does that result in fragmentation, isolation of the individuals (even when language is not an issue) and a lack of an understanding and responsible social network? Leadership was also mentioned briefly, referring to the 20 years of Prime Minister Berlusconi as the cause for the fragmentation of healthy social bonds. President Obama was also mentioned in a sarcastic comment in relation to a photo with an American flag, but no other leaders were mentioned or discussed – as if leaders don’t really matter.

Hope was mentioned, by quoting a child who thinks, “If I do everything right and in a good way I shall find what I need and deserve,” but the overall feeling in this part of the LP was of isolation and the difficulty of working collaboratively. There was a strong sense of the need for group dynamics and an unspoken desire for a psychotherapeutic-style group.

Part 2. IDENTIFICATION OF MAJOR THEMES

In Part 2 the aim was for us to collectively identify the major themes emerging from Part 1. The following represents some of these themes.

1. Poor Education

Is Italy more than its beauty, its art and cultural heritage created by past generations? There were two kinds of educational systems represented in the meeting by members working as executives and instructors, one an exclusive American private university for the more privileged, and the other the Italian school system, represented by a school for prisoners. Decorating the LP room was also a photo of the American Secretary (Minister) of Education, and perhaps as an unconscious reaction to this photo the members expressed much disappointment in Italian education, much concern about the limits put on future generations. This contrasted perhaps to the imagined ideal of American education, as the Italian members who could speak English chose to speak in Italian, binding

themselves to the limits they fear, and limiting the prospects of generativity by excluding those members who only spoke English from the exchanges.

The discussion of education that dominated the first part of the LP then turned more to expressing general complaints. Parents, educators and executives in the room avoided mentioning their own authority in their roles and spoke about the poor Italian education system as a given and not something that was created. The discussion felt repetitive, characterized by long monologues with more complaints, like disappointment with democracy as being another empty shell. “I can park where I want” was quoted as an interpretation and understanding of democracy, reflecting an unsophisticated, selfishly fragmented society, sharing no responsibility for educating its young generations.

2. Territory and Responsibility

Italy is a beautiful country. It has been so for thousands of years. Its landscape, its culture and art are admired not only by millions of visitors every year, but also by Italians living here. Yet they worry that they are leaving nothing for future generations. As if all that beauty is missing an essence that will provide the next generations with means to develop and grow.

It seems there is a link missing between glorified Italy, with its treasures of the past, and the Italy of the present – a territory that is not being cared for by its people.

The three non-Italians in the group are employed in Rome in an American educational institute, and three Italians are unemployed. There is a general feeling of estrangement and alienation, of being away from home or of wanting to leave home, home as a territory they can no longer feel responsible for or expect will progress. “Italy will soon become Egypt” was a comment that was taken as a serious threat, but also as an insult. This was taken as an image of Italy lacking movement, lacking social responsibility, detached from Europe, drifting towards Africa, devolving from its glorious culture to become part of the ‘third world.’

3. Privilege and Choice

The LP took place in a large apartment overlooking the center of Rome. The food, the wine, and with at least two members of the group coming from families of Italian nobility, all raised the theme of privilege and choice. If privilege is a given by heritage, than can you choose otherwise or are there any real choices out there? Is everyone authorized to make his or her own destiny or is it prescribed, like hereditary privilege? Among the members it was clear that they liked their privilege, they would not like to think of themselves as ‘Egypt’ but they also hold onto it, empty as it seems. Italians noted that “Italy is just good for its cultural and artistic heritage,” and speaking only in Italian, disconnecting from the rest of the group and from within, as if this isolation this is the only choice that exists to survive the challenges of growth and diversity.

An image that was presented by a recently unemployed member was that of the movie ‘Million Dollars Baby.’ It was his conscious choice to leave his job, but the sensation was that of a fatal blow coming from behind. He was privileged enough to make this decision without being afraid he would starve or be thrown into the street, but he now feels pain and the paralysis and cannot see anything else he could do. “I shall send my children to study abroad,” another member said, knowing she has the privilege and the money to do so, but the comment further reinforced the idea of disconnection as the only choice allowed by privilege.

Part 3. ANALYSIS AND HYPOTHESIS FORMATION

Coming back from defining the major themes of part 2 of the methodology in three smaller groups, the members returned to their original seats. The member who opened the first part opened again. She started to describe, in English, the discussion in her smaller group, the negative concept they hold of democracy as useless and shallow, but was cut off by another member from her small group saying – in Italian – that they did not speak of those things. That member embarked on a long, rapid fire monologue, saying that the feeling in the group was not only of disconnectedness, but of anger. The disconnection was mentioned regarding how the new technology of Facebook and Skype only seem to connect people but actually are used to avoid being part of real social net with real

relations and connections. Further anger was vented at Italian TV, saying that its programming does not leave any hope for the Italian society and makes all feel bad. The last comment during this part, that of Italy turning into Egypt, added a feeling of insult to the overall feeling of misunderstanding. There was the sense that the attempt to connect, especially between Italians and non-Italians, is not only difficult but also carries the possibility of being insulting.

There was a striking lack of metaphors, images and more spontaneous comments, which might have been the consequence of the overwhelming feelings of anxiety and suspicion that were in the group. The contrast between the acknowledged beautiful scenery of the skyline of classic Rome seen from the apartment and the participant's feelings of melancholy and disconnection was noticeable. Clint Eastwood movie 'Million Dollar Baby' was the only metaphor that was presented by a member to describe the sensation of disconnectedness after leaving your job, followed by a long period of futile, painful struggle, find yourself suffering a fatal blow, scared, paralyzed and isolated.

Out of the themes and group dynamics presented, two main hypotheses emerged:

Hypothesis 1

Privilege and Pairing

In monarchies and traditional societies privileges were maintained through pairing, with the promise of continuity. In this group there was evidence of pairing and contrasting: two members were university Deans, one in a private American college, and the other dean of high schools in the poor outskirts of Rome. There were two women, daughters of Italian Foreign Service families. There were two professionals, both currently unemployed, one among the youngest of the group, the other among the oldest. There were two Italian men, one striving to keep his job and the other, struggling, gave it up. The conveners, an Italian and an American/Israeli, both Jewish of similar age and each respectively representing the American University and Italian Group Relations, sat next to each other throughout the evening.

Pairing is the solution for anxiety and fear of open boundaries that allows for hope and continuation without the risk of change. It keeps the social balance and the sense of security can be maintained through the fantasy of unity and connection that can supposedly resolve all without challenging the familiar identity, social structure and rewards.

Bion's basic assumption of pairing accounts for the lack of interest in leadership and for the strong projection towards the future and next generations. Leaders like Berlusconi or President Obama, both mentioned briefly, are disappointing for not fulfilling the fantasy of providing the ultimately meaningful society and security. There is a general hope in the future yet no curiosity is expressed, no relating to one another, and no investment in exploring connection that can generate the desired social fabric.

Hypothesis 2

"Homo homini lupus est"

The difficulty of members in relating to one another and connect, to keep on task and to work as a group, along with expressed themes of threats to one's survival, brought to mind the idea of "Homo homini lupus est." As Hobbes saw the two sides that are "man to man is a kind of god and that man to man is an errant wolf." As citizens vs. cities, in the comparison to Hobbes, members brought examples of simple gestures of kindness and caring that contrasted with a strong sense of isolation, fear and need of protection from the other. "I fear of generalizations," said one of the members, "I prefer to see the individual in the personal perspective." The basic assumption of me-ness was manifested with this sense of isolation in the group and the conscious struggle to stay connected. Although the expressed desire was to join in discovering a significant meaning and understanding in our social experiences and life, it felt that those discoveries could be painful and even dangerous especially in a group that mirrors environment and ourselves. The members chose to cover what

could be discovered with monologues, repetitions, distancing themselves from the group to avoid frustration, pain and potential psychic injury. The danger in the 'Other' was also evident in the last comment that brought Egypt as a metaphor as an undesired degradation. The comment that was viewed with concern and even as insulting, revealed the threat felt by many of the Italian middle class that progressive unifying tax reform will force them to lose their special privileges and they will see themselves slide into inevitable, dangerous poverty.

Conveners: Franca Fubini and Anat Hornung Ziff