



Edited by Emmanuel K. Ngwainmbi



Citizenship, Democracies, and Media  
Engagement among Emerging Economies  
and Marginalized Communities

Emmanuel K. Ngwainmbi  
Editor

Citizenship,  
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## PREFACE

The world has witnessed the rapid emergence of regional organizations, the rise of individualism, increasing social media use playing a pivotal role in stopping dictatorial regimes and the election of new governments, and extreme advances in technology facilitating the strengthening of local economies, especially within the first 10 years of the twenty-first century. The widespread uses of the internet have granted citizens around the world unprecedented electronic access to alternative media and communication resources and have given rise to regionalization, particularly in the global South where bureaucratic and dictatorial regimes had restricted access to normal ways of living.

The information and communication technology (ICT) breakthrough has sowed the seeds for future control of political and economic systems inside the new nation states. As the World Wide Web and other forms of social media developed and expanded through the 1990s, no one foresaw their impact on national security, human rights abuses and protection, and other social foibles, and on communities and cities in wealthy, politically stable, as well as fragile and economically emerging states today. The resulting globalization has transformed human identity and redefined local and national space and international law, raising new questions about citizenship and nationality. With forced integration at the political, diplomatic, economic, social, and environmental levels, a redefinition of what constitutes civic space and a more intense examination of how new social movements affect lives occur almost daily.

The open internet, clearly the most powerful form of communication and information dissemination, has allowed young people access to information about previous actions and policies that put their countries on the wrong side of political and economic growth. In many developing countries, more young people are using Facebook, blogs, WhatsApp, and other internet platforms to forge political and social change. In Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and other parts of North Africa, and in the Middle East, they have used those applications to share information denouncing regimes, organize rallies, stay motivated, and even to protect their colleagues from being attacked by government authorities. We have noticed a similar trend in Cameroon, where people of Southern Cameroonian heritage, through social media broadcasts and text messaging, mobilized themselves and influenced international opinion to establish themselves as citizens of an independent state. In North Africa, social media activists have shifted their focus from denouncing oppression on the streets to turning their Facebook pages and blogs into spaces of resistance and sustainable activism.

Elsewhere, citizenship is up for sale. Wealthy persons can purchase citizenship for as little as \$100,000 without physically being in another country. According to a report on *60 Minutes* (a CBS news magazine) on January 1, 2017, any individual can obtain a passport in Malta or the Dominican Republic, Barbuda, or St. Kitts after answering questions online and going through a background check. These countries reportedly look for wealthy people, the “*crème de la crème*,” says Prime Minister of Antigua and Barbuda Gaston Browne, who confirmed that for \$250,000 people are screened by the US intelligence service and meet with local authorities for five days. Vast sums of money flow into those countries, but national and global security is guaranteed to be at stake, since persons with criminal backgrounds in one country can easily become citizens in those cash-strapped countries and use their new passports to travel to other nations.

As rapid changes occur in our world, scholars and students need information packages to help them understand these changes, their causes, and their impacts, especially in Africa and Asia. This book is an edited collection of essays in which the authors provide some explanations of these complex problems. The title, *Citizenship, Democracies, and Media Engagement among Emerging Economies and Marginalized Communities*, comes from the idea that putting together new developments in cyber

media use and citizens' reactions to governments' decisions can help national and international policymakers to plan better futures.

This book examines diplomatic relationships between local authorities and populations in fast-growing economies like China, India, and Brazil, and the large economies (UK, France, Germany, and the USA), revealing unique qualities and existing challenges among under-served groups in countries striving to emerge from poverty. The book offers a context in which some emerging economies in Africa, the Caribbean, South America, the Middle East, and Asia could chart their socioeconomic futures through regular democratic practice. The volume addresses human rights policies, diplomatic practices, and citizen journalism as paradigms for sustainable growth in those countries.

Using hundreds of references and data from existing physical and electronic texts, scholars and practitioners with research backgrounds on Africa, the Middle East, South America, North America, and India offer a broad range of perspectives on the changing face of democracy and markets in those countries, and on human rights, political communication, citizen journalism, international law and diplomacy, and political science. Through practical experience in the selected countries and field research, scholars are able to show how personal and national freedoms, as well as business deals, have been negotiated in a bid to create a new socioeconomic culture within these nations.

We prefer the term “tribe,” rather than “ethnic” or “linguistic group” that is used by most scholars, as the former denotes historicity and a social group existing before the infiltration or arrival of external forces. Functionally, we see the tribe as a group of people who are dependent on their immediate surroundings—fauna and flora—for their livelihood: men, women, and children who are mostly self-sufficient, and are not integrated into the national society. We feel that to ask appropriate questions around the definition or redefinition of “citizenship” and the challenges that states seeking a middle ground face between developing their economies and embracing media-induced external cultural patterns, one should appreciate the space and ways of the indigenous group—the tribe.

About 1000 ethnic groups in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, each with a common and distinctive culture, religion, and language, are among emerging markets in the world today. These markets are slightly different from communities, where ethnic groups use a single language and practice a religion. For clarity, we see the town and the city within

the defined borders of the nation state as part of the “indigenous” or emerging community. By looking at those indigenous groups in the context of the new communities wired with global information technology, we may force the debate on how emerging economies and marginalized communities are handling issues of social media, broadcast media, and other forms of ICT.

We acknowledge that the internet and its social media tools have been instrumental in facilitating political uprisings, and we argue that while ICT has facilitated the exchange of information among people and organizations, governments and policymakers continue to ignore its capacity to disintegrate the nation and, in some cases, create economic chaos. We cite the militia and special interest groups in Libya, Chad, Mexico, Tunisia, Yemen, Eritrea, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, which have used social media to share information and galvanize the public against political authorities. Then there are the terrorist cells in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Nigeria that destroy infrastructure and lives, rendering those countries politically unstable and causing foreign investors to suspend plans to set up their businesses in such territories. The ultimate result is that unemployment rates increase in those politically fragile nations, and the probability of civil unrest remains high. Similarly, the chances of foreign nationals migrating to such countries and seeking citizenship become limited.

We hope that through this volume, readers may have a clear understanding of how the socioeconomic gap between the so-called developed and emerging countries can be bridged. Some of the major issues discussed include:

- Political science and communication theories on democratization in developing countries.
- How public policy, international relations, and cyber communications (the internet, social media) have contributed to national democratic movements, including challenges and best practices.
- How the media, democracy, and electoral processes have influenced emerging democracies.
- How various organizations use and misuse poll data in measuring national democratic activities.
- How the ruling party influences the electoral process, including via corruption.
- Whether election observer missions add any value to the democratic process.



- Whether regular municipal, legislative, parliamentary, and presidential elections are necessary or even authentic.
- The role of the geopolitical landscape and neighboring countries in mitigating democracy.
- Whether experts can provide local media coverage to measure democracy.

The book includes several case studies on diplomacy toward emerging economies, focusing on how economic inequality is slowing the practice of healthy democracy in some developing countries and how thriving local democracies serve as a marketplace for foreign investments. Another study on public policies and social practices highlights the power of media advocacy and strategic networking in transforming norms and changing policies. It draws out implications for the study and practice of persuasion communication, arguing that without strategic advocacy and coalition building, it will be nearly impossible to achieve any significant change.

The book brings out two key problems caused by globalization: the scramble for and retrieval of local space by foreign entities; and the challenge for indigenous groups of protecting local resources against foreign “hawks.” A chapter reviews the communication actions needed to ensure peaceful coexistence between the native population and the government sector in Guyana over land titling. The book offers suggestions for socioeconomic changes to build democracy and equality, specifically how countries can reform their democracies to grow their social and economic institutions by using existing best practices, expatriates, and citizens in the Diaspora, as well as ways of building sustainable progressive democratic practices.

We feel that this book will be useful to political science, international communication, and international relations and diplomacy students, as well as researchers, scholars, diplomats, transnational business executives, and practitioners. Political scientists, policy scholars, development communication scholars, political communication scholars, researchers, international law and human rights experts, and legal scholars will find the content insightful and useful. Institutes for the study of human rights, minority studies, and international and cross-cultural studies programs may also find the material useful. After reading this book, readers will have the opportunity to explore media and citizenship, popular media, democracy and development in Africa, media studies, diversity teaching, and education in a multicultural society, and topics related to how the

media engages with small and large communities. Simply put, the book presents the media as a community watchdog, messenger, and organizer.

We also hope that those interested in citizen media, democracy and development, modern sociocultural anthropology, human rights, or cross-cultural studies will draw essential knowledge from this book. We note, however, that the book is not a lens through which we can see citizenship, democratic movements, and the media's role in emerging economies and marginalized communities around the world. Rather, we suggest that readers see this book as a hint to discussion on how globalization and mass media engagement affect the wellbeing of some communities, states, regions, citizens, and political actors in social and economic terms. Here, we see the media as the nucleus or foundation on which a state can grow its economy, improve its sociopolitical condition, or measure the safety and security of its borders. In tandem, the book presents the media as an arbiter of public interests, a peacemaking tool, a mechanism for promoting the agendas of politicians and governments, and an agent for constructing a new national identity.

Elizabeth City, USA, January 2017

Emmanuel K. Ngwainmbi

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PART I

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Paradigmatic Approaches of Media  
Engagement and Social Mobilization

# An External Examination of Emerging Democratic Institutions and the Problem of Social and Economic Security

*Emmanuel K. Ngwainmbi*

The two world wars that took place in the twentieth century destroyed the infrastructures and landscapes of most countries and caused a great deal of poverty and distrust among nations. The countries in the global north, especially those with advanced technology, good democratic institutions, strong security and political influence were able to rebuild their

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Emmanuel K. Ngwainmbi has researched the socioeconomic impact of information technology on indigenous cultures. He is currently an independent high-level communication specialist and Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Mass Communication and Journalism. At the moment, his research focuses on the socioeconomic impact of information technology on indigenous cultures. In this chapter, he focuses on how the widespread use of ICT (information and communication technology) threatens the security of countries just beginning to adopt democracy, discusses the obstacles to the development of democracy, and offers suggestions for progressive democracy and socioeconomic development in African countries.

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institutions much sooner than countries with a fragile government. But that seemed to change in the latter part of the century when the world governing body, the United Nations Organization (UNO/UN), introduced governing policies aimed at improving diplomatic relations among nation states. By creating and managing such inter-governmental bodies as the United Nations Human Rights Council responsible for enhancing and protecting human rights around the world, and the United Nations Development Program which advocates for change and connects countries to knowledge, experience and resources to help people build a better life and provides expert advice, training, and grants support to developing countries, with increasing emphasis on assistance to the least developed countries the world governing body has often reasserted its role as key advocate for global peace and socio-economic change.

The work of the UN has, to a great extent, been enhanced by advancements in information and communication technology. The launching of the World Wide Web in the early 1990s and later the introduction of social communication gadgets like the I-phone, WhatsApp, IMO, and Viber, have allowed businesses to find new markets for their goods and services, and governments to redefine or protect their national interests, among other noteworthy activities. However, with the ongoing terrorist acts within countries and beyond national borders, facilitated by the widespread use of cyber media resources, it seems that no government, business, or military group foresaw ICT's negative impact on national security.

The UN Peace Keeping forces and observer missions charged with ensuring the prevalence of peace and the promotion of democratic modus operandi in all nations of the world have experienced measurable success when groups resolved their conflicts and in some cases considered national interest over personal ambition.

In short, the resulting process of globalization has not only redefined our identity, it has raised new debates about what constitutes local and national space, citizenship and nationality. With the advent of information and communication technology, nations have been integrating at the regional, political, diplomatic, economic, social, and environmental levels at an alarmingly fast pace. To that end, the question of what constitutes local space and how new social movements and business negotiations affect lives must be examined and answers sought if nations intend to maintain their own identity. Otherwise, the nation-state, nationality, or heritage will soon become a thing of the past.

## THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF UNDERSTANDING AN EMERGING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION OR COMMUNITY

The term “globalization” is understood as the opening up of countries to free trade and the growing interdependence of world markets, and coming under the responsibility of organisms of the United Nations, multilateral pacts, and agreements (e.g., Court 2001). In practical terms, however, globalization has taken on new meanings: acculturation and socioeconomic marginalization. For Court (2001), a senior member of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, the cultural dimension (also described elsewhere as the “cultural industry”) includes those institutions protected by law, such as schools, universities, and the media (p. 189). Court sees globalization within the context of individual freedom. The phenomenon contains a psychosocial element in which the person’s right to express the self intermingles with social reality. Court (2001) writes:

[Globalization] presupposes that the human person rationally understands that despite his or her different ethnic and historical-cultural origins he or she is a free subject and also conscious of the causation of his or her acts, something which includes, as a consequence, his or her responsibility. (p. 190)

This implies freedom of expression and the right to be treated with dignity and equality. From a sociological standpoint, respecting individual cultures is as important as the interdependence of countries’ economic resources or having free access to world markets. Thus, ideally, activities involving open access to global markets are expected to include sensitivity to, or at least respect for, individual freedoms and cultural heritage.

Socioeconomic marginalization refers to the deliberate exclusion or relegation of communities with rich economic and social potential to the fringes of global society. Marginalization also relates to undermining the potential of a community in such disciplines as education, sociology, psychology, politics, or economics. Activists for development and some scholars in the area of national development are convinced that people in rural communities, minorities, subgroups, and those in densely populated urban centers with low income levels and high unemployment rates are considered less important, and are hence overlooked when it comes to distributing knowledge and financial resources. Consequently, their opinions are not seen as important.



## MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES

We explain the term marginalization through the prism of social, economic, political, and educational platforms. It gets the most attention in social psychology and political science. Both schools claim that the most dominant paradigm is “social marginalization,” where groups are excluded from the mainstream and treated with no respect, based on their ethnic origin, race, gender, religion, sexual preference, low economic status, or all of these. A group or individual is marginalized or powerless when it has been excluded from having economic, social, and political opportunities that others enjoy, and deprived of the ability for self-determination. Further, a community is marginalized when knowledge of its cultural, political, or economic assets is limited and responsible parties fail to invest in it. Education, job allocation, fair treatment of the poor and voiceless, and full and unbiased application of the rule of law are among the major determinants of an unmarginalized community. Phobias, lack of access to information, limited knowledge, misinformation, political fragility, weak diplomatic and business negotiation skills, and negative media coverage of a community make that community less desirable and less respected by other communities. With the increase in information technology, particularly the internet, cell phones, and other mass media tools, some communities are more marginalized than others. Thus, community psychology should avoid two complementary mistakes: the individualization of social problems and the neglect of the subjective experience of social actors (Burton and Kagan 2003).

## THE WORLD WIDE WEB AND THE PLIGHT OF EMERGING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

Researchers have described the period from January 1, 1990 to December 31, 1999 as the Gregorian calendar, because the content of the internet not only granted countries around the world instant access to alternative media and communication resources, it also exposed everyone to multiple cultures, creative thinking, and creative action. That period also created a wave of regionalism, particularly in the global South, where bureaucratic and autocratic regimes had restricted access to former ways of living (Hettne and Söderbaum 1998; Harrell 1995). The internet opened doors for powerful nations to collect intelligence in new nation states emerging from political colonization, reach their elected or self-appointed leaders,

or negotiate diplomatic relations. Industrialized countries welcomed the ICT revolution, because they had the resources to create, control, and distribute ICT content. Conversely, the new nation states, with their fragile governments, weak currencies, low educational standards, widespread poverty, limited access to electricity, and tightly controlled press, could not compete for equality in cyber-mediated information technology.

The unfair advantage in information and communication practice for once rendered the debate over the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) useless. We may recall that NWICO, the subject of what is known as the MacBride Commission, had advocated but failed to address the unbalanced free flow of information from the developed countries to developing ones, which left the latter psychologically, economically, socially, and spiritually dependent. Those who introduced the World Wide Web and forms of social media to the rest of the world may not have foreseen the damage such media would inflict on national security, nor their impact on human rights abuses in rich countries as well as in politically fragile states. Thus, the Internet can be considered the most dubious agent in the “cultural industry” in the sense that it facilitates the exchange of information and data that promotes good and bad practices around the world.

### MEDIA AS A GLOBAL TERRORISM PUBLIC RELATIONS AGENT

Television networks in both politically powerful and fragile states have been covering terrorism with such frequency that terrorism itself seems to be an interesting stunt. Media ratings skyrocket whenever there is a breaking story about bombings and killings led by terrorists. The media continue to exploit attacks in public places around the world, largely for the benefit of their operational efficiency, information gathering, recruitment, fundraising, and propaganda schemes (Nacos 2002). International relations scholars contend that technologies have improved the capability of groups and cells in the areas of proselytizing coordination, security, mobility, and lethality (Ngwainmbi 2016). In the case of the group known as ISIS, it has become clear that information technology has enhanced the ability of terrorist cells around the world to coordinate terrorist activities, and has strengthened their engagement with the media to share their message with the global community (Ngwainmbi 2016).

Those who expect television, clearly the most influential channel for mass audience reach, to be the watchdog for citizen protection could

be dumbfounded when they realize that television networks put more emphasis on telling than educating. CNN International, Al Jazeera, BBC, France 24, and other global information networks spend more time covering news and sharing expert views on terrorist plans and programs. By prioritizing terrorism on their agenda instead of focusing on socioeconomic issues that integrate regions, television networks are giving terrorists free publicity and validating terrorism. The fact that shortly after each bombing in virtually every city or community ISIS has released a statement to the media stating that it is responsible for the act clearly suggests that the terrorist network recognizes its importance as a news maker and needs to make itself continually relevant to the media and to world citizens.

### ICT PRODUCTS AS A CONDUIT FOR MEANINGFUL CHANGE

Despite the negative social impact of the internet as described above, strategic use of its products may have a positive influence on both politically and economically fragile nations and powerful leaders. With the help of ICT, diplomatic relations between powerful nations and new nation states have improved to the extent that there are fewer dictatorial and monarchical regimes in the world today than in the early 1990s. Through televised United Nations (UN) conferences and missions involving ambassadors, senior government officials, and heads of state, citizens have been able to assess and select their leaders, propose policies, and mobilize themselves accordingly. Meetings of heads of state have led to the formation of continental political bodies and executive/administrative branches to promote peaceful international coexistence and friendship. Mediated communication systems have certainly enhanced the image, networking, and productivity of high-level, world-class groups such as the Group of Twenty (G20), European Union (EU), African Union, and North American Trade Organization (NATO).

The world governing body for football (FIFA), and regional bodies such as the Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Association Football (CONCACAF), the Confederation of African Football (CAF), and the European Champions League (ECL), have successfully exploited electronic media to promote peace and friendship among nations. The emergence of regional communities also helps to advance regional economic, security, and infrastructure cooperation. The UN has put in place regional commissions around the world to foster

intra-regional integration, international cooperation for growth, and the economic and social development of member states. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) reported that multiple transitions dominated Africa's development in the first half of the 1990s. In some countries the transition has run concurrently from war to peace, from one-party rule to multi-party governance, from apartheid to non-racial democracy, from command economies dominated by governments and sheltered from imports to free markets, private enterprise, and more liberal trade (UNECA 1996).

In the global South, particularly southern and southeastern Africa, integration and parallel institution building can be proper measures to strengthen democratic governance, since a transnational policy agreement for institutional "lock-in" implies that member countries are committed to maintaining specified local norms and practices of democracy. The South African Development Community (SADC) is a case in point. Furthermore, the EU provides sound evidence for the success of this mechanism, given the transformation of the formerly authoritarian and communist European countries to stable democracies in the course of their EU membership.

Conversely, fragile states contribute to global instability and violence and "illiberal democracy," especially when their representatives are not involved in the design of safety laws. The central governments in West, Central, and East Africa appear to undermine the abilities of traditional leaders in facilitating the implementation of national policies in local communities. Coups and coup attempts seem to be a never-ending phenomenon in Africa, with Nigeria, Chad, Niger, Congo, and Cameroon among countries that experienced them in the distant past, and Burkina Faso, Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, and Burundi undergoing them in the last five years alone. Pakistan and Syria, Chile and Cuba, and other countries undergoing regime transitions and economic crises also face variable degrees of urbanization. In cities where the population is over a million, one is bound to find political divisions, crime, and considerably high poverty rates. There are 500 cities around the world hosting more than a million inhabitants with varying cultural backgrounds, of which 80% are in emerging economies in Africa, South America, and Asia. As Robert Muggah (2015) has stated in his article "Preventing Fragile Cities from Becoming Failed Cities," fast-growing medium-sized cities will decide the security, stability, and sustainable development of the world in the twenty-first century. That presupposes challenges in

governance, employment, and economic disparity to be placed in the laps of national governments as human mobility and domestic political crises take people to different national borders.

Globalization has affected the economic and political foundations of every country, as well as the cultural industry. Already in the USA, UK, and several European countries touted as the having the most advanced democracies in the world, citizenship or *jus sanguinis* is not only determined by one's place of birth, but also by one or both parents who are already citizens of that country. Children born in the USA are citizens by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment's Citizenship Clause. Civil rights, constitutional, and immigration law and policy expert Kristin A. Collins (2014) reminds us that the statutes governing parent-child citizenship transmission are race neutral in the USA. The derivative nature of citizenship determination in the USA today presupposes the same determination of citizenship in countries at the infant stage of democratic governance, because the USA has a strong political influence in those countries.

There are also legitimate concerns that powerful foreign governments and rich international companies have compromised and devalued local space, original values, and group dynamics (Ngwainmbi 2004, 2007). The process of globalizing communities has the potential to erode the national sovereignty of the weakest and poorest states, while widening the technological divide among states; on the other hand, it tends to provide an enabling environment for greater respect for human rights and gender equality (Amuwo 2002, p. 67). More crucially, the fast pace with which changes are taking place in transnational social and economic activities raises more questions about whether democracy and democratization are the right trends in modern society. The ease with which both the educated and uneducated are utilizing new and old information products without proper vetting from IT experts, social scientists, and local governments is causing users to create and disseminate new languages and media content to vulnerable users. The ongoing activity in the free global information superhighway—the internet and forms of social media—has undermined and in some cases damaged worldviews of Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and other belief systems that have shaped specific philosophies of life for their respective groups, as well as having an impact on feminism and gender politics. In a nutshell, globalization has transformed the human identity and redefined local and national

spaces and international law, raising new questions about citizenship and nationality.

### THE FALLACY OF GLOBALIZATION AND TRADE NEGOTIATION

Globalization has deepened economic inequality between poor small countries and advanced ones. Part of the reason for the imbalance in global economic growth is that developing countries are rarely represented in negotiations that concern them directly, as London School of Economics and Political Science professor Robert Hunter Wade (2004) has observed. The former World Bank economist has argued that developing countries cannot afford the cost of hotels, offices, and salaries in places like Washington, DC and Geneva, which must be paid not in dollars but hard currency bought at market exchange rates. They resort to hiring expensive external consultants to negotiate for them. To this extent, Wade's argument makes sense. Over the years, a given developing country could spend much money hiring external negotiators who understand the negotiation dynamics and could close relatively better deals on its behalf than could nationally selected negotiators.

When it comes to multilateral trade, negotiations can either make or break a country's economy, strengthen its leverage among its neighbors, or deplete its resources. Trade negotiation certainly plays a predominant role for any state, but for developing countries it has become the central tool to leapfrog stages of economic development.

Multilateral trade talks have existed since the foundation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947, but talks have become more complex and important for developing countries. This is why such countries have increased their resources to strengthen their participation in negotiations, as opposed to the 1950s and 1960s when they were still setting up their systems of governance and felt they had little to gain from exporting products and little to lose from excluding imports. The Fourth Ministerial Conference in Doha, Qatar in November 2001 provided a platform for ministers from developing countries to address negotiations and implementation of the modalities of the World Trade Organization (WTO) agreements, among other subjects. The developing countries were an important part of the alliance that helped anti-subsidy negotiations in agriculture to take place. Page (2003) rightly considers the Doha meeting as evidence of the ability of developing countries to influence outcomes, writing: "A clearer victory,