A Better World is Possible: An Invitation to Believe and Make It Happen

Report for Post-Workshop (Rome) Development of the Global e-Inclusion Movement (GeM) First Draft

Prof Alfonso Molina

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1 Introduction

On 11-12 December 2002, in Rome, a workshop on e-inclusion brought together representatives of "senior" and "youth" multiplier organisations working to help reduce the digital divide between "the have" and "the have-not" areas of the world. The purpose was to search, encourage and help exploit the synergies potentially existing between the aims, activities and targets of diverse e-inclusion organisations. In particular, the workshop set out to explore practical ways of collaborating in order to enhance the impact of separate activities and give stronger force and visibility to the global e-inclusion social movement at all levels.

The workshop was highly successful as has laid down sound foundations for the development of a long-tern and flexible programmatic global e-inclusion movement. The purpose of this report is to build on these foundations and systematize a series of programmatic spaces for action based on the contributions of the people and organizations that contributed to the Roma Workshop. It will also propose a draft governance for the e-inclusion movement based on the main principles identified during the workshop.

2 Global e-Inclusion Movement (GeM)

It is worth remembering the following text on the "movement" contained in the position paper of the Rome workshop.

I wish to invite you to remain young, by dreaming that it is possible to build a Global e-Inclusion Movement that is, in essence, a "humanization" movement focused on the human- and ecologically-centred development and implementation of ICTs. The ultimate goal is to contribute decisively to the reduction of poverty by half by year 2015! And to eradicate it by year 2030! while advancing towards the "knowledge society for all," a society in which democracy, cultural diversity and achievement, transparency, inclusiveness, justice, peace constitute the driving force of human development.

In this context, a global movement should be seen as "a boundless, free flowing association of people sharing and pursuing in myriad ways the realisation of a common dream. It is an action-space for leadership,

creativity, innovation, emulation, cooperation, competition, fulfilment and disappointments in pursuit of change. It may be partly coordinated or simply loosely associated through mechanisms for sharing and learning about different experiences. The bond —whatever its manifestation—is simply the shared dream and the desire to do something about it." A movement may be more publicly associated with some individuals over others (very much depending on media image making). It can even develop formal coordination structures but, critically, its real leadership is distributed among the people who are truly dreaming, energizing and leading, socially-responsible innovation and change for the benefit of all people and the planet. Thus, the key is for this distributed leadership to join forces to enhance the fertility of the global environment in which each and everybody are already planting the seeds of thousands "humanization" flowers, so that in years to come we may see and share the Earth as a garden for all.

The discussion below will seek to implement this spirit in the definition of the different "e-inclusion action spaces." More specifically, it will implement the broad governance guidelines shown in Table 1 and recommended by both the "youth" and "senior" streams of the workshop.

Table 1. Broad Governance Guidelines Recommended by e-Inclusion Workshop (Rome 2002)

- Maintain focus on people at the grass-root, seeking to serve and add practical value
- Work on *empowerment of individuals of all cultures*, without discrimination of any kind and with clear respect for local cultures and diversity
- Work on *local/regional capacity building* with early concern for project sustainability
- Lead by example regarding changes and solutions proposed to others (e.g., social responsibility)
- Implement transparency, accountability and e-democracy
- Implement *distributed leadership* guided and measured (primarily) by effective and positive grass-root change (e.g., what proportion of what we do has an impact on the ground? What is the extent of this impact?)
- Avoid re-inventing the wheel
- Dream big, implement pragmatically

3 E-inclusion Action Spaces (eAS)

During the workshop, many areas of e-inclusion activity and mechanisms were identified by both: "youth" and "senior" participants. Table 2 list those of a generic nature, while Table 3 lists those with a more specific direction. In what follows, this report will concentrate on discussing the list of Table 3, with reference to the variety of activities recommended in Table 2.

A third line of action for the systematic expansion of the movement concerns the GeM's communication and networking platform for interactions, dissemination and visibility of movement's organizations, initiatives, projects, events, campaigns, etc. This we will address later on together with the discussion on the GeM's governance.

Table 2. Generic Activities and Instruments to Be Used by GeM

- collaboration between existing projects and support to projects through funds, resources, knowledge, campaigns, know-how, challenges, visibility etc.
- concrete movement-led grass-root projects, including grants for new initiatives, new North-South partnerships between our organizations, local content and access initiatives
- organization of events e.g., awards to highlight achievements, a digital divide day to show a concerted effort
- provision of content,, publications, newsletters, and dissemination of results, informing on initiatives of others
- work on research and analysis, knowledge sharing and training

Table 3. List of Specific Areas of GeM Activity Recommended by the Rome Workshop (2002)

- *Ecological recycling of equipment* from richer to poorer areas of the world, involving high quality equipment and necessary services such as training and maintenance. Also *Internet localization*, taking care of low bandwidth, language difference and disability guidelines.
- Work on *organizational twinning* for e-inclusion
- Work on business relations for e-inclusion
- Work on a *learning environment on innovation and entrepreneurship for social responsibility* (virtual/physical, multi-access and multimedia)
- Work on *e-volunteering* for help offline and online (e.g., university network)
- Work on *e-government* worldwide as it concerns e-democracy and e-citizenship for all
- Promotion of *Free/Open Source Software*(FOSS)
- Work to encourage and spread the *synergies of the Challenge Awards (e.g.,* inter-linking databases, creating an observatory for scenarios, best-practices, etc.)
- Active engagement with the World Summit on the Information Society through results, documents, declarations
 and resolutions.
- Work on *fund-raising* (e.g., mapping of funding sources foundations, etc). Clicking mechanism and others.
- Work on *culture and intellectuality* for e-Inclusion (not raised in Workshop but worth including for movement)
- Work on advocacy, campaigning, lobbying and media visibility with clear and focused messages (e.g., ICTs for AIDS, Declarations). Lobbying key players in government, business, youth and other organizations in order to gain participation in decision-making related to ICTs for development.
- Work on specific target areas for e-inclusion e.g., ICT for AIDS, ICT for environment, ICT for gender equality, digital opportunities for youth, e-inclusion for indigenous peoples
- Workfor youth involvement and training for major accessibility in poorer area of the world

Before entering into the discussion of each of the areas in Table 3. It is worth underscoring that they are not exclusive of any other idea that may be suggested later on. The document is a draft and it will be open to modifications and continuous improvements by the movement's members.

3.1 Action Space 1 – Ecological ICT Recycling for e-Inclusion

(Ecological recycling of equipment of equipment from richer to poorer areas of the world, involving high quality equipment and necessary services such as training and maintenance. Also Internet localization, taking care of low bandwidth, language difference and disability guidelines)

This area was well represented in the Rome Workshop and much has already been done by the organizations working on it such as World Computer Exchange¹, IEarn² and others. Many people and organizations give 'obsolete' IT equipment. Organizations such as IEarn and World Computer Exchange can help to collect and transport this IT equipment to places where it will again play a useful task.

The task for the movement is to support the scaling up and beneficial impact of this activity to the maximum and for the benefit of as many excluded people as possible. This means collecting, transporting and supporting the effective implementation of the IT equipment in a context of capacity-development (e.g., capacity for adaptation to local conditions, use, maintenance, repair, and training).

Clearly, the global scaling up of ecological recycling for e-inclusion is a large action space that requires participation from many people and organizations at all levels, from ICT donors to grassroot accreditating and supporting organizations and ultimate beneficiaries. In this respect, the experience and leadership of those who have pioneered this line of activity is of critical importance to avoid mistakes and gradually generate the best possible global operation. To build on the rich work already done, perhaps the next step would be to stimulate a three-month period of dialogue among those interested in being involved in the definition and implementation of a programme for the global scale-up of ICT recycling for e-inclusion. This would include the global search for participants, the configuration of a database that aims to cover all countries, as well as all aspects of the e-inclusion ICT recycling process. This gives rise to interconnected local and international ICT

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¹ www.worldcomputerexchange.org

www.iearn.org

³ 'Obsolete' in the context of environmental recycling means 'displaced' or unwanted' by current owner.

recycling value networks that can support each other, learn together, and generally exploit synergies for a wider and greater impact.

3.2 Action Space 2 – Twinning for e-Inclusion

(Work on organizational twinning for solidarity)

This area was also well represented in the Rome Workshop and much has already been done by the organizations working on it such as IICD's Global Teenager Project,⁴ Digital Partners' Global Classmate,⁵ IEarn, NetAid's World Schoolhouse,⁶ DYC, African Youth Parliament, Student Action India, Global School Online, Childnet and others. So far, it is common for cities and schools to twin i.e., establish relationships with a spirit of partnership to support and learn from each other through exchange visits and support to specific programmes of action.

This beautiful concept has a great potential for global scaling up by, on the one hand, expanding to the maximum of its potential what is happening already, particularly in cities/regions and schools, and on the other, by expanding the concept to other areas of activity such as higher education, health and even business and NGOs (e.g., universities, research centres, student associations, hospitals, companies, churches, trade unions, etc.) Favourable elements already exist in universities through the work of UNVolunteers and other university networks and, I guess, there must be twinning in other areas as well but here I lack information.

Certainly, the scope for global scaling up of the "twinning for e-inclusion" action space is huge and, again, it will require participation from many people and organizations at all levels, from ICT donors to grassroot accreditation and supporting organizations and ultimate beneficiaries from poor areas of the world. As for ICT recycling, the experience and leadership of those who have pioneered the twining activity is of critical importance to avoid mistakes and gradually generate the best possible global operation. In addition, the configuration of a database that aims to cover all

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⁴ The Global Teenager Project aims at enhancing secondary pupils' ICT skills and learning skills while increasing their understanding of other cultures by staging lively, global classroom debates in cyberspace. GTP unites secondary school pupils from all over the world in a safe, structured virtual environment, thereby helping to bridge the cultural and digital divide between the developing and developed world. So far, over 3000 pupils from 95 schools in 20 countries are taking part and the number is rising every month. See www.iicd.org.

⁵ DP's Global Classmatestm (GC) is a platform by which classrooms all over the world are working with each other and creating global understanding. Currently 20 schools in North America, Africa, Asia, Europe and Australia are working together. Through the online Collaboratories students are, for example, using GIS technologies to develop maps of their communities where no such documentation exists, learning about history and culture, comparing freedom movements of their respective countries, comparing tribal cultures and the cities they live in. Some are even using the Collaboratories to learn languages together.

⁶ "NetAid World Schoolhouse: Connects people and organizations to projects that are putting more of the world's children into school. Opportunities to learn, donate and sponsor projects." (www.netaid.org)

countries, as well as all aspects of the e-inclusion twinning process, would be valuable for the systematic implementation a twinning process. This would give rise to interconnected local and international twinning value networks that can support each other, learn together, and generally exploit synergies for a wider and greater impact.

3.3 Action Space 3 – Business Relations for e-Inclusion

(Work on win-win business relations)

The paper "Vision for a Crossroad Century..." identified several types of actions already implemented by the private sector that have importance for e-inclusion. Table 4 summarizes them. Each one of these types can be performed by itself or in combinations and, indeed, the borders between them are not always completely clearcut.

Table 4. Examples of Potential Contributions to e-Inclusion by the Private Sector, NGOs, International Organizations, and Others

- Business-knowledge support and funding by philanthropic entrepreneurs or organizations
- Direct donations of tangible and intangible resources
- Internships, trainings, apprenticeships
- Technology transfer to improve quality of life, work & income
- Socially responsible grassroots investment, projects and initiatives
- Low-cost e-inclusive products and services
- Competitive solidarity value chains
- Competitive solidarity jobs by local firms
- Competitive solidarity e-marketing and e-advertising
- Foundations and other organizations that help channel funding

(a) Business knowledge-support and funding by philanthropic entrepreneurs or organizations

This line of action is implemented by organizations such as Digital Partners (DP)⁷ Development

Space (DS)⁸ and the Global Youth Incubator (GYI) created by the Digital Youth Consortium

(DYC) ⁹ in partnership with the Glocal Forum (GF).¹⁰ It is focused on supporting business plan

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⁷ www.digitalpartners.org

⁸ www.developmentspace.org

⁹ www.gioventudigitale.net

¹⁰ www.glocalforum.org

and development of e-inclusion grassroot projects in a proactive way. All the actions mentioned have their particularities but the aims are the same. DP and the GYI, for instance, have used a competition to select projects to be awarded with support for their business development (ideally towards sustainability) in kind and funding. DP selected finalists from all the applicants and these were given business plan support through universities before the final submission. Out of this process four projects shared \$250,000 DP had gathered from sponsors. The GYI's used the Digital Youth Consortium competition Global Junior Challenge (GJC)¹¹ to select the finalists from poor areas of the world. Then seven projects were selected to present an initial business development plan to qualify for seven prizes consisting of funds raised by the www.e-inclusionsite.org and the Glocal Forum (Euro 30,000), as well as 7 places at a tailored business development course at Santa Clara University. The course will last three weeks and includes the introduction of the projects to networks of investors from Silicon Valley. DP has also launched a special initiative for youth – Digital Partners Youth (DPY)- by focusing DP's Social Enterprise Laboratorytm (SEL) on Youth Entrepreneurs in Youth Employment Summit (YES) Countries.¹² Now DP¹³ and the GYC are together in the youth network Youth Creating Digital Opportunities (YCDO), originally formed by TakingITGlobal, Global Knowledge Partnership and International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD).

DevelopmentSpace (DS) implements a different modality of support for business development of social entrepreneurship projects. It functions like a market for social projects, allowing any qualified person or group in the world to propose a development project, and anyone in the world to fund it. To date DS have over 1,500 registered users, with 300 projects listed in over fifty countries worldwide and 60 of those projects have already received some funding. In addition to brokering funding, DS also offers help with a systematic approach to the development of business plan.

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¹¹ www.gjc.it

¹² Digital Partners Youth launched their DPY Awards for Young IT Innovators and presented 5 awards this will become an annual award run by young people to recognize and benefit other young people around the world.

¹³ For the future, DP plans to

[•] Develop a network of youth interested in ICTs for sustainable livelihoods.

[•] Create a training and skills development workshop that will lead to business/action plans.

[•] Create an on-line platform for youth to connect with each other to share experiences and lessons learned around ICTs, youth employment, and sustainable livelihood opportunities.

[•] Pilot a cross-cultural learning program that utilizes information technologies to facilitate and expand cross-cultural interaction and educational opportunities between students around the world through collaborative contextual learning projects.

Provide youth in developing countries with computers, the learning tools, and website portals relevant to their country, for effective use of ICTs for livelihood opportunities, entrepreneurship, and sharing and accessing knowledge.

Finally, youth organizations such as WYSE, AIESEC and ELSA concentrate their support on youth initiatives. WYSE for instance supports youth social entrepreneurship initiatives and training programmes, while AIESEC and ELSA facilitate the provision of training courses for university students and also of content aiming at improving youth's understanding of relevant law and economic related issues.

(b) Win-Win e-inclusion value networks

Opportunities to contribute gainfully to e-inclusion exist in the local and/or international value chains or value networks of every type of organization. Positive results are a matter of the will to find the win-win opportunity and learn to exploit it. The CGD, for instance, is buying part of its stationery from TARAgram, an Indian recycling enterprise that promotes women empowerment through employment and schooling for their children. It is a win-win situation in which the Consorzio is able to save on costs while aligning its public relations with its NGO status. The mutual learning process has taken sometime but the use of email helps the trade communication between the two organizations. The greatest challenge has in fact been to align the *time dimension* of the flow of goods, something that benefits from the inter-mediation, accreditation and support by a *trusted local organization*. In the case of GJC, this role has been played by the well-respected NGO, Development Alternatives – which runs TARAhaat and Clean India and is closely connected with TARAgram.

At the Rome workshop there was also Datamation India – an example of local value network with significant e-inclusion impact through creation ICT jobs for needy women. Datamation India is a leading IT services firm that decided to pursue a systematic programme of employment opportunities for poor and needy women trained in ICT. For this purpose, the company created the Datamation Foundation that plans, designs and implements innovative strategies to help create employment for disadvantaged women.

This e-inclusion endeavour was perfectly in line with Datamation's competitive human resource strategy since the company offers data processing services to the commercial sector¹⁴ and therefore demands competitive as well as quality-driven performance. Indeed, neither Datamation nor the women would survive very much in the market without delivering such a sustainable performance. For the same reason, Datamation starts by implementing a stringent recruitment process involving written aptitude and attitude test. This includes knowledge of English language, common affairs,

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¹⁴ Mostly Fortune 500 companies such as Nestle, Federal Express, KLM, British Airways, Microsoft, GE Capital, Bank of America, HSBC, Scholastic, Walmart, etc.

basic IT (i.e., MS-Office, Excel, PowerPoint and Access databases), data entry speeds and accuracy, motivation, discipline and maintenance of machines and assets of the company.

Then the recruits enter the lower ends of teleworking such as data entry where Datamation sees realistic possibilities of starting work with a better salary for a large number of Indian women. In fact, the company calculates that they would earn about 90% percent more than women with similar profiles working in the local jobs. Today, Datamation's growing workforce -1800 employees spread over 30 branch locations in 2002- is made up of over 85% of needy, socially and economically disadvantaged people, of which 35% are women. ¹⁵

Most important is the *e-inclusion value network* promoted by Datamation to realize such results in the Indian context. First Datamation obtained the necessary telecom infrastructure with help from the government. Then the company created Datamation Foundation approached a voluntary organization imparting free IT training to women -Nari Rakhsa Samiti (NRS)- and persuaded them that Datamation's sales growth -180% in last 3 years- profitability, professional environment, continuing interest in human, social and particularly gender development, gave NRS trainees a major opportunity for sustainable jobs.

An agreement was signed between NRS and Datamation, forging the first-ever Indian partnership between a voluntary organization (NRS) and a commercial organization in the "vocalization of IT education and creation of employment opportunities." This partnership has since then expanded to involve other reputable voluntary groups imparting IT education in the country, including Prayas, Action India, Nanhi Kali and Katha. In the process, Datamation India has evolved a sustainable "partnership" model between voluntary groups and private sector that has helped the company, the NGOs and above all some of the most vulnerable sectors of society. Today trainees from the voluntary groups comprise more than 15% of Datamation's overall workforce and over 55% of the company's women workforce. In addition, Datamation's recruits have also spread to work in NGOs such as Tarahaat. In turn, NGOs have benefited from capacity building because Datamation shares with them the record of each of every trainee recruited, analysis of strengths and weaknesses, attitude towards team members; and understanding of the IT education. In this way, the NGOs are also able to improve the quality of their IT education and benefit larger numbers of trainees on nation-wide basis

This successful private sector-NGO partnership model has a high potential of application in places with similar characteristics. Furthermore, its application is not exclusive to private sector and NGOs, as demonstrated by the lessons of project SITA that also evolved a mentoring, handholding mechanism for employment for IT-trained poor and needy women in India. This time however the hand-holding opportunity was created by an informal collaboration between project SITA that trained the women and an international organization - Asian-Pacific Technology Transfer Centre (APCTT) - that provided the job opportunity through placement and subcontracts evaluated within open market conditions.

Among other experiences that are successfully providing ICT training and job creation are three projects that have also been selected for business development support by the Global Youth Incubator. Two are from India: Katha and Vaancha's Narrowing the Digital Divide and; the third is OrphanIT from Philippines.

Another example of e-inclusion value network is the www.e-inclusionsite.org that uses ecommerce/e-advertising principles to raise funding for projects from poor areas of the world. The site sponsors are effectively buying web advertising and potential click-throughs from the visitors to the website who click out of their support for the cause of e-Inclusion. In this case the e-inclusion value network has initially involved Unisys and Development Gateway as sponsors, the DYC's einclusionsite, and the funding has served to leverage support for the business development of 7 projects from poor areas of the world. 16

pecifically, leaders of these projects will be able to attend a three weeks tailored entrepreneurship course at Santa Clara University in order to develop further their business models, ideally, towards sustainability. These leaders will also be put in contact with networks of potential investors in Silicon Valley in order to test the possibility of funding. The entire e-inclusion value network for this operation also involves the Glocal Forum as partner to the DYC in the Global Youth Incubator, the organization ultimately awarding the prizes to the selection of projects from poor areas of the world that became finalists of the Global Junior Challenge.

¹⁵In addition, more than 29 very poor and victimized women—many of them from ethnic minority background ... have been appointed by Datamation. (GJC website).

¹⁶The projects are: Orphan IT and Glow ICT Centres (Philippines); Katha's IT Challenge 2010 (India); Rwanda Rural Rehabilitation Initiative (Rwanda); Narrowing the Digital Divide (India); New Millennium Electronic Magazine (Costa Rica); Community Led Environment Action Network (CLEAN-India) (India); The Impact of HIV/AIDS in Katutura (Namibia). To see projects visit www.e-inclusionsite.org.

These types actions are just example of the possibilities and opportunities existing in the Action Space of Business Relations for e-Inclusion. To these it could be added others such as straightforward investments for generation or regeneration of social capital, jobs, e-inclusion products, etc. Indeed many companies do precisely this through Foundations or simply through direct corporate social responsibility's actions such as devoting parts of their employment to disadvantaged people and communities (e.g., disabled people).

These suggestions are closely linked to the creation of other recommended e-inclusion spaces such as *e-Inclusion learning environments* and *e-inclusion funding* to be dealt with below.

3.4 Action Space 4 – Learning environment on e-Inclusion innovation and entrepreneurship Work on a learning environment on innovation and entrepreneurship for social responsibility (virtual/physical, multiaccess and multimedia)

This e-inclusion learning space is focused on helping build systematically strategic innovation and entrepreneurship capacities of e-inclusion grassroot projects and, more widely, of all those people in leadership and influential positions in all types of organizations concerned with social responsibility for a better world. The development of this space concerns primarily to educational, training and mentor institutions working on innovation and entrepreneurship for e-inclusion. Organizations related to the Roma workshop included Santa Clara's CIE, MIT's GSSD, Harvard's Berkman Centre, Stanford's Digital Vision, Edinburgh's Management School, Digital Partners, Development Space, Digital Youth Consortium, and also youth organisations like World Youth Service and Entrepreneurs, International Council for National Youth Policies, AIESEC and ELSA.

Santa Clara University, for instance, will implement a three-week training course on entrepreneurship for the seven grass-root projects selected by the Global Youth Incubator following the ceremony of the Global Junior Challenge in December 2002. This course also has the support of Carnegie Mellon University and Stanford University's Digital Vision and aims at increasing the entrepreneurial and business capacity of the projects and, hopefully, helping and reinforcing their sustainability, growth and potential replication for the benefit of others. In the same vein, Stanford's Digital Vision runs a fellowship programme that offers "outstanding technologists the opportunity to come to the campus of Stanford University in the heart of Silicon Valley and apply their vision and talent to address challenges facing the developing world." The programme is funded by the Reuters Foundation and brings together the academic, corporate, and NGO sectors. It is currently open for applications.

On the side of content, the Digital Youth Consortium, Edinburgh University and the Stockholm and Rome Challenges are working on the development of a teaching and training multimedia, multiformat module focused on ICT innovation processes in schools. Four or five experiences selected from the Challenges' winners are studied in depth, including filming, and the materials are used to create papers, video and online training module on innovation. The module is then piloted in training workshops involving educational stakeholders (teachers, students, parents, authorities, etc.) in four European cities (Rome, Stockholm, Naestved and Barcelona). Harvard's Berkman Centre is pursuing a closely related idea, namely, to create a public resource for ICT and education practitioners and researchers through the development of an online survey-driven tool. The survey will be deployed to educators, policymakers and education administrators around the world and the aim is to capture experiences with and perceptions of the process of introducing and using ICTs in the classroom. In addition to the work concentrating on innovation in education, Edinburgh and DYC have conducted similar multimedia research with other Challenges' winning projects, including TARAHaat, SITA, InfoMed, etc.

This educational work and other conducted in many other parts of the world can act as the foundation for the development of a systematic learning environment focused on innovation and entrepreneurship for e-inclusion and social responsibility. For instance, there are various organizations that collect ICT best-practice stories, and run discussions lists and newsletters, among those related to the Rome Workshop: OneWorld, IICD, Development Gateway, Bytes for All, Association for Progressive Communications (APC), Global Knowledge Partnership (GKP), Benton Foundation, Digital Partners and Youth Creating Digital Opportunities (YCDO). There are other organizations that have educational software environments such as MIT's GSSD.

The task for organizations in the movement is to systematize, enhance and add to this material with a view to generating an effective e-inclusion action space that effectively help build strategic innovation and entrepreneurship capacities for e-inclusion and social responsibility at all levels but particularly at the grassroot levels. Such resource would be multi-format in such a way that nobody is excluded from the opportunity to learn. This means that not only it should be available online, it should also take into account factors such as multi-linguality and disability. The existence of such facility would certainly expand the reach of the concept of innovation and entrepreneurship training for grassroot project leaders. It could also serve to reinforce leadership and management capacity of grassroot projects in cases where this is weak and may threatens the implementation of the

project. Indeed, in places in which project capacity is low, the approval of a basic module could be a good way of starting the project. Finally, since the e-inclusion movement is long-term, one target for the e-inclusion learning environment would be to see it accepted as a resource for Schools of Management from all over the world interested in working for a better world by providing future or present organizational leaders or managers with an understanding of the challenges facing the emergence and development of an information society guided by social responsibility.

3.5 Action Space 5 – e-Volunteering for e-Inclusion

Work on *e-volunteering* for help offline and online (e.g., university network)

e-Volunteering is a great expression of the spirit of the global e-inclusion movement. UNVolunteers, Oxfam International, Action Aid, NetAid were related to the Rome workshop and indeed UNVolunteers were also winners in the Global Junior Challenge. *This e-inclusion volunteer space is focused on joining forces to expand systematically and to the maximum expression the enormous potential of e-volunteering activity*. UNVolunteers and NetAid¹⁷ support experienced individuals who desire to help e-inclusion grassroot projects by spending a period of time (six months to a year) attached to some specific project in a developing country. Furthermore, the concept has now evolved towards the promotion of networks of universities that are willing to work together and provide resources to expand the reach of e-volunteering for the benefit of poor areas of the world. In Spain, for instance, a network of over ten universities has recently signed an agreement with UNVolunteers.

Inside the overall environment of the global movement, e-volunteering clearly has potential synergies with, for instance, "university twinning" and "environmental ICT recycling." Also e-volunteers with less experience of work in poor countries (e.g. university final year students and other youth) would certainly benefit from the use of the e-inclusion learning space as described above. Youth offers a huge untapped resource in this respect, being the most numerous volunteers in the planet.

3.6 Action Space 6 – e-Government for e-Inclusion (e-Citizenship for ALL)

Work on e-government worldwide as it concerns e-democracy and e-citizenship for all

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¹⁷NetAid Online Volunteering connects volunteers to poverty-fighting organizations around the world via the Internet. Opportunities to do volunteer research, writing, programming, networking and other activities without leaving home (www.netaid.org).

This e-government for e-inclusion space is focused on joining forces to work and promote the implementation of e-government to strengthen e-democracy and e-citizenship for all, including transparency, accountability and citizens' participation at all levels of government. Today e-government is a major area of transformation and thus presents a major opportunity to work at the level of policy, legislation and specific projects that stimulate the participation of not just private-public partnerships (PPPs), but more fully of stakeholders partnerships (i.e. private and public sectors along with the NGOs, civil society and communities, and including youth organizations such as Oxfam Youth Parliament, European Union Student Council, and other relevant stakeholders. For the movement this area offers the possibility to work together with government organizations and influence future legislation, policy and government actions.

There are many initiatives in this area but the distinctive focus of this e-inclusion action space is the information society for ALL. Organizations such as Bytes for All and the Development Gateway have worked extensively on e-government collecting information and best practices as well as stimulating discussions. Cities and Regions Associations such as Telecities and ERIS@ are also working on e-government and e-inclusion with Telecities recently launching an award on "e-Citizenship for All." In addition, the European Commission has funded various programmes, although the e-inclusion focus has been poor. At the moment a CEC new call for projects proposals on e-government is open.

3.7 Action Space 7 – Free/Open Software for E-Inclusion

This e-inclusion space is focused on joining forces to work and promote the development and implementation of free / open source software (FOSS) for e-inclusion. It is closely linked to e-government in that many governments at all levels are implementing, planning or considering adopting FOSS. There is a debate about the technical, cost and security advantages of FOSS against proprietary software. For e-inclusion however it is clear that FOSS is intrinsically more inclusive than proprietary software and has much larger potential for software capacity development and hence employment in developing countries.

Many of the organizations present in Rome are working on FOSS and a European project involving three European networks of cities and regions is in the process of creating a FOSS constituency focused on e-government. This constituency will prepare a workprogramme to be presented to the CEC for potential funding in year 2004. Contacts have already been established –or are in the

process of being established- with other key organizations such as the Free Software Foundation¹⁸ (FSF) and emerging processes such as the Free Software Consortium¹⁹ (FSC).

3.8 Action Space 8 – Awards for e-Inclusion (Many Challenges, One Spirit)

Work to encourage and spread the synergies of the Challenge Awards (e.g., inter-linking databases, creating an observatory for scenarios, best-practices, etc.)

This "awards for e-inclusion space" is focused on the systematic identification of synergies and collaboration between all Challenges and other awards to enhance the impact of the value delivered to grassroot projects. In fact the Challenges are celebratory moments for the entire movement and in this sense they can benefit greatly from the results of the other "e-inclusion action spaces" in the movement. This was the case for the Stockholm Challenge 2002, the Global Junior Challenge 2002, and the Tech Museum Award 2002 that were able to provide greater value to winning projects, particularly from poor areas of the world. It is also the case for the Technology Empowerment Network²⁰ (TEN) that uses the Challenges to select projects from poor areas of the world and helps mobilize support for them through its extensive network of members.

The Challenges are also repositories of a huge amount of information on e-inclusion projects allover the world and on a great variety of themes and areas of the information society. The potential exists for inter-linking databases and applying knowledge management to the combined repository. The benchmark mechanisms intrinsic in the juries also allows the identification of best-practices that in many cases can be adapted from one reality to another. From this point of view the Challenges play the role of observatories providing excellent inputs to all other "action spaces" in the movement at the same time as energizing projects on the ground. In turn, the Challenges also benefit from inputs from all other action spaces, thus enriching the value delivered to participants through the events, prizes and other activities. Indeed, we have seen earlier how winning/finalist Challenge projects have been selected by the Digital Youth Consortium's European LEIPS project for study, and by the Global Youth Incubator's for entrepreneurship support (see action spaces 3 and 4). In this respect, it is possible to conceive that all Challenges may include in their awards "entrepreneurship support," for at least winning/finalist projects from poor areas of the world, as more universities and entrepreneurship organizations join the movement,

¹⁸ www.fsf.org

^{19 &}lt;u>www.fsconsortium.com</u> or www.fsc.cc 20 www.techempower.net

At the Rome workshop came five Challenges (SCA, GJC, TechMuseum Award, MitraMandal Challenge and UAE Challenge). Others are emerging and interested in joining the movement such as a Baltic Challenge and a Latin American Challenge, both in association with the Stockholm Challenge. Other existing awards such as the Childnet Award²¹ have also expressed a wish to join the movement and, recently, a number of youth organizations also present in the Rome workshop: DYC's e-inclusionyouth, Youth Creating Digital Opportunities, TakingITGlobal, Global Knowledge Partnership, International Institute for Sustainable Development, Digital Partners Youth, Glocal Forum, have been working together on a Youth Creating Digital Opportunities Challenge to be awarded during WSIS in Geneva, 2003.

Finally it must be remembered that the new edition of the Stockholm Challenge Award is already open for entries, with the closing date fixed for October 2003 and the Ceremony in May 2004. In addition the Global Junior Challenge will soon announce the opening of its own edition.

Space 9 – WSIS for e-Inclusion (up to 2005)

Active engagement with the World Summit on the Information Society through results, documents, declarations and resolutions.

This "WSIS for e-inclusion space" is focused on the identification and exploitation of synergies and collaboration between the global e-inclusion movement and the WSIS process with a view to:

- (a) participating and influencing the information-society agendas of governments and other highlevel forums on the information society, and simultaneously
- (b) enhancing the opportunities and the impact of the value delivered to grassroot projects through the promotion of appropriate governance and concrete programme of actions.

The first part of the WSIS will gather in Geneva in December 2003 and the final part will gather in Tunisia in December 2005. The two Summits are preceded by gatherings of a regional nature and many organizations are sending documents and declarations as inputs to the final results.

For the e-inclusion movement the WSIS provides an important forum to present and promote the process and, hopefully, align the movement's concrete programmatic agenda with the eventual resolutions of the Summit. It also represents an opportunity for mobilization, visibility and

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²¹ www.childnetawards.org

e-inclusion action space. In fact, at Geneva, the youth are also organizing an Arts Expo to be permanently exhibited at the website of TakingITGlobal.²² And even prior to Geneva, this Arts Expo will be exhibited in France in August in an event organized by AnimaFac.²³ For the future, the aim is for the Arts Expo to become a permanet hub for young artists and a global platform for regional/local cultural diversities. Finally, a book is also under preparation by the YOIS under the Youth Caucus and a workshop will seek to take forward some of the themes of the Rome workshop.

In short, many of the "youth and senior" organizations related to the Rome workshop are participating in the WSIS, and the WSIS Youth Caucus is in fact led by the same organizations that are playing the leading youth role in the e-inclusion movement. It would be therefore possible to use this youth platform to contact other caucuses and promote their active participation in the movement's emerging programme of action.

3.10 Action Space 10 – Fund-raising for e-Inclusion

(Work on fund-raising (e.g., mapping of funding sources - foundations, sponsors, etc). Clicking mechanism and others)

This action space focuses on the identification of sources, preparation of strategies for fund-raising and definition of norms and procedures to ensure transparency, accountability and best value to and from all projects and activities associated to the movement. This action space is open to potential funders who are able and willing to contribute either direct funding or concrete mechanisms that lead to direct funding. It has clear synergies with the "learning for entrepreneurship action space" insofar as the latter should help improve the cost-efficiency and value delivered by e-inclusion projects.

An important concept of the fund raising is the clicking mechanism that combines elements of e-advertising with awareness raising and a minimum of daily action ("donation"²⁴) for e-inclusion. At the moment, the clicking rate has been low partly because of the need for a more systematic

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²² www.takingitglobal.org

²³ www.animafac.net

The clicks are a true donation to projects prom poor areas of the world because the e-inclusionsite's sponsors have provided funding on condition that the site is able to attract traffic, clicks and, ideally, clickthroughs to their own sites. Basically we have "sold" every click at EURO 5 cents, which is quite high and that's their contribution. Thus the daily clicks of every person are essential for the funding to reach the grassroot projects. And the faster the site reaches the clicks the faster we can obtain further funding for projects. Indeed, we already have promises of more funding in exchange for clicks but this will never reach grassroots projects if the people who are most active in the digital divide do not play they part.

marketing campaign and, partly, because the members of many organizations working on the digital divide have yet to "click into" the idea that this is an important mechanism that should be supported and promoted. At present we have to complete the 500,000 clicks we committed to the Development Gateway and Unysis for their contribution of Euro 25,000 which have served to support the 7 projects that will attend the entrepreneurship course at Santa Clara University. It is important to clear this "debt" to be able to open the way for more funding that it is already waiting. It is also important because I have a bet with Carlos Braga from the Development Gateway and at the Rome workshop many of you solemnly committed to helping raise the half million clicks by June 2003. Do we want Carlos to win a dinner simply because we are not able to make this small target possible? I would believe not! and not just because I will have to pay the dinner (which I would gladly do for Carlos anyway) but mostly because these are small targets that we must fulfil for the sake of the funding that we can raise for grassroot projects.

In order to refresh the commitment to the clicking and facilitate a renewed start, at the e-inclusion site we will launch a "clicking day" for all the supporters of the movement at the earliest convenient date. These clicking days can be called upon by groups of organizations and repeated and led by different members of the movement so the advertising effect can be widely shared. At the same time, at the e-inclusion site we are about to have a dedicated "staggieri" to work on the "marketing" of the site and clicking mechanism, especially now that we have a clear demonstration of benefit for 7 projects from poor areas of the world. Other ideas and actions are most welcome.

I believe that there will be many other funding opportunities if we succeed in demonstrating the value and effectiveness of the movement in making a difference on the ground. A major role can be played here by national and international organizations that run programmes that may include funding for e-inclusion projects such as CEC, InfoDev, Development Gateway, UNDP, various foundations and others. These organizations have the opportunity to play strongly in the movement by leading, supporting or creating e-inclusion action spaces. They can do this individually or collectively. In fact, agencies joining forces would be an excellent way of increasing critical mass in those cases where the individual fragments are not sufficient to implement ambitious programmes. A critical long-term funding goal -and a major reason for the need for a movement- is to be able to generate a sound, consistent, convincing and fully feasible programme of global e-inclusion action that governments fully recognise, endorse and participate in because it is a concrete and effective way forward. This sort of developments may lead to the requirement and convenience of creating an instrument for more effective fund-raising such a GeM Foundation, for instance. At all times in

this process, we must never forget that PEOPLE in poor areas of the world are the ultimate reason for fund-raising. All activities should always have this simple "mantra" in mind: people!

3.11 Action Space – 11 - Culture and Intellectual Work for e-Inclusion

This e-inclusion action space was not included during the Rome Workshop but it is an important dimension for a movement that aspire to become global and play a significant role in the realization of the dream of a better society – an information society for all. The goal is to create two interrelated spaces -like the left and right sides of the single brain- that together synergize, energize and give visibility to existing and new cultural and intellectual work focused on the information society for all. Artists and intellectuals will be able to draw on each others' concepts and works and give rise to multiple ideas and forms of expression, potentially, inventing, crossing borders and opening new grounds that will become both:

- the visible multi-cultural/intellectual legacy of the movement, a legacy that builds upon respect and enrichment for cultural diversity and identities
- > the expression of the better society we dream to create from our respective realities.

Above all, this multi-cultural/intellectual work will become the critical consciousness of the movement in the constant struggle all of us have to wage for "humanization" and against the selfish and non-solidaristic habits we have acquired from the present power-maximizing society and its "tribal-globalization." It will also become an space for contributions. For instance, it is possible to organize grand Arts Faires with proceedings going to projects in poor areas of the world.

Earlier, under the WSIS for e-inclusion action space, we have seen how the youth organizations are promoting the creation of an Arts Expo to be exhibited at various places as well as placed permanently at the TakingITGlobal website. Similar ideas can be implemented regarding poetry, songs, music and all other forms of art. For instance, the e-inclusion site has the space Thoughts and Poetry about Dreams that can be promoted much more consistently within the ambit of the movement. It is worth-noting that the works to be included in these cultural sub-spaces need not be new. All relevant work across the ages is appropriate, especially because art and thinking for a better society has long roots in human history, in the constant struggles for justice, peace and solidarity.

The same is valid for intellectual work relevant for e-inclusion. Much work of visionary, philosophical and political character exists and more is coming. Thus one of the tasks of this intellectual action space would be to collect the legacy of seminal work from different part of the world into an annotated bibliography. The second more future-oriented task would be to stimulate the production of work that seeks to contribute to develop further the visionary, philosophical and political thinking of the e-inclusion movement and the information society for all. This new work would be open to all positions and would be published on the web for downloading, potentially, as part of issues of an online journal edited by leading thinkers on the information society for all. It would accept work critical of the present society but it would above all seek work that lays the intellectual foundations for a new society and proposes innovative and practical strategies, actions and instruments to advance in the short and long term the challenge of the information society for all. This work can be informed by multi-cultural optimistic, pessimistic, catastrophic, utopian or other visions, but all of it should aim for a better world and the ways to achieve it. The reason is that, if we are moving gradually (dramatically fast in cosmic time) to human-made catastrophe as people at the Johannesburg Summit repeated time and again, then we have little option but to try to do something about it, before or after, and assuming that we have a further chance.

All cultural and intellectual works in this action space will be available for free downloading, on condition that no commercial use is made of them and any use by a third party carries due acknowledgement to the original author/s. The original author/s have the right to publish their work in any other source of their choice.

The members of this intellectual action space will be people from all corners of the world who contribute actively to the development of visionary, philosophical, political and practical thinking for the information society for all (also known as network society or knowledge society for all). In this sense, anybody in the movement is free to contribute in the understanding that potential publication will demand high standards of original, innovative, and challenging work on the information society for all. This will be assessed by the "scientific (editorial) board," initially made up of leading thinkers from different parts of the world. In short, quality and not quantity will be the main goal.

3.12 Action Space 12 – Advocacy, Campaigning and Lobbying for e-Inclusion

(Work on *advocacy, campaigning and media visibility* with clear and focused messages, Declarations. *Lobbying* key players in government, business and other organizations in order to gain participation in decision-making related to ICTs for development)

This action space cut across all others and can manifest itself through multiple themes, at multiple layers action and making use of equally multiple means. Thus some advocacy, campaigning and lobbying will be at the overall programmatic level of the movement, other will be more confined to specific e-inclusion action spaces, and even others will be thematic such as ICT for AIDS, etc. It will be the role of this action space to lead the definition of focus, strategies and mechanisms to be implemented. In so doing, there are at least three elements that must guide our actions:

- believing that a better world for all people is possible by learning and working together
- being positive, imaginative and determine in finding and pursuing constructive solutions
- rejecting violence as a conscious instrument to enforce existing practices or force change.

Many of the organizations related to the Rome workshop are experienced in campaigning and lobbying, for instance, Oxfam and Action Aid. As such the e-inclusion movement can benefit greatly from this experience and from the accumulated force of the movement itself. Movement's advocacy and campaigns would be selected on the basis of consensus and there could be several campaigns simultaneously, so consensus could spread around different actions.

Media is a special case because it can have good or bad effects on the development of an organization, depending on the images projected by them. Thus excess of enthusiasm may lead to unwanted hype that might be equally harmful as a negative report. We should aim for establishing a meaningful relation not just for visibility but also for aspects and actions that will have a high educational impact of the spirit, results and impact of the programmatic e-inclusion movement. For instance, one key early message to communicate effectively concerns the frequent worry that people express about why helping with "computers" rather than with hunger, water, AIDS and other life-threatening malaises. Here we must demonstrate conclusively that they are not contradictory but complementary, probably through targeted action (see next action space) and the media has the potential to play a massive educational role.

Finally, a possible task for this action space would be to collect all the existing and coming Declarations on digital divide or e-inclusion as a way of identifying organizations that most likely share the same spirit and hence, are potential members of the movement.

3.13 Action Space 13 – Specific e-Inclusion Actions

This e-inclusion action space is closely associated to all others in that it suggests possible areas for more targeted campaigning and actions by all other all action lines. They are also opportunities to link the e-inclusion movement to other movements that are tackling these target areas in a dedicated way. These would be an opportunity to interlink movements and build programmatically towards the "humanization" movement driven by social responsibility.

In the Rome workshop there were organizations dedicated to the following potential ICT-application target areas:

- ➤ e-Inclusion for Indigenous Peoples where for instance CEPAL (Economic Commission for Latin America) and Development Gateway are already working seeking to reduce the divide.
- > ICTs for Environment where Development Alternatives and Clean India have done innovative work in India
- > ICTs for AIDS where one of the African projects selected to benefit from the funds raised by the e-inclusionsite.org has carried out pioneering work
- > ICT for Gender Balance, where APC has conducted valuable work and DYC is stimulating a new project
- > *ICT for Youth Involvement*, where a variety of Youth organizations are working together in the WSIS Youth Caucus.
- ➤ ICT for Reinforcement of Civil and Human Rights and, more generally, freedom, justice and peace.

Another target area for campaigning proposed in Rome was *School Connectivity throughout the World* to be raised substantially by a certain time. The starting base at present is only 5% of schools in the world are online. One proposal suggested to generate a dynamic online mapping of schools connected against the background of those not connected.

Action Space 14 – Movement's Solidarity for e-Inclusion

This e-inclusion action space is intended for valuable grassroot e-inclusion projects that for reasons beyond the responsibility and control of the leadership find themselves in a crisis that threatens their survival, with consequent loss of important resources/services for people from poor areas of the world.

In the Rome workshop there were leaders who at one point in the past found themselves in a difficult unexpected situation and who could have benefited greatly from a place where to go to raise their problem and obtain dispassionate advice on possible solution avenues. Also present was the Technology Empowerment Network (TEN), a network of individuals helping to find resources for advancing the development of projects in poor areas of the world. They are useful experiences for this action space. Indeed, times of crisis tend to be very lonely for project's leaders and the simple possibility of sharing the burden might be of help and, even better, if this leads to the identification of concrete support that may see the project through the crisis with consequent gains for people on the ground.

It must be underscore however that this space is not for projects that may be failing due to irresponsibility, incompetence or financial mis-management. Only genuine valuable cases should be accepted and, for this reason, an accreditation mechanism should be put in place, possibly, a small panel of movement\s members with access to information from the ground.

4 Reflections on Workable Organization for the Global e-Inclusion Movement

In his greetings to the Rome Workshop, 2002, co-founder Director of Development Space, Dennis Whittle wrote:

DevelopmentSpace is with you in spirit if not in person at this pathbreaking gathering. We really are in a "Crossroads Century": the confluence of many factors--including information and communication technologies--can lead to dramatic breakthroughs in opportunities for people who have been left behind.

Everyone attending this conference is playing a role in making these potential breakthroughs a reality. It won't be easy - there will be many false starts and many paths that lead nowhere. But if we rapidly experiment with different approaches and learn from our mistakes and failures along the way, there is no doubt we will succeed. I particularly salute the emphasis on youth in the Rome conference. Many of the new approaches must come from young people who instinctively grasp how new technologies can be used much better than many of us older people!

I agree with the idea that we are in times of experimentation or as others calls it "learning by doing" and even "learning by trying" and surely we may have false starts, just consider how long industry has been at it, since those early days in that belief and faith were the driving force rather than measurable tangible gains. Today we have more evidence of the gains that ICT can provide to society and this includes its potential role in the eradication of poverty and exclusion. The challenge however is huge because the same power-maximizing forces that drive the development

of ICTs for firms or the military, do not operate spontaneously for the benefit of the millions and millions who live under the painful consequences of poverty. This means that all those who share the cause of global e-inclusion and want to do something about it are constantly being tested in their belief of whether this is really possible or just a utopia.

This document is unashamedly on the side that, yes, global e-inclusion is possible and the world's circumstances are evolving in dangerous directions that paradoxically will favour e-inclusion's global development in the long-term. It is also written in the conviction that a global e-inclusion movement that stands for a positive programme of action is the most powerful instrument not just to advance now the cause of e-inclusion but also to engage other societal forces to join in the long-term task of creating a better world since today. The inescapable pre-condition is however the *firm belief and motivation* that by working together, exploiting for everybody the opportunities of the new technology, we can bring about change - something not easy in a world were most of the population feels dis-empowered. But without this belief how can we experiment and face failures with the will and perseverance to learn, to share and start again until success? For this reason this section is an invitation to experiment, to create the governance and mechanisms that will make the global e-inclusion movement work and open new organizational grounds in the path towards a better world in this crossroad century.

Everything written below is a start to the process of giving operational reality to the movement. Nothing is set and ideally we must all participate, propose, and think boldly about a flexible and inclusive working structure that realizes both (1) the broad concept of *global movement* given at the start of this paper, and (2) the movement's behavioural guidelines identified in the Rome workshop and found in Table 1 above.

Basically this means to maintain a strong focus on: people, empowerment, transparency, accountability and e-democracy; distributed leadership; not re-inventing the wheel; dreaming big and implementing pragmatically. All this must be intrinsic to the movement's development seen as "a boundless, free flowing association of people sharing and pursuing in myriad ways the realisation of a common dream.... an action-space for leadership, creativity, innovation, emulation, cooperation, competition, fulfilment and disappointments in pursuit of change. It may be partly coordinated or simply loosely associated through mechanisms for sharing and learning about different experiences. The bond –whatever its manifestation- is simply the shared dream and the desire to do something about it."

Figure 1 gives an idea of the multiple organizational dimensions of the global e-inclusion movement and helps to begin to conceptualize a workable structure, governance and, above all, starting process that is completely flexible through the fundamental concepts of "e-inclusion cybercell" (eCC), "e-inclusion project" (eIP) and "e-inclusion action space" (eAS). All these dimensions are deeply related in that the broad GeM dimension is in fact the result of the three inner dimensions: eCC, eAS and eIP, in the same way as the meso-dimension eAS is the result of the inner eIP dimension and the eCC fundamental unit. In short each of the broader dimension contain the inner ones. At the same time, it should be noted that each one of the dimension has some specific reality of its own and, as we shall see now, this is reflected in their governance and organizational manifestations. Let us start with the fundamental unit: the e-inclusion cybercell.

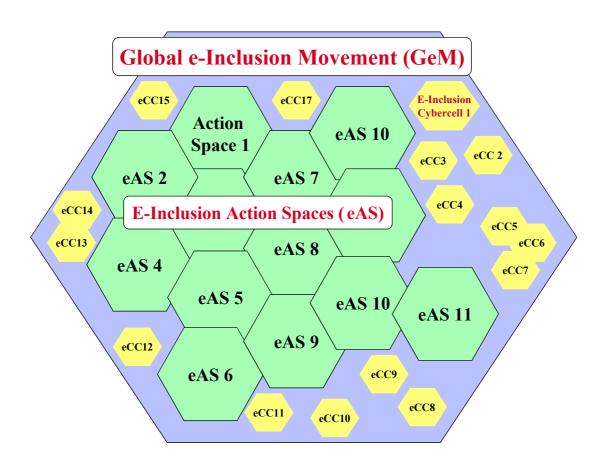


Figure 1. Multi-dimensional Organizational View of Global e-Inclusion Movement (GeM)

4.1 e-Inclusion Cybercells (eCC)

An e-inclusion cybercell (eCC) is a group of people/organizations who come together to contribute to the development and growth of the global e-inclusion movement (GeM) in any way or form and, preferably, with concepts, resources and actions that lead to grassroot e-inclusion benefits. An eCC is the basic organizational level at which *distributed leadership* happens. We shall see that "cybercells" are key to the GeM process's ability to stimulate:

- collaboration as well as competition in contributing to e-inclusion;
- exploration and exploitation of synergies among existing initiatives as well as the start up of wholly new initiatives;
- experimentation as well as emulation and consolidation

In short, "cybercells" are the basic solidaristic unit that help realize the definition of movement as "an action-space for leadership, creativity, innovation, emulation, cooperation, competition, fulfilment and disappointments in pursuit of change." Most importantly, they help accommodate the possibility of failing and thus learning from our mistakes and come back and persevere with greater wisdom, because, as said at the beginning of this section, "It won't be easy - there will be many false starts and many paths that lead nowhere. But if we rapidly experiment with different approaches and learn from our mistakes and failures along the way, there is no doubt we will succeed." 25

For the sake of simplicity the GeM diagram of Figure 1 contains 4 levels only:

- Global e-Inclusion Movement (GeM), made up of all e-Inclusion Action Spaces focused on specific large-scale programmatic actions and including all e-inclusion projects, e-inclusion cybercells (see below) as well as all types of supporters.
- e-Inclusion Action Spaces (eAS), made up of a set of e-inclusion projects (eIPs) (unless an
 original project is just opening space in which case the eIP coincides with the eAS) working
 together in a common large-scale targeted programme of work, including relevant einclusion ceybercells and all types of supporters

²⁵ Dennis Whittle, Development Space.

- e-Inclusion Projects (eIPs), alliances or partnerships with well-defined e-inclusion objectives, organization and work-programmes either operational or proposal stage under negotiation, and including all types of supporters.
- Cybercells, the fundamental organizational unit of the movement, made up of social (e.g., people, groups, organizations, etc.) and technical constituents (e.g., computers, infrastructure, etc.) Cybercells emerge to explore, define and potentially consolidate a partnership or alliance around a desired e-inclusion target or objective and thus potentially leading to an e-Inclusion Project or (eIP) even an e-Inclusion Action Space (eAS). Cybercells are free to have any form, size, geographical spread, and any type of supporters, etc., depending on factors such as existing trust, shared visions, commitment, complementary resources among the members, etc. In the process leading to eIP or eAS, however, different Cybercells status can be distinguished, for instance:
 - o Proposed-cells or "prop-cells" (cell idea or concept at stage of proposition to others)
 - Exploratory-cells or "explo-cells" (cells in process of initial exploration to see
 whether alignment is possible to pass to definition stage)
 - Definition-cells or "def-cells" (cells that have passed initial exploration and are defining the working programme)
 - Strategic cells or "stra-cells" (cells with long-term alignment on broad strategic goals and aimed at generating many projects over time)
 - o Tactical-cells or "tac-cells" (cells with a short-term alignment around a tactical issue which once achieved stop operating)
 - Closed-cells or "clo-cells" (any one of the cells above which have been closed to new entrants perhaps for reasons of efficiency)
 - Open-cells or "op-cells" (anyone of the cells above which are open for new entrants to strengthen the alliance).

Clearly, many types of cells can be distinguished depending on the criteria chosen. Thus we could choose *geographical composition* and distinguish "country," "regional" or "international cells" or we could take *governance* and distinguish "centralized-cell," "de-centralized cell", etc. Cells can also be defined by a combination of characteristic such as "strategic open cells," and so on and so forth. Indeed it suffices to look at Table 1 to see that the number of categorizations could be virtually unlimited. Given enough time and experience, however, it is possible to envisage that a

taxonomy of cells could be produced identifying characteristics in relation with effectiveness of purpose.

Most relevant from the point of view of the flexibility and growth of the movement, cells can combine either to form larger cells with the similar purpose, or to form coalition of cells (i.e. cocells, or *colls*) to expand purpose and resources. Of course, in such a flexible environment the reverse process is also possible and all cases can always lead to more formal e-Inclusion Projects (eIPs), Action Spaces (eASs) or to nothing. ²⁶

4.2 e-Inclusion Project (eIP)

An e-inclusion project (eIP) is a cybercell that has reached definition and consolidation into a formal workprogramme with allocated resources and targets to be reached within a specific period of time. This is independent of the quality and success of the workprogramme and, indeed, failure may lead to dissolution or back to a new cybercell effort applying the lessons learned in the eIP. In turn, success may lead to "adapted replication" in other places and, potentially, to an e-inclusion action space.

As for a cybercell, an eIP may have many forms. It can be a project of a single organization, even inside a department of an organization, or it can be an inter-organizational project either at regional, national or international level. International projects are quite common inside the context of collaboration between rich and poor areas of the world. They can even be seen as international mini-movements of organizations focused on some specific e-inclusion target.

At this eIP level, this document is neither descriptive nor prescriptive of any specific form of organization. According with the principle of *distributed leadership*, this is primarily the terrain of the acting organizations and ultimately the people who give life to, and work in, the project.²⁷ Of course, if a new project were to start in the context of GeM, it will be possible for the participant organizations to resort to the movement's accumulated experience and solidarity in defining the most effective organization and governance. Indeed, in some cases, it might be recommendable for the potential project's participants to follow some entrepreneurship training as conceived in *Action Space 4 – Learning environment on e-Inclusion innovation and entrepreneurship*.

²⁷ The same is valid for existing sub-programmes.

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²⁶ Methodologically the entire process can be treated as one of creating a *sociotechnical constituency*. This theorization is something that can be added in a future document.

4.3 e-Inclusion Action Space (eAS)

An e-inclusion action space (eAS) is a set of interacting eIPs working together in a common large-scale targeted programme of work, including relevant e-inclusion cybercells and all types of supporters. In the special case, of an original project opening a new space, the eIP coincides with the eAS until the time another eIP joins the space.

An eAS can legitimately be seen as an e-inclusion movement with an specialized focus and the ultimate target is to give rise to a multiplicity of them, thus reaching the *overall goal of a global e-inclusion movement (GeM)* that contributes effectively to the Millennium goal of reducing poverty by half by the year 2015 and to eradicate it completely by the year 2030!!

Organizationally, it is worth noting that the workprogramme of an action space does not require that all constituent e-inclusion projects and cybercells should be strongly inter-linked. In fact, eIPs and eCCs can be closely or loosely associated and they can cluster into sub-programmes within a larger programme. The key to building an eAS is to align existing projects and actions, and here it is critical to keep in mind that different *geographical and thematic spaces and time* allow for a great deal of flexibility, even competition, in the alignment of potential organizational players.

Finally, it goes without saying that an e-inclusion action space must also try to implement forms that are flexible, efficient and reflect the governance guidelines already mentioned, particularly, distributed leadership, transparency, accountability, empowerment and e-democracy.

4.4 Global e-Inclusion Movement (GeM)

This is the broadest level of the movement itself and much of its governance is actually the accumulated projection of the governance of e-Inclusion Action Spaces just discussed. As such distributed leadership, transparency, accountability, empowerment and e-democracy remain the essential guidelines of a flexible and efficient organizational form.

All those peoples who are leading actions and initiatives that construct the movement and its spirit in any part of the world are the leaders of the movement and can speak for it, of course without committing the name and reputation of any other organization without prior agreement with these organizations.

If the movement grows in strength and its positive programme is recognised as a clear avenue for investment that will make a difference in the ground, then there might be a situation of strategic negotiation in which formal movement representation by a few people may be required. This will demand the democratic election of these representatives by the movement.

5 Reflections on Governance Aspects of the Global e-Inclusion Movement

The emergence and development of the e-inclusion movement has a fundamentally democratic nature and governance because, if it is to succeed, it will be on the basis of shared vision, motivation, and commitment to work together for a better world. Thus *democratic consensus* should be the main means of decision making at all levels, including both: (1) agreeing to delegate the decision-making power to one party, or (2) agreeing to disagree – something that will be reflected for instance in different projects or sub-programmes within e-inclusion action spaces and movement.

Of course, there will be instances of "representation" or "decision making" that will concern the movement or an specific eAS. For instance, a 'representation" situation could be an invitation by the media or an invitation to speak on behalf of the movement on some public stage. This should be left up to the judgement of the contacted person or organization whether to take the responsibility or whether to seek support from other people or organizations in the movement.

5.1 e-Democracy and Empowerment at GeM and eAS Levels

On the other hand, there could be decisions that will have direct implications for all members of the movement. For instance, a decision-making concerning the entire movement could be the selection of a movement's global event in case of competing alternatives. In this case, I suggest that the alternatives should be presented to the movement for an e-debate and e-consultation during a limited period and consensus should be sought on the basis of (1) what is best for the growth of the movement and its impact on the grassroot., and (2) what is best for the ensured programmatic and logistic success of the event. If consensus is not reached within this period, then we have to experiment with e-democracy. For instance, a final decision may be reached via majority e-vote by all GeM's members or, possibly, by an international group of trusted individuals coming from all

continents (these individuals should have high reputation for their wisdom, ethics and commitment to a better world). A similar process is valid for other strategic choices that can engage the entire movement in a concerted effort such as global targeted campaigns, for instance "ICT for AIDS" or "Internet Democracy" or both? One can also envisage the application of the same mechanism in the special case of dealing with an organization or individual that grossly and visibly contradicts the noble spirit of the movement while claiming to be part of it.

At the level of eAS the decision-making situation is rather similar to that of the GeM. level and similar mechanisms should apply in terms of e-democracy experimentation. The concept of *trusted international group (TIG)* should then lead to the formation of a specific *eAS trusted group* given that it would not be realistic to expect the GeM level group to participate in the decision making of potentially many eASs. Another possibility at eAS level would be first to try to facilitate consensus-building in case of stalemate by forming a *three-people board* drawn from other e-inclusion action spaces in the movement who would provide an external advisory view intended to solve the stalemate by consensus. This board could even be delegated with the power to make a final recommendation that the members of the eAS have agreed to accept. If not, then either the members of the Action Space are called upon to e-vote, or, a trusted international group should be called upon to exercise their judgement.

For purposes of enabling the exercise of e-democracy at GeM and eAS levels, e-debate and e-voting mechanisms should be made available at the www.e-inclusionsite.org and any other appropriate websites.

The idea of forming committees or secretariats to lead the movement was raised in the Rome workshop and it is certainly a possibility for the eAS and GeM. I believe however that this may weaken the principle of distributed leadership at least in the initial take-off phase, since people may then tend to discharge the responsibility and constituency-building effort on the people in the Committees or Secretariats. There is also the risk that the effective *de facto* leadership is not recognised through presence in a formally elected Committee. In this respect, we should keep in mind that a *transparent work ethics and merit* should always be the foundation of leadership at all levels, whether formal or *de facto*.

Thus I would suggest that at this early take-off phase we should experiment with the most open, flexible distributed-leadership possible. This however does not mean that there should be no

allocated responsibilities for actions, targets and communication with the movement. For instance, the running and maintenance of eAS's virtual spaces does need clear allocation of individual responsibility and targets. Consequently every organization involved in an specific eAS should appoint a person to act as the responsible interface with such eAS and more generally with the movement. The details, interests and pictures of these interface persons will be in the www.e-inclusionsite.org in order to reinforce and stimulate the human face of the movement.

5.2 Stimulating Balanced Empowerment in the Development of GeM

A major issue in empowerment is to seek to foster *inclusiveness of stakeholder-groups'* representation in the distributed leadership of all eASs, particularly of youth, women, disabled and from different cultural regions of the world. I believe that the flexible multi-dimensional structure of the movement enables us to respond effectively to this important challenge.

There is one condition however and this is to have always present in our minds and actions that the poor and excluded peoples of the world are truly the ultimate focus of the movement. This implies e-inclusion for all in ways that enable everybody to fulfil her/his capacities and make true the "concept of development as freedom." ²⁸

The practical consequence for GeM is straightforward, we should all strive to bring generational, gender, disability and cultural ("gendiscul") presence from cybercell to GeM. Of course, the extent and the way this is done are a matter for local decisions, particularly, at the level of cybercells and e-inclusion projects where matters of expertise and effectiveness count heavily. In this respect the criteria of work ethics and merit continues to operate but we should seek to apply it with a concern for balance anytime this is possible. Another way of contributing to e-inclusion balance will be the emergence and development of cybercells, eIPs and eASs dedicated primarily to tackle this problem.

Finally, it is possible to envisage that from the total combination of cybercells and eIPs, the leadership and membership of an specific eAS might well reach e-inclusion "gendiscul" balance and, for the same reason, this should also be true for the leadership and membership of the movement.

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²⁸ Amartya Sen's phrase.

6 The Web Presence of the Global e-Inclusion Movement

The movement will have a multi-level website presence following the dimensions of e-inclusion cybercell (eCC), e-inclusion project (eIP), e-inclusion action space (eAS) and global e-inclusion movement (GeM).

Individual and organizational members of the movement are free to create and innovate web actions that advance the movement and help spread widely its noble spirit. Indeed, this is valid for any action either web-based or not. Establishment of linkages and interactions in all directions are encouraged since they increase the movement's "connectivity density" with the result that web visitors will be able to access the movement's "cyberspace" from a huge variety of places.

In terms of responsibility, it should be clear that at *cybercell* and *project level*, website creation, place, image, functionality, running, and servicing are the complete responsibility of the organizations involved in the eCC or eIP.

At e-inclusion action space level the website creation, place, image, functionality, running, and servicing should ideally be the responsibility of the organizations that are the acknowledged pioneers and leaders in the area. The reason is that pioneers are most likely to have websites that are already working well and may only require some extension to offer the functionality for an eAS that reflects the movement's governance guidelines of distributed leadership, transparency, accountability, empowerment and e-democracy. It is worth stressing that we will have to experiment until we get the most effective solutions, the important point is to start with a promising step and evolve from here.

At GeM level, the website image, functionality, running, and servicing will be the responsibility of the www.e-inclusionsite.org which will be transformed to reflect the requirements of the new state of development of the process of movement building. At this top level the site would maintain the electronic people's declaration and the clicking/sponsorship/e-advertising mechanism²⁹ and would seek to implement functionality relevant to the entire movement, such as movement's strategy-making and alliances with some other broad movements, movement's events and overall membership, elements of movement's campaigns, etc. In so doing, the www.e-inclusionsite.org

would always seek to reflect the movement's governance guidelines of *distributed leadership*, *transparency*, *accountability*, *empowerment and e-democracy*. While in terms of image, the GeM website will probably maintain the metaphore of a garden and would aim for as much as possible multi-linguality and disability access.

All members of the movement must be open to experiment and believe that in time and as long as we maintain the focus on the poor and excluded people of the world, we are bound to succeed. Take note that this challenge is small as compared with the challenge we have to take the benefits of the movement to all the people left out at the moment!

7 Real-time Evaluation Methodology as Learning Factor in the Evolution of the Movement

One of the problems that has undermined the credibility of worthwhile efforts to tackle poverty and exclusion over the years has been the lack of proper evaluation and measures that are able to show:

- (a) how they have helped to make a difference in relation to the situation at the start and, hence the value delivered to communities and people on the ground;
- (b) the evolution of the initiatives through longitudinal assessment that provides a periodical view of their progress and hence a real-time possibility of learning and improving all along their lives.

In a movement that aims to make a significant long-term contribution to a better world this must improve for a variety of strong reasons: accountability, transparency, codification of effective-practices, learning together and, ultimately, to deliver ever better value to grassroot communities and people.

I suggest that in this context an arms-length "post-mortem" evaluation is not useful. In contrast, we need a real-time evaluation intended and designed to contribute to the development of GeM, by making explicit achievements, difficulties, challenges and weaknesses, and with the findings and lessons periodically fed back into the evolving constituency-building processes of cybercells, eIPs,

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²⁹ Ideally elements such as the clicking mechanism and electronic declaration should be everywhere given their intention and potential to involve every body into thinking and doing a minimum action for poverty and e-inclusion.

eAS and ultimately GeM. In short, a real-time evaluation that is longitudinal, process-oriented, flexible and, above all, an explicit learning factor for the movement at all levels.

Such an evaluation would include assessment of achievements against common quantitative committed targets, but it would not focus exclusively on them. Such a limited focus would simply not suffice to reveal the deeper qualitative developments of human networks and range of different values added by the initiatives to organizations, communities and individuals that are the intended beneficiary targets. This is what a longitudinal, process-oriented, real-time evaluation methodology should be able to tackle, particularly, by capturing the dynamics of the sociotechnical processes involved in the experiences at grassroot level. An immediate added benefit of such a real-time evaluation would be the generation of knowledge that would enrich the content available in the learning environment proposed in *Action Space 4 – Learning Environment for e-Inclusion Entrepreneurship and Innovation*.

I suggest that a real time evaluation should at least integrate the five major complementary ingredients illustrated in the 'methodological jigsaw' of Figure 2. The first two elements at the top are methodological and the other three are knowledge of the evolution of the movement at all levels.

- ➤ Conceptual approach/es to make sense of the complexities and multiple elements involved in the constituency-building processes of cybercell, eIP, eAS and GeM. Such approach/es should enable an appropriate partition of the problem, a fruitful organisation of the analysis, including capacity for scoping or zooming to different interrelated levels and for comparing experiences at similar levels. This should be accompanied by continual information gathering to facilitate evolutionary analysis.
- ➤ Generation of quantitative knowledge on the evolution of cybercells, eIPs, eAS and GeM from the point of view of committed quantitative targets and their achievement.
- ➤ Generation of survey knowledge on the evolution of the value-added delivered by cybercells, eIPs, eAS and GeM, with reference to their qualitative and quantitative objectives <u>as perceived</u> and judged directly by key target beneficiaries and other stakeholders. For this purpose, a variety of value flows relevant to the objectives of the initiatives should be distinguished in the survey, each offering a gradation of value from 'easier' to 'more demanding' to achieve.

- Qualitative case-study knowledge of ways (including lessons and challenges) in which cybercells, eIPs, eAS and ultimately GeM are making or not a difference in the reality they are intending to influence and change. These 'good-practice' cases would complement the findings of the two previous types of knowledge by revealing how (and even why) value is practically realised in the sociotechnical processes of specific target beneficiaries.
- ➤ Battery of research tools combining review of secondary literature and archival data, survey questionnaire, semi-structured interview guides, and elements of participant observation through event attendance.

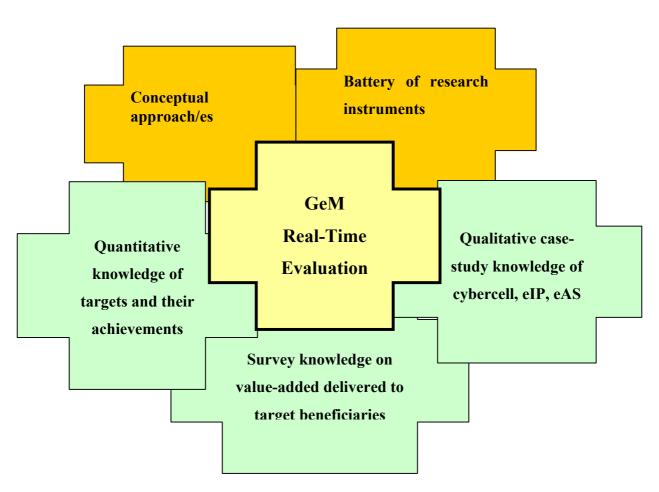


Figure 2. Ingredients of Real-time Evaluation of GeM at All Levels

The combined application on these five real-time evaluation ingredients would generate a rich picture of the evolution of GeM, its achievements, limitations, and lessons of practical value for both GeM and other possible similar movements.

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8 Next Steps to Implement in the Evolution of the e-Inclusion Movement from Now to WSIS Geneva in December 2003.

The pre-condition for starting the process of movement-building is in one word found in the title of this paper: <u>believing</u>. Assuming that this exist, we should then be aware that it is in the nature of all large-scale, multi-actions long-term processes that the start and development of the entire front of actions tends to proceed at different speeds and even in a patchy way. Ultimately, much of it depends on the emergence of the distributed leadership of the movement, their commitment, perseverance, creativity and genuine will to work together for a better future for all.

The Rome workshop was strategically targeted to "multiplier" organizations and was limited by resources. Now with an initial programmatic framework available, we can proceed to an expansion by beginning to invite not only similar type of stakeholders but others as well, for instance, foundations, companies, governments, projects, civil society, etc. working for an information society for all.

This process should be organic, however, in line with the Global e-Inclusion Movement framework an ingredients. It should also have clear targets to be reached within a meaningful period of time. I propose that the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) to take place in Geneva in December 2003 offers a "natural" opportunity and date for GeM to complete its "conception" phase by generating both:

- A sizeable active constituency organized into cybercells, eIPs and eASs
- An attractive and realistic programme of work and targets at all levels of cybercell. eIP, eAS and GeM and, ideally covering all e-inclusion action spaces.

This GeM's workprogramme could then be made public at WSIS Geneva to benefit from the concentrated governmental, international, NGO, civil society presence as well as from the wide media attention that the event is expected to generate on the area of e-inclusion. Of course, we would invite everybody to work with the movement for the achievement of an information society for all, making it clear that we truly mean it and are working for it.

If we accept this WSIS target, then we have roughly 9 months to work from about end-March, with March left for comments and feedback on this document. The 8 months could in turn be divided into two phases with the first phase (1st April to 31st July 2003) starting the systematic work of populating the movement's e-inclusion action spaces and leading to setting up credible eAS constituencies with initial frameworks and workprogrammes. The second phase (1st August to 1st December 2003) would deepen this development and would finalize the GeM workprogrammes to be launched publicly during WSIS Geneva. In order to succeed, I think the following activities should be implemented during the first phase until end of July 2003:

- ➤ Opening of a series of provisional web-interaction spaces at the www.e-inclusionsite.org and/or any appropriate site with a view to facilitating the formation of cybercells or the nomination of existing projects for all available e-inclusion action spaces. For the future, in an example of synergies exploitation, the Free Software Consortium (FSC) has offered to share all their functionality with the www.e-inclusionsite.org. It is worth noting that the FSC itself is adapting the free software available from the Development Gateway.
- ➢ Begin populating the movement with existing and/or new cybercells, eIPs, and eAS. There are many projects and probably some action spaces that could already begin to fill the available action spaces or even opening new ones. In particular, the creation of new cybercells and eventually eIPs and eASs that lead to exploitation of synergies and consequently to clear GeM's added value for e-inclusion experiences is most critical. Indeed I propose much of this period up to WSIS Geneva (and even later) should aim to add value through synergies identification and exploitation. I therefore invite you to take the lead now, thus making a reality of GeM's concept of distributed leadership. As an example, the formation of a cybercell in the area of free/open software is under exploration with FSC, InfoDev, Development Gateway, European Project Three Roses and others. Another cell is under exploration in the action space business relations for e-inclusion with Orphan IT from Philippines and Datamation Foundation from India.
- ➤ Call for and collect manifestations of interest by organizations that wish to play an active role in the available e-action spaces, with their expectations and potential contributions. A brief web questionnaire will be prepared for this purpose. In parallel, start database of donors, receptors, accreditation organizations and other relevant stakeholders in all action space.

- ➤ Opening of interactive web spaces to stimulate and moderate the initial definition of eAS's frameworks and workprogrammes primarily focused on *synergy identification and exploitation*, and therefore starting from existing elements, processes and players.
- ➤ Completion (end-July) of initial frameworks and workprogrammes containing first definitions of targets with estimated timelines, funding needs and potential funding sources.

Following the end of the first phase, the following activities should be implemented during the phase leading to WSIS Geneva in December 2003:

- ➤ Deepening of all activities started during the first phase, leading to a stronger constituency and to a new version of the www.e-inclusionsite.org for GeM.
- ➤ Completion of final GeM document to be launched at WSIS Geneva and containing 5-year evolutionary eASs' work-programmes and targets that show clear exploitation of synergies among e-inclusion action spaces. In short, a document that we can proudly and confidently promote for support and implementation to all necessary organizations.
- ➤ Completion of preparations for public launch of GeM workprogramme, including press releases and wide promotion to all WSIS participants.
- ➤ Kick off of promotional campaign to governments and high-level forums with a view to encouraging the adoption of the overall GeM's programme both individually and as a World Summit resolution. The GeM's programme should be legitimately positioned and seen as the systematic contribution and demand of the grassroot movement, offering clear actions and mechanisms to have large-scale e-inclusion impact on the ground.

In addition to these proposal for action that are valid for all e-inclusion action spaces, it is important to name a number of actions that also require implementation during the period leading to WSIS Geneva. These are:

➤ Action Space 3 (Business Relations) – Consider starting a web's e-inclusion 'mentor' space made up of all those "business-relation" experiences that are willing to share their

business/operational models and answer questions. Every experience will be in this space with one-two pages presentation, web-link and contact details. For those who are prepared to 'mentor' but do not wish their contact details publicized, the web space will offer a general address that will intermediate the first interaction.

- ➤ Action 8 (Challenges) Lending support to the Youth Challenge for WSIS, the Stockholm Challenge and the other challenges already open for entries.
- ➤ Action 10 (Fund-raising) Immediate implementation of weekly "clicking days" engaging the entire movement and all the networks of every organization ("youth" and "senior") to clear the "debt" we have with our current sponsors and be able to raise further funding for project in poor areas of the world. Tuesday of every week will be a "clicking day" with the first "clicking day" starting on Tuesday 11th of March 2003.
- ➤ Action Space 11 (Culture and Intellectuality) Lending support to the Youth Arts Expo for WSIS and begin collecting proposals of names from all continents for the scientific committee.
- ➤ Action Space 13 (Specific e-Inclusion action Spaces) Working with action space 12 (i.e. advocacy, campaigning) to generate an initial definition of movement's campaigning themes. Following strategic definition of campaigning areas begin identifying existing movements and organizations already working in the targeted area to establish "humanization" alliances.
- ➤ Action Space 14 (Solidarity with Projects in Crisis) Begin putting in place accreditation mechanism, possibly, a small panel of movement's members with access to information from the ground.

Clearly there is plenty of good work to do if GeM is to become an effective force for "humanization" change. We can go back to the quotation at the start of section 4, and be reminded that the difficulties we shall find will be many, possibly leading to false starts at one level or another. This however should not be a reason for a weakening of the will in front of the historical endeavour. Indeed all difficulties should be seen as challenges to overcome and opportunities to learn and work together in the long march towards a better society – the information society for all.

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It is crucial that a large, visible, global e-inclusion leadership emerges and is able to communicate to the world a recognizable common message focused on people and the elimination of exclusion and poverty from the emerging knowledge society. This should become the strong, loud "voice" of the movement, a "voice" fundamentally focused on the grassroot and for the grassroot. This should be the base of the movement's authority and of its eventual success in this crossroad 21st century.

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