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FUTURE NEWS

IN THIS EDITION

The end of globalisation?

by Jarl Frijs-Madsen (page 2)

Futurists in Action

Our future selves by Sohail Inayatullah (page 5)

BOOK REVIEW

The Systems View of Life by Fritjof Capra and Pier Luigi Luisi (page 9)

Signals in the Noise AmplifyYou – technology for people produced by Accenture

(page 11)



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THE END OF GLOBALISATION?

by Jarl Frijs-Madsen

During the past thirty years, globalisation has been a strong and steady megatrend. Most people expect this trend to continue in the coming decades. In fact, globalisation is taken for granted, almost seen as a fact of life. But continued globalisation is not the only possible future scenario. A number of forces are pushing the world towards increased nationalism, protectionism and isolationism. And one of the key aspects of globalisation – the global value chains – could even cease to exist in less than fifteen years due to technological developments. Three scenarios for the future of globalisation are possible, and nations as well as international companies had better prepare for more than one of them.

In short, globalisation describes the process of a world growing closer and closer together, in terms of culture, economy, business and politics. Globalisation has taken place as natural and man-made barriers have been reduced or eliminated. In the perfectly globalised world, there is no difference between doing business with or living in Boston, Barcelona, Beijing or Buenos Aires. When presented this way, it is clear that even if the world has become much more globalised over the course of the past twenty-five years – and it certainly has – there are still lots of barriers.

Globalisation is one of fourteen megatrends identified by the Copenhagen Institute for Futures Studies, and together with technological development, one of the most powerful, as its consequences have been experienced by every country, every company and every person. But what shape will globalisation take towards the year 2030? What is the future of globalisation?

Globalisation at a crossroads

There are, and have been, many benefits from globalisation, such as lower prices on goods and services and a fast-growing middle class in emerging economies. But critics will point to just as many problems caused by globalisation; from social dumping and environmental damage, to lost jobs within manufacturing, and powerful financial institutions capable of throwing the global economy into recession. The criticism is coming from both the political left and the right, mainly in Europe and the US. And many politicians have changed their perception, from seeing globalisation as a powerful and uncontrollable force, to believing and convincing their voters that globalisation can be stopped or even reversed. The result of the UK referendum on membership of the European Union – the Brexit – was a testament to this trend. The British people voted to take back power from the EU to Britain and thus unwind integration. Similar views have been represented in the recent American presidential elections, from Bernie Sanders on the left to Donald Trump and Ted Cruz on the right, and are supported by many people, perhaps even the majority of the US population.

But there are several other forces at play: Actions by authoritarian leaders like Vladimir Putin and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan – who are often aiming to strengthen their power domestically – are de facto pulling their countries politically and economically into isolation. Non-state actors like terrorist organisations have different goals and means, but are nevertheless a force that could end up reversing globalisation by limiting the free movement of goods, services, money and people.

The free movement of people, be it tourists, migrant workers, students or refugees is a key element in globalisation. When some of these groups are prevented from moving – as is increasingly the case – globalisation is de facto being reversed. Africa plays an insignificant role in the global economy, but by 2050 there will be two billion Africans – many eager to move north in search of jobs and prosperity.

In Asia, the anti-globalsation trends are much less pronounced, even if antiglobalisation movements do exist and China is playing a semi-protectionist game.

But there is another trend which is challenging the present world order, and that is the rising ambitions and self-confidence of China, India and Indonesia, respectively. These populous nations with high economic growth will not accept international rules dictated by the West. China showed its force when it pushed through the creation of the Asian Infrastructure Development Bank against the interests of Japan and the US.

A new world order, with a dominant Asia and increased nationalism in the West, could decrease the power and effectiveness of the global institutions. Most supporters, and especially critics of globalisation, would agree that globalisation should go hand in hand with global governance. Post World War II institutions like the UN, World Bank, IMF, the WTO and more Western oriented institutions like the European Union, NATO and the OECD, are the closest we have come to such global governance. But there is a real chance that these organisations could either cease to exist or – more likely – gradually lose their power.

Technology is a double-edged sword when it comes to drivers and disablers of further globalisation. On the one hand, the increased global connectivity will increase globalisation. In 1995, only 1 percent of the world was connected to the internet. Today, 3.3 billion people, equaling 40 percent, are connected. In 10 years, almost 6 billion people or 80 percent of the planet are expected to be connected. This will be a major driver of continued globalisation. Technology is also enabling new high speed trains, connecting cities and people in Asia and all over the world. And technology will soon enable simultaneous machine interpretation which could eliminate all language barriers for good. But on the other hand, certain technologies like robots, 3D printing, artificial intelligence and virtual reality will reduce the need for travel and trade, and technological progress in solar and wind power will reduce the need for transporting energy sources like coal and oil around the world.

Just like technology, multinational organisations are adding to both sides of the equation. They are pushing hard for global market access, are favoured by the global consumer, and they are the creators of global value chains. However, their behaviour is creating opposition among interest groups, labour unions, politicians and workers.

Can globalisation be stopped at all?

Is globalisation like a tsunami which no wall or fence can hold back, or is it in fact stoppable? It depends on what aspects we are looking at, but in most cases globalisation could be reversed, and in principle brought to an end, even if this is not that likely. If major countries should decide that it serves their national interests to disconnect from global interaction, there are means to do this: From high toll barriers to limits on travel, from restrictions on capital movement to limiting access to the internet. Let us look at the possible scenarios for the future of globalisation, where scenarios 1 and 3 represent polarities and scenario 2 is close to the status quo.



Scenario 1: The End of Globalisation

In this scenario, anti-globalisation accelerates. The European Union falls apart. NAFTA is dissolved. The WTO agreements are not respected, and WTO loses its power. Border control is strengthened within Europe and between Europe, the US and the rest of the world. Russia and Turkey continue their de facto isolationism. In China and other Asian countries, similar decisions are made, perhaps for different reasons but with the same result. Technology, including robots and 3D printing, reduces the need for imports of industrial products and energy, while some raw materials that are not evenly distributed will still be traded at high prices. Thus, the end of globalisation is not the same as the end of internationalisation and regionalisation. But if the EU falls apart, the US and China become increasingly isolationistic, and Russia and Turkey continue their present policies, it would be the end of globalisation as we know it.

Scenario 2: Two Steps Forward and One Step Backward



This scenario is, to some extent, the-world-as-now scenario, since what we are witnessing at the moment is both the reversal and the acceleration of globalisation, at the same time. The world is seeing an increasing number of protectionist measures – more than 700 in 2015, up from 200 just a few years ago. The big Trans-Pacific trade agreement TPP has been agreed upon, but has difficulties going through the US Congress. The Trans-Atlantic partnership TTIP is even less reachable. Borders are closing in Europe. But at the same time technology and connectivity –

including social media – are increasing globalisation by breaking down barriers. In this scenario, globalisation will continue to be a rising trend and take on new forms due to technology. However, the speed will be slower than we have seen in the last 25 years because of set-backs in other areas.

Scenario 3: Accelerated Globalisation



History has shown that it can be dangerous to predict the future on the basis of current events. How strong and long-lasting is the anti-globalisation trend? What if the UK dives into years of recession, and Brexit is deemed a great failure? What if the young generation pushes for an even more globalised world? What if technology continues to take quantum leaps, enabling the seamless movement of all services imaginable across borders? Then the decade from 2020 to 2030 could be a new period of increased globalisation. This does not mean that globalisation, in this scenario, would be unaffected by some of trends that have been mentioned earlier, like reduction in international value chains due to automation. But in this scenario, we would indeed see a world moving closer together at a fast pace through the elimination of all kinds of barriers.

Scenario 2 is the base scenario, i.e. the most likely one. But it would be dangerous to rule out the other two, or any combination of the three.

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FUTURISTS IN ACTION

OUR FUTURE SELVES

by Professor Sohail Inayatullah



Sohail Inayatullah

For many of us, the prevailing mood in our world today is one of uncertainty about the future, particularly after the shock election of Donald Trump as President of the US. But it's not all doom and gloom for Mooloolaba's Sohail Inayatullah.

The adjunct professor at the University of the Sunshine Coast (USC) is a futurist who spends his working life analysing scenarios that could play out in our world, so we can plan for them.

Inayatullah was recently appointed Chair on Future Studies at UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), working with institutions in Malaysia, the Asia-Pacific, North America and elsewhere.

"This new role recognises the work of the community of futurists and the importance of future studies at a global level," he says. "It's really working out what to do with leaders who don't understand the emerging future.

"Big issues such as climate change and technology disruption can benefit from futures thinking. The aim is to devise long-term policy solutions and good governance for future generations by preparing people, businesses, communities and nations for transitions to different types of futures."

Professor Inayatullah's expectations of radical change in global education over the next 15 years were recently published in USC's 20th anniversary celebration book, Visions. His piece for the book was titled, How Well Do You Get Along With Your Robot?

The piece references the likelihood that artificial intelligence (AI) will make many jobs obsolete, but Inayatullah says we can use AI to our advantage, rather than fear it.

It's hoped the benefits of Inayatullah's UNESCO appointment will spread to the Sunshine Coast by encouraging PhD research at USC which would aim to help our region tackle future problems.

With AI and other advances in technology set to dramatically change the way we live over the next 50 years, we asked Inayatullah to comment on some of the most exciting changes we are likely to see.

1. DRIVERLESS CARS



Buckle up people, we're in for a fun ride. Robotic vehicles operated by AI are no longer the stuff of science fiction. Self-driving cars (with a human driver present) and completely driverless cars are lauded as the future of motoring – it's hoped they will make roads safer and reduce congestion.

Adelaide was the first Australian state to trial a self-driving car, the Volvo XC90, in November

2015 and the first self-driving car developed in Australia was unveiled in October this year, a joint venture by German multinational Bosch and the Victorian Government. It uses the shell of a Tesla with Bosch components and took a team of 45 people nine months to build.

US-based developer of software for self-driving cars, nuTonomy, trialled a driverless taxi service in Singapore in August (with a driver as backup) and Uber began public test rides of its automated fleet in the US city of Pittsburgh in September.

Tesla CEO Elon Musk says all Tesla cars built from now on will contain fully autonomous hardware (without the features activated at this point).

US company IHS Automative, which analyses market trends, predicts that 10 per cent of all new vehicles sold 20 years from now will be self-driving. But there are a multitude of safety and ethical concerns to iron out before then – how does the car's Al software choose between protecting a driver or hitting a child who runs into its path?

"My preferred scenario is, how well do you get on with your robot? The skill set is being able to use AI intelligently"

The US government recently set guidelines for companies wishing to test self-driving cars on public roads, however Australia is yet to set similar guidelines. While numerous trials are underway, a future where we're all chillaxing in driverless cars on our way to work is a way off yet.

The US Society of Automotive Engineers defines stages of autonomous driving from none to level five, which is fully robotic. Toyota has said it will demonstrate an autonomous vehicle, with at least level four capability, by 2020, in time for the Tokyo Olympics, but no one can say when we'll reach level five capability.

Professor Inayatullah says it's too soon to say for certain when we'll see driverless cars freely cruising Australian roads.

"We don't try to predict one future. We say, here's the technology, what are the possibilities? In one scenario, we could have 50 per cent of cars being driverless in Australia by 2040 and by 2030 in Singapore."

One thing is for sure: driverless cars are going to herald a very different automotive life than any of us grew up with and it's not a matter of if, but when.

2. SOLAR GETS SEXIER



Launched two weeks ago, Tesla's solar roof tiles make something techy look sexy – a concept Apple cottoned onto years ago. But critics say the improvements are more about design and aesthetic than efficiency and are unaffordable.

However, there's no denying they've gained enormous interest in a short space of time. At least two companies are planning to bring them to Australia, to be used in conjunction with the Tesla Powerwall 2.0 home battery.

Australian home insulation firm CSR Bradford is already working with

builders to offer the Tesla Powerwall 2.0 as a standard in new home builds. Integrale Homes is a Sunshine Coast company building new homes in estates like Aura, Harmony Estate at Parkview and Parklakes 2. They're currently offering a complete solar PV system with a Tesla Powerwall for \$3000 in addition to the price of a new home, a move that has proven popular with homebuyers.

Brad Drinnan from Integrale Homes says, "Integrale Homes loves technology, fullstop. [The Powerwall] has an intelligent inverter that you can program to charge on a tariff that's cheaper, say at night. We're the first on the Sunshine Coast to offer the Powerwall and it has been really well received." Inayatullah agrees Tesla's solar roof tiles and the Powerwall are an exciting development and that in 10 to 15 years' time, every home on the Sunshine Coast could be a producer of energy.

"We will have solar panels or tiles that are far more advanced than what we have now," he says. "If that's the case, what happens to traditional energy companies, what happens to Origin in that environment? They can't be energy providers because energy is already being provided. They become the Uber of energy – providing energy sharing apps.

"With robots and AI systems when there are down times, you go high. Each home will be producing its own energy, have it's own 3D printers... In that future things always go wrong. For companies like Origin, when things go wrong they provide the solutions. IBM went from producing desktops to producing energy solutions."

3. AI IS NOTHING TO FEAR



Humans have harboured a deep fear of Al for years, hence the popularity of Isaac Asimov's I, Robot science fiction stories published in the 1940s and '50s. More recently, physicist Professor Stephen Hawking was quoted as saying Al could be "either the best, or the worst thing, ever to happen to humanity".

Every tech company in the world is jumping on the Al bandwagon. Google has bought 11 Al companies and

Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg has said one of the company's main goals is to "do world-class artificial intelligence research using all of the knowledge that people have shared on Facebook. Facebook is already using AI to identify spam, determine which Facebook user is in an image and make decisions on which posts and ads you can see."

But will humanity eventually be destroyed by AI? Not according to Inayatullah.

"Al taking over – I don't think that's the big game right now," he says. "I think that's overdone. Fear plays easy; we're trained for fear. If you don't give people a chance to vent the fear, they can't go to the good. But if you stay in the fear, you get 'defend', you don't get 'create'.

"The real issue is to create skill sets to use AI wisely. By 2020, 80 per cent of all news could be done by AI. But that's not the interesting part. The interesting part is the other 20 per cent. It's seeing news not just about information – it's community making, bringing out new possibilities. News is creating the space for the big debates. Humans go upstream and the downstream is done by AI.

"My preferred scenario is, how well do you get on with your robot? The skill set is being able to use AI intelligently as opposed to being afraid of it.

"Elon Musk is an example of an early adopter who is young, innovative, creative and asks, how we can use technology to create the future we want? How do we create the same mindset of innovation in Australian mindsets?"

Inayatullah says while AI will replace some jobs, new jobs will be created and education systems will evolve to prepare our future workforce.

To meet our need for safety and security, a basic universal income could be introduced, a concept soon to be adopted in Finland.

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4. CLEAN MEAT EATERS



It might sound gross, but we're going to be dining on lab-grown meat in the near future. NASA is 3D printing meat and an Israeli biotechnology start-up called SuperMeat is developing meat in a lab from the cultivation of animal tissue without harming any animals.

"I've been tracking that for 15 years – it's a disruptor," he says. "The first burger cost \$325,000. It was a labgrown burger invented by the Dutch

- some of the scientists who came up with it were from Perth. Now it's dropped to \$16 and a new company wants to drop it to \$1.50. They're saying it tastes as good as a burger. Why pay \$5 for a burger when you can pay \$1.50?"

"The cultural early adopters will come from Sydney and Melbourne and it will take a while to reach regional areas, but it will catch on," he says. "I moved to Mooloolaba in 1999 and there weren't many vegetarian places to eat. Now they're everywhere on the Sunshine Coast."

5. GENE TECHNOLOGY



When My Weekly Preview interviewed Dr Karl Kruszelnicki in February, the scientific breakthrough he was most excited about was CRISPR.

"CRISPR is going to be really big," he said. "It's genetic editing technology. You could have a child with cystic fibrosis and you could snip that out with CRISPR. We are in the first position ever that we can control our evolution. CRISPR will change genetics. What will we do with the increased population?

What makes you think we're going to live on Earth? We are turning into a space-going race."

Sohail Inayatullah's ideal future world

- Global governance I have little interest in nation states or national identity. That
 was useful for a few hundred years. It's not useful anymore. The best Australians I
 meet are all global citizens.
- Gender equity You can't have real economic development real innovation without females being included.
- Post-meat society I don't mean to scare meat eaters. Right now the norm is meat. By 2050 the norm should be vegetarian, unless you need it for health reasons.
- Renewable energy Every home is an energy producer. It will be the end of oil as we know it.
- Spiritual evolution My vision for the future is a far more deeply spiritual culture. My
 goal is to see meditation and mindfulness used to go to a more spiritual experience.
 Most people live with scattered thoughts and scattered energies.
- Neo-humanism Right now, our lenses are 'othering'. People who are gender different, culturally different, are less than us. We're on a planet and you don't see people as less or more. We're all on the same journey and if you ask me, by 2050, that's the world I want to work towards.

Book Review

by Charles Brass – Chair, futures foundation

The Systems View of Life

by Fritjof Capra and Pier Luigi Luisi

One of the reasons why paying serious attention to the future seems too hard is the future's ultimate uncertainty. Facing an inevitably fuzzy future seems to discourage many people from investing time and energy into strategic foresight.

Another reason is that very little about the future can be understood in isolation. Everything is interconnected and interdependent. Even an attempt to look at the future of an individual business, community or school quickly cannot be undertaken without paying attention to a whole variety of social, environmental, technological and economic issues.

Two authors who separately have been exploring these issues for decades have come together to write the definitive book designed to help us all navigate the complexities of the modern world.¹

The Systems View of Life is a 500 page book designed as a reference for undergraduates, but is easily read by a much wider audience. It begins by reminding readers of the emergence of the mechanistic worldview stimulated by Isaac Newton but carried forward by generations of scientists until it started to be challenged by discoveries and insights in the early twentieth century.

Capra and Luisi begin by pointing out that this worldview was largely successful in helping our ancestors better understand the natural world, and that this success caused it's principles to be expanded into the biological, social and psychological realms.

The second part of the book describes how first physics (through quantum theory) and mathematics (through probability and statistical analysis) lead scientists to question the determinism and linearity of this mechanistic worldview. Slowly biology came to the same questions, particularly when trying to understand how complex organisms like human beings worked and how networks of organisms created ecological communities and environments.

It is this emerging conception of life and living systems that dominates the middle half of this book. Capra and Luisi move steadily through questions of just what life is, to how it is organised inside plants and animals and finally to how these species collaborate and compete in the world.

They devote over 100 pages to the development of homo sapiens, asking both what it means to be human and what role consciousness and spirituality play in that evolution.

All of this is designed to convince the reader that it makes little sense to look at entities in isolation. What really matters is how entities relate to and are connected to each other. They quote Norbert Wiener (the founder of cybernetics) as saying: "We are not stuff that abides, but patterns that perpetuate themselves" (p87).

Capra and Luisi are well aware that thinking not in terms of individuals but rather networks, relationships and patters flies in the face of much modern discourse. Even though scientists and researchers have been thinking this way for over a century, the thinking of politicians and bureaucrats is still largely locked in a mechanistic worldview. To give an example from medicine and healthcare (to which a small section is devoted), the authors note that:

"The conceptual problem at the center of contemporary healthcare is the confusion between disease processes and disease origins. Instead of asking why an illness occurs and trying to remove the conditions that led to it, medical researchers try to

1 Fritjof Capra – "The Tao of Physics" in 1975 and :"The Web of Life" in 1996 Pier Luigi Luisi – "The Emergence of Life" in 2006 and :Mind and Life" in 2008



understand the mechanisms through which the disease operates, so that they can then interfere with them. These mechanisms, rather than the true origins, are seen as the causes of disease in current medical thinking" (p43).

It is how these authors respond to the tension between mechanistic and systems thinking that makes this book so refreshing, at least from the perspective of this reviewer. Often in the modern world this tension is represented as a battle between woolly-headed systems thinkers on one hand and fundamental individualists on the other. Capra and Luisi resist this battle image entirely. Rather they take the reader on a journey through the evolution of thinking and understanding, pointing out how particular approaches were most helpful at various points along the journey.



One of the issues they explore is the role of diversity in system resilience. This is particularly important in ecological systems, but also has a profound impact on the human world:

"If the community is fragmented into isolated groups and individuals, diversity can easily become a source of prejudice and friction. But if the community is aware of the interdependence of all its members, diversity will enrich all the relationships and thus enrich the community as a whole, as well as each individual member" (p356).

As the very first words in their preface say:

"As the twenty-first century unfolds, it is becoming more and more evident that the major problems of our time – energy, the environment, climate change, food security, financial security – cannot be understood in isolation. They are systemic problems, which means they are all interconnected and interdependent. Ultimately, these problems must be seen as just different facets of one single crisis, which is largely a crisis of perception. It derives from the fact that most people in our modern society, and especially in our large social institutions, subscribe to the concepts of an outdated worldview, a perception of reality inadequate for dealing with our overpopulated, globally interconnected world" (pxi).

Their objective is to point out that a systems view of the world not only better reflects our current understanding of life on earth, but also points to some (sometimes simple) ways of helping us create the sort of future in which we would like to live rather than the one we seem to be stumbling into.

The sub-title of this book is "A Unifying Vision" and those with the stamina to read it through will find just that.

Signals in the Noise AmplifyYou – Technology for People The Era of Intelligent Enterprise

by Pierre Nanterme and Paul Daugherty



ow will the future unfold? What we know unequivocally is the digital revolution is here. It's cascading across every industry, causing wide-scale enterprise disruption and wholly redefined customer expectations.

Adaptability and a company's ability to quickly rotate to the new has been critical – both for companies striving to become digital leaders, and for employees who are moving beyond the digital culture shock.

We are now entering an exciting, unprecedented time in technology - with the pace of change and innovation continuing to accelerate. We are poised to drive the biggest change since the dawn of the information age. Technology will continue to transform the way we work and live, raising many questions about both opportunities and challenges. Accenture believes that these innovations are a force for positive change, because the power lies squarely with people to bring great benefits to business and society. While there are risks, as there are with any technology, we are in control. We can shape technology so that it adapts to us, elevating our ability to create a future that fits our needs.

These themes represent the newest expression of Accenture's People First view of the changing digital landscape.

As part of Accenture's multi-year perspective on technology's impact on enterprise, they reflect the continuously evolving digital culture that creates challenges and opportunities for organizations worldwide. With our world in a state of change at every level, being a leader isn't just about incorporating new technologies. It's about finding a place in the next evolution of society, by empowering people – your people, whether they are customers or employees and becoming a partner, embedded throughout everyday life. Each individual theme from each year highlights the evolution of a key technology. Some of these are already playing important roles in the strategies of leading companies, while others are just beginning to make an impact, or are impacting organizations in unexpected ways. Viewed as a whole, our Technology Vision themes provide a guidepost for the way companies must consider their resources, responsibilities, and opportunities for success in the years to come. The world will continue to evolve, but leading enterprises that embrace this deeper dive into a People First mindset will find benefits at every scale. Across every industry, at every level of business, the one thing every company has in common is their people.

Signals in the Noise AMPLIFYYOU - TECHNOLOGY FOR PEOPLE - THE ERA OF INTELLIGENT ENTERPRISE

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TREND 1 AI IS THE NEW UI Experience Above All

Artificial intelligence (AI) is about to become a company's digital spokesperson. Moving beyond a back-end tool for the enterprise, AI is taking on more sophisticated roles within technology interfaces. From autonomous driving vehicles that use computer vision, to live translations made possible by artificial neural networks, AI is making every interface both simple and smart - and setting a high bar for how future interactions will work. It will act as the face of a company's digital brand and a key differentiator – and become a core competency demanding of C-level investment and strategy.

TREND 2

ECOSYSTEMS AS MACROCOSMS Unleash the Power of US

Companies are increasingly integrating their core business functionalities with third parties and their platforms. But rather than treat them like partnerships of old, forward-thinking leaders leverage these relationships to build their role in new digital ecosystems - instrumental to unlocking their next waves of strategic growth. As they do, they're designing future value chains that will transform their businesses, products, and even the market itself.

TREND 3 WORKFORCE MARKETPLACE Invent Your Future

The future of work has already arrived, and digital leaders are fundamentally reinventing their workforces. Driven by a surge of on-demand labor platforms and online work management solutions, legacy models and hierarchies are being dissolved and replaced with open talent marketplaces. This resulting on-demand enterprise will be key to the rapid innovation and organizational changes that companies need to transform themselves into truly digital businesses.

TREND 4 DESIGN FOR HUMANS

Inspire New Behaviors

What if technology adapted to people? The new 'frontier of digital experiences is technology designed specifically for individual human behavior. Business leaders recognize that as technology shrinks the gap between effective human and machine cooperation, accounting for unique human behavior expands not only the quality of experience, but also the effectiveness of technology solutions. This shift is transforming traditional personalized relationships into something much more valuable: partnerships.

TREND 5

THE UNCHARTED

Invent New Industries, Set New Standards

Businesses are not just creating new products and services: they're shaping new digital industries. From technology standards, to ethical norms, to government mandates, in an ecosystem-driven digital economy, one thing is clear: a wide scope of rules still needs to be defined. To fulfill their digital ambitions, companies must take on a leadership role to help shape the new rules of the game. Those who take the lead will find a place at or near the center of their new ecosystem, while those who don't risk being left behind.

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