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## **"POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION CONFERENCE 2014"**

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## **A Tale of Two Worlds: Wealth and Woes, necessity and innovation**

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Development researchers are showing more interests in the relationship between consumption and sustainable development. Sustainable consumption is assumed to lead to sustainability. The old wisdom that consumers in rich countries tend to consume more and pollute more than the poorer countries is affirmed by the life styles of the consumers in new rich countries. The context of this study is neither the rich nor the newly rich countries, but the life styles of the newly rich in a poor country, Bangladesh. Combining historical analyses, observations, in-depth interviews and narratives it draws together threads of a number of research works to arrive at a somewhat integrated idea of likelihood of wastage by the urban rich. The urban culture is impeded by competitive consumption and a life style based upon conspicuousness. There the interaction between man and nature is disrupted. A contrasting picture is that the vast poor in the rural areas live in harmony with nature, something that resists technological innovation. However, when needs around they find a solution without disrupting the interacting relationship between man and nature. They adjust to the changed environment and find new ways to survive.

In an earlier study I have demonstrated that the Bengali rich spend a significantly higher portion of their income on luxury consumption. They also invest heavily on real estate. Their investments are directed to high rise buildings and concentrated in a few mega cities. This study aims at, taking the finding of the previous study further, investigating the impacts of such consumption and investment behavior. It advances the argument that consumption is important for the exercise of power and for competition for resources. The rich direct their consumption and investments at forming ties with significant others as wide as possible. Luxury consumption provides them connections with dispersed social networks, which are important to get access to more resources and secure political power. They also compete for resources and power, which may take pervasive forms and have negative impacts on social and natural environment. There are acute shortages of drinking water, sewerage problem is unbearable, it has the worst traffic congestion in the world just name a few negative consequences of competitive consumption and investments in housing in the capital city.





While Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh became the most unlivable city in the world, the poor in rural areas, manage their livelihood with scarce resources and are exposed to natural disasters, especially threatened by raising water level, developed new ideas to survive. Floating vegetable cultivation is anew innovation in agricultural development in rural Bangladesh, especially in the coastal region. In fallow ditches and rivers in the southern districts of Barisal division the floating cultivation now is widely practiced. The poorer peasant community initiated and implemented floating vegetable technology at the field level. After cultivation of vegetables the peasants are using decomposed floating bed as organic fertilizers. They are also producing seedlings of different crops on floating beds minimizing cropping season when the main land goes under water











**Actor Network Development of Organic Agriculture  
in the Indigenous Community:  
Quri Community in Jianshih Township,  
Hsinchu County, Taiwan**

**Chen, Ting-Yi**

**Abstract**

In 2004, Quri Community in Jianshih Township, Hsinchu County, Taiwan was attacked by Typhoon Aere, and people lost their home, land, and industry, and sank into poverty. From 2005 until now, for recovering their community, they have held the ethical concept that Atayal ancestors taught them "friendly taking care of the land", and have collectively learned and transformed to organic agriculture for improving poverty, land health, ecology, and environment, and reaching sustainable community development.

However, in this process, they encountered many obstacles, such as limits from the government land use management acts, the market sales difficulties, the local climate change, lack of funds, etc. According actor network theory, a successful action depends on cooperating and forming a network of the various actors including human (like individuals, organizations, etc.), and non-human (like material, ecology, etc.). The indigenous community also needs an actor network for overcoming these obstacles to develop organic agriculture successfully.

Therefore, in case study on Quri Community, according actor network theory, through participant observation, in-depth interviews, pattern analysis and document analysis, the article analyzes the indigenous people how to develop organic agriculture, how to form an actor network, and how to face the obstacles for helping other indigenous communities to develop organic agriculture.

Keywords: indigenous people, organic agriculture, actor network, Taiwan.

## **I. Introduction**

In 2004, Quri Community in Yufeng Village, Jianshih Township, Hsinchu County, Taiwan, was attacked by Typhoon Aere, and people lost their home, land, and industry, and sank into poverty. From 2005 until now, for recovering their community, they have held the ethical concept that Atayal ancestors taught them "friendly taking care of the land", and have collectively learned and transformed to organic agriculture or natural agriculture for increasing their incomes, improving poverty, promoting land health, ecology, and environment, and reaching sustainable community development.

However, in this process, they encountered many obstacles. For example, Indigenous people have land ownership, but they are limited by the government land use management acts. While they face difficult market sales, high transportation cost, and few sales channels, their crop outputs and benefits are threatened by local climate changes. In addition, they cannot buy agricultural equipments and materials for lack of funds, so they hardly increase productivity. These obstacles hold back organic agriculture development.

According actor network theory, an industry development or a successful action depends on cooperation of all actors. These actors include human (like individuals, organizations, etc.), and non-human (like things, substance, material, ecology, etc.). Through interestment, enrolment, and mobilization, various actors have common goals and interests and form a network. The indigenous community also includes many actors, and only they cooperate and form an actor network for overcoming these obstacles to develop organic agriculture successfully.

Therefore, in case study on Quri Community, according actor network theory, through participant observation, in-depth interviews, pattern analysis and document analysis, the article analyzes the indigenous people how to develop organic agriculture, how to form an actor network, and how to face the obstacles for helping other indigenous communities to develop organic agriculture.

## **II. Actor Network Theory**

Actor network theory (abbreviated to ANT) originates with Michel Callon, Bruno Latour, and John Law from 1970s (Cole, 1996; Liu Huajie, 2004; Fan Chunliang, 2004). Chen-Jai Lee (2005) summarized forerunners' studies, and proposed the following three frameworks in establishing an actor network:

### **A. Confirming actors that a network should includes**

Scholars of ANT hold that our world is composed of both human being and

many different non-humans. It is not a simple dichotomy of nature/society. Also, the structure of actor network is heterogeneous, so the relevant and heterogeneous actors must be brought into the network fairly and connected closely to construct a heterogeneous actor network (Zeng Xiaoqiang, 2004; Latour, 1983; Murdoch, 1997; Kortelainen, 1999; Burgess et al., 2000).

### **B. Analyzing translation process of actors**

Callon (1986) indicated “five keys of the translation”: “problematization” (common problems that actors face), “interestment” (incentives that make actors participate), “enrolment” (tasks that are given to actors), “mobilization” (means of connecting actors, such as negotiation, consultation and induction), and “dissidence” (behaviors of actors that deviate from common goals). Among these keys, the establishment of actor network requires every subject to have a common “obligatory passage point” (abbreviated to OPP), which can unite the actors with their coherent goals or common interests. Under these keys, each subject is translated and linked into the heterogeneous network.

### **C. Observing outcomes of network operation**

This is to observe the situation of interaction between actor network and study area (Chen-Jai Lee, 2005). Through the operation of network, researchers need to analyze how actors’ common goal is achieved, how knowledge is formed and used, how profit is redistributed and how local power relation is reformed, and how social structure is reconstructed or influenced.

To sum up, this article thinks ANT emphasizes making heterogeneous actors to form an inclusive network through the process of translation. In the process of translation, actors might be human beings, substances, creatures and so on with different characteristics and goals. Only by making all actors have common aims, profits and OPP, and then by the ways like inducement, enrolment, mobilization etc., all actors and their relations can be connected to achieve the common goal. At the same time, all actors will cooperate through the network to construct a set of scientific knowledge which can be accepted by everyone, so that common goal can be achieved. And the final result is that all actors can gain the profit that they want after the goal is completed. (That is systemized as Figure 1.) (Chen Tingyi, 2013)

Therefore, this article will analyze the collective action of Quri Community in developing organic agriculture, which subjects are included in the constitution of its actors, how the actors are translated to form a network, what dissidences and challenges occur among the actors, what kind of new agricultural knowledge is

created to support organic agriculture and finally what enlightenments we can get from this study case.

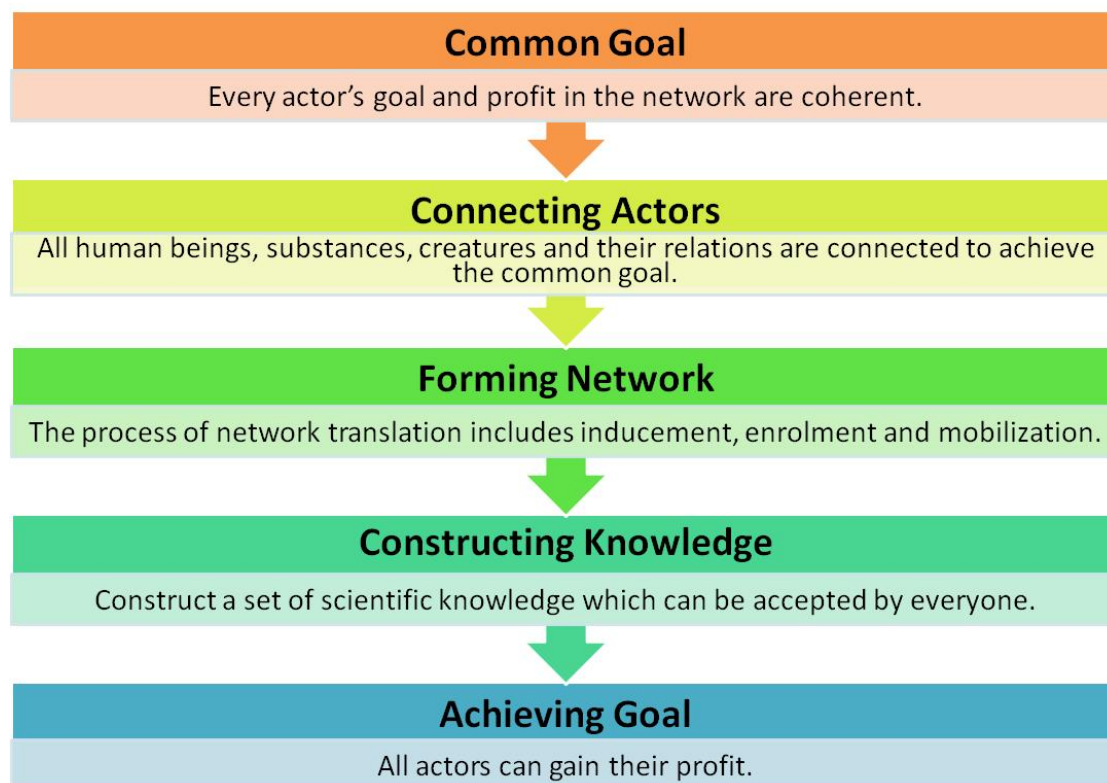


Figure 1: Implication of actor network  
Source: Chen Tingyi, 2013.

### III. Constitution of actors in Quri Community

Quri Community, located in northern mountainous area in Taiwan, Neighbors 9 and 10, Yufeng Village, Jianshih Township, Hsinchu County (as shown as the red point in Figure 2). It's one of the Atayal Mrqwang communities with practical habitants of about 30 families and more than 60 people. Most families are mainly occupied in agriculture and some families have side guesthouses. Currently, local main agro-products are organic vegetables, and second are juicy peaches and persimmons. (Yen Aiching, Chen Tingyi et al., 2011: 37, 41).

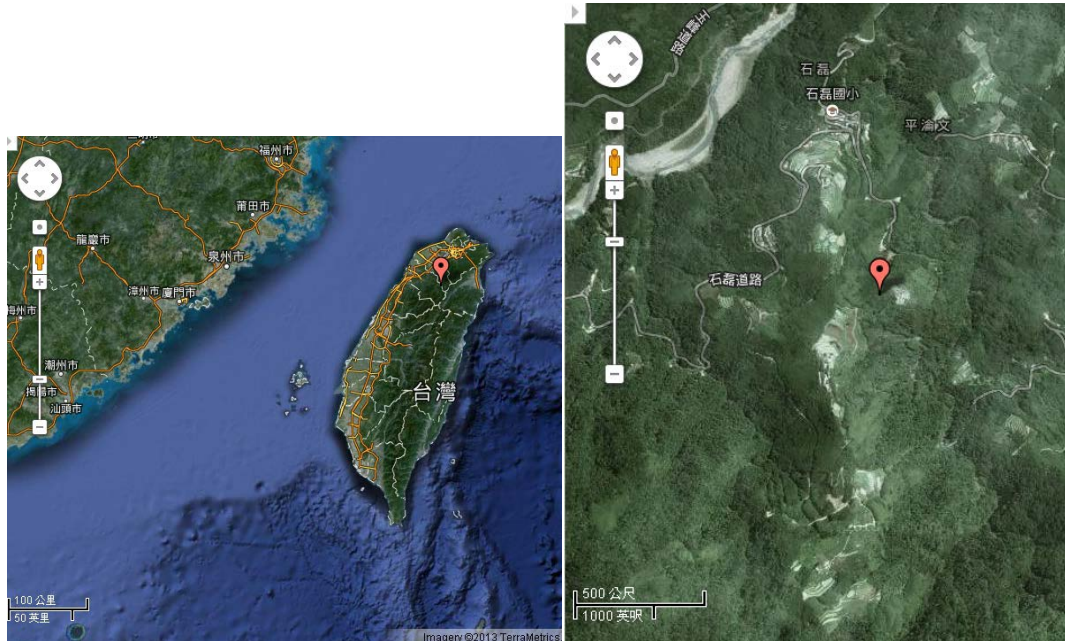


Figure 2: Location of Quri Community

Source: Google Map, searched on Nov. 12, 2013,  
<https://maps.google.com.tw/maps?hl=zh-TW&tab=wl>.

In the developing process of organic agriculture in Quri Community, actor network includes human and non-human subjects, as considered in this article, which can be classified into six kinds like human, market, scientist, nature, capital and technology. And subjects included in every kind are shown as Figure 3. However, under considering that analyzing all actors will make this article decentralized, so this article will not analyze all actors. Related issues following shall be discussed based on the view of local farmers that are most important actors. And the situation of related subjects shall be illustrated as follows according to the content discussed.

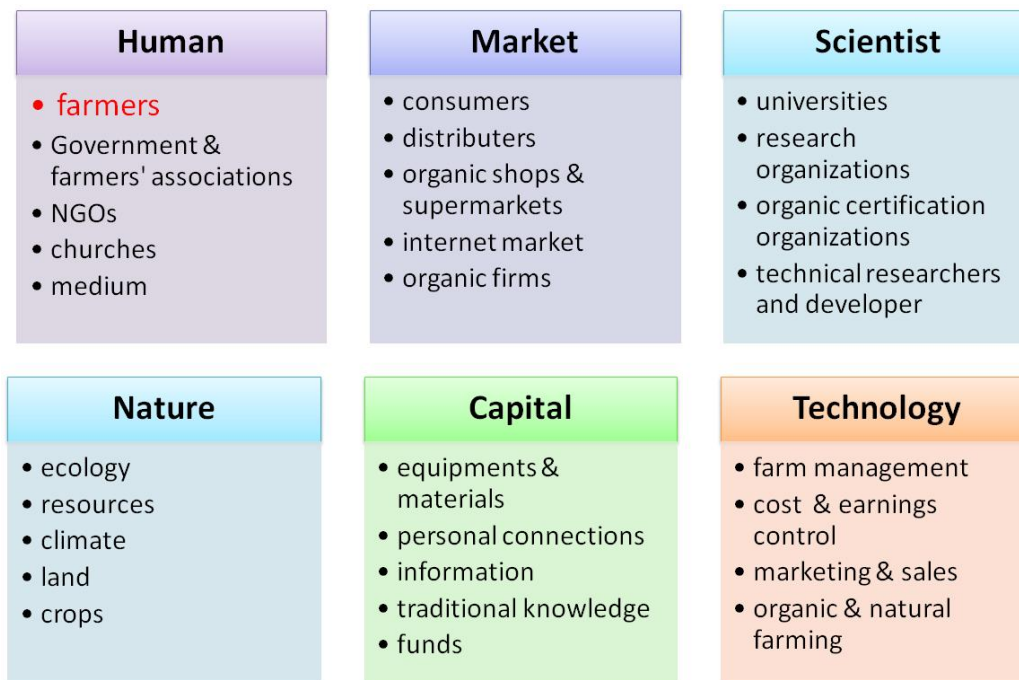


Figure 3: Subjects of actors in development of organic agriculture in Quri Community  
Source: Chen Tingyi, 2013.

#### **IV. Translation and network formation of actors in Quri Community**

In Quri Community, before 2004, most farmers still implemented chemical agriculture with only Senior A03 put organic agriculture into practice. After several-year promotion of Senior A03, farmers jointly operated “Quri community organic farm” in 2005. Although the Farm ended up with failure, the seed of organic concept was planted in farmers’ hearts. Till 2007, Senior A03 began to combine indigenous traditional knowledge and Korean natural farming method with modern organic agricultural technology to research and develop proper local original farming method and widely put it into practice over Quri Community and all indigenous communities in Taiwan. Following will illustrate the formation process of actor network of organic agriculture development in Quri Community in three stages.

##### **A. Before 2004: nature, human, capital and technology became the inducement of collective action.**

In the 1990s, the community mainly implemented chemical agriculture. Applying large quantity of fertilizer, pesticide, herbicide etc. caused a lot of serious consequences of damaging natural environment, for examples of land being polluted and salification, ecosystem being destructed, edible crops being unsafe etc. As a result,

a few farmers gradually realized the disastrous effect of adopting chemical agriculture, and lately turned to another way of organic agriculture or natural agriculture. It shows that nature is one of the reasons that urge human to change technology.

Senior A03 is the pioneer of Quri Community to carry out organic agriculture in Jianshih Township, Hsinchu County. His wife got cancer in 1988 for long-term use of pesticide and chemical fertilizer. For the sake of health of his family, he made up his mind to divert to organic agriculture and actively popularized organic farming in the community. His technique became the important basis of the development of organic agriculture in the community. As the result of his seventeen-year publicity, farmers gradually accepted the concept of organic agriculture. Until 2005, with the lead of Senior A03 and other local church elders, the community decided to collectively join the organic agriculture.

Later, for the purpose of people's health, land health, ecosystem conservation, sustainable land use etc., Senior A03 endeavored to popularize organic farming in the community and other indigenous communities. It shows that besides the inducement of economic benefit, farmers also accept non-economic benefit inducement (that's the land ethics of being environmentally friendly). The health of human and nature can be the inducement of sustaining organic agriculture in a long term.

Secondly, to let actors join in the network and change agricultural technology, inducement must be provided to every subject. That means giving every actor the benefit to ensure the distributed tasks can be executed stably. For example, as farmer A02 said, the reason why most farmers worked on organic agriculture is that they could get sufficient income to pay for the family's daily life, children's education etc. It shows that capital is a strong inducement to trigger collective action at the very start.

To make every subject to cooperate with each other for an coherent goal or common benefit, common OPP is required. In this article, the common OPP of Quri Community's actor network is "every subject can get the benefit that they wanted from the development of organic agriculture". Then the common problem faced by each actor is "how to develop organic agriculture" to gain their profit. As mentioned above, nature hopes to get health, and farmers hope to get both health and money. (Chen Tingyi, 2013)

#### **B. From 2005 to 2006: market, capital and human caused the failure of collective action.**

In 2005, under the lead of many church elders, farmers in the community

co-operated “Quri community organic farm”, for expecting all people could collectively operate organic agriculture. At the beginning of establishment, large quantity of fund is required to buy machinery, equipments, materials etc. for agricultural production. To mobilize these capitals and give them the task of promoting production, Senior A03 negotiated with World Vision Taiwan and successfully mobilized this NGO to enroll for five-year funds allowance and for connecting with market firms. The amount of allowance every year would vary from 23,000 USD to 40,000 USD, according to plans and needs in each year. But it was no full allowance, and the insufficient part would still be acquired by farmers themselves through seeking for other approaches. In addition, with the introduction of World Vision Taiwan, Senior A03 negotiated with Round Township Organic Life Museum (a company) and mobilized it to enroll for the task of purchasing part of vegetables in the farm.

However, Senior A10, the principle of the farm, failed to mobilize other market firms except Round Township and to enter the market. In the result, agro-products couldn't be sold out completely and there was not sufficient income to pay people who had participated in farm work. So, people left one after another. There had been more than ten families to join the farm, but later there was only the principle's family to operate this farm. Finally, this farm was no more operated by all people, and the collective action failed.

**C. After 2007: mobilization among human, technology, capital, nature, scientist and market achieved the success of collective action.**

After 2007, Senior A03 attended an agricultural studying and learning meeting of Quri church. During the meeting, he got in touch with “natural agriculture” which was much closer to the nature, and saw the natural farming which was fused by modern technology and traditional knowledge ingeniously. So he devoted himself into the studying work of natural agriculture, and later went to the farms in Jeju Korea twice for learning more about natural farming through the recommendation of the church priest.

After coming back to Taiwan from Korea, his role as a farmer changed into one as a technical researcher and developer (scientist), and successfully mobilized indigenous traditional knowledge (capital) and Korean natural farming (technique). Applying with local natural resources (like local plants) and ecosystem (like microorganism) (nature), he studied and made enzymes, Chinese herbal nutrition and natural insecticide (materials/capital) by himself. He enrolled these materials for the task of improving output and quality of crops and natural chickens. Considerable



experience and achievement have been acquired today. Besides, he has also popularized his agricultural technique to all indigenous communities throughout Taiwan (Luo Enjia, 2008; Yen Aiching, Chen Tingyi, 2010).

In addition, farmers mobilized church, non-governmental organizations (NGO like World Vision Taiwan), media (human) and the Internet, and enrolled these subjects for the task of brand publicity to bring the reputation of Quri organic agro-products to consumers. Then through the information (capital) provided by personal connections like farmers' relatives and friends, or via cooperated organic firms and distributors introduced and connected by farmers with each other, Quri organic agro-products successfully entered the market. Through mobilizing market subjects like internet markets (like websites, YAHOO blog, FACEBOOK etc.), organic shops (like Liren, Housewives' Alliance and Round Township), supermarkets, organic firms (like Biluo Village), large and medium distributor etc., farmers enrolled them for the task of selling the organic agro-products to consumers, so the career of organic agriculture can be supported and continued.

With the technical support of Senior A03, among the 16 farming families in Quri Community, ten of them have been engaged in organic agriculture. Although not all the farming families are transformed into organic agriculture, the proportion has been two thirds. And currently, five of them, that is, half of the organic farming families, have got organic certification (transformation period included). The achievement has been quite remarkable, and they are still endeavoring to achieve the goal of mobilizing all farmers to develop organic agriculture.

Besides, according to interviewee A68, compared with chemical agro-products, the price of organic agro-products is relatively steady and high. Taking cabbages as an example, general distributors' purchasing price of chemical agro-products could be as cheap as 0.07 USD/Kg, as high as 2.3 USD/Kg when typhoons' coming, and yearly 0.4 USD/Kg in average. As to organic distributors' purchasing price, it is fixed to be 1.6 USD/Kg in summer and 1.1 USD/Kg in winter. So organic agro-products can provide relatively steady and high income for organic farmers to maintain their livelihood and improve their life.

Furthermore, according to Senior A10, the operation of Quri Community's organic farm has become more and more steady, and even turns losses into profits. From the first to the third year, monthly income of the farm was never more than 340 USD, and there was much loss every year. As now, vegetables are sold steadily, and monthly income has become 3,000 to 6,700 USD. Although there's still no profit, it makes both ends meet. As to farmers employed in the farm, their salary has been

gradually increased from 10 USD/day to 33 USD/day, which makes them get income of 400 to 500 USD/month individually. It shows that the gradual and steady development of organic agriculture makes farm owners and other farmers gain considerable profits. (Chen Tingyi, 2013)

## **V. Dissidences and challenges of actors in Quri Community**

After formation of actor network, not all the actors will follow the common goal. Sometimes actors may deviate from the given task or action goal, which may impede the development of the community's organic agriculture, or even become common challenges faced by actors in the future, as illustrated as follows:

### **A. Governmental laws restrict land use and operation of organic agriculture.**

Local land is in the scope of non-urban land, watershed areas and slopeland. According to government's "Soil and Water Conservation Act" and its Enforcement Rules, and "Utilization and Transfer of Reserved Mountainous Land", no slopeland operator or user may use the land for purposes beyond those aforementioned limits. It means that activities of cultivation, operation or use for agricultural, fishery or animal husbandry purpose can't be carried out on land suitable for afforestation or land subject to strengthened conservation. Offenders shall be fined 2,000 to 10,000 USD. However, in the indigenous reserved land owned by local farmers, only 8% is agro-pastoral land legally available for agriculture and 90% is forestry land legally unavailable for agriculture.

These laws have a great influence on organic agricultural operation. If forestry land is used as organic agriculture, it will be an illegal use, so various allowances from the government will be unavailable, neither is organic certification. It means vegetables without organic certification couldn't be sold with the name of organic agro-products. Thus price of the vegetables would be lower than organic ones, so farmers' income would be lesser.

As it shows, for indigenous people who make a living as farmers, governmental laws are regarded as dissidences from human, which would extremely shrink the degree and area of usable land, and also go against farmers working on organic agriculture. As a result, local indigenous farmers expect government to help relieve their long-time dilemma, and it is also a challenge that farmers have to overcome in the future.

## **B. Farmers cannot connect with stable marketing and sales channels**

In the transformation of land use, it is the key point that the organic agro-products can be sold to the market and exchanged for economic income to maintain the farmer's livelihood. As farmers talked about, at least three years will be taken in the period of transformation from chemical agriculture to organic agriculture, and during this period, the income is instable.

In addition, the climate effects (such as heavy rain, typhoons, chilling injury, two months' fallow period every year, etc), cause the lower yield of vegetables, so farmers cannot provide firms with enough amount designated by the contract. It causes the instable and unsustainable cooperative relationship between farmers and firms.

Furthermore, small and medium distributors and organic firms always want to purchase vegetables in low price and exploit farmers' profits. Moreover, the organic firms that farmers cooperate with are not much, and most are small firms like Housewives' Alliance, Round Township, Liren, Biluo Village, and some organic Shops.

Those dissidences from market and nature result in farmers' inadequate and instable income. Therefore, how to expand the marketing and sales channels becomes the biggest problem that farmers are confronting, as well as the challenge that we must breakthrough in the future. (Chen Tingyi, Yen Aiching, 2011)

## **C. Organic certification organizations formulate complicated regulations and charge high expense**

It is not easy for farmers to acquire the organic certification, and they are confronted with lots of barriers set by certification organizations. These are regarded as the scientists' dissidences. The first barrier is that farmers do not know how to choose a certification organization. With less education, they cannot fully understand the complicated regulations, application procedures, working standard, available materials, etc. However, obeying the organization standard is the only way to obtain the organic certification, and it is a great challenge for farmers or indigenous people. Therefore, they often ask other people for help, like World Vision Taiwan dedicated to organic agriculture, Zhi-Shan Foundation Taiwan (NGO), or the educated youth working in the community (like undergraduates, postgraduates, etc.)

In addition, farmers who want to apply organic certification must pay several kinds of expenses. The certification expense is extremely high with more than 670 USD, but farmers with low income cannot afford to it. Although subsidy on certification is provided by the government in the first year, certification must be

reapplied triennially and after the second time, farmers must pay the certification expense by themselves, which increases their operating cost. (Chen Tingyi, Yen Aiching, 2011)

#### **D. Farmers with inadequate capital can hardly enhance operational efficiency and bear the losses**

While farmers want to improve land fertility or to enhance the efficiency of agricultural land use, they need adequate funds, materials, machines and equipments. However, the fact is that the local farmers are generally with low income and little funds, and they cannot get the loans financing from financial institutions like farmers' associations or banks. It makes them to enhance operational efficiency hardly. This is the dissidence causes by capital.

What's more, three years is needed in the transformation from chemical agriculture to organic agriculture. During this transformation period, high cost should be invested but the profit is low, so farmers must bear considerable losses and the risk of failure. As senior A53 said, he experienced organic honey peaches plantation for several years, and he faced many failures. He bore monetary loss over 40,000 USD and he was heavily laden with debt. The high monetary loss and high risk of failure were heavy burdens for general farmers. His wife asked him many times to give up. But he has stucked to his career until today. That is why he succeeds now. (Chen Tingyi, 2013)

## **VI. Knowledge construction of Actor Network in Quri Community**

Indigenous farmers in Quri community start to transform into organic agriculture and natural agriculture, and gradually expand the concept of organic agriculture to other communities. In addition, for seeking for natural ecological pattern, indigenous traditional knowledge or traditional ecological knowledge should be combined with modern organic technology and natural farming. Now, they create organic farming that suits to local conditions and applying it to the farming practice.

For example, Senior A10 takes advantage of biological control method to control pests. Specifically, base on the butterflies' breeding principle, he captures male butterflies and controls the larvae of butterflies breeding for reducing larvae encroachment on plants. Or he uses the ancient way of migrating cultivation (also called slash-and-burn cultivation or swidden agriculture). That is, he cuts down the vegetations on the farmland and burns them after solarization, and leavening of the ashes left will be the best natural fertilizer. In addition, crop rotation is used for

making sure that the farmland is cultivated in rotation with fallow period and recovering the fertility of soil. These methods are traditional ecological knowledge inherited by our ancestors. What's more, frequent observation of the plants' growing status is needed. For example, if the plant falls ill, different microbial nutrient should have been sprayed until it never gets ill again, and before that, no other plants can be planted in that plot.

Senior A03 knows that many kinds of microorganism in the forest is good for vegetation, suitable to the local conditions and a material that farmers more easily get locally. He researches and develops a kind of innovative and natural microorganism fertilizer for improving plants' growing. Specifically, he brings the cooked rice into remote mountains and leaves it in the dark area like under the tree for fermentation. After that, he brings back the rice with hyperplastic microorganism and adds to brown sugar for secondary fermentation. Then, he dilutes the finally generated juice with water to be a natural fertilizer for irrigating farmland, increasing the microorganism in the soil and raising soil fertility. After irrigating the soil with the fertilizer juice, he covers straws in the land surface and mixes it into soil after rubbing for earthworms' growth. Earthworms can loosen the soil and its excreta can be used as a fertilizer. He takes advantage of these natural microorganism fertilizer, Chinese herbal pesticide and nutrients as well as specific biological control method for effectively enhancing both the quality and quantity of the plants. (Chen Tingyi, 2013)

## **VII. Inspirations of collective actor network in Quri Community**

As mentioned above, the case study on the formation of actor network of organic agriculture in Quri Community is discussed. Firstly, this article discovers that agriculture as an industry includes a wide range of actors, including human beings, market, scientist, nature, capital, technology and so on. Every actor has its own characteristic, goal, interest, so how to integrate them into one common goal is not an easy work. In Quri Community, the key to overcome this difficulty is to have a leader with technique, that is Senior A03. His role has been changed from a organic farmer to a researcher of organic or natural agriculture. Finally, he becomes the organic indigenous farmer' supervisor to spread the seeds of organic agriculture into indigenous community in the whole Taiwan. With his supervisions and assistances, more than ten families in Quri community transform their roles from the farmers of chemical agriculture to the ones of organic agriculture. More importantly, they become actors who take care of and protect the land and environment from those who destroy them.

Besides, even though every actor can be connected into the same network, be enrolled with inducements and tasks and be driven to cooperate with each other for the common goal, some subjects still do not cooperate, deviate from their tasks and further enhance difficulties of achieving the goal. Therefore, how to make sure that the actors cooperate in line with the goal is the most difficult part in the whole action. As the analysis above, a rough conclusion can be drawn that in the initial stage of organic agriculture, the capital dissidences, such as lacking of funds or techniques, paying unaffordable certification costs, bearing the losses in transformation period and having instable and insufficient income, are the reasons that farmers deviate from organic agriculture. In Quri Community, however, another key point to initiate collective action depends on the financial support of NGO, that is, through the connection among farmers, human and capital, they can establish an organic farm commonly operated by all farmers in the community. This is viewed as the foundation stone of organic agriculture development devoted by all farmers collectively in the future.

More importantly, it is the market as the pivotal for supporting the development of organic agriculture consistently in the long term. From the background of the development of organic agriculture in Taiwan, we can see that in the last decade, people put more increasing emphasis on food safety and health, which expands the domestic market of organic agro-products and pushes many farmers who practice chemical agriculture to become organic ones. Similarly, under such circumstance, Quri farmers gain successful transformation. Besides, Quri farmers connect all farmers, gradually cooperate with firms in the market and sell their products to all over Taiwan. As a result, not only the income is more stable and more adequate for farmer's livelihood, but also it simulates more farmers engage in organic agriculture. Thus, the Quri organic vegetables gain more reputation. Also, Quri Community becomes more potentially the base of organic agriculture in Taiwan, and attracts more and more farmers to come here to study the technology of organic agriculture.

## **VIII. Conclusion**

On the basis of actor network theory, through the analysis of the collective action of the development of organic agriculture in Quri Community, a rough conclusion can be drawn that every subject should be equally treated in actor network; only in this way, collective action can be impossible. That is to say, the success of collective action depends on the every actor's cooperation, and no one is dispensable, as verified in this article. Why does Quri Community successfully develop and continues its organic agriculture? It is because that they connect together those non-human actors

(like nature, capital, technology) and human actors (like human beings, market, scientist). Although they will confront with actors' dissidences and challenges in the future, they still effectively operate the actors' cooperation network at the present stage. If they can overcome these challenges in the future and continue this network, we believe that organic agriculture in this community will gain sustainable development.

At last, this article holds that Council of Agriculture, local government and Farmers' Associations should shoulder the responsibility of developing Taiwan's agriculture and of supporting the indigenous people to develop organic agriculture. Besides, developing organic agriculture can improve indigenous people's economic life, benefits food safety and health, increase food self-sufficiency rate, and be one of the most prominent characteristics of Taiwan's agriculture. What can you have against it? Of course, besides the government's supports, indigenous people should also have the spirit of self-reliance, seek for external aid, gather internal forces, and work together to overcome the individually insurmountable difficulties. Cooperation is the best policy!

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## Appendix — Register of Interviewers

Number	Community	Occupation and Identity	Gender	Race	Times of interview	Date of interview	Place of interview
A02	Quri	A indigenous researcher, a community culture worker	male	Atayal	1	2011/3/15	Home
					2	2011/3/19	National Chengchi University
					3	2011/9/18	Home
A03	Quri	A senior, a preacher, an organic farmer	male	Atayal	1	2011/2/27-28	Home
A10	Quri	A senior, an organic farmer	male	Atayal	1	2010/9/11	Home
A13	Quri	A senior, an organic farmer	male	Atayal	1	2010/8/28	Home
A47	Quri	A senior, an organic farmer, and former village chief	male	Atayal	1	2009/3/22	Ouri Elementary School
A52	Quri	A senior, an	female	Atayal	1	2009/4/25	Home

Number	Community	Occupation and Identity	Gender	Race	Times of interview	Date of interview	Place of interview
		organic farmer					
A53	Pngyan wagi	A senior, an organic farmer	male	Atayal	1	2010/3/22	Home
A68	Quri	an organic farmer	male	Atayal	1	2011/9/18	Home
A97	Quri	A senior, an organic farmer	male	Atayal	1	2008/10/19	Quri
A98	Quri	A senior, an organic farmer	male	Atayal	1	2009/1/5	Taru Farm
A99	Quri	A senior, an organic farmer	male	Atayal	1	2008/10/19	Home

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# ESTIMATING VULNERABILITY TO POVERTY USING PANEL DATA: EVIDENCE FROM INDONESIA

**ADAMA BAH**

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# ESTIMATING VULNERABILITY TO POVERTY USING PANEL DATA: Evidence from Indonesia

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**Adama Bah<sup>1</sup>**

October 2013

## Abstract

Traditional poverty measures fail to indicate the degree of risk of becoming or remaining poor that households are confronted to. They can therefore be misleading in the context of implementing poverty reduction policies. In this paper I propose a method to estimate an index of *ex ante* vulnerability to poverty, defined as the probability of being poor in the (near) future given current observable characteristics, using panel data. This method relies on the estimation of the expected mean and variance of future consumption conditional on current consumption and observable characteristics. It generates a vulnerability index, or predicted probability of future poverty, which performs well in predicting future poverty, including out of sample. About 80% of households with a 2000 vulnerability index of 100% are actually poor in 2007. This approach provides information on the population groups that have a high probability of becoming or remaining poor in the future, whether currently poor or not. It is therefore useful to complement traditional poverty measures such as the poverty headcount, in particular for the design and planning of poverty reduction policies.

**Keywords:** Poverty, Vulnerability, Household consumption.

*JEL* classification: C53, I32.

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## Introduction

Poverty is inherently dynamic. Households that are poor at any point of time can be divided into two groups: those who have been poor for a certain period of time and those who have only recently fallen into poverty. Yet, traditional poverty measures such as the poverty headcount fail to account for this dynamic aspect of poverty, focusing on those who are currently poor regardless of their status in the past or in the future. While the poverty headcount provides valuable information, showing for instance that Indonesia has made considerable strides in reducing poverty in the past two decades,<sup>2</sup> it misses part of the picture. Indeed, there is evidence of frequent movements in and out of poverty in Indonesia. For instance, it has been shown that over half of the poor each year are newly poor (World Bank, 2012). Using the Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS), a longitudinal survey conducted by the RAND Corporation, about 30% of households are found to have experienced poverty at least once between 1997, 2000 and 2007. This suggests that traditional poverty measures provide insufficient information and may be misleading in the context of the implementation of poverty reduction programs.

Reducing poverty is a top priority for the Government of Indonesia. In 2010, a National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (*Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan*, TNP2K) has been established under the leadership of the Vice-President. TNP2K has been mandated to coordinate and oversee the national poverty reduction strategy. This strategy is based on the premise that addressing poverty in an effective and sustainable manner requires reaching not only the current poor but also those at high risk of becoming poor in the near future. It comprises a range of social safety net programs covering education, health, food security, employment creation and community empowerment (see *e.g.* Sumarto and Bazzi 2011 for a review). Most of these programs originate from

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<sup>2</sup> Between 1990 and 2010, the proportion of population living below the World Bank's poverty line of USD 1.25 a day decreased from 54% to 18%. Interestingly the same trend is observed using both the international poverty thresholds (USD 1, 1.25 and 2 a day) and the national poverty lines. However, national poverty rates measured by the Indonesian National Statistics Office (*Badan Pusat Statistik*, BPS) using the cost of basic needs approach (Maksum, 2004) are lower than those obtained with the international poverty lines. The national poverty lines calculated by BPS are indeed systematically lower than the (purchase power parity) international lines. In 2010, 13.3% of the population lives below the national poverty line, 18% lives with less than USD 1.25 per person per day, whereas 46.1% lives with less than USD 2 per person per day (World Bank World Development Indicators).

the Asian Financial Crisis (AFC), which has had adverse effects on poverty in the country.<sup>3</sup> These programs have the objectives to not only help the poor move out of poverty, but also to protect the vulnerable from falling into it. The vulnerable in this context are defined as households that are “just” above the poverty line, *i.e.* households living with 1.2, 1.4 or 1.5 times the national poverty line, depending on the program. In other words, for policy purposes it is considered that a household’s current consumption is the best predictor of its future consumption; households that are just above the poverty line are considered to be at a high risk of falling into poverty in the future.

In this paper, it is argued that at a given level of consumption, socioeconomic characteristics also matter for assessing the risk of becoming poor that households face. Indeed, household characteristics are likely to determine the degree of exposure to such risk, as well as their capacity to cope with it, for a given consumption level. I therefore propose a method to estimate vulnerability to poverty, defined as the probability of becoming poor in the future, given present observable characteristics. This method exploits the panel data available in the Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS). In particular, it relies on the estimation of the conditional distribution of future consumption to predict who is more likely to be below the poverty threshold in the future given their current characteristics, including consumption. It is found, for instance, that urban households with more children aged below 15 and with a member working as a private employee are more likely to experience a decrease in their future welfare, at a given consumption level. Larger households with an elderly head and self-employed members are on the other hand more subject to a higher variability in consumption.

The vulnerability estimates calculated using the panel-based method confirm that there is high vulnerability to poverty in Indonesia. In 2000, 60% of households were deemed vulnerable, having a vulnerability index, or probability of being poor in the future, greater than the poverty threshold. Furthermore, the panel-based vulnerability measures provide accurate predictions of future poverty, including in a context of steadily decreasing poverty rates. I find that an out-of-sample vulnerability

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<sup>3</sup> For an assessment of the effect of the AFC on poverty in Indonesia, see *e.g.* Widyanti *et al.* (2001), Suryahadi and Sumarto (2003) and Ravallion and Lokshin (2007).

index constructed for 2000 provides good predictions of actual poverty realizations in 2007. About 80% of households with a 2000 vulnerability index of 100% are actually poor in 2007.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the Indonesian Family Life Survey used for the analysis. Section 3 provides a descriptive analysis of poverty in Indonesia and its dynamics. Section 4 introduces the panel-based method used to estimate vulnerability to poverty. Section 5 discusses the results, and section 6 provides concluding remarks.

## Section 2 – The Indonesian Family Life Survey

The Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS)<sup>4</sup> used in this paper to analyze poverty and vulnerability is an ongoing longitudinal survey conducted by the RAND Corporation. Its first round, IFLS1, was implemented in 1993 using the sampling frame of the 1993 national socioeconomic survey, the SUSENAS,<sup>5</sup> in which the population was stratified first by provinces and then by (urban/rural) areas within the provinces. The IFLS1 sample was representative of 83% of the Indonesian population from 13 provinces.<sup>6</sup> It surveyed 7,224 households and more than 22,000 individuals. The subsequent waves of the IFLS were implemented in 1997, 2000 and 2007, and re-surveyed original IFLS1 households. In this paper, the IFLS1 is not used since questions for non-food expenditures have been changed in the subsequent waves, making consumption not comparable with the one from the IFLS1 (Strauss *et al.* 2009).

The IFLS collects information on a wide array of household and individual characteristics, including demographic characteristics, household economy and expenditures, asset holdings, and education and health indicators. Yet, its most relevant feature for the purpose of this paper is the particular attention given to tracking IFLS1 households in the subsequent waves, including those that moved, in order to minimize attrition in the survey. As a result, the attrition rate in the IFLS is relatively low compared to

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<sup>4</sup> For more information on the IFLS go to: <http://www.rand.org/labor/FLS/IFLS.html>

<sup>5</sup> The SUSENAS is a nationally representative socioeconomic survey conducted by the Indonesian National Statistics Office (*Badan Pusat Statistik*, BPS).

<sup>6</sup> The selection of the 13 provinces aimed to maximize the representation of the population, as well as capture the cultural and socioeconomic diversity of Indonesia.

similar surveys conducted in developing countries: 6,624 households, or 88% of the original sample, have been surveyed in all the three waves considered in this paper. The IFLS is also designed to track and survey individuals who split off from the original IFLS1 households to form new households,<sup>7</sup> which increased the sample size in each consecutive wave.<sup>8</sup>

Estimating poverty dynamics and vulnerability to poverty requires the definition of a poverty threshold (poverty line). Provincial urban/rural poverty lines are available for the 2000 IFLS wave, from Strauss *et al.* (2004). These lines are the February 1999 poverty lines calculated by Pradhan *et al.* (2001) and inflated to represent 2000 prices following Suryahadi *et al.* (2003).<sup>9</sup> I deflate and inflate these 2000 IFLS lines to obtain poverty lines for 1997 and 2007 respectively. Poverty lines for 1997 are obtained by deflating the 2000 lines using the re-weighted Consumer Price Index, following Suryahadi *et al.* (2003). For 2007, I inflate the 2000 IFLS lines using the inflation rate of the provincial urban/rural poverty lines between 2000 and 2007.<sup>10,11</sup>

## Section 3 – A descriptive analysis of poverty dynamics

### 3.1 Changes in the poverty headcount over time

In this section, I first look at the changes in poverty over time using the cross-section data sets from each IFLS wave. I then focus on households that have been surveyed in all three waves (panel households).

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<sup>7</sup> See Witoelar (2005) for details on the tracking rules and their implications.

<sup>8</sup> The 1997, 2000 and 2007 cross-sectional datasets have respectively a sample size of 7,087; 10,257 and 12,945 households.

<sup>9</sup> The Consumer Price Index (CPI) is the weighted sum of the change in prices for food and non-food categories. Normally, food items represent 40% of the value of CPI. Suryahadi *et al.* (2003) changed the CPI weights to have food represent 80% of its value, since the share of food expenditures in the poverty lines in 1996 is also 80%. This change reflects that the poor are relatively more affected by changes in food prices than by changes in non-food prices. Another reason for re-weighting the CPI is that it is calculated only for urban areas.

<sup>10</sup> For 2007, I do not use the re-weighted CPI because in 2003, the National Statistic Office (BPS) changed the base year for the CPI. The CPI in 2000 is thus not directly comparable with the 2007 one. In addition, between 2000 and 2007, the number of cities whose price levels are used for the CPI calculation has increased to 66 cities.

<sup>11</sup> Robustness checks are conducted to test the robustness of vulnerability estimates to the choice of the poverty threshold by using 2 alternative thresholds: (1) a set of poverty lines constructed to mimic the official national urban/rural poverty headcounts (the 1996 poverty headcount is used for 1997) and (2) a relative poverty line set at half the median per capita expenditure distribution. These alternative poverty lines produce similar results, available upon request, on the poverty dynamics and vulnerability estimates.



Table 1. Cross-section and panel poverty estimations

<b>CROSS-SECTION</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2007</b>
Poverty rate	15.3%	13.7%	6.6%
Observations	7,022	10,209	12,708
<b>PANEL</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2007</b>
Poverty rate	16.5%	17.1%	8.2%
Observations	6,588	6,556	6,262

Note: cross-section estimates use cross-sectional weights and (balanced) panel estimates use longitudinal weights corrected for attrition (Strauss *et al.* 2009), here and in the subsequent tables.

Table 1 shows that absolute poverty in the IFLS sample has decreased over time for both cross-sectional and panel households, which is in line with the trend recorded by the national poverty rates. Among the panel households (surveyed in all three waves), the poverty headcount increases slightly from 1997 to 2000 and is overall higher.

The differences between the cross-section and panel data poverty estimates are likely to be caused by two factors: the split-off effect and attrition. Poverty rates are lower in the cross-section because the split-off households are added in each cross-section. It is indeed likely that split-off households are better off than the original households in terms of per capita consumption. The second phenomenon affecting the poverty estimates is attrition. In developing countries, attrition occurs largely because households change their location, rather than due to their refusal to participate in the survey. In the IFLS however, attrition is lower than in similar longitudinal surveys because of the effort made to follow households that have moved, even to other provinces.<sup>12</sup> According to Thomas *et al.* (2001), the per capita expenditure increases between 1993 and 1997 are more than 75% higher for households that moved compared to those that did not. Therefore, poverty estimates would be overestimated if households that moved since the last wave of the survey had not been interviewed in subsequent waves. Yet, it does not solve everything. As shown by Thomas *et al.* (2012), respondents who are most likely to drop out from the survey (and cannot be tracked) are better off in terms of education, health, parents' and household characteristics.

<sup>12</sup> As suggested by Thomas *et al.* (2012), attrition since the first wave has been relatively low and would have been much higher if none of the households that moved had been followed.

### 3.2 Poverty dynamics

The panel data provides a more complete picture of poverty and socioeconomic mobility. It allows establishing whether a household is poor or not at a certain point of time, as well as assessing the changes in its status from one period to the other. Households that are below the poverty line in all 3 waves of the survey are defined as chronic poor; those who have been below the poverty line only in one or two periods are defined as transient poor.<sup>13</sup>

Table 2 shows the poverty transition matrices, which capture movements in and out of poverty. Overall, these results indicate significant socioeconomic mobility,<sup>14</sup> with frequent movements in and out of poverty, for both poor and non-poor households. The decrease in poverty over time is observed with the decrease in the share of non-poor that become poor between 2000 and 2007 compared to between 1997 and 2000. It is also seen with the decrease in the share of poor households that remain poor between 2000 and 2007. Current poverty remains however a relatively good predictor of future poverty.

Table 2. Poverty dynamics among panel households 1997-2000-2007

Transition Matrix 1997-2000		2000	
		Non poor	Poor
1997	Non poor	88%	12%
	Poor	57%	43%
Transition Matrix 2000-2007		2007	
		Non poor	Poor
2000	Non poor	94%	6%
	Poor	78%	22%

Table 3 summarizes the changes in households' socioeconomic status over the entire period covered by the panel data. From 1997 to 2007, 29% of the sampled households are found poor in at least one wave, and the overwhelming majority of them are transient poor, having been poor in one or two waves. This large percentage of transient poor households provides evidence of high levels of

<sup>13</sup> It is recognized that there is a 7-year gap between waves 3 and 4, thus it is a restrictive definition of chronic poverty. Further, some of the chronic poor might have been non-poor and some point during that gap, generating possible underestimation and overestimation of chronic poverty (similarly with those never poor).

<sup>14</sup> Note that measurement error in the data that would artificially increase the observed mobility cannot be ruled out. However, these results are in line with - and provide an updated picture of - the findings of other studies. For instance, Widyanti *et al.* (2009) use the IFLS panel for 1993-1997-2000 to estimate poverty dynamics and find that 4.3% of households have been poor in all three waves, 30% have been once or twice poor, and 65.7% have never been poor.

vulnerability to poverty in Indonesia. It suggests that households are highly exposed to risks and are not adequately equipped to maintain their welfare levels in face of such risks.

Note that the share of households that are chronically poor decreases between the period 1997-2000 and the next, and only 2% of households are poor in all 3 waves. From a policy perspective, this suggests that this group increasingly marginalized may be potentially difficult to reach through traditional poverty reduction policies and programs.

Table 3. Type of poverty 1997-2007

	<b>1997-2000</b>	<b>2000-2007</b>	<b>1997-2000-2007</b>
Never poor	73.5%	78.1%	70.7%
Transient poor	19.4%	18.1%	27.2%
Chronic poor	7.1%	3.8%	2.0%

Note: Transient poor are those that have been below the poverty line only in one or two periods; chronic poor are those that are below the poverty line in all the waves considered.

Table 4 disaggregates the information presented in Table 3 in order to get a better sense of the specific paths experienced by the transient poor in the three waves. In line with the decreasing poverty headcount rates, the large majority of transient poor have been moving out of poverty. However, 23% went from non-poor to poor over the period 1997-2007. Household vulnerability to falling into poverty therefore appears to remain an issue even in a context where overall poverty headcount rates are decreasing. This can be further seen with the relatively large share of households that do not have the same poverty status in two consecutive waves (NPN and PNP), which amount to 35% of the transient poor.

In summary, this descriptive analysis shows that poverty is not a static phenomenon. Many households fall into poverty over time, and many escape, at least for some time. The analysis of poverty dynamics indicates a relatively high degree of socioeconomic mobility and implies significant levels of vulnerability to poverty, for the measurement of which the framework is presented in the next section.

Table 4. Pathways of the transient poor over 1997-2000-2007.

		<u>Share of all HH</u>	<u>Share of transient poor</u>
<i>Out of Poverty</i>	PPN	4.9%	18.0%
	PNN	7.3%	28.3%
	NPN	8.1%	30.7%
<i>Into Poverty</i>	NNP	3.7%	12.5%
	NPP	1.8%	6.2%
	PNP	1.4%	4.4%
Total		27.2%	100%

Note: HH=households. P=Poor; N=Not poor; this represents the poverty status in each IFLS wave.

## Section 4 – Measuring vulnerability to poverty: an analytical framework

The previous section has shown that poverty in Indonesia is for the most part a transient phenomenon. This highlights the limitations of traditional poverty measures, which present households which are above or below the poverty line at a certain point in time as homogeneous groups. They fail to account for the fact that within these two groups some households are exposed to numerous risks that they might not be able to mitigate and that can therefore worsen their living conditions. Vulnerability is an important aspect of poverty analysis that allows introducing a dynamic dimension to poverty assessments.

There are different definitions and approaches to measuring vulnerability in the literature (see Hoddinott and Quisumbing (2003) and Ligon and Schechter (2004) for an overview). In general, vulnerability is a forward looking concept. I use a practical definition of vulnerability, as the risk (or probability) that a household will be poor in the future, given what can be observed of its characteristics now. These observable characteristics include current (per capita) consumption as well as a broad set of (socioeconomic) indicators. Vulnerability can thus be expressed as follows:

$$V_i = P(Y_{i,t+1} < PC | Y_{i,t}, PC) \quad (4.1)$$

For the estimation of (4.1) I take advantage of the panel structure of the IFLS. A household is poor if its per capita consumption is below the poverty line. Vulnerability therefore depends on properties of the conditional distribution of future per capita consumption. More specifically, households

vulnerable to being poor in the future are those that have a low expected welfare level and/or are subject to a high variability in that welfare. I model here the expected mean and variance of households' future per capita consumption.

The conditional mean of the log of future consumption expenditures is assumed linear in the log of current consumption and household characteristics. The regression form is given by:

$$\ln P_{i,t+1} = \alpha + \beta \ln P_{i,t} + \gamma X_{i,t} + u_{i,t+1} \quad (4.2)$$

Where  $P_{i,t+1}$  and  $P_{i,t}$  are household future and current per capita expenditures respectively,  $X_{i,t}$

is a vector of household socioeconomic characteristics. I assume that the error term is conditionally mean independent of  $P_{i,t}$  and  $X_{i,t}$  i.e.  $E[u_{i,t+1} | P_{i,t}, X_{i,t}] = 0$ .

Similar to Chaudhuri *et al.* (2002), I also model the conditional variance of future per capita expenditures. The conditional variance is assumed linear in the log of current per capita expenditures and household characteristics. Given that  $E[u_{i,t+1} | P_{i,t}, X_{i,t}] = 0$

$E[(\ln P_{i,t+1} | \ln P_{i,t}, X_{i,t})^2 | \ln P_{i,t}, X_{i,t}] = \sigma^2 + \delta \ln P_{i,t} + \eta X_{i,t}$ , the regression model of the

variance is written as follows:

$$(\ln P_{i,t+1})^2 = \alpha + \beta \ln P_{i,t} + \gamma X_{i,t} + u_{i,t+1} \quad (4.3)$$

This two equation model is estimated sequentially using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS). In the first equation (4.2), the parameters are estimated using OLS and the residuals are constructed.

The squared residuals parameters are then used in (4.3) to estimate the conditional variance of household future per capita expenditures.

The approach adopted here appears similar to that proposed by Chaudhuri *et al.* (2002). They however deal with the problem of investigating the dynamic concept of vulnerability to poverty using a cross-sectional dataset. In fact, Chaudhuri *et al.* (2002) assume that the cross-sectional mean and variance of current per capita consumption given household characteristics are appropriately approximating the conditional mean and variance of *future* per capita consumption, given *current* per capita

consumption and household characteristics. In the next section, I also estimate vulnerability using the

Chaudhuri *et al.* (2002) approach.<sup>15</sup> In the empirical section I conclude that their procedure is rather weak in terms of accurately predicting future poverty.

One way in which the approach developed here differs from Chaudhuri *et al.* (2002) is by the inclusion of current consumption as one of the predictors of future consumption. This allows accounting for threshold effects that would be associated with poverty traps, among others. Indeed, current expenditure levels are the best predictors for future expenditure levels. In addition, the approach adopted here also allows estimating whether, at a given level of current welfare, different households are more subject to shocks (and/or have different access to and use of coping mechanisms) than others.<sup>16</sup>

Following Chaudhuri *et al.* (2002), I assume that future consumption is log-normally distributed, with the estimated conditional mean and variance obtained through the two-step regression approach above. This allows estimating household vulnerability to poverty - or the probability of being poor in the future – conditional on current consumption and household characteristics, by:

$$\hat{U}_{i,t,t+1} = \hat{K}_{i,t,t+1} (\ln PC_{i,t,t+1} < \ln pl | PC_{i,t,t+1} = \frac{\ln pl - \hat{\mu}_{i,t,t+1}}{\sqrt{\hat{\sigma}_{i,t,t+1}^2}}) \quad (4.4)$$

Where *pl* is the poverty line.

Another way to estimate (4.1) is to directly estimate the probability of being poor in *t+1* using a probit model, thereby making the assumption that the conditional variance of future per capita expenditures is constant across households. This model is simpler to implement, and therefore provides an interesting comparison. It allows, for instance, assessing the importance of allowing the inter-temporal variance in consumption to depend on household current consumption and characteristics.

<sup>15</sup> See Chaudhuri (2002) and Chaudhuri, Jalan and Suryahadi (2002) for details on the method.

<sup>16</sup> An abundant literature on household vulnerability to poverty focuses on the impact of the occurrence of shocks and the implementation of consumption smoothing mechanisms, in particular for rural households; see *e.g.* Kochar (1995) and Dercon and Krishnan (2000).



## Section 5 – Results

### 5.1 Vulnerability estimates

I estimate the panel data models introduced in the previous section using the 1997 and 2000 waves of the IFLS.<sup>17</sup> The cross-sectional model described in Chaudhuri et. al. (2002) is estimated for 1997 and 2000. The 2007 wave of the IFLS is used to evaluate the respective performances of these models, out of sample, in the next section. In all regressions, a set of characteristics representing household demographics, educational attainment, labor market participation, access to basic (energy) services, assets and social capital are used. Most are derived from the correlates identified as best predictors of welfare using the approach developed in Bah (2013).<sup>18</sup>

The results of the vulnerability regressions using the 2 methods described in the previous section are displayed in Table 5. Columns (1) and (2) of Table 5 show the results of the estimation of the expected mean and variance of the future consumption distribution, which we will refer to below as *consumption-based*, and columns (3) shows the probit regressions results, which we will refer as *poverty dummy-based*. Columns (4) and (5) display the results from the Chaudhuri method relying on cross-section, for comparison.

Table 5 shows that the 1997 consumption level is significantly associated with future consumption and poverty. The consumption- and poverty dummy-based estimates generate similar results in terms of the variables associated with future poverty. The parameters have opposite signs, since being poor implies having a lower expected consumption.

Urban households, interestingly, as well as large households with more children aged below 15 and those with at least a member working as a private employee, appear more likely to have a lower future welfare level and be poor at a given level of (current) welfare. Households with a higher educational

<sup>17</sup> Note that all per capita expenditures are appropriately deflated to capture regional price variation and to represent constant levels of welfare over time.

<sup>18</sup> Table A1 in Annex lists all independent variables, with their descriptive statistics.

attainment (both of the head and on average in the household), with in-house access to non-drinking water, with a private toilet with septic tank and households cooking with gas are significantly less likely to becoming poor in the future, at a given welfare level. Interestingly, households that have accumulated assets appear better able to deal with adverse shocks at the same consumption level.

In addition, it appears that the conditional variance of future consumption also varies significantly across household characteristics. Larger households with an elderly head are likely to have a higher variability in consumption, which also translates into having a higher probability of becoming poor at a given level of consumption. Household size is thus a variable that is not only associated with lower expected future welfare, but also with more risk to that welfare, whereas household average schooling years and disposing of private toilet with septic tank are both associated with a higher and less risky future welfare. Households with at least one self-employed member appear to have both a higher expected future welfare and higher variability in that welfare. It is also interesting to note that participating in *arisan*<sup>19</sup> is associated with a higher future expected welfare level, but not with the variability in that welfare. This suggests that these community- or network-level saving groups might not be efficient in insuring households against consumption fluctuations.

The future consumption-based estimates (columns 1-2) are in a sense similar to the results of the Chaudhuri approach (columns 4-5). The main difference lies in the fact that in column 1-2 current consumption is included as a predictor of future consumption. Current consumption appears clearly the best predictor of future consumption (with a t statistic of about 30).

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<sup>19</sup> *Arisan* is a form of rotating savings and credit associations (ROSCA).

Table 5: Vulnerability estimations regression results

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Future consumption		Poverty dummy	Chaudhuri	
	E[PCE(00)] PCE(97), X(97)	V[PCE(00)] PCE(97), X(97)	Pr(Poor in 2000) PCE(97), X(97)	E[PCE(97)] X(97)	V[PCE(97)] X(97)
1997 Log per capita expenditures	0.293*** (0.017)	0.095*** (0.018)	-0.530*** (0.059)		
Urban dummy	-0.086*** (0.021)	0.001 (0.023)	0.246*** (0.065)	-0.074*** (0.023)	0.011 (0.035)
Young HHH	-0.034 (0.034)	0.060* (0.033)	0.131 (0.089)	-0.019 (0.034)	-0.040 (0.041)
Elderly HHH	-0.044 (0.029)	0.080** (0.032)	0.171** (0.073)	-0.037 (0.032)	0.126** (0.058)
Male HHH	0.015 (0.025)	-0.052** (0.026)	-0.082 (0.069)	0.020 (0.027)	-0.058 (0.047)
HH size	-0.026*** (0.007)	0.022*** (0.008)	0.061*** (0.021)	-0.113*** (0.007)	-0.000 (0.011)
Nb children aged < 15	-0.037*** (0.010)	-0.026** (0.011)	0.031 (0.029)	-0.024** (0.011)	-0.009 (0.016)
HHH education: Junior SS	0.042 (0.028)	-0.006 (0.029)	-0.058 (0.092)	0.099*** (0.032)	0.000 (0.051)
HHH education: Senior SS	0.109*** (0.032)	0.032 (0.040)	-0.174 (0.110)	0.132*** (0.033)	0.007 (0.059)
HHH education: University	0.210*** (0.051)	0.050 (0.055)	-1.064*** (0.372)	0.386*** (0.061)	0.112 (0.137)
Average schooling years	0.023*** (0.005)	-0.016*** (0.005)	-0.067*** (0.014)	0.041*** (0.005)	0.001 (0.009)
At least 1 HHM is private employee	-0.070*** (0.019)	-0.021 (0.020)	0.178*** (0.057)	-0.068*** (0.020)	-0.033 (0.033)
At least 1 HHM is self employed	0.057*** (0.019)	0.034* (0.019)	-0.021 (0.057)	0.047** (0.020)	0.033 (0.031)
Cooking fuel: gas	0.287*** (0.039)	0.048 (0.040)	-0.406** (0.184)	0.346*** (0.044)	0.153 (0.111)
Cooking fuel: wood	-0.054** (0.022)	-0.022 (0.023)	0.087 (0.064)	-0.239*** (0.024)	-0.054* (0.033)
In-house source of non-drinking water	0.051** (0.020)	-0.012 (0.021)	-0.062 (0.065)	0.138*** (0.022)	-0.020 (0.032)
Private toilet with septic tank	0.103*** (0.020)	-0.046** (0.021)	-0.213*** (0.061)	0.100*** (0.022)	-0.018 (0.035)
Asset: TV	0.086*** (0.020)	-0.012 (0.022)	-0.194*** (0.058)	0.199*** (0.021)	0.010 (0.028)
Asset: Fridge	0.056*** (0.021)	0.018 (0.024)	-0.113* (0.068)	0.005 (0.023)	0.013 (0.032)

Table 5 (continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Future consumption		Poverty dummy	Chaudhuri	
VARIABLES	E[PCE(00)] PCE(97), X(97)	V[PCE(00)] PCE(97), X(97)	Pr(Poor in 2000) PCE(97), X(97)	E[PCE(97)] X(97)	V[PCE(97)] X(97)
HHM <i>arisan</i> participation	0.087*** (0.018)	0.004 (0.019)	-0.230*** (0.053)	0.134*** (0.019)	-0.049* (0.029)
Constant	8.091*** (0.206)	-0.723*** (0.213)	5.129*** (0.689)	11.774*** (0.041)	0.465*** (0.057)
Observations	6,227	6,227	6,227	6,246	6,246
R-squared	0.356	0.020	0.177	0.355	0.007

Notes: HH stands for household, HHH for household head and HHM for household member. *Arisan* is a rotating savings group. For the Probit regression (column 3), R-squared is the MacFadden Pseudo-R-squared. Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

## 5.2 Assessing the predictive power of vulnerability estimates for future poverty

The use of panel data to estimate vulnerability has been relatively neglected in the literature because of the relative scarcity of panel surveys in developing countries. However, I show in this section that estimating vulnerability using panel data provides significantly better predictions of future poverty (in and out of sample), and should therefore be preferred.<sup>20</sup>

Data from a two-wave panel can be used to estimate parameters. The parameters can be applied to compute vulnerability indexes in alternative (potentially cross-sectional) data sets, like the SUSENAS (for the Indonesian case). Newer rounds of panel data can then be used to update the parameters needed for computing vulnerability indexes. To prove this point, I provide an out-of-sample comparison of the predictions of the panel-based vulnerability measures with the ones from the Chaudhuri *et al.* (2002) method. Using the parameter estimates from table 5, I construct consumption- and poverty dummy-based vulnerability indexes for 2000. I then compare the predictions of these measures and the Chaudhuri measures for 1997 and 2000 to actual poverty realizations in 2007.

The relationship between the vulnerability indexes in 2000 and actual poverty in 2007 are presented in Figure 1. I find that all vulnerability measures underestimate the real likelihood of being poor in 2007

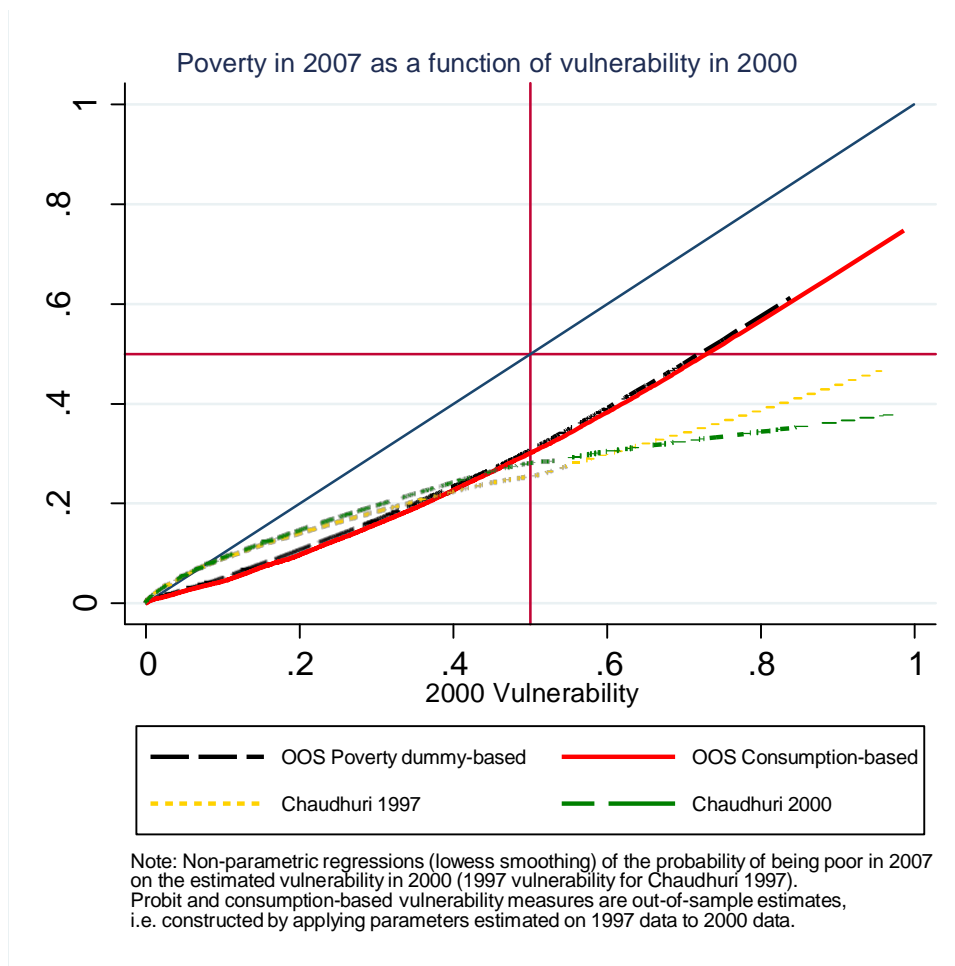
<sup>20</sup> Increasing interest in analyzing poverty dynamics, among others, has been accompanied an increase in the number of longitudinal data collection efforts (see e.g. Baulch and Hoddinott 2000 for a review).

- they are all below the 45-degree line. The consumption- and poverty dummy-based measures however appear to be significantly better predictors of future poverty compared to the (1997 and 2000) Chaudhuri measures. The better predictive power of the out-of-sample (OOS) panel-based measures is most apparent in the top-right area (which is the most relevant area) of the graph, the area where households have a vulnerability index of 50% and above. The panel data methods are much closer to what actually happened in 2007. For example, nearly 80% of the households with a vulnerability index of 100% were actually poor in 2007 (wrongly predicting only 20% of these observations). In contrast, less than 40% of households deemed future poor with a high probability – vulnerability index above 50% - by the Chaudhuri measures actually became poor in 2007. In other words, the cross sectional method has severe difficulties identifying the highly vulnerable.

Table 6 shows the same vulnerability estimates, disaggregated for the 2007 poor and non-poor. Panel A shows the mean of the 2000 vulnerability estimates (consumption- and poverty dummy-based are out-of-sample estimates), or predicted future poverty rates; panel B shows the share of households predicted highly vulnerable - vulnerability index greater than 50% - and panel C shows the share of households predicted vulnerable - vulnerability index greater than the current poverty rate.

In Panel A of Table 6, vulnerability estimates appear higher overall for the consumption- and poverty dummy-based measures, compared to the Chaudhuri measures, including for the non-poor. This is due to the fact that the consumption- and poverty dummy-based estimates are derived from a time when the poverty rate was higher than in 2007, therefore they tend to “overestimate” the predicted future poverty rate.

Figure 1 - Cross-validation of the Vulnerability Measures



Among the poor, the consumption- and dummy-based estimates appear higher than the Chaudhuri measures. In particular, for the share of households predicted highly vulnerable, the Chaudhuri 1997 measure does not allow distinguishing between the poor and non-poor in 2007. About 3% of both poor and non-poor have a Chaudhuri 1997 vulnerability index above 50%, compared to 9-10% of the 2007 poor that are predicted highly vulnerable by the panel-based measures. . Among the poor households of 2007, about 90% are predicted vulnerable according to the out-of-sample consumption- and poverty dummy-based vulnerability measures, compared to about 35% for the Chaudhuri measures. This out-of-sample exercise thus validates the high predictive power of the consumption- and poverty dummy-based measures for future poverty.

Table 6: 2000 vulnerability estimates and 2007 actual poverty

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Poor 2007</u>	<u>Non-poor 2007</u>
<b>A: Mean Vulnerability</b>			
OOS Poverty dummy-based	14.2%	26.5%	13.0%
OOS Consumption-based	15.5%	27.7%	14.3%
Chaudhuri 1997	9.3%	15.5%	8.7%
<u>Chaudhuri 2000</u>	<u>9.2%</u>	<u>16.5%</u>	<u>8.5%</u>
<b>B: Share of Households Predicted Highly Vulnerable</b>			
OOS Poverty dummy-based	2.1%	9.3%	1.4%
OOS Consumption-based	2.4%	10.0%	1.6%
Chaudhuri 1997	3.4%	3.2%	3.4%
<u>Chaudhuri 2000</u>	<u>1.3%</u>	<u>3.8%</u>	<u>1.0%</u>
<b>C: Share of Households Predicted Vulnerable</b>			
OOS Poverty dummy-based	58.1%	89.1%	55.1%
OOS Consumption-based	63.7%	92.2%	61.0%
Chaudhuri 1997	19.1%	36.3%	17.4%
<u>Chaudhuri 2000</u>	<u>15.4%</u>	<u>34.2%</u>	<u>13.5%</u>

Notes: OOS stands for out-of-sample, i.e. obtained from applying parameters estimated using (consumption and household characteristics) 1997 data to (consumption and household characteristics) data from 2000. Households predicted highly vulnerable are those with a vulnerability index above 50%; households predicted vulnerable are those with a vulnerability index above the 2000 poverty rate (17.1% - see table 1).

## Section 6 – Concluding remarks

In this paper, it is confirmed that, although Indonesia has been quite successful in decreasing the poverty rate over the past decades, there has been a large socioeconomic mobility over 1997, 2000 and 2007, with frequent movements in and out of poverty. A large proportion of the population (27%) has experienced poverty at least once.

Reducing poverty in a sustained way and targeting assistance to the neediest population groups require being able to identify the groups that are more vulnerable to becoming or remaining poor in the future. This paper therefore proposes a method to estimate household vulnerability to poverty as the probability of being poor in the future given current characteristics, including consumption. This method, based on panel data, provides helpful information for better policy design towards these two goals. It corroborates that there is high vulnerability to poverty in Indonesia; about 60% of households are deemed vulnerable in 2000 whereas the poverty rate of that same year is 17%. Furthermore, this method is shown to be useful to measure vulnerability in an efficient way to produce valid predictions

of future poverty: about 80% of the households with a 2000 vulnerability index of 100% were actually poor in 2007. The accuracy of these out-of-sample vulnerability estimates provides a good argument for implementing the method using one (panel) sample and applying the parameters obtained in another (potentially cross-sectional) sample in order to predict the probability of future poverty.

In Indonesia, as mentioned earlier, vulnerability is currently defined as the population that lives with up to 1.2 or 1.4 times the poverty line. This definition has been used recently for determining the coverage of the Social Protection Card (*Kartu Perlindungan Sosial – KPS*) launched in June 2013. Using this card, eligible households are entitled to receiving benefits from three social protection programs – a rice subsidy program, (*Beras untuk Rumah Tangga Miskin – Raskin*); a scholarship program (*Bantuan Siswa Miskin – BSM*); and a temporary unconditional cash transfer program (*Bantuan Langsung Sementara Masyarakat - BLSM*). The KPS currently covers 15.5 million households, which corresponds to the poorest 25% of the Indonesian population.

The method proposed in this paper confirms that current consumption is an important predictor of future consumption – and its variability. Furthermore, at a given level of consumption, certain household characteristics such as the average schooling level or the working status of the head are associated with higher vulnerability to poverty. Using this method in combination with the reference to the poverty line currently applied in Indonesia would therefore allow fine-tuning the definition of the target for social protection programs – *i.e.* vulnerable households.

Moreover, the method proposed here to estimate vulnerability is more appropriate to support the design and planning of poverty reduction policies and programs, especially when a recent panel data set is available. By providing a profile of vulnerable households and by disentangling characteristics associated with lower future welfare and those associated with more variability in that welfare, it allows identifying population groups that can be targeted with specific interventions. For instance, households with an elderly head appear to have a higher variability in their consumption, at a given consumption level. This could suggest the establishment of an old-age grant program for those elderly that are excluded from the formal pensions system as a potential intervention to reduce poverty. Such



information on the characteristics associated with a higher probability of future poverty is even more useful given the delay often occurring between the design, planning and implementation stages of social protection policies.

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Table A1: List of explanatory variables from 1997 and their descriptive statistics

Variables	N	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Log per capita expenditures	6587	11.64	0.77	9.14	16.85
Urban dummy	6624	43.5%			
Young HHH	6624	9.2%			
Elderly HHH	6624	12.3%			
Male HHH	6624	83.9%			
Household size	6624	4.57	2.02	1	18
Nb children aged <15	6284	1.5	1.34	0	9
HHH education level: Junior secondary school	6624	11.4%			
HHH education level: Senior secondary school	6624	14.5%			
HHH education level: University	6624	5.0%			
Average schooling years in the HH	6624	4.83	3.13	0	17
At least 1 HHM is a private employee	6624	42.1%			
At least 1 HHM is self employed	6624	57.3%			
Cooking fuel: gas	6621	7.8%			
Cooking fuel: firewood	6621	49.6%			
Source of non drinking water inside the house	6620	37.3%			
Private toilet with septic tank	6624	42.1%			
Asset: TV	6624	56.4%			
Asset: Fridge	6621	27.8%			
HHM arisan participation	6624	53.6%			

Notes: *HH* stands for household, *HHH* for household head and *HHM* for household member. *Arisan* is a rotating savings group. For dummy variables, the mean is expressed in percentage.

# Exploring social capital in small-scale poor farmers living on the peri-urban fringe of Morelia City in Mexico<sup>1</sup>.

Yadira Méndez-Lemus and Antonio Vieyra<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

In peri-urban areas, poor small-scale farmers are very vulnerable since they not only rely on natural resources, but also their livelihoods are subjected to constant transformations while they try to adapt to an increasingly more urban environment. In this context, scholars suggest that social relationships in the form of social capital are important to facilitate/impede access, distribution, transformation and control over a wide range of resources that poor peri-urban farmers require to make a living. Therefore, based on preliminary data obtained from a work-in-progress research project, this paper outlines how social capital contributes to the capacity of poor small-scale farmers to adapt their livelihoods to periurbanization in the northern fringe of Morelia City in Michoacán State, Mexico. To operationalize the concept of social capital, we consider the analysis of social networks at three hierarchical levels of social organization (macro, meso and micro), their mechanisms of engagement, their mechanisms of reciprocal exchange and outcomes. The contribution of this paper is based on the understanding of the complexity of the networks of relationships in peri-urban settings, and their capacity to generate and sustain processes of adaption of poor small-scale famers' livelihoods to periurbanization.

*Keywords: social capital, peri-urban areas, small-scale systems farmers, poverty*

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## 1. Introduction

The poor in peri-urban fringes are highly diverse. Some may have moved-in from other urban and rural areas and established in slums or informal settlements but others may have also have born and resided in the area before urban encroachment, and may still depending on small-farming systems for living. The latter are the focus of this paper as they have been identified as very vulnerable not only because they depend upon natural resources, but also because they manage transmuting livelihoods<sup>3</sup> as a means for adaptation to a progressively more urban space (Allen, 1999; HABITAT and DFID, 2002; Méndez-Lemus and Vieyra, 2013).

Whereas managing transmuting livelihoods across the time imply gradual acquisition of urban assets and gradual depletion of the rural ones, it does not mean that this is a straightforward process. On the contrary, it involves forwards and backwards decisions and movements since gradual depletion of rural assets augment vulnerability and those urban assets recently acquired have low functionality (in terms of quantity, quality and diversity) to meet the emerging priorities and needs of the poor. Consequently, many of the adaptive strategies (such as securing/protecting, diversifying, intensifying and depleting rural but also some urban assets) implemented by this sub-group, are in fact attempts to preserve as much as possible their agricultural livelihoods (Méndez-Lemus, 2012).

Lessons from different studies undertaken with small-scale farmers in peri-urban settings suggest that their social relationships in the form of social capital, are important for the adaptation of agricultural livelihoods to periurbanization, as they facilitate/impede access, distribution, transformation and control over a wide range of rural and urban resources (Feaver, 1982; Losada, et al. 2000; Kelsey and Vasertein; 2000; Owen, et al. 2000; Sharp and Smith, 2003, Méndez-Lemus, 2012). While findings are important to understand the value of small-scale farmers' social capital in peri-urban areas, all of them basically focus on one level of analysis. Problems of a high complexity such as the management of resources in peri-urban areas, requires more elaborated analyses of social capital as solution relies on the capacities of different individual/collective actors widely distributed in the society.

Therefore, based on preliminary data obtained from a work-in-progress research project, this paper outlines the contribution of different forms social capital to the capacity of poor small-scale farmers to adapt their livelihoods to periurbanization.

## 2. Social Capital

Social capital has become a very popular concept in business, education, sociology, anthropology, development, as well as in political and environmental sciences (Portes, 1999; Woolcock and Narayan, 1999; Burt, 2000; Adler and Kwon,

<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the notion of dual livelihoods (de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2001; Lerner, et al. 2013), transmuting livelihoods are “transitional livelihoods that incorporate, preserve and deplete rural and urban assets as needed in the gradual change to predominantly urban living” (Méndez-Lemus and Vieyra, 2013:22).

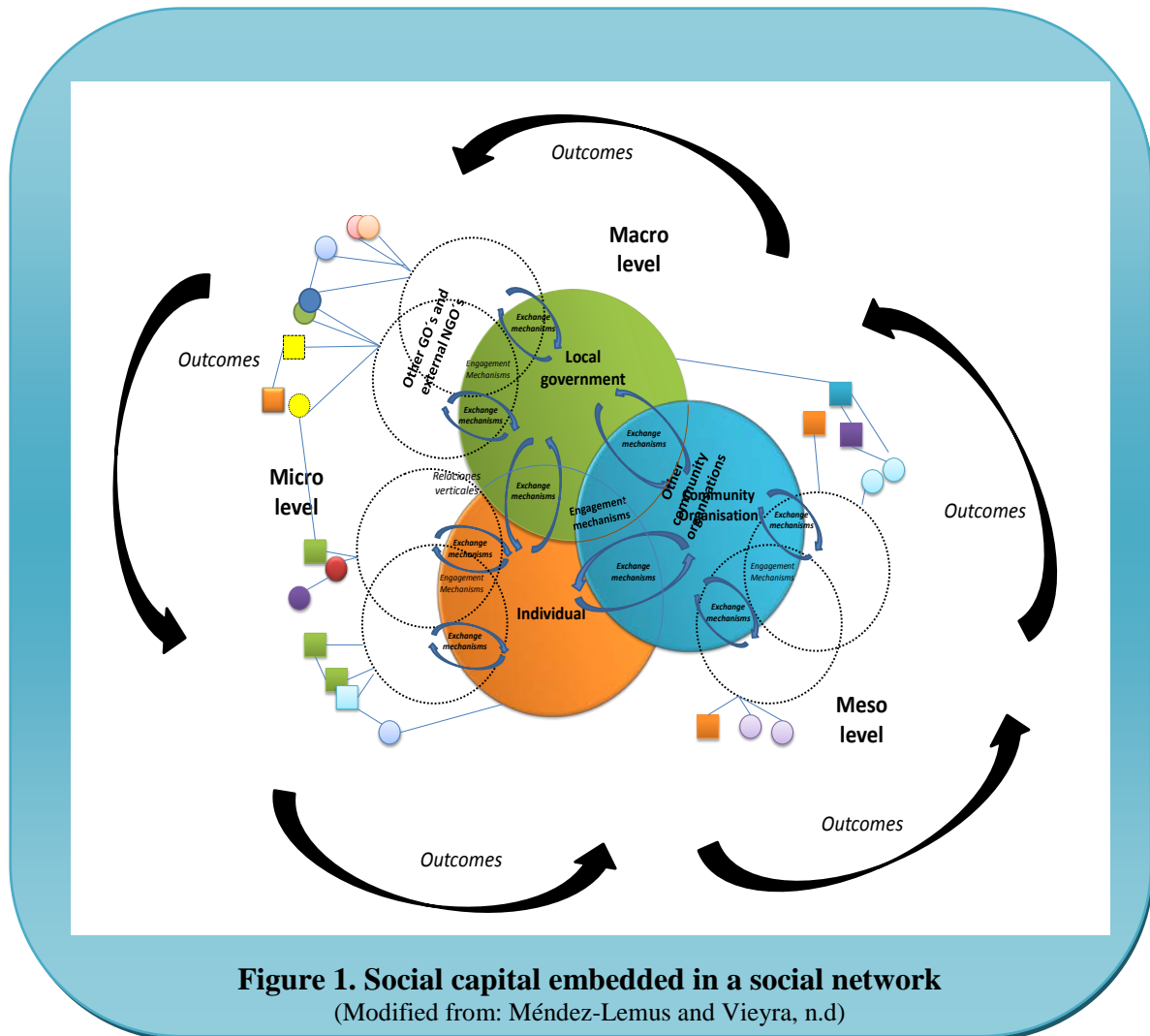
2000; Cleaver, 2005, Learner and Eakin, 2011). While it has been defined in many different possible ways, authors agree that the very nature of this capital relies on the idea that “the people who do better are somehow better connected” (Burt, 2000, p. 347). Within the context of social capital, social relationships are seen as a individual/collective relational resource based on rules, norms and values, which is embedded in the social structure of a person and has the ability to build trust and encourage reciprocity which contribute to the mobilization and acquisition of other resources creating for certain individuals/groups competitive advantages in pursuing their ends (Putnam, 1997; Lin, 1999; Woolcock and Narayan, 1999; Paltuny, 2004; Burt, 2000; Bebbington, 2003; Durston and López, 2003; Olson, 2003; Khrishna, 2010; Woolcock, 2012). These general characteristics of social capital have been mentioned by many scholars. Therefore, for this paper, we define social capital *as formal and informal institutionalised networks of social relationships that generate trust and facilitate reciprocal exchange for the benefit of people*. Social capital defined in this way led us to consider five core elements for the analysis: Structure, mechanisms for engagement, mechanisms for (reciprocal) exchange and outcomes.

## **2.1 Structure** (*hierarchical connections*)

Social capital is a resource embedded in the social structure of a person, more specifically in a social network. *Social network is an assemblage of individuals/groups connected to one another through regular events of reciprocal exchange* (Lomnitz, 1973). An important feature of social networks is that not all people are equally connected to one another, and consequently, not all of them receive same benefits from reciprocal exchange. Indeed, positions within the network matters, since they determine the extent of symmetry in the distribution of power as well as levels of trust and disposition to create and sustain reciprocal relationships. Therefore, social networks should facilitate but not necessarily determine the capacity of individual/groups to exercise agency (Figure 1) (Lomnitz, 1973; Lin, 1999; Burt, 2000; Cleaver, 2005).

As depicted in Figure 1, social networks have a hierarchical structure (micro, meso, macro), accordingly, relationships can be horizontal (people within same hierarchy (includes people inside organizations), with similar interests, norms, values and socio-economic characteristics such as family, friends, colleagues and neighbours), vertical (people/organizations placed in different hierarchies with different values, and socio-economic characteristics but with similar interests, like poor individuals and government organizations, agencies and banks) and cross cutting (people/organizations within same hierarchy, voluntarily associated, similar interests and socio-economic characteristics and political power but different geographical and occupational background and therefore, different values and norms such as people from different organisations, ethnics and groups) (Lomnitz, 1988; Lin, 1999; Burt, 2000; Lozares and Molina, 2011). Position within the network means power to access, control, transform and/or distribute resources and get benefits. According to Lin (1999) and Burt (2000) there are some elements related to position in the network that are relevant to the social capital approach, they are: size of the network, density, closure, centrality, structural holes and brokerage. For example, closure (networks were everyone is connected), sometimes is seen as an advantage of social capital because it enhance trust, norms and solidarity which contributes to the mobilization of resources within the network. On the other hand, dense networks can be an advantage to protect resources, while bridges

facilitate information flows and the acquisition of new resources (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 1999; Burt, 2000). Structural holes are weaker connections between groups which may create a competitive advantage for an actor whose relationships span the holes. In some way, holes act as buffers and are opportunities to brokerage (Burt, 2000).



## 2.2 Mechanisms of social engagement (*predisposition to cooperate*)

Different studies have shown that (poor) people engage in social networks when they share similar rules and norms through formal and/or informal institutions<sup>4</sup> as well as other behavioural regularities such as values and beliefs. Formal and informal mechanisms for engagement generate a series of obligations and reciprocities among individuals or groups within the network which predispose them to cooperate (Grootaert and van Bastelaer, 2002; Krishna and Uphoff, 2002; Ostrom and Ahn, 2009; Adler and Kwon, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> In political science, institutions are defined as the rules and procedures that structure social interaction by constraining and enabling actors' behaviour (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004, p.727). Within the social capital context, this definition is useful because it is necessary to distinguish between



Formal mechanisms refer to formal institutions such as laws, rules, clear sanctions, procedures and precedents that are created, communicated and enforced through channels widely accepted as official such as state institutions (courts, legislatures, laws, bureaucracies), state enforced rules (constitutions, laws and regulations) and other official rules that govern organizations (such as corporations, political parties and interest groups). Conversely, informal institutions are socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created communicated and enforced outside the officially sanctioned channels (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004, p.727). Particular consideration to informal institutions is critical within the analysis of social capital in peri-urban area as they shape the performance of formal institutions (particularly weak institutions) in important and unexpected ways as well as their outcomes (Lomnitz, 1988; Helmke and Levitsky, 2004). Within the informal mechanisms, informal institutions (or shared expectations) need to be distinguished from other behavioural determinants such as personal factors in which values and beliefs play important roles to underlie a person's attitudes toward the behaviour (behavioural beliefs)<sup>5</sup> and towards certain social norms (normative beliefs)<sup>6</sup> (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980).

In this sense, there is a consensus amongst scholars that trust is one of the most essential components of the social capital, to the point that sometimes social capital have been defined in terms of networks of social trust or as trust itself (Paltuny, 2004; Ostrom and Ahn, 2009). While we agree on the importance of trust within the social capital approach, we sustain that they are not synonymous. Drawing on Fukuyama (1995) we define trust as *the expectation of a regular, honest and cooperative behavior among the members of a network*. According to this definition, reciprocity generates trust but also trust generates reciprocity. Paltuny (2004) says that it is rational to trust people with whom we have long-term repeated interactions and share punishment and rewards, but also it is rational to trust in people when we lack information and we need to deal with complex issues (Paltuny, 2004). In this regard, Uslaner (2004) distinguishes between two types of trust, generalized and particularized. Generalized trust is compared to faith in people we do not know and tend to be resistance to most forms of experiences. On the contrary, particularized trust only can be built with people we know very well. Therefore, it cannot be sustained over time unless it is verified frequently enough by the behavior of the trusted (Uslaner, 2002). Certainly, while trust implies some degree of uncertainty and risk, it also gives them (the trustier and the trustee) the opportunity, to enhance their welfare (Ostrom and Ahn, 2009).

### **2.3 Mechanisms of social exchange** (*concrete cooperative actions and behaviours*)

While reciprocity is recognised as an internalised moral personal norm, it is also a pattern of social exchange (Ostrom and Ahn, 2007). Within the collective action approach, Ostrom (1998, p. 10) indicated that reciprocal exchange involves a set of five strategies: 1) an effort to identify who else is involved, 2) an assessment of the likelihood that others are conditional cooperators, 3) a decision to cooperate initially with others if the others are trusted to be conditional cooperators, 4) a refusal to

<sup>5</sup> Attitudes towards the behaviour are the individuals positive or negative evaluation of performing the behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> According to Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), " the social norm may or may not exert pressure to perform or to not perform a given behaviour, independent of the person's own attitude toward the behaviour in question" (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980, p. 7)

cooperate with those who do not reciprocate, and 5) punishment for those who betray trust. Therefore, trust, trustworthiness and cooperation are integral part of reciprocity (as a norm), but also, reciprocity as a prevailing pattern of interaction among trustworthy individuals, need not only to overcome the temptation of the free rider but also to coordinate their actions successfully (Ostrom and Ahn, 2009).

Within the social capital approach, networks of reciprocity have proved to play important roles within the disadvantaged sectors as they facilitate cooperation, reduce transactions costs and provide the basis of safety nets for the poor. Nevertheless, different positions within the network generates relationships with asymmetrical distribution of power and therefore, unequal conditions for social exchange. Differences of distribution of power is translated into different forms of social capital (bonding, bridging and linking).

Bonding social capital (horizontal relationships) for instance, seems to be the most abundant among poor individuals and households. While it is recognised as the first safety net of the poor, it is also highly exclusive and excluding, which generates a strategic kind of trust and reciprocity which is restricted to those whose belong to this particular social sphere. On the other hand, bridging social capital (cross-cutting relationships), tends to be most inclusive of all types of social capitals, and consequently it is likely to promote a kind of a more generalised social trust, which translate in a wider participation and democracy in decision making, leading to the mobilization of different resources that are distributed more equally to the society (for example, the creation of public benefits). Nevertheless, stock of bridging social capital among the poor are quite limited and requires significant stock of bonding and linking social capitals. Finally, linking social capital (vertical relationships) is considered to be the most restricted amongst the poor because it implies not only provision of infrastructure and services, but also devolution of decision-making to people, particularly to the most disadvantaged of all. Nevertheless, the asymmetrical distribution of political power that lays underneath this relationship (patron-client), lead to an unbalanced position to negotiate benefits, which reproduce inequality and dependency. Indeed, in linking social capital both, the client and the patron acknowledge the asymmetric transaction which creates the former's social debt to the latter who accumulate social credit. The greater the debt, the larger the network and the stronger the need of both sides to maintain the relationship. Here both are gratifier, "the client" action is facilitated and "the patron" is gratifier by reputation along with material resources and hierarchical position (power) (Lomnitz, 1975; Lin, 1999; Forni, et al, 2004; Lozares, et al. 2011; Bebbington, 1999, 2003; Narayan, 1999; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000; Adler and Kwon, 2002; Mayoux, 2003; Uslaner, 2004; Cleaver, 2005; Ostrom, 2007).

#### **2.4 Outcomes** (*benefits reflected in other capitals*)

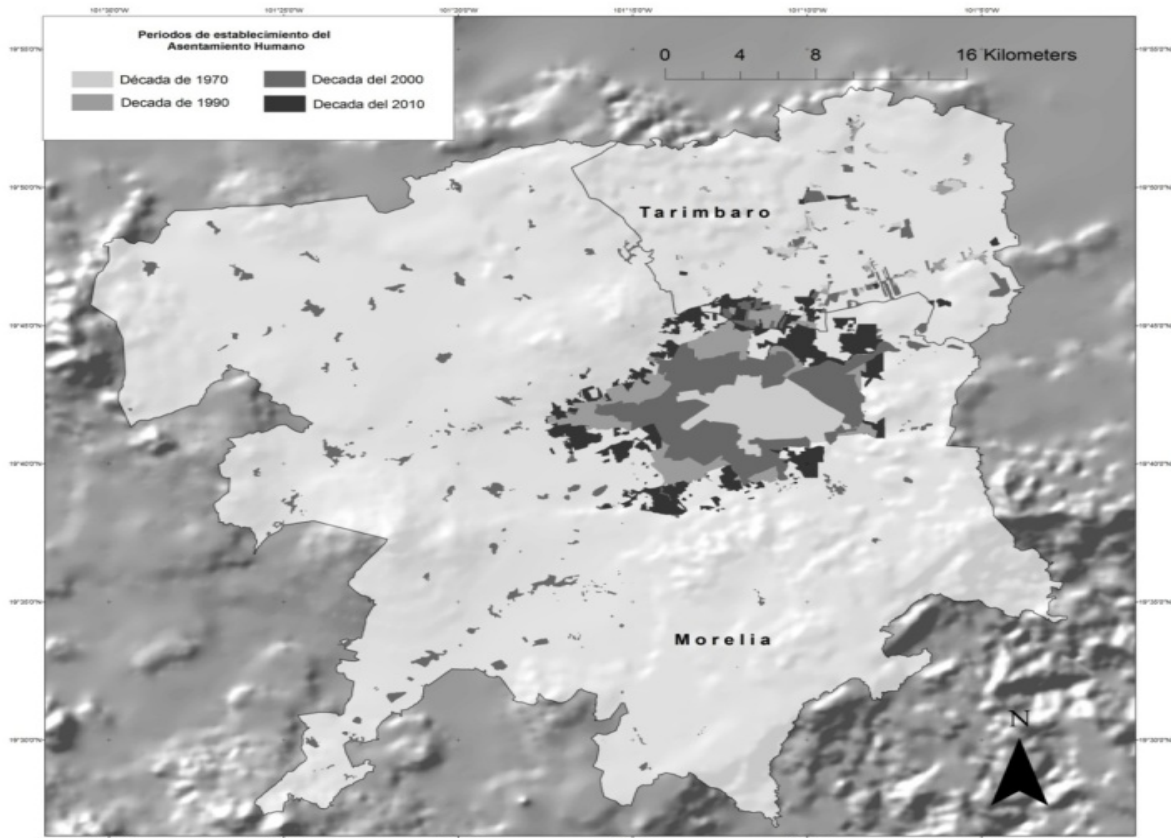
According to Lin (1999), outcomes of social capital are reflected on the acquisition of new assets or as a means to consolidate own resources or defend against possible resource losses. In peri-urban areas, social capital can improve people's incomes and rates of saving (financial capital), can help to reduce the free rider problem in collective action associated to public goods and therefore can improve the management of natural resources (natural capital). Also, social capital can contribute to the acquisition and

maintenance of infrastructure and services (physical capital), and facilitate innovation, access to information and the development of knowledge (human capital) (DFID, 1999).

### 3. Exploring social capital in the peri-urban fringe of Morelia City in Mexico

#### *The study area*

Morelia is a middle-size city located to the northern-central part of the state of Michoacán. As capital of this state, Morelia is a very important city at regional level because of its economic and commercial dynamism (Hernandez, et al. 2012). During the last 40 years, its population increased significantly from 161,040 to 729,279 (INEGI, 2010). With the lack of available space in the core, the low cost of agricultural land and the lack of a comprehensive urban planning and land regulations, the city has expanded significantly, particularly to the north, where jurisdictional boundaries have been trespassed affecting the municipality of Tarimbaro (Figure 2) (CONAPO, SEDESOL, INEGI; 2007; López y Bocco, 2006; Sánchez, 2013). The periurbanization of the city to the north, has transformed the southern landscape of Tarimbaro, where good quality agricultural land has subsequently been converted into either residential area for low, low-middle and middle income classes as well as industrial areas, which have transformed its geographical capital endowments (Figure 2).



**Figure 2. The urbanization of Tarímbaro municipality in relation to the peri-urbanization of Morelia City (Elaboration: Alejandra Larrazabal)**

The municipality of San Miguel Tarímbaro is situated in the northern part of Michoacán state in an extensive valley called Morelia-Queréndaro at 1860 meters above sea level<sup>7</sup>. The Morelia-Queréndaro valley has been historically recognized as one of the most fertile agricultural areas in the whole state, as well as one of the most important food production area for local and regional markets (Ávila, 2007).

The total territorial area of Tarímbaro is about 258.57 km<sup>2</sup>. The municipality is composed of 74 villages, 3 *Tenencias* and a main city with the same name, the latter is located at 12 km from Morelia City (Ayuntamiento de Tarímbaro, 2013). During the last decade, Tarímbaro was recognized as the municipality with the highest population growth rate in the state of Michoacán, as it increased by 95% and the urbanized area expanded by 94% due to the expansion and restructuration of Morelia City (INEGI, 2010). Consequently, socio-economic, political, natural and physical Tarímbaro's capital endowments have been transformed over time, in particularly the southern part of the territory (Figure 3). Insufficient infrastructure and services (including transport, drinking water and security), lack of job opportunities, and low salary are very much part of the characteristics of the rapid urbanization of Tarímbaro, which has provoked high marginalization in about 60% of the communities located in urban areas (CONAPO, 2010; Ayuntamiento de Tarímbaro, 2013). In this context, agricultural activities have dropped from 34% in 2000 to 5.5% in 2010 mainly due to the pressure of urban developers, gradual decline of agricultural production, pollution and depletion of water sources, social conflicts, and the theft of agricultural products. In addition, the difficulties to commercialize their crops in the local and regional markets as consequence of low-priced imported goods, have exposed farmers to external interests, which increase land use change and so, their vulnerability.

In spite of this, agricultural livelihoods in the municipality still are playing important roles within the local economy as they occupy about 60% of the total territory and they contribute with jobs, incomes and food (Gobierno del estado de Michoacán, 2003; López y Bocco, 2006; Salgado y Gómez-Tagle, 2007; García, 2009; López, Rangel y Mendoza, 2014; Larrazábal, Gopar y Vieyra, 2014; INEGI, 2010; García, 2009; Ayuntamiento de Tarímbaro, 2010). In this regard, some agricultural systems have been intensified and diversified, and also, some farmers have incorporated different practices and adopted different technologies in order to optimize their base resources and meet the need



**Figure 3. Land conversion in Tarímbaro as consequence of the expansion of Morelia City**  
(Photo: Vieyra, A, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> The boundaries of Tarímbaro are the municipalities of Copándaro and Cuitzeo to the north, Alvaro Obregón municipality to the east, Morelia city and the municipality of Charo to the south, the municipality of Chucándiro to the west.

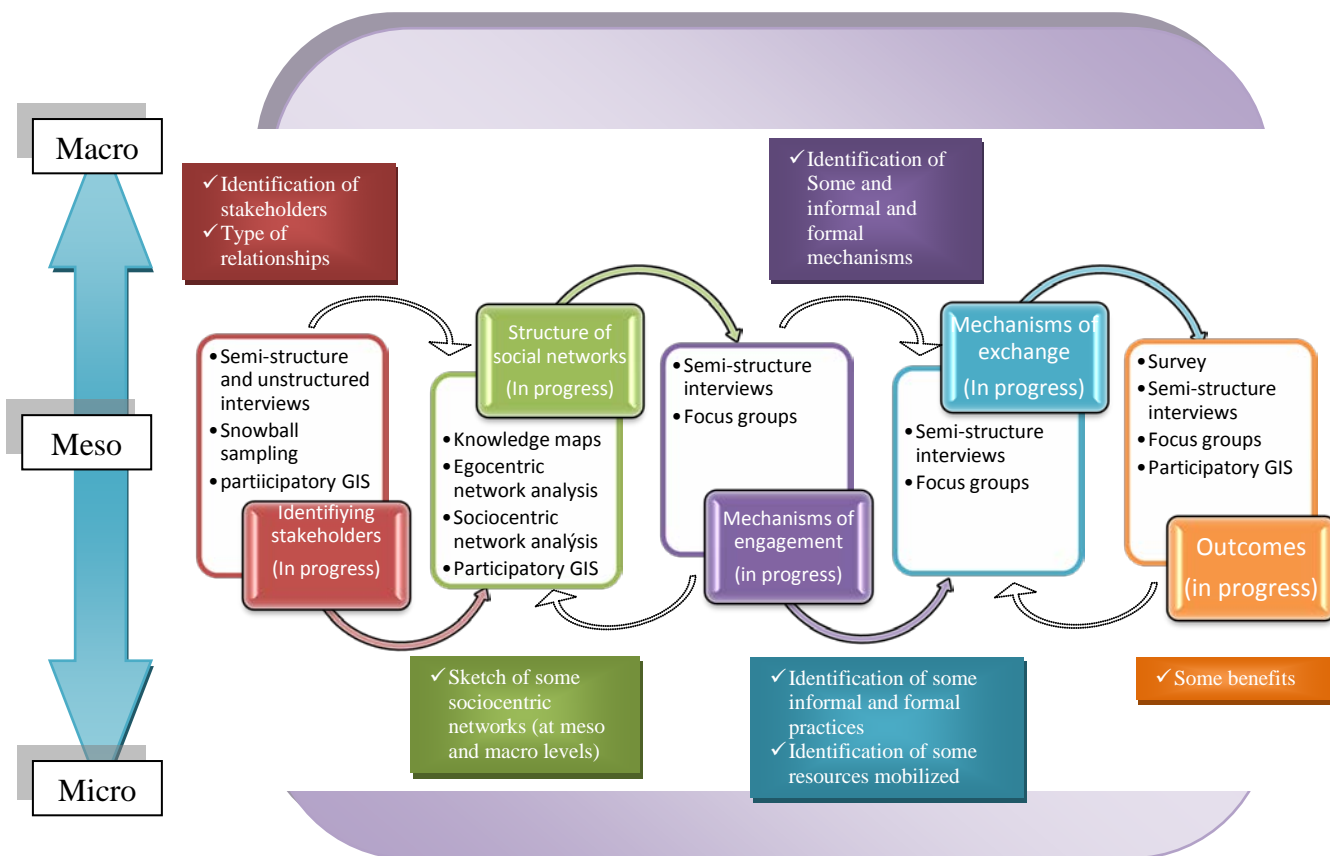
of a new urban market.

### *Data collection techniques*

The preliminary data available for this paper comes from a work-in-progress research project, which was designed to understand the role of social capital in the adaptation of agricultural systems to periurbanization in the northern fringe of Morelia City in Michoacán State, Mexico. Relevant data was collected between 2011 and 2012 through exploratory surveys, semi-structure and unstructured interviews as well as focus groups (Figure 4). So far, local authorities, leaders of local organizations, and farmers have participated in the study.

### *The analysis of Social capital*

It is important to recognize that in complex issues such as *periurbanization and adaptation of agricultural systems*, many stakeholders with dissimilar levels of power and diverse interests, positioned at different spatial scales, intervene to make decisions about resource management. While the original research project considers not only the analysis of networks of social relationships at multiple levels of social organization (v.gr. family, NGO's and GO's) and spatial scales (such as neighbourhood, community, municipality), but also the analysis of the articulation of such networks to pursue common purposes, the intention of this paper is restricted to outline how different forms social capital contributes to the capacity of poor small-scale farmers to adapt their livelihoods to periurbanization. Figure 4 summarises the methodological process of each stage of analysis of the social capital within the rationale of the whole research project and also it depicts the concrete data available for this paper.



**Figure 4. Methodological process for the analysis of social capital (within the original research project) and data available for this paper**

## **4. Contribution of social capital to the adaptation of agricultural livelihoods to periurbanization in the northern fringe of Morelia City: A brief outline**

### **4.1 Structure of the social networks (*hierarchical connections*)**

Identification of stakeholders is a very important step in the determination of the structure of the social network as it allows to recognize different categories of stakeholders and ensure key individuals and groups are included (Table 1). For this study, we identify as key stakeholders (from micro to macro): a) small-scale farmers whose farming systems are either adapting to periurbanization or whose farming systems are deteriorating over time (mainly located to the southern part of Tarímbaro), b) agricultural and non-agricultural local organizations where such farmers join together, c) leaders and key members of such organizations, and d) policy and decision makers such as heads of relevant municipal divisions/subdivisions (based on administrative functions) and local key authorities (such as the municipality president, and the other relevant members of the *cabildo*). Despite the fact that data from network analysis is not available for this study, Table 1 outlines the relative positions that each



stakeholder play within the network and therefore it gives us a glance of the distribution of power.

**Table 1. Identification of stakeholders and type of relationships**

Type of relationships	Hierarchical levels of analysis	Spatial scales	Levels of social organization	Stakeholders
<b>Horizontal (within the same hierarchy)</b>	Micro	▪ Immediate neighborhood	▪ Family (farmers)	▪ Key farmers
	Meso	▪ Community	▪ Individuals inside local organizations	▪ Members of farmers' organizations
	Macro	▪ Municipality	▪ Individuals inside divisions/sub-divisions	▪ Heads of the key divisions ▪ Local authorities
<b>Cross-cutting (within same hierarchy)</b>	Meso	▪ Community	▪ local organizations (different) ▪ individuals from different local organizations	▪ Leaders and members of farmers' organizations
	Macro	▪ Municipality	▪ Divisions and sub-divisions from local government ▪ Individuals from different divisions/sub-divisions from local government	▪ Heads of key divisions ▪ Members of the division/Subdivision ▪ Local authorities
<b>Vertical (different hierarchies)</b>	Micro	▪ Immediate neighborhood	▪ Individuals (farmers)	▪ Key farmers
	Meso	▪ Community	▪ Community organizations	▪ Leaders
	Macro	▪ Municipality	▪ Municipal government	▪ Heads of key divisions ▪ Municipal president ▪ Local authorities

(Elaboration by the authors from main's project data)

#### 4.2 Some mechanisms of social engagement (*predisposition to cooperate*)

As in many other capitals, social capital is not taken for granted. On the contrary, to engage in institutionalized social networks, it is necessary to make "investments", which in some cases may be overwhelming for the poorest ones. Within the preliminary data collected we were able to identify that informal mechanisms for engagement (like social norms, values, beliefs and attitudes) were far more important than the formal ones to regulate behaviors and generate moral obligations (Table 2). In some way this finding is not surprising because periurbanization in developing regions usually exceeds the institutional capacity of local governments to regulate different aspects of urban expansion. Ineffective formal institutions also give space to functional and dysfunctional informal institutions, that may reinforce, substitute or undermine the role of formal institutions (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004).

**Table 2. Some mechanisms of social engagement**

Hierarchical Levels	Type of relationships	Individual/ groups considered	Type of networks	Mechanisms for engagement	
				Formal	Informal
▪ <b>Micro</b>	▪ Horizontal	▪ Individuals	▪ Egocentric		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empathy,</li> <li>• Affection,</li> <li>• Reciprocity,</li> <li>• Time</li> </ul>
▪ <b>Meso</b>	▪ Horizontal	▪ Individuals inside organization	▪ Socio-centric	▪ Rules	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tolerance,</li> <li>• Time investment</li> <li>• Respect</li> <li>• Moral compromise</li> <li>• Affection</li> </ul>
	▪ Cross-cutting	▪ Organizations	▪ Socio-centric	▪ Rules	
• <b>Macro</b>	• Cross-cutting	• Divisions and subdivisions	▪ Socio-centric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Functions</li> <li>• Procedures</li> <li>• Precedents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Corruption</li> <li>▪ Clientelism</li> </ul>
	• Vertical	• Local government		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Constitutional obligation</li> <li>• Procedures</li> <li>• Precedent</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expectations that authorities would act under similar social norms that the respondents.</li> </ul>

(Elaborated by the authors from preliminary data)

### 4.3 Mechanisms of reciprocal exchange (*concrete cooperative actions and behaviours*)

While preliminary data is limited to capture specific actions representing reciprocal exchange, it is clear that the trust and reciprocity generated by institutionalized social relationships play important roles in mobilizing tangible and intangible resources not only to acquire urban assets and preserve the rural ones, but also to obtain socio-emotional goods for social support when necessary (Table 3).



**Table. 3 Some resources mobilized by institutionalized social networks**

Relationships	Reciprocal exchange mechanisms
	Resources mobilized
▪ <b>Horizontal</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Labor</li> <li>• Money</li> <li>• Socio-emotional resources</li> </ul>
▪ <b>Cross-cutting</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Socio-emotional resources</li> <li>• Information</li> <li>• Technologies</li> <li>• Goods and services</li> <li>• Physical spaces</li> </ul>
▪ <b>Vertical</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Goods and services</li> <li>• Infrastructure</li> </ul>

(Elaborated by the authors from preliminary data)

Despite rapid urbanization of the study areas, poor small-scale farmers' families still maintaining strong bonds connections within their family and the community. Within the context of poverty, this is not new, many studies (Durstun, 1987; Moser, 1996; Newton, 1997; Narayan, et al.2000a; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000 cited by Putnam, 2002; Lindón, 2002) found similar results in different settings and in different regions. Indeed, through the channels of horizontal e informal institutionalized relationships, small-scale farmers' families mobilize at least labor, money and shelter, to secure physical, productive and economic capitals, other households tangible assets and food. In addition, they are able to exchange a series of socio-emotional goods (empathy, comfort, company, etc.) necessary for coping. Therefore, in the study area, bonding social capital is also a social support network used mainly but not exclusively for women in times of crises, bringing them emotional and spiritual security, but also a sense of belonging, self-esteem and wellbeing (Table 4) (see Lindon, Siles and Schmid (2002) for similar findings). In the study areas, bonding social capital is expressed either in alliances and partnerships amongst parents (husbands and wives), parents and children, siblings, friends, long-time neighbors or as individual support. While we recognize that we need to explore more in depth the mechanisms for exchange, the data already collected suggest that bonding relationships are reliable and to some extent effective in managing transmuting livelihoods.

Nevertheless, As every other capital, bonding social capital is not unlimited, and has its own restrictions and also serious concerns related to the ways of using and abusing of bonding ties. Different authors (Putnam, 1993; Winter, 2000) have pointed that this type of relationship has a limited capacity to sustain collective action in a community, because their outcomes are restricted to family and kin. We found similar results in the study areas, particularly with infrastructure and services provision. Also, in the political arena, we found that there is a kind of implicit obligation between the person elected as part of the local authority and his the family and/or next of kin. Also, as Cleaver (2005) argued, the conflictive nature of close family relationship, the constant negotiation, the difficulties to sustain mutual help and assistance, the exclusion, but also the preclusion to take part in wider social networks, were also very much part of some families interviewed. Nevertheless, many households valued highly their kinfolk's relationships, which suggest that probably they get more gains from this capital than loses.

Also, as expected, bridging social capital is more limited than bonding social capital. In fact, in the study area has been very difficult to find respondents affiliated voluntarily to either formal or informal groups. In concordance with Cleaver (2005), time constraints, lack of trust, but also exclusion of the poorest were the main reasons for not being part of a group in both areas. Nevertheless, some local groups even have diversified their products and services to take advantage of the increased population, like the group of “campesinas” (small-scale women farmers), whose recently opened a gym inside their headquarters to get extra money. Through formal and informal institutionalized cross-cutting social networks, groups mobilize mainly information, but also goods and services, technologies, physical spaces and socio-emotional resources inside and outside the community (Table 3).

#### **4.4 Some positive outcomes** (*benefits reflected in other capitals*)

Once members can meet the requirements of the group, benefits are evident (Table 4). Sense of security and increased access to productive/economic (agricultural inputs, raw material, technologies, employment, money), physical spaces and human (health, training and empowerment) capital assets. Additionally, affiliation to local organizations that have been legally constituted gives people the opportunity to act collectively to defend their natural base resources (water and land) against urban developers. Some groups are interconnected among each other and they exchange information, technology and services which make them even stronger. Some handcraft women groups, have established certain kind of supportive relationships, since they do not compete among each other for clients, instead, they support each other by selling cheap raw material and exchange services (like sewing) apart from socio-emotional resources. As far as we can see from data collected, benefits generated for the groups were only for the groups’ members and their networks. Not really a kind of generalized social trust and/or public benefits were observed, and probably this finding is very much connected to the limited stock of linking social capital found in the field (Table 3 and 4). Indeed, despite the fact that Mexico has embarked in a process of decentralization which has encompassed greater distribution of power at all levels of government, creating pressures for greater autonomy and accountability, increasing resources to promote local development and encouraging participation of local people in decision-making process. However, in real life the later has not being given as much importance as the previous ones. For example, Tarímbaro, has not showed notable advances at enhancing its institutional capacity to administrate local resources as well as to provide infrastructure and services to residents and support productive activities, including agriculture. While the institutional capacity of Tarímbaro lagged behind, it has also being able to support agricultural activities to some extent by providing farmers with agricultural inputs, and groups conformation by providing technical advice to get access to financial resources from federal government. Nevertheless, devolving decision making to the poor and more marginalized residents is completely off the table despite the formal channels created for this purpose. Indeed, local organisms designed to represent the voice of people in very particular matters only, are very limited in terms of numbers, representativeness of the poorest groups, and democratic decision-making since people only can express their view but they cannot vote in final decisions.

**Table 4. Positive outcomes from social capital in the context of transmuting livelihoods**

Type of social capital	Outcomes of social capital in Transmutation of livelihoods
	<b>San Miguel Tarímbaro</b>
<b>Bonding</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cooperation in farming activities</li> <li>• Food security</li> <li>• Economic and physical resources</li> <li>• emotional and spiritual security</li> <li>• Sense of belonging</li> <li>• Self-esteem</li> </ul>
<b>Bridging</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sense of security and belonging</li> <li>• Natural resource protection (land and water)</li> <li>• Secure agricultural water provision</li> <li>• Access to irrigation technologies</li> <li>• Leisure</li> <li>• Increased self-esteem</li> <li>• Advisory services</li> <li>• Facilitate paperwork to get access to agricultural inputs</li> <li>• Access to raw material</li> <li>• Support in some stages of the production process</li> <li>• Provide physical space for productive activities</li> <li>• Empowerment</li> <li>• Employment</li> <li>• Money</li> </ul>
<b>Linking</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access to benefits such as agricultural inputs subsidies</li> <li>• Technical assistance</li> </ul>

(Elaborated by the authors from preliminary data)

## 5. Concluding remarks

Based on preliminary data obtained from a work-in-progress research project, this paper outlines the contribution of different forms social capital to the capacity of poor small-scale farmers to adapt their (transmuting) livelihoods to periurbanization. For this purpose we defined social capital *as formal and informal institutionalised networks of social relationships that generate trust and facilitate reciprocal exchange for the benefit of people*. Under this approach, we were compelled to explored four core elements of this capital: Structure, mechanisms for engagement, mechanisms for (reciprocal) exchange and outcomes. While data available is uncompleted to corroborate linkages and formulate in-depth explanations to better understand processes at multi-level social and spatial scales, findings are interested because they give us a glance of the important role of social relationships to protect and acquire resources in peri-urban areas. Some of the most important conclusions are:

- A variety of stakeholders located in different positions of the network with unequal power distribution were selected as participants of this study.

- Informal institutions and values and beliefs seem to play a more important role for social **engagement** in all levels of analysis.
- Social networks in the study area are capable to mobilise a series of tangible and intangible resources such as money and infrastructure, as well as socio-emotional resources, information, technology and other goods and services. Findings also suggest that cross-cutting relationships have the capability to mobilise more resources for the adaptation of livelihoods of the small-scale poor farmers than any other form of relationships.
- From our perspective, one of the most important indicators of social capital are related to the outcomes. In this regard social capital at all levels of analysis seems contribute importantly to the acquisition of new urban assets but also with the protection and consolidation of those agricultural and rural assets owned by hand. Again, bridging social capital seems to play the most important role in the adaptation to the periurbanization of the study area.

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# Garnering Public Support for Municipal Water Chlorination in San Andrés Itzapa: the Social Determinants of Water Beliefs and Practices

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## **Background**

Central America is currently on “alert” of a cholera outbreak following resurgence of the disease in Haiti, Dominican Republic, Cuba, and more recently in Mexico. The threat of cholera underlines the need for access to safe drinking water. Despite widespread use of chlorine to eliminate water-borne illnesses, San Andrés Itzapa is one of few municipalities in Chimaltenango, Guatemala that has not implemented municipal water chlorination. The objective of the current study is to explore factors influencing public perception of municipal water chlorination. It aims to evaluate water beliefs and practices and investigate their possible social determinants through data analysis of literacy, years of schooling, water attitudes, and taste and odor perception.

## **Methods**

Concurrent transformative mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative), including participant observation and 55 semi-structured interviews, were used to collect data from December 2013 to January 2014. Quantitative data analysis included the use of Fisher’s Exact Test and qualitative data analysis was based on Embedded Strategy design.

## **Results**

Quantitative results showed that not all community members manage to treat their drinking water and affirm the need for water chlorination at a municipal level. Both previous exposure to chlorinated water and acceptance of its taste and odor were significantly positively associated with a belief that chlorinated water was good for health ( $p=.0363$ ,  $p=.0064$ ). Acceptance of taste and odor was a very strong indicator of individual support for municipal water chlorination. Qualitative analysis revealed that literacy and years of schooling were negatively associated with more primitive perceptions of the effects and uses of chlorinated water.

## **Conclusions**

Mixed data findings support the need to construct municipal chlorinated water systems instead of focusing on individual water treatment and hygiene. In garnering public support for municipal water chlorination, altering the perception of taste and odor may be just as important as educating the public on the health benefits of chlorinated water. Controlling for taste and odor may be done by investing in the best quality of chlorination machines and through carefully managing chlorine dosages to the municipal water supply.

**Key words:** water supply; water treatment; chlorination; literacy; public health; global health; rural development; rural education



# **Growing old gracefully: The role of old age pension in Lesotho**

by

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## **Abstract:**

Living gracefully means being regarded by oneself and others as a person with a beautiful life style who is polite to a considerate of others. Such graceful characteristics are normally found when persons are content with themselves and their place in the world. They are self-assured. Gracefulness is best achieved through having adequate material wellbeing, health and socio-psychological status. The issue considered by this paper is whether and how far such material, health and social wellbeing have been improved for the elderly in Lesotho by the provision of old age pension.

The introduction of old age pension in Lesotho in November 2004 brought relief and new hope to the elderly. It gave them the self-assurance to live a more graceful life. The paper examines how the pension provides for their material goods, increased access to health care and, most importantly, strengthened the status of the elderly in their households and communities. The evidence comes from one study carried out in Lesotho. Two hundred pension recipients in rural areas were interviewed. A multidisciplinary team collected quantitative data using semi-structured questionnaires.

Results show that the elderly now participate more in household decision-making and contribute modestly towards income and community projects. The abject poverty and hunger vulnerability existing before the pension have been halved. Pensioners play an increasing role in the care of orphans and vulnerable children. All these have boosted pensioners' self-esteem and strengthened the respect from their households and communities. Although the pension is seen as meagre, voters' intentions in 2007 and 2012 elections show the efforts of the government continue to be highly appreciated. From this evidence, the paper concludes the old age pension has empowered the elderly and makes them live a more graceful life irrespective of the contrary results from other studies.

**INDISTINCT PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY OF SOCIAL WORKERS AND ITS  
IMPACTS ON SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE  
(SITUATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC, EUROPE)**

**Elichová Markéta**

**Abstract**

In the Czech Republic a law on social services has been in force since 2007. This law changes the value point of view, away from paternalistic concept of services from the era of communism and to the forefront puts the quality of life of their users. In practice, the quality of social services is perceived only as an administrative burden that distracts attention from the direct work with clients. This led to misunderstanding of the meaning of SQSS that endeavor to guarantee the optimal adjustment of the service for the users, to maintain the dignity of clients, and keep and strengthen their social inclusion. Social workers act in contradiction with the ideals of social work, which is trying to maintain or develop the social functioning that works on the value of every human being and of human rights.

Causes of this situation are found in education, in way of processing of the conceptual apparatus of social work for practice, and the attitude to the profession of social work, as well as in the confusion of the position, institutionalization and perspectives of social work. Theory of social work does not exceed the scope of industrial modernity and still lingers in the schema — the social problems are caused by companies/individuals. Then there is a problem with a fact that the threats and risks in the postindustrial modern are produced socially, while the need to cope with them is strictly individualized. Social work is becoming a service in the market of services.

## **Introduction to The Topic**

On January 1, 2007 Act 108/2006 Coll. on social services came into force in the Czech Republic (which brought the definition of social worker, social services, types of services, a new way of funding - the service is "purchased" by client from his/her care allowance, and also the requirements for service provider), which by changing the value basis meant a departure from a paternalistic conception of social services (Sládek, 2010: 110) (the residues of former communist regime, when the state was an exclusive provider and donator of social care (Šiklová, 2001)), when the life quality of care receivers gets under the spotlight as an overall indicator of adequate social service (Matoušek, 2007).

The Act introduced previously known, now reformulated quality standards of social services (SQSS) as a norm, whose implementation is also a precondition for the provision of social services (see Act 108/2006 Coll. § 82, 88).

In social work practice, the quality of social services has become a 'redoubtable norm' and is perceived only as more paperwork hindering social workers' performance and distracting them from direct work with clients (see Quality in Social Services, 2011, Hanzl, 2011). This leads to misunderstanding of the sense of SQSS that are the product of the quality policy of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, which tries to guarantee optimal setting of social services towards the user, maintaining their dignity and keeping and strengthening their social inclusion (Act 108/2006 Coll. ).

With regard to the ambiguity in meaning of SQSS, the fulfillment of certain criteria and sub-criteria of SQSS by service providers is complicated (Sládek, 2010: 116). Social workers are not able to take advantage of freedom given to them through a high degree of generality of the definition of SQSS criteria (Čermáková, Johnová, 2002) and often produce written materials (requirement of many SQSS criteria for written methodologies) that are not effective, e.i. do not correspond with theoretical bases used in daily practice of an organization, but social workers understand them as a way how to fulfill SQSS. There are also many cases when some organizations copy methodologies of other organizations that have passed inspection without adapting them to their own specifics.

Social workers behave contrary to the ideals of social work as a discipline that seeks to maintain or develop social functioning of individuals, families, groups, communities and society while building on the value of each human being and human rights (see IFSW, 2012 Navrátil, 2001:11-12, Matoušek, 2011:15-16). Yet SQSS focusing on personal goals of service users enable providers to concretize these abstract ideals such as human dignity, autonomy, etc. (Sládek, 2010: 115). Furthermore, university education in social work in CR is largely determined by experts in social work (Accreditation requirements of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports are based on the Minimum Standard of Education in Social Work passed by the Association of Educators in Social Work (see Ministry of Education, ASVSP, 2011 ) who require minimum knowledge and skills in accordance with the above given definition of social work. On the other hand Musil (2011) states that the Minimum Standard does include the idea of complexity that meets current post-industrial modern discourse, however, it does not tell the students how to synthesize all the specific disciplines.

## **The Question**

This leads to a question whether the reasons for this situation can be found on the side of social workers in their own way of processing conceptual apparatus for social work practice and their attitude to social work profession or in a broader context which then affects the work of social workers - specifically, I mean the ambiguity of social work position, institutionalization and perspectives of social work.

### **The Consequences of The Concept Ambiguity of Social Work in The Czech Republic**

Musil (2013: 2-3) defines the consequences of the concept ambiguity of social work in the Czech Republic as follows:

- reducing the quality of social work due to workers who lack professional qualification to help in dealing with problems in the interactions between them and their social environment,
- reducing the availability and quality of professional help of social workers due to the policy of contracting authorities (legislators or employers) when they neglect difficulties of citizens struggling with social environment and delegate this task to help those struggling citizens exclusively or unwittingly to the hands of other helping professionals who are not well qualified to provide professional social work,
- reducing the availability of professional help of social workers to citizens whose living difficulties result from problematic interactions between them and their social environment.

The ambiguity of the social work concept does not just bring the above mentioned barriers of good practice, they themselves produce other problems. We can identify other following consequences that limit the quality and availability of professional help of social workers to citizens with problems in interactions with the social environment – e.g. manifestations of social tension, publicly declared disagreements of representatives of disabled people with public authorities, violence against the homeless, illegitimate course of some distrains and other less-publicized manifestations of tension between members of the major society and people at risk of social exclusion.

### **The Role of Social Worker and The Influence of The Social Work Concept on The Public in Terms of Good Practice**

Let's return back to the role of social worker and the influence of the social work concept on the public in terms of good practice. In case of social worker it is the work with theories and interpretation of the role of social worker's profession. Musil (2008: 64, 2009: 80) based on his research of social workers in the Czech Republic defined four categories of the social work concept: administrative, professional, philanthropic and activist. Within these types one can interpret the quality of social work as well done paperwork, the other one as a good relationship with a client, etc. Hantová and Elichová (2013), however, found out that not only the public but also social workers view the social work profession only as an administrative work, which is confirmed by Musil (2013: 2) when he says that it is one of two common confusions of social work for the administration of state-funded or subsidized compensations (benefits and services) of personal deficits of citizens that prevent them from meeting their needs.

The second common approach to social work in Czech society is social work confused with widely understood social services performed by helping workers of various professions with differentiated levels of qualification (e.g. psychologists, various profiles educators, doctors, nurses, caregivers, personal assistants, physiotherapists, so called art therapists, leisure time managers, etc.) or volunteers. This evokes in relevant subjects (the public, legislators, clients, workers of various helping professions, etc.) an impression that social work wrongly identified with social services can be performed by workers of the above mentioned fields. This results in commonly occurring belief, which is hard to prove, that professionally trained social workers who would provide people in distress with specialized assistance when dealing with problematic interactions (among others also with problematic interactions with the providers of social services and benefits) are not required (Musil, 2013: 2). No wonder the reputation of social worker's profession according to the investigation conducted by Hantová and Elichová (2013) was bad and social worker was often leveled with an official.

### **The State of Social Work in Post-industrial Modernity**

Furthermore, social work as a discipline due to its fundamental linking with the development of modernism faces a relative crisis. As described by Chytil (2007: 64-66) social work was established as a 'working tool' of institutions of secondary sociability, whose task is to solve the problems of modern society generated by the process of modernization, which deprived people of traditional social pillars, but in the current second phase of modernity (or the post-industrial modernity, reflective or liquid modernity) modernization requires the reduction of secondary sociability institutions and organization of social work on the principles of market economy, because economics acts like a paradigm common to all humanities and social sciences. As a result of mutual competition for funding, other subsystems behave towards social field competitively. In addition, the delimitation of the field towards other helping professions is blurred (Matoušek, 2011: 16). This is due to the broad range of social work (just look at the list of typical roles of social worker: counsellor, services provider, case manager, agent of social changes and others (Rezníček, 1994)), because it is the discipline having multidisciplinary bases and typical of synthesizing features (Květenská, 2007), the position of workers in multidisciplinary teams and the classical feature of social work, which is the theoretical make-up based on the large amount of findings of other sciences (Oláh, Schavel, et al, 2009), which are used within the social work and also modified for the benefit of clients of social work (Klimentová, 2001), but also by the fact that social work in the Czech Republic under Act 108/2006 Coll. can be performed in addition to social workers trained in social work also by special educators, lawyers, etc.

According to Chytil (2007: 66), however, the theoretical bases of social work do not go beyond industrial modernism and still linger in its scheme - social problems come from society/individuals (these words are confirmed by Matoušek (2011: 17-19) when he notes that 'big theories' of social work, which are reductive in terms of the complexity of the phenomena and outdated, they were created in the late 1960s). He does not know how to deal with the fact that the threats and risks in the post-industrial modernism are produced socially, while the need to deal with them is strictly individualized. Some authors speak about the resignation of the theoretical development of social work (Lorenz, 2005), some even predict the end of social work (Stoesze, 1997). According to Chytil (2007: 70) modernization does not lead to the end of social work, but social work becomes a service on the market of services and like other services it is profit-oriented. So we can view the law categorizing social services as the action in accordance with the above. Another element of the economic discourse can be seen just at the required quality of social services, when the client becomes a 'customer' who buys the services and requires their appropriate quality.

### **The State of Education in Social Work in Post-industrial Modernity**

In relation to education in social work it is then stated that it also does not reflect modernizing tendencies (Chytil, 2007: 66). The question is whether social workers are educated adequately and ready to compete in the current practice and respond to rapidly changing conditions in society. Musil (2011) states that the current method of teaching social work does not allow social workers to get social recognition, as it is not paying enough attention to problems in the interaction (the only exclusive competence of social work) and therefore the concept of the identity and role of social work is wrong.

### **Research topic**

Social worker is the one that determines the final form of social work. As stated by Elichová (2011: 30), generally speaking, helping organization is shaped by workers who give it a form, both by formulating its mission and other establishing and methodical documents and also by performing their helping job. The rest is in the hands of the state which forms organizations by means of social policy, as well as donors and indirectly also in the hands of the citizens

who elect politicians, and indirectly shape the awareness of social problems. Therefore, it is necessary to find out how social work, now when facing identity crisis, is viewed in its live form by social workers themselves, who according to Musil (2011) just in liquid modernity have to define 'their role in the network' themselves, and how it affects the quality of social work. This topic is now in the centre of research project implemented by the University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice called The Concept of Quality of Social Work in Relation to Selfdefinition of Social Worker and Helping Profession.

### **Specific Social Work in The Czech Republic**

I would like to note there is a specific form of social work in the Czech Republic and in accordance with the concept of Payne (1997) I believe that social work is a socially constructed activity which can only be understood in relation to the social and cultural context it arose in. Its theory and practice are in fact reactions to how real people perceive in a certain time period and in a specific location (region, country) social problems. Practical bases of social workers are also a product of the context they occurred in.

During the 20th century social work established in stable market democracies as a specific type of professional help with problems in the interactions between people and their social environment. In Czech society, however, the development after 1950 did not lead to a wider application of this approach to social work and social work here began to be confused both for social services, which should be provided by social workers, and for the administration of state-funded or subsidized compensations (benefits and services) of personal deficits of citizens (Musil, 2013: 2). The change came up with the Velvet Revolution in 1989, when the non-profit sector began to develop, there occurred new social problems such as homelessness or unconcealed prostitution and higher education in social work was reestablished (Šiklová, 2001).

### **Efforts to Change: The Reasons for Supporting The Law Regulating Social Work in The Czech Republic**

At the macro level, the ambiguity of of social work concept, which according to Musil (2013: 2) prevails in the Czech society and which has serious consequences for those Czech citizens who face difficult life situations and can not cope with them on their own, is now being solved by the Scientific Council of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs for Social Work. This council tries to support passing and implementation of the principle of the law on social workers and self-governing professional organization of social workers which was unfortunately removed from the legislative agenda of the government. According to the Scientific Council the indistinct identity of the social work concept will be reduced (Musil, 2013).

The purpose of the law is to support and regulate the professional quality of social work profession (Musil, 2013). The Council supports this law for reasons that relate to exercising professional help of social workers in Czech society, such as the need to clarify social work concept in Czech society in order to secure availability of professional help of social workers, to secure the conditions for negotiation between social workers, employers and educators, to secure the recognition of the legal regulations of social work by all resorts and sectors of public administration and economy including civil, non-governmental/non-profit sector, further the need to secure legal regulation of the cooperation between social work and public administration on the development of the field, etc.

Other reasons are related to the quality of the performance social work profession: the need to support the potential of social workers to negotiate in the interest of clients, the need to ensure control of respecting professionally justified rules for the performance of social work profession, including ethical rules for the performance of the social work profession, the

need to ensure the regulation of discussing contentious issues and support of social work in disputes related to the performance social work profession and the need to encourage the motivation of social workers to lifelong learning in the field, etc. (Musil, 2013).

## **Conclusion**

Not only the Scientific Council should be aware of the fact, as Ševčíková (2011) notes, that the beginning of changes at the macro-level of social work does not mean success because the changes will not automatically trigger changes at meso and micro-levels, although these levels are inseparably linked, therefore in social workers who perform their profession at these levels, submitting authorities, public etc.

An interesting idea in the end could be a reflection on the statement of Gray and Webb (2007), who point out that social work is very delicate work that is focused not only on individuals, groups or communities, but also affects the whole culture (Ševčíková, 2011). When social work itself is not sure about its own identity, what impact it may have in the context of culture?

This idea is describes in more detail in Navrátil (1998: 44): In society there is a circular process under way, which on one hand includes individuals as the creators of social meanings, and on the other hand through this participation of individuals in the structures of the society creates conventions which people follow. It is a spiral process, during which the structures are constantly being created and reshaped. These changes affect the conventions and people live their lives according these conventions. If such processes take place in society in general, we can assume that they occur also in social work. It is sure that social and cultural factors determine the content and form of social work.

Let's hope, however, that some change will come, because the investigation outputs of Hantová and Elichová (2013) show that the indistinct professional identity has a negative impact on the profession and also, of course, on the clients themselves. However, according to the respondents the major consequence is the unprofessionalism of social workers and a reluctance to work. We see therefore unprofessionalism, unwillingness to act and comment changes in social situations (Chytil, 2007; Růžičková, Musil, 2009), particularly in those who, as mentioned above, are a decisive element in forming social work. Good practice under these mentioned conditions can not therefore exist.

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# Individual and Collective Migrant Remittances in the Philippines: An Interpretation of Narrative Identity and Communicative Action

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## Abstract

This research examined the practices of migrants sending remittances to receivers in the Philippines with the intention of providing financial support for sustainable living and community projects. The purpose of sending funds is to help people rise out of poverty. There exists a lack of understanding about the connection established through a remittance between the giver and the receiver, and a disconnect in the general understanding of the meaning of a remittance to a county, community.

The use of a participatory methodology allowed the researcher and participants to come together in conversation, for data to emerge through dialogue and understanding. Interpretive inquiry invites the researcher and the participants to challenge prejudgments during conversation and in the reflection that follows.

Remittance receivers in the Philippines are often young. They are given the responsibility to discern the best use of remittances for the family, and they often feel socially isolated and ill prepared to make wise adult decisions. Their narrative identity is one bounded by poverty and separation from a parent who is remitting money home from another country.

The government of the Philippines provides limited support services for the poor who rely on remittances. Data collection and dissemination on the amount of migrant remittances should provide impetus for legislative and moral action to provide suitable programs on financial planning, caregiver responsibilities, and other services aimed at easing the plight of the young migrant remittance receiver.

We live in a world where the distribution of wealth, not just monetary wealth, is out of alignment, where families are economically compelled to live separate lives, where a government's agenda of national economic gain too often overrides the needs of individual migrants and their families. Remittance receivers in the Philippines rely on remittances for basic necessities, while the middle generations of overseas migrants leave young families with grandparents as the surrogate parents.

The appropriation of the text allows one to make a narrative theirs. We cannot tell stories with only an ethical stance of the past; we appropriate from the other and make it our own.

Through participatory research, we capture the present and future importance of remittances to the developing world alongside foreign aid and

private philanthropy. Notably, of all remittances sent to developing countries, Asia received the greatest portion at 48 percent in 2010 (Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances 2012).

If learning is carried on at a reflective level, forms of reasoning and argumentation may be learned by others and developed within a cultural and political tradition. They could be actualized in specific education plans, management programs, legal systems, and other conformations of social phenomena. In this way, communicative action could critically connect individuals and their life world structures to traditions and present day social situations.

Key words: remittances, migration, Philippines, narrative identity, participatory research, communicative action, foreign aid, poverty, use of remittances, remittance receivers, *hawala*, *kapwa*, diaspora, economic theories of migration

### **Background**

Groups of individuals seeking to maintain identity with their native culture are often described as diasporas. In the contemporary context of cultural diversity, immigrant populations and decolonization diasporas “constitute constellations of political action that tend to modify the internal and external hierarchies of countries as well as their historicities” (Mudimbe 1999:3). Diasporas act within national contexts of the home country from a position of de-territorialized minorities (Mudimbe 1999:4). Diasporas reflect identity, giving a sense of self, while physically separated from one’s homeland. At the same time, the identity of diaspora groups changes the longer one is living in a new place, a new culture.

A practice common for many migrants or diaspora groups is to send remittances, the sending of money to family and others to alleviate the dire financial situation in the home country. Remittances have grown rapidly as the numbers of people leaving their native homeland in search of greater financial security or education has increased. With the rapidly growing numbers of transnational families living in and contributing to two cultures, two countries, and two economies at the same time, remittances have become critical to the survival of millions of families and to the health of many national economies (Terry 2005:8). A remittance is a transfer of funds to provide support or remove an obligation. Billions of dollars are remitted annually, and the Philippines ranks high in terms of dollars remitted back to the Philippines (Terry 2005:345). The United States is a popular destination for Filipino migrant workers, resulting in a growing amount of US dollars being sent to the Philippines as remittances (Goldberg and Levi 2008).

According to a report issued by MasterCard in 2008 on “The Impact of Remittances on Economic Growth” (Goldberg and Levi 2008:2), remittance benefits to receiving families is “hugely important to the countries who receive them...Remittances have become even more important than foreign direct investment (FDI) as a source of capital inflow to needy nations.”

Remittances involve senders and receivers. Implications exist for the sending country as well as the receiving country. Forty-one billion dollars leaves the United States annually through remittances (Goldberg and Levi 2008). According to earlier estimates in 2002 (Shah 2012) reported that Americans sent \$34 billion overseas in private donations, more than twice the official US foreign aid of \$15 billion at that time. The circulation of money driven by remittances is enormous, and grows as the numbers of people leaving countries like the Philippines increases.

### **Significance of the Issue**

The study of remittances within the development arena has received scant attention (Levitt 1998) particularly serving the poor. This research may be beneficial to individuals and organizations interested in program development in Asia, specifically the Philippines, by providing new insights into the popular practice of remitting not only to one's family, but also to those not known to the sender.

The role of remittances in reducing poverty in the receiving country is addressed in this research through the significance of the role of private funds used to address the challenges of poverty in the Philippines. Additional significance is associated with the effects on the economy of the receiving country. Migrants and diaspora populations living in and remitting from the United States experience both economic and social/cultural implications, including: a flexible workforce; larger labor pool; benefit to consumers; entrepreneurial talent; and a positive return on immigration for society over generations (World Savvy Monitor Issue 7, January 2009).

The research also addresses implications for the American economy. Over US\$40 billion in remittances leaves the United States annually (Goldberg and Levi 2008). Businesses who offer remittance services compete for migrant customers. Nonprofit organizations create paths to connect with new donors from migrant communities. Giving USA annually reports giving by Americans to domestic and international causes; in 2010 it reported \$289 billion in charitable donations in 2010 (Giving USA 2011).

### **Philippine Culture: *Kapwa***

#### **The Shared Inner Self: *Kapwa***

The term *kapwa* is broadly translated (Calderon 1957) as "both" and "fellow being". Virgilio Enriquez (2007:45) notes that *kapwa* when translated into English, is equated with "others". *Kapwa* says Enriquez (2007:45) "is the unity of the 'self' and 'others'. In English, "others" can be used in reference to the opposition of "self" implying that oneself is a separate identity. *Kapwa* is a recognition of shared identity, an inner self shared with others (Enriquez 2007: 45).

Paul Ricoeur (1994) in *Oneself as Another* focuses on the concepts of sameness (*idem*) and selfhood (*ipse*). Ricoeur (1994) suggests proposes that the question "Who am I?" suggests promise between one's self and an other. Narrative identity mediates the sameness and selfhood of one's personal identity, or in Ricoeur's (1994:147-48) words, " The narrative constructs the identity of the character, what can be called his or her narrative identity, in

constructing that of the story told. It is the identity of the story that makes the identity of the character.” *Kapwa*, expresses the Filipino shared identity where emphasis is on sharing one’s self with the other.

A person has *kapwa* “not so much because of a recognition of status given him by others but more because of his awareness of shared identity” (Enriquez 2007:45). One’s self and the other are one and the same in *kapwa*. Katrin DeGuia (2005:8) suggests contends that *kapwa* looks for what people have in common, shared characteristics.

### **Dignity, Justice and Freedom**

Three specific societal values underlie the basis of *kapwa*: dignity, justice and freedom (Enriquez 2007; DeGuia 2005). Dignity or *karangalan* is one’s sense of self-worth, a cornerstone of Filipino personhood. (DeGuia 2005) cites Enriquez, [*karangalan* refers to] “the intrinsic quality of a person...that allows them to shine despite the grime of their appearance, environment or status in life.”

*Katarungan* is the most commonly used Filipino word for justice. Jose Diokno, a human rights lawyer in the Philippines (DeGuia 2005:38) describes the Filipino concept of justice:

Our language establishes that here is a Filipino concept of justice; that it is a highly moral concept, intimately related to the concept of right; that it is similar to, but broader than, Western concepts of justice, for it embraces the concept of equity; that it is a discriminating concept, distinguishing between justice and right, on the one hand, and law and argument, on the other; that its fundamental element is fairness; and that it eschews privilege and naked power.

*Katarungan* as a value represents human rights, in which justice is based on fairness (Enriquez 2007). Justice is not what the law claims, but what the people say it should be. The values *katarungan* and *kapwa* were instrumental in two successful people’s movements in the Philippines in the late 1990s, resulting in the Philippines becoming the first country to ever be nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize in 2000 for its *kapwa* orientation.

*Kalayaan* is often interpreted as the freedom or license to do as one pleases (Enriquez 2007:48). *Kalayaan* for many Filipinos, means life itself. Enriquez says, “The freedom to commit a particular act, or lack of it, determines whether a person or a community survives or perishes.” Enriquez (2007:48) offers this example, “[t]he Aetas of Zambales simply have no choice but to move the *kaingin* (farming systems used by upland farmers in Philippines) fields every so often despite forestry laws to the contrary.”

Poverty is widespread in the Philippines. Eighty percent of the Philippine population earns less than two dollars a day, and many Filipinos live in sub-standard housing, colloquially referred to as “squats” which lack indoor plumbing and electricity. Residents of squats will tap into the local power grid for electricity — another example of *kalayaan*.

*Kapwa* looks for what people have in common, one’s shared identity. One’s self and others are the same regardless of economic status, age, or gender. To understand *kapwa* is to understand the people of the Philippines.

## **People of The Philippines**

Filipinos are an Asian ethnic group, a Mongoloid people part of the Austronesian group, and a group of Malay/Malayo-Polynesian speaking people. Filipinos are divided geographically and culturally into regions, and each regional group is recognizable by distinct traits and dialects — Ilocanos of the north, Tagalogs of the central plains, Visayans from the central islands, and the Muslims of Mindanao. Tribal communities are scattered across the archipelago. There are over 100 dialects spoken by Filipinos. Tagalog is the most frequently spoken dialogue. Resulting from the American presence in the Philippines, English is widely spoken and taught in schools (Francia 2010).

Eighty percent of Filipinos are Roman Catholic, which can be traced to the long colonization of the Philippines by Spain. There is a sizeable population of Muslims mainly living on Mindanao. The estimated 2011 population of the Philippines is 94,852,000 (World Bank 2011). Thirty-seven percent of the population is under age 15. High birth rate and rapid population growth represent major stumbling blocks in efforts to reduce poverty and improve living standards in the Philippines. Compared with other countries in the region, the Philippines is experiencing rapid population growth. The rate of natural increase is 2.2 percent, higher than Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia. In 2000, roughly one-third of the population lived at or below the level required to satisfy food and non-food basic needs (<http://www.nscb.gov.ph/>).

An overseas Filipino is a person of Philippine origin who lives outside the Philippines. The estimated worldwide population of overseas Filipinos is between 8.6 million and 11 million (Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, 2010). An average of 2,500 Filipinos leave the country every day for work abroad, and the Philippines is second only to Mexico as an exporter of labor. An estimated ten percent of the country's population, or nearly 8 million people, are overseas Filipino workers distributed in 182 countries, according to the Commission on Population Republic of the Philippines (POPCOM). That is in addition to the estimated three million migrants who work illegally abroad (Challenges in the Philippines 2003). The economy of the Philippines is affected by the remittances of migrant workers (Migration information 2006). The 2010 US Census reported 2.5 million Filipinos living in the United States.

## **Philippine Diaspora**

The story behind overseas Filipino migration is one of poverty, unemployment, and underdevelopment in the Philippines. Generations of Filipinos have migrated to other countries in pursuit of better lives for themselves and their families. Filipino migration began in the early 1900s when Filipino workers migrated to Hawaii to work in the sugar plantations, followed by migration to the United States as agricultural and fish cannery work opened. Filipino immigration to the United States began in the 1920s as barriers were "enacted to limit other sources of Asian immigration (Hirschman and Wong 1981:497-98). The 1924 Immigration Act that favored European immigrants over Asians did not restrict Filipinos. This omission was rectified with the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act, otherwise known as the Filipino Exclusion Act (Hirschman and Wong 1981). In the 1960s Filipino migrants were more highly skilled and educated. Responding to labor shortages in the Philippines, highly trained health

care workers including nurses, doctors, and medical technicians, sought employment outside the Philippines.

In 1974, the Philippine government, under President Ferdinand Marcos, institutionalized an overseas employment program intended as “a temporary measure to generate foreign exchange and ease the country’s unemployment and underemployment issues” (CMA 2006). Many of the Filipinos migrating during the 1970s were less skilled than their predecessors. Migrants during this period were domestic workers (women) and construction workers (men) (Hirschman and Wong 1981). Of the 2.2 million OFWs in 2011, female overseas foreign workers (OFW) were estimated at 1.03 million (47.8 percent), an increase of 5.8 percent over the 975,000 reported female OFWs in 2010 ([www.pcw.gov.ph/statistics/201210statistics/filipino-women-and-mens-overseas-employment](http://www.pcw.gov.ph/statistics/201210statistics/filipino-women-and-mens-overseas-employment)).

Migrants abroad remit funds to family back home in growing numbers. According to the Philippine Commission on Women in 2008 (PMC), “the increasing volume of migrant remittances and the widespread unemployment in the country motivate the Philippine government to continue its labor export policy.” Most of my Philippine research participants are female.

The Philippine Government’s Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO 2010) estimates there are about 8.2 million Filipinos living outside the Philippines, about ten percent of the total population of the Philippines. Overseas Filipinos are a diverse population including permanent residents who are legal residents of other countries. An estimated 3.6 million Filipinos permanently reside abroad (CFO, 2007). Temporary Filipino workers, often referred to as Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) are estimated at 4.0 million. OFWs are persons who work abroad with their stay tied to their jobs, with the expectation that they will return to the Philippines at the end of their labor contracts (CFO 2011). CFO further estimates there are 875,000 undocumented overseas Filipinos, a number believed to be a very conservative estimate.

The Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas (BSP) reported OFW remittances totaled US\$103 million in 1975. The World Bank (2011) expects 2011 remittances to the Philippines to exceed \$23 billion, placing the Philippines at fourth in the world for remittances received (after India, China, and Mexico).

## **Economy**

In 2010, the Philippine economy grew 7.3 percent, fueled by consumer demand, growth in exports and investments, and election year spending. Remittances continue to be an important component for the Philippine economy. According to official statistics of the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), Filipino workers in the United States sent home US\$10 billion dollars in 2011. A large proportion of these remittances come from women who are the majority of overseas Filipino workers (Uy-Tioco 2007: 253-265). According to an International Business Machines (IBM) Global Location Trends Annual Report (2010), the Philippines has overtaken India as the world leader in business support functions, such as business process outsourcing. Major export partners for the Philippines are China, United States, and Singapore respectively.

Only twenty percent of the Philippine population earns more than two dollars a day (Graceffo 2008). As a result, overseas jobs as caregivers paying one

hundred to one hundred fifty US dollars a week look attractive to families living in poverty. Most of the police and army live in squats, as their average salary is approximately 5000 pesos (US\$121) a month (Graceffo 2008). Many people in the Philippines do not have enough money to cover basic expenses for a month, so they shop daily. Instead of buying a bottle of aspirin, drug stores sell them individually, along with laundry detergent and cigarettes. All are sold individually. In the journal I maintained throughout my research, I note that during a 2012 trip to the Philippines we were staying with our daughter-in-law's family and my husband offered to go to the local bodega to buy beer. He asked for a six-pack, and came back with six individual bottles of beer. The proprietor of the store explained to him that she only sold singles.

### Diaspora

The origin of the word diaspora (Oxford Dictionary 2012) comes “from the Greek *diaspeirein* ‘disperse’ from *dia* ‘across’ + *speirein* ‘scatter.’” Historical examples of diaspora describe people displaced by force, against their will, for example the Jews, and African slaves in the New World. Diaspora also includes trading groups such as Arab traders who brought Islam to Southeast Asia, and labor migrants, including the Indians of the British empire (Cohen 1997). Castles and Miller (2009:31) connect the current notion of a transnational community with diaspora explaining, “the term diaspora often has strong emotional connotations; while the notion of transnational community is more neutral.” The retelling of history of some diaspora groups evokes emotional responses important to the people affected. Memory is important to diaspora populations.

V.Y. Mudimbe (1999:3) questions the tendency to normalize diaspora, where immigration and diaspora are treated as objects. Mudimbe (1999:3) rejects the idea that all of us may be members of a diaspora and posits, “It is to rethink, on the basis of lived differences, the roots of an intellectual configuration, while keeping in mind that the politics of remembering are synonymous with the politics of forgetting.” Expanding on the tendency to view diaspora from a romanticized perspective, Mudimbe (1993:3) describes an “ipseity” of diasporas when he writes that, “while diasporas generally have abstained from a naturalist conception of their historical ipseity, they have often reworked the Western paradigm of identity, reconceived from a position that claimed to be objectively or subjectively marginal” (1999:5). This is not to say that diaspora is another way of describing identity. Identity suggests a substantive self where groupness is derived from concrete actions and relations, not just identity. Mudimbe (1999:5-6) summarizes this distinction of praxis over identity when he writes:

Praxis indicates a project and thus refers to the future, to the production of something that does not yet exist; identity, on the other hand, suggesting a totality that is always already present, refers everything back to a past – not a past to be overcome, though, but rather one that represents a fullness of an ideal. As a result, the present is completely captured and immobilized by the past... Conceptualizing today's diasporas as constellations of cultural and political actions, as projects rather than congealed totality, thus confers an epistemological dimension upon these praxes.



The World Bank Institute in *Diaspora Networks and the International Migration of Skills* further addresses utilizing praxis or project-driven efforts by diasporas. Yuvgeny Kuznetsov and Charles Sabel (2006:4) suggest that diaspora networks provide a less-volatile, power struggle for improving the home country economy in developing countries than the efforts of multinational firms when they write, “[P]owerful autonomous and often footloose multinational firms are viewed as the agents, even the masters, of economic imperialism rather than as partners in development.”

Remitters have varied reasons to migrate. The emergence of global circulation labor, where migrants move away from poor economies to prosperous ones and back, is an example of how diaspora networks function as search networks. Kuznetsov and Sabel (2006:6) state that, “today...talented students still go abroad to continue their own studies and work in the developed economies, but then use their own global networks, and especially those of their diasporas, to help build new establishments in their home countries.”

Mudimbe (1999) and Kuznetsov and Sabel (2006:6) address the value of project-driven diaspora efforts benefiting the diaspora home country when they write, “Migrant groups can be part of effective networks working to effect positive change in their home countries, connecting “developing economy insiders, with their risk-mitigating knowledge and connections, to outsiders in command of technical know-how and investment capital.”

The actors in diaspora networks are native sons and daughters (2006). They connect foreign knowledge to domestic needs for the purpose of disciplining the behavior of ethnic communities and multinationals (2006). Transnational migrant research is experiencing rapid growth, yet according to Castles and Miller (2009: 32) the degree to which migrants do actually engage in transnational behavior has not been adequately established.

### **Philippine Diaspora**

Over half the world’s population lives in the Asia-Pacific region. In 2000, 53 million of the world’s 191 million migrants were in Asia (Castles and Miller 2009). In the early 21st century, 6.1 million Asians were employed outside their own country in another Asian country (Castles and Miller 2009). Hugo (2005) estimates there are 20 million Asian migrant workers worldwide. The Philippines, in 2006, was one of the top ten source countries for migrant workers (OECD 2007:316). Filipinos are the second-largest Asian-American group; Tagalog, one of several dialects spoken by Filipinos, is the fifth most spoken language in the US. Nearly half of the Filipino-born live in California. Other states with growing Filipino populations are Texas, New York, and Illinois. Nearly 60 percent of Filipino immigrants are women. Over 75 percent of Filipino foreign-born adults have some college education. Filipino immigrants in the US are far less likely to live in poverty than other immigrant groups (<http://www.migrationinformation.org/usfocus/display.cfm?ID=777> ). In addition to education, gender is a significant component to understanding OFWs.

Worldwide, of the almost one million documented OFWs, 75 percent are women marking the feminization of migration (IOM 2005:109-110). Female migration has considerable effects on families as married women leave their

children in the care of others. Regardless of gender or level of education, OFWs leave their home countries, but not the culture associated with their homeland. Of the two million OFWs in 2010, an estimated 975,000 were women, an increase of 8.2 percent over the previous year's estimate (Philippine Commission on Women 2012).

The values and cultures of migrants and members of the Philippine diaspora need to be described "thickly" or in Clifford Geertz's words (1973:14), "culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can causally be attributed; it is the context, something within which they can be intelligibly -- that is, thickly--described."

### **Migration Theories**

To migrate is to move from one place to another. Permanent migration occurs when there is no intent to return to one's home country to live. Migration is a collective action, a form of social change affecting both the sending and receiving areas (Castles and Miller 2009:20). Economic concerns and geography are two important components of migration theory.

#### **Economic Theories Of Migration**

Contemporary theories of migration generally associate migration with economics (Castles and Miller 2009:21). The economic approach links migration to economics where the theory assumes migrants have an understanding of where they are going and make the decision to migrate based on economic factors like wage level, employment opportunities, housing. Focusing on human capital involves a decision on the balance of greater return in higher wages compared to the cost of migrating. G.J. Borjas (1989:461) forwards a model of an 'immigration market' as "neo-classical theory [which] assumes that individuals maximize utility: individual 'search' for the country of residence that maximizes their well-being." As an example, Filipino migrant networks provide the recent migrant with job opportunities, job leads, and opportunities to socialize with other migrants.

The new economics of labor migration theory (NELM) suggests that people migrate to send money back home, to remit to family members at home with the intention of improving the standard of living for the receivers. NELM theory leads to specific hypotheses about migrant motivation to remit, and impact on the sending country (Taylor 1999). In their survey of migration theory, Douglas Massey et al (1998:50-59) believe that the,

[V]arious economic theories operated at different levels of analysis and focus on different aspects of migration...they all provide important insights into migration. However...migration cannot be understood simply through economic analysis...a much broader enquiry is needed.

A broader enquiry includes recent views on transnationalism and transnational communities and puts the emphasis on human agency. An older term for transnationalism is diaspora. Other contemporary theories on migration expand from the economic model to include anthropology and geography. Two newer approaches to migration theory are the migration systems theory rooted in geography, and migration networks theory originating in sociology and anthropology. The migration systems theory suggests that migration usually

arises from pre-existing links between the sending and receiving countries (Castles and Miller 2009:27-30). A microstructure of this theory is social networks developed by migrants to help migrants cope with resettlement issues (Castles and Miller 2009). The country of origin for migrants is another tool analysis for understanding migrant social networks. In the next section, the importance of geography in migration is addressed.

### **Geography And Migration**

Another aspect of migration theory is based on geography. In North-to-North migration, both the sending country and receiving country or region are fairly well developed (Castles 2000). There is limited question about the economic gains and benefits for both regions. South-to-North migration occurs when migration moves from a relatively undeveloped country to a relatively developed one (Ellerman 2006:27). A sub-group of South-to-North migrants are guest workers or temporary migrants who seek to learn new skills and increase their income with the intent of returning home. These temporary migrants anticipate returning to their homeland having observed life in a more advanced economic state, and having participated in new culture(s). Additionally, their remittances and savings would provide capital for a more prosperous life on their return (Ellerman 2006). As John Stuart Mill (1899) writes:

It is hardly possible to overrate the value, in the present low state of human improvement, of placing human beings in contact with persons dissimilar to themselves, and with modes of thought and action unlike those with which they are familiar...Such communication has always been, and is peculiarly in the present age, one of the primary sources of progress.

Mills' comments written over a century ago aptly depict the hopes of today's migrant workers.

David Ellerman (2006:38) writes that motivation of a diaspora or migrant population is more than an economic proposition. Ellerman notes (2006:38), while emigrants may have left for economic reasons, there is no reason to think that mobilization of the diaspora is solely an economic proposition. "Intrinsic motivation taps into the roots of identity, and an emigrant's home country is likely to be part of that emigrant's identity" (Deci and Ryan 1985; Lane 1991). The desire to achieve economic security and social standing are inter-related. Both the economic and social rewards need to be aligned, like "arrows pointing roughly in the same direction" (Ellerman 2006: 38). The two components are intertwined. A desire to have a better life for oneself and one's family is often determined economically. Migrants seek the opportunity to find better employment, so that in part, they can contribute to the prosperity of the family left behind often using a form of monetary transfer called remittances.

### **Remittances**

A widely shared form of providing financial support to family members and neighbors is the transaction of remittances – gifts of money and/or goods from migrated family members back to those in the home country (Petty 2002:147). Receiving families use remittances as investment in human capital

such as tuition and education expenses, an investment in the future (Terry 2005:9).

### **Remittances From Migrant To Family**

For decades, millions of migrant workers have remitted billions of dollars back to their home countries to support their families (Terry 2005:3). Roberto Suro (2005:22) states that, “at the simplest level, remittances reflect the profound emotional bonds and constant interaction between relatives separated by geography and borders.” Remittance senders and receivers live in what sociologist Manuel Castells (1996:9) calls the “space of flows” a timeless place marked by transnational networks operating beyond traditional institutions and communities. In the case of a Filipina migrant working in the United States with a family left behind in the Philippines, the space of flows will continue to be important and significant and not become a non-place in her existence. On the other hand, the role of place will decrease because of the rise of globalization and information technology (Castells 1996). A sense of care for one’s family, self, community fills the space of flows (Castells 1996) for many migrants. That sense of care or responsibility is often formalized through migrant remittances.

Migrants remit home for reasons other than altruism: payment for child care (Lucas and Stark 1988); self-serving reasons such as improving economic conditions at home to increase the value of assets left behind (Pozo 2005); and joint investment projects (Jaramillo 2005:140). Migrants incur social commitments in addition to financial obligations. Family members raise children left behind, care for elderly relatives – all part of why remittances are sent. Money is not all that can be remitted by migrants or members of a diaspora population. Migrant remittances are impressive on the macro-level for sending and receiving countries. An article in the November 19, 2011 *Economist*, “The Magic of Diasporas,” states, “Diasporas spread money...Migrants in rich countries not only send cash to their families; they also help companies in their host country operate in their home country.

Social remittances or the transfer of attitudes and behaviors accompanying remittances, are described next.

### **Social Remittances**

The term social remittances is fairly recent in the literature on migrants and transnationalism, but the belief in the significance of the transfer of attitudes and behaviors from developed country to developing country is not new (Castles and Miller 2009:62). Peggy Levitt (1998:927) defines social remittances as “the ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending-country communities.”

Levitt (1998:2007) uses a wide lens to understand migration saying that, “a transnational gaze begins with a world that is borderless and boundary less, and then explores what kinds of boundaries exist, and why they arise in specific times and places” (2007:22). Migration, Levitt contends, is as much about the people who stay behind as it is about people who move (2007:23). The ties between migrant and non-migrant can be strong enough for the experience of the migrant to transform those left at home. Levitt (2007:25) introduces her views on social remittances when she writes, “People, money, and what I have called social remittances -- the ideas, practices, social capital, and identities that migrants send back into their communities of origin -- permeate their daily lives,

changing how they act as well as challenging their ideas.” These transnational relationships develop over time, depending on the frequency and length of the migrant’s return trips home.

As the connection between sending and receiving countries strengthen and becomes more widespread, a transnational public sphere emerges (Soysal 1997). A public sphere is a space where citizens come together for discourse on common affairs, contest meanings, and negotiate claims (Habermas 1984). What happens in a public sphere is not a foregone conclusion. Some may develop while others disintegrate (Levitt 1998). Recent case studies on the effects of emigration confirm the ambivalent nature of social remittances (Castles and Delgado Wise 2008). As a positive, behaviors are transferred conducive to positive change. On the negative side, “the very success of emigration may proved an impediment to development...in which spending ...time working abroad becomes a normal ‘rite of passage’ for young people...The absence of young men and women in their most productive years can have negative effects on social change and economic growth” (Castles and Miller 2009: 62), which is a challenge in the Philippines and the growing numbers of younger adults choosing to seek work abroad. The ambivalent nature of social remittances is noted, and we turn our attention to the practice of social remittances.

Levitt (1998) presents three types of social remittances: normative structures, systems of practice, and social capital. Normative structures are ideas, values, and beliefs including interpersonal behavior, age and gender appropriateness, neighborliness and community participation. Systems of practice are actions shaped by normative structure, for example, household labor, religious practices, and patterns of civil and political participation. Social capital is Levitt’s third type of social remittance. Both the sender and the receiver gain status through the acknowledgement of the character of the sender. This social capital, says Levitt (1998:935), “can be used to the advantage of the receiver, or lost, if the perception were that the migrant did not contribute to community projects [so] the non-migrant family members would suffer the consequences.” Social remittances are unfiltered; migrants do not absorb their new lives unselectively and communicate intact to those at home, who willingly accept them as is (Castles and Miller 2009).

In addition to migrant to family remittances and social remittances, a third form of remitting involves groups of migrants or members of a diaspora who join together to collectively support a project in the home country. This practice is referred to as collective remittances.

### **Collective Remittances**

Since the mid-1990s there has been renewed interest in the relationship between international migration and development, specifically in the possibility of leveraging remittances to promote development in labor exporting regions (Goldring 2003). A key reason for the renewed interest in the remittances-development relationship is the significant increase in the amount of money sent home to migrant-sending countries. In 1999, the top three receivers of remittances were India, the Philippines, and Mexico, with the totals accounting for 2.6, 8.9 and 1.7 percent, respectively of each country’s GDP, respectively (Goldring 2003). Collective remittances describe the practice of migrant groups

initiating and financing projects to benefit their communities of origin (Goldring 2003; Smith 1998; Moctezuma 2000).

Luin Goldring (2003:8) presents a typology of remittances using three types of remittances: Family-Individual, Collective, and Investment. He contextualizes the typology into five elements: (1) remitters, receivers, and intermediary institutions; (2) the management of the remittances and the regulating norms; (3) the uses of the remittances; (4) the social and political meaning of the remittance; and (5) the implications of these meanings for public policy.

Senders in a collective remittance are an organized body of migrants: families, partners, hometown clubs or associations. Recipients are the receiving community, and beneficiaries are the community of productive project partners. Mediating actors (institutions) include communities, social networks, faith-based institutions, migrant organizations, government, and NGOs. Goldring (2003) emphasizes the importance of locality of origin in the geographic destination remittance, where there is a close relationship between identity, place of origin, and place where the remittances are sent. The possibility of conflict between senders and mediating actors and institutions exists particularly in the control or management of the funds. Uses of collective remittances include community public works infrastructure, sports fields, playgrounds, and social services. Goldring (2003:18) notes that one of the key differences between family and collective remittances has to do with the institutions that mediate the transfer and use of the funds. Migrant organizations working collectively to raise money for projects also are involved in planning, which requires political and social learning. Collective economic remittances develop political capital. Goldring suggests that the development of more effective, accessible and democratic participation is necessary for accountability and transparency among all participants. There are successful and legitimate informal systems of remitting which many Asians have practiced for a long time. I next present an age-old legitimate, alternative vehicle for remitting which has become a lightning rod for anti-terrorism concerns in the post 2001 United States.

### **Hawala/Hundi**

There are many terms used to describe informal remittance systems including alternative remittance systems, underground banking, ethnic banking and informal value transfer system. *Hawala*, or *hundi*, is a legitimate alternative remittance system developed in India, widely used by migrants around the world (Jost and Sandhu 2003). Geographically, the terms used to describe informal alternative remittance systems include: *Fai ch'ien* (China), *hundi* (Pakistan), *hawala* (India and Middle East), *padala* (Philippines), *hui kuan* (Hong Kong), and *pei kwan* (Thailand) (Maimbo 2004). These systems are often referred to as underground banking, which is incorrect, as they often operate openly with complete legitimacy, and are widely advertised (Jost and Sandhu 2003).

The word *hawala* comes from Islamic text dealing with matters of jurisprudence, namely change and transformation (Jost and Sandhu 2003). *Hawala* was developed in India before the introduction of western banking systems (Jost and Sandhu 2003). The characteristics that distinguish *hawala* from other remittance systems are trust and the extensive use of personal, family connections (Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan 2003). Transfers

of money take place based on communications between members of a network of *Hawaladers*, or *Hawala* dealers (Jost and Sandhu 2003); Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan 2003; Maimbo 2004). Money transfers without money movement is a distinguishing component of *hawala* (Maimbo 2004). The system is based on trust – cash-in and cash-out, but no physical movement takes place (Jost and Sandhu 2003). The transaction takes one or two days, faster than many bank wire transfers, and the transaction is completed without a paper trail (Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan 2003). Because no money changes hands, there must be trust between the sender and the sender's mediator/broker (Jost and Sandhu 2003). Trust is equally important between the sender's broker and the broker for the receiver (Jost and Sandhu 2003). The sender's broker trusts the receiver's broker to make the payment to the receiver.

Connections are of equal importance (Maimbo 2004). The brokers must have a connection to facilitate the payment. Many *hawala* transactions (legitimate and illegitimate) are conducted in the context of import/export business, and the manipulation of invoices is a common means of settling accounts after the transactions have been made (Jost and Sandhu 2003).

Following the September 11 terrorist attacks, the US government suspected that some *hawala* brokers might have assisted terrorist organizations in transferring money to finance their activities. The 9/11 Commission Report has since confirmed that the bulk of funds used to finance the assaults were not sent through the *hawala* process, but rather by inter-bank wire transfer to a Sun Trust Bank in Florida (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, N.d.: 140).

In the absence of formal banking systems and a person's understanding of the banking system, many migrant workers choose to use alternative methods for remittance. Samuel Maimbo (2004) writes that it is necessary that regulatory agencies and the development community find ways to design, develop, and implement alternative remittance practices that deal with both legitimate money-laundering and terrorist financing, in order to enhance the development impact of informal remittances. Cultural affinities pave the way for *hawala* as an informal system, easy to use and widely accessible.

### **Asian Experiences with Remittances**

Global movements of permanent and temporary migrants have increased greatly in scale and complexity. More than half of the world's 175 million international migrants originate in Asia. A defining characteristic of Asian migration is that it relies on strong social networks that link origins with destinations which facilitates important flows of money, goods, and information (Hugo in Terry 2005). The study of remittances is frequently presented in a quantitative format (Terry 2005). Until the early 1990s, Asian migrant remittances were believed to be trivial (Hugo 2005) because of a lack of reliable data, illegal migration, isolation of receiving areas, and the long history of remitting through informal channels. The *hawala/hundi* system is widely used in South Asian countries and the absence of a paper trail makes the tracking of remittances sent via *hawala/hundi* very difficult ([www.interpol.int/Public/FinancialCrime/Money/Laundering](http://www.interpol.int/Public/FinancialCrime/Money/Laundering)).

Two groups of migrants send money to Asia. The first is a diaspora of permanent settlers from Asian countries, most of them living in Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) nations. The second are contract migrants, of which Asia is the preeminent source in the world (Hugo in Terry 2005:343). Between 1999 and 2001, there were a reported 1,827,674 Filipinos living in OECD countries (OECD 2001). These reported figures greatly underestimate the size of Asian diasporas. The need to provide for one's family in the home country is the reason for many to seek temporary employment as a migrant. Hence the great majority of contract workers send remittances to their home countries (Hugo 345).

A major migrant-sending nation is the Philippines. It is estimated that over half of these remittances came from permanent settlements of Filipinos in the United States and Canada. In addition, the 200,000 Filipinos working at sea remit more than US\$1 billion alone (*Asian Migration News*, September 30, 2002). By 2010, Philippine remittances topped \$US 18.8 billion (ABS-CBNNews.com 2/15/11).

Graeme Hugo (2005) cautions against a macro-level examination of remittances at a national level. Migrants tend to come from poorer areas in a country. In the case of the Philippines, one might ask to what extent wealth has been a result of remittances rather than a pre-migration characteristic (Hugo 2005). In spite of increased quantitative data on remittances, particularly Asia, we do not yet have an informed understanding of how Asian diaspora operate and generate remittances. Hugo (2005) summarizes challenges to policy makers to develop integrated policies and programs to maximize benefits resulting from remittances.

### **Data Analysis**

The research narratives are aligned with the critical hermeneutic theories of Paul Ricoeur and Jürgen Habermas, namely narrative identity, communicative action, and recognition. As a reflective researcher I approached the interviews as a participant in the emplotment of the narratives, appropriating the text as mine, and viewing the research in Heidegger's term, "being-in-the world." To this end, I present my research with an aim to envision a community of informed possibilities fueled through ethical participatory discourse.

### **Narrative Identity**

According to Ricoeur (1992), narrative identity mediates one's sameness (idem) and self identities (ipse). Character reflects idem; it is associated with the habits and traits of the individual that always stays the same. Ipse is the identity of self continually refigured in relation to others. Self identity addresses Ricoeur's (1992:42) description of promise, "which [plays] a decisive role in the ethical determination of the self." In making a promise, individuals establish otherness and differentiate between same and self. Promise keeping, "keeping one's promise...is keeping one's word," reflects character (Ricoeur 1992:124). Ricoeur (1992:147-148) writes, "the narrative constructs the identity of the character, what can be called his or her narrative identity...it is the identity of the



story that makes the identity of the character.” Narrative is ordinary life configured into plot and metaphor as a representation of life.

Ricoeur (1991:35) describes narrative as a connector when he writes, “we equate life to the story or stories we tell about it. The act of telling or narrating appears to be the key to the type of connectedness that we evoke when we speak...” What Ricoeur (1983:53) calls the “opaque depths of living, acting and suffering” can be configured narratively to make the world livable, but only when the text is authentic, that is, when the world of the text shares a horizon with our world (Ricoeur 1983:77). With the spoken word fixed in text, distanciation takes place.

### **Solicitude**

Ricoeur (1994:180) defines ethical perspective as “*aiming at the good life with and for others in just institutions.*” The phrase ‘for others’ refers to solicitude, or care for others. Solicitude, or concern for the other, and self-esteem are linked. One cannot be experienced without the other. Ricoeur’s (Cohen and Marsh 2002:132) idea of solicitude is also referred to as “benevolent spontaneity,” linked to one’s self-esteem in quest of the good life. Solicitude expressed through friendship where an individual as “another self” constitutes a balance where giving and receiving are evident.

Ricoeur (1994:190) cautions that there is more to solicitude than obedience to duty. Solicitude, or benevolent spontaneity, “[is] intimately related to self-esteem within the framework of the aim of the ‘good’ life. On the basis of this benevolent spontaneity, receiving is on an equal footing with the summons to responsibility, in the guise of the self’s recognition of the superiority of the authority enjoining it to act in accordance with justice. The remitter, through the act of remitting, is engaging in benevolent spontaneity.

The other, according to Ricoeur (1994:190) is “now a suffering being...men and women as acting and suffering. Actors, those capable of acting, are givers and receivers, not necessarily equal.” Ricoeur (1994:191) continues, “This is perhaps the supreme test of solicitude, when unequal power finds compensation in an authentic reciprocity in exchange, which, in the hour of agony, finds refuge in the shared whisper of voices or the feeble embrace of clasped hands.” Feelings affect solicitude. Our feelings are affected by and revealed in one’s self in relation to the other’s suffering. Such is the situation for many of my research participants, who as senders embrace the needs of the recipients with a sense of feeling for their plight. This sense of feeling is mediated by one’s imagination.

### **Research Protocol**

I followed interpretive research protocol for my research conversations guided by critical hermeneutic inquiry. Through a collaborative effort where the researcher and participants come together in conversation, this research protocol allows for data to emerge through dialogue and understanding. Herda (1999:93) suggests that the “hermeneutic researcher understands that we live in a world already familiar to us and the participants.” Interpretive inquiry invites the researcher and the participants to challenge prejudgments during conversation and in the reflection that follows. I used the research categories of

narrative identity, recognition, and communicative action to guide the research conversations in an attempt to understand the influence of remittances on the lives of migrant workers from the Philippines.

Conversation partners included members of the Philippine diaspora, recipients of remittances in the Philippines. Conversation partners had a minimum of five years' experience with remitting as sender or receiver, and were 18 years or older. My conversation partners all spoke some English.

### **Research Participants**

Research participants' narratives from the Philippines are rich with the text of families separated from one another, held together by grandmothers, absent mothers, and children being raised by an absentee parent. I include quotes from participants in these stories to memorialize the text.

Next to be presented are the narratives told by participants originally from the Philippines who now live in the United States and are remitting back to the Philippines.

### **A Missing Generation**

Before meeting my research participants in the Philippines, I sought a book on Philippine history. My daughter-in-law took me to the newest mall in a neighboring town that had a large bookstore. The journey to the mall was not unlike one in a mall in the United States. We encountered traffic — cars, buses, and motorized bicycle equipped to carry two to three people. There was a large parking lot adjacent to the mall and it is filled with cars. This was the first mall to be built in the area, and it is very popular. Residents can now buy bulk items like a bottle of aspirin instead of single tablets from the local store. Families in the states no longer ask if there are certain American goods, such as Dial soap, that the local family would like. They can now buy it at the mall. A security check was required before entering the mall. The mall was busy — many people are shopping on this weekend day. But there was someone missing in this setting. There were young children, school-age students, and older people. Missing were the other components of a nuclear family unit. Most of the small children were with one adult, but very few were with both parents. What I did not see at the mall was the missing generation, the parent who is working overseas. In the town where my daughter-in-law's parents live, there are more households with one parent gone than there are homes with both parents present.

### **Santo Tomas**

The conversations with receivers of remittances took place in Santo Tomas, a town in Pangasinan province, about three hours north of Manila. Santo Tomas is a small town, bounded by a river on one side, and farmland on the other. The concept of land ownership is vague in this area and "the farm," as the locals call it, is a large area of cooperatively farmed land. Adjacent to the farm is a community of lean-tos where the poor live. Referred to as "squats," these homes have no plumbing or utilities. The better roofs are constructed from tin; many are thatched straw. Some residents illegally appropriate electricity by tapping into the nearby power lines. In my daily walk to the farm, I passed the squats and saw children being bathed outside using the same water that is used for cooking and cleaning. There are no indoor toilets. The water supply is accessed from the

river and is used for all purposes. Abigail and her family live in one of these squats.

A two-lane paved road separates the farm and squats from the river and the permanent homes. This road separates extreme poverty and comfortable homes. My hosts live in one of the nicest homes in Santo Tomas. They built their home on land that has been in the family for many years and it is as modern as many homes in the Bay Area.

Abigail is 24 years-old, married with two young children. She lives across the street from Aurora and Rod, my hosts. Abigail's mother left to work in Dubai when she was two. Her mother was promised a job as an office worker, but on arrival in Dubai, was placed as a caregiver for the elderly. Abigail's husband is unemployed and they live in a "squat" with no running water or plumbing with their two young children. Abigail's mother regularly sends money to her. Her father is deceased. It is believed that he died from causes related to alcoholism. Abigail has one older sister who died several years ago. Now her mother doesn't want to return to the Philippines because it reminds her of her deceased daughter. Abigail's maternal grandmother raised her. Abigail uses the remittances for disposable diapers and food for her family.

Aurora, my host, told me that Abigail visits often, and occasionally asks to borrow money, but she is generally unable to repay Aurora, so now she asks for money rather request a loan. Aurora and Rod are retired Filipino Americans who returned to Santo Tomas when Rod retired, and they are probably among the wealthier residents of the town. Aurora is a kind and caring woman, and she gives Abigail money when she requests. There is no expectation for repayment.

Ivy is 21 years old. She is single and has no children. She and Abigail are cousins and they requested to meet me together for our conversation. Ivy has attended college; she took courses in hotel and restaurant management but stopped because she could no longer afford the tuition. Her mother works in Dubai, like Abigail's. Ivy's mother has been a domestic helper for the same family for the entire time she's been in Dubai. Ivy told me that her mother wasn't paid for eight years because her employer was unable to pay her. Her mother borrowed money for living expenses, and eventually paid off her debt, and remitted money back to Ivy's family. Ivy receives the remittance and it is her responsibility to pay the household bills. She gives some money to her father and her older brothers. Ivy's mother has been in Dubai since Ivy was one year old.

Both Abigail and Ivy say their mothers send money about every two months. They talk on the phone twice a week for about ten to fifteen minutes, longer if there's something important to discuss. When asked if they would follow the mothers and seek employment abroad, both said yes, for their families' sake. But, when I asked if they could choose between having their mother at home, or having the money, they both said that motherly love is important, and it's not the same when all they have is a mother's comforting voice on the phone. Abigail told me if she had a choice between her mother or father working abroad, she would prefer the father go, "because, if you're sick and you need her, your mother is here. For the father, if he's drinking, if there's the opportunity for him to get drunk, he won't be able to take care of the kids." She continued, saying, "If there was an opportunity for the father to find a job

here, he should take it. He doesn't have to go abroad, and the family could be complete. I have experienced this. That's my advice for other families."

I then asked Ivy if she had any advice. Both Ivy and Abigail are crying, and it's difficult for them to talk more about their situation. I thank them and turn off the voice recorder and we continue to talk informally while drinking iced tea. Abigail's story has a profound effect on me. When I imagined having research conversations with the children of remittance senders, I thought I would be talking to school-age children, with a separation spanning a few years. Abigail's mother has been gone for over twenty years, as has Ivy's. Aurora confirmed that lengthy separations are not unusual. As she explained to me, a mother goes abroad for contract work and finds a level of financial comfort unknown in the Philippines, and elects to stay.

In another conversation the following day, I met Nieves and Leticia, and Leticia's granddaughter Paula. They also are neighbors of Rod and Aurora Arciaga, my hosts. Nieves and Letty (as she likes to be called) are grandmothers and friends. Similar to Abigail and Ivy, they asked to meet with me together, and Paula joins us, too. Nieves has a daughter who has been working in Malaysia for a number of years. She remits home monthly and when I asked when she planned to return to the Philippines, Nieves frowned and replied that Girlie (her daughter) has permanent resident status in Malaysia now. Nieves has raised her daughter's children.

Letty is Paula's grandmother. She's raised Paula and it is obvious there is a close relationship between grandmother and granddaughter. Paula's parents (Letty's daughter and son-in-law) are working in Qatar along with Letty's other son. Letty cares for Paula, 16, and her two younger brothers, 11 and 13. Paula's mother sends money to Paula through deposits to a bankcard Paula controls for herself and her two younger brothers. She uses the money for school supplies and food. I asked Letty when Paula's parents would return. Her reply was, "I'm tired of taking care of the young boys. I have to chase the boys to come home every day. I told my daughter to come home and take care of her kids." This seems possible, as Paula's mother is unemployed. Paula's father is the one who is employed there. What complicates the situation is that Letty's son, who is also working in Qatar, wants his sister (Paula's mother) to care for his children who are in Qatar.

Paula told me that she has no desire to leave the Philippines. She aspires to be a teacher like Letty (a recently retired elementary school teacher). She hugged her grandmother, who is visibly touched by this compliment from her 16-year-old granddaughter. Observing this touching exchange brought tears to my eyes.

Letty and Nieves are both widows. After my conversation with Nieves, Letty, and Paula was over and they left, Aurora told me that she tried to get a few men who receive remittances to talk with me, but they refused. Aurora said they are ashamed.

### **Solicitude**

In *Oneself as Another*, Ricoeur (1994:190) writes that solicitude is more than obedience to duty. It is the benevolent spontaneity that springs from the quest for a good life or ethical aim where receiving is "on an equal footing with the summons to responsibility." At the other end of the spectrum from solicitude

is suffering (Ricoeur 1994:190). The sufferer accepts the benevolent spontaneity, the act of giving as receiving. In Ricoeur's (1994:191) words, "This is perhaps the supreme test of solicitude, when unequal power finds compensation in an authentic reciprocity in exchange." In addition to research participants who are remittance recipients, I had conversations with remittance senders. Those conversations follow.

My research participants who are remitting to family in the Philippines are Julie and Gina. Julie is 60, single, living in San Diego. She sends money to her 92-year-old mother living in the Philippines. Gina lives in Mountain View, California with her husband and two children. She remits to her mother in the Philippines. In both conversations the participants share their reasons for leaving the Philippines, not returning to the Philippines, and their continued practice of remitting to family members. While both speak to a duty to provide financially for their respective parents, more than the familial responsibility moves them. Gina continues to provide financial assistance to her mother, even though her husband has been unemployed for eight years.

Gina works at the same hospital as Rhoda, my daughter-in-law. When Rhoda moved to California 12 years ago, she left her parents and brother in the Philippines. There were distant relatives who helped her when she first arrived. Finding a job was at the top of Rhoda's priorities, and she found a position in a physician's office where Gina also worked. Gina left the doctor's practice for another job at the local hospital, but not until she suggested to the doctor that he hire Rhoda as her replacement. Two years later Gina heard of an opening at the hospital and suggested to Rhoda that she apply. She guided Rhoda through the process, and was as happy as Rhoda when she was hired. Whether it's helping a colleague find a job or sending money to her elderly parents in the Philippines, Gina said, "I help my brothers and sisters who are out of work. I know it is hard – even my husband is not working. I help out however I can. Even if you do not have anything anymore, I would rather give it to a relative because if they needed it most you would definitely help. That is our custom or tradition."

Julie is a successful businesswoman. She runs three residential care facilities for developmentally disabled adults in San Diego and is trained and licensed as a registered nurse in the Philippines; however Julie does not use her nursing skills here. In her words, she just runs the business. She came to the United States when she was 28. At various times, her siblings and parents also lived in the US, but her parents eventually returned to the Philippines to stay.

Julie sends money to assist with her mother's medical expenses, but she does not consider this financial assistance to be a remittance. Julie has heard too many stories of remittances sent via acquaintances and the remittance gets "lost." She told me about her sister-in-law who remits to her children in the Philippines, "Every month she is sending money to her adult children (in their 30s)." Then there is one of Julie's caregivers who has three children and several grandchildren in the Philippines. Julie said, "I told her you need to take care of yourself before them. They are married; they should learn to stand on their own. They are not going to learn. Every time you send them money, everything is gone. You are having a hard time buying yourself underwear. Before I would say, look what happened to your children? Did they learn how to make money? Now she is learning."

Julie clearly does not believe sending money home to one's children necessarily demonstrates care. She acknowledged the value of familial duty but strongly believes that remitting can be problematic, promise makers promising too much. In Ricoeur's (2005:133) words, "...we should attempt not to presume on its power, not to promise too much. In his own life and narrative identity, the promise maker can find counsel that would put him under the protection of the old Greek adage: Nothing in excess." Julie's aversion to remitting does not mean she is not willing to provide financial support.

There is a nursing home in the city where Julie's mother lives called Golden Acres. Every Christmas, Julie sends money, anonymously, to Golden Acres, with the instructions to use the gift to buy food and clothing for the residents. She doesn't want her name attached to the gift. She doesn't know anyone at Golden Acres. She said, "I just like to do [that] because I love taking care of those people over there. They don't have to thank me. I just want to make these elderly people happy." She has plans to send money to Golden Acres later this year, and she described to me it pleases her to know how happy the seniors are when they receive her gifts. I next present the chance conversation I had with Jay, an overseas Filipino working in Seoul.

### **Fate, Not Faith**

I was in Seoul in May 2012 to conduct field research on the Korean component of my dissertation. In earlier research for my proposal, I read about a church that attracted the growing Filipino overseas workers in Seoul and decided to visit.

Hye-hwa Catholic Church sits on a hill in the northern part of Seoul in a residential neighborhood. From my journal notes, I recollect taking a bus from Insadong to Hye-hwa, and realized en route that I didn't write down the name of the bus stop. In halting Korean, I asked the bus driver for directions. Much to my surprise, he pulled the bus over to the side of the street, and drew me a detailed map with street names in Korean. No one on the bus complained about this delay, and he watched as I crossed the street to make sure I turned left, as instructed.

The church is easy to spot. It is a modern structure built on a hill with a dramatic set of stairs leading to the church. In 1992, a Filipino priest started to hold Filipino masses at Hye-hwa, and since then Filipinos have gathered to worship and to visit the impromptu market on the street outside the church that features Filipino food and goods. There are an estimated 80,000 Filipinos living and working in South Korea, including undocumented workers, and there appear to be several hundred people at the marketplace on this day.

As I browsed the food stands on the sidewalks adjacent to the church, I noticed a man in his early 30s standing alone next to the curb, smoking a cigarette. I initiated some informal conversation with him and he was amenable to talking to a stranger. I explained that I was conducting field research for my dissertation and was interested in learning about the Filipino community in Seoul. He introduced himself as Jay, and consented to continue our conversation and gave me permission to turn on my voice recorder.

Jay is from an area south of Luzon in the Philippines, but his last residency was in Manila. He remits money to his family (parents and siblings) as often as he can because, in his words, "it's no secret that the Philippines is way beyond,

way under the poverty line.” I asked him what it’s like to live in Seoul and his response was mixed. He likes the systems in Seoul, — traffic, transportation, satellite cable — but he finds it ironic that employer-employee relationships are worse than he has experienced in the Philippines, Hong Kong, and the United States. According to Jay, “The employees here have less power and rights, often working twelve hour shifts in a regular work day.” He observed that employers knowingly take advantage of overseas workers; “What makes it most difficult is that, not only Filipinos but other nationalities, such as Chinese, Mongolians, and Vietnamese that I know are finding it very difficult because they need the money, they just endure it, the hardships. That is difficult.” Jay works as a factory worker six nights a week, in 12-hour shifts. On Sundays, his day off, he goes to Hyehwa to socialize with other Filipinos.

I asked Jay about any intent associated with the money he remits, and he replied that he only “wants to help them, help them get by. Our government screwed up big time.” He added that he has a law degree from the Philippines, but he became angry at the government system and could not work there. He came to Korea as a “shot in the dark without even studying the basics.” I inquired if it was faith that led him to Seoul, and he replied that it was fate. Because of the street noise, I thought he said “faith.” Jay corrected me, “Fate, not faith, brought me here.” Jay’s experience as a Filipino working in Korea leads me to my next participants, those who are involved in community partnerships with North Korea.

### **Shared Self: Kapwa**

*Kapwa*, the Filipino concept of self in relation to others, came to life in my conversations with all of my Filipino participants. I observed how deeply held *kapwa* is to Filipino identity, even those who have been in the US for several decades. Another description of *kapwa* is the shared inner self, and each of my conversation participants was willing, even eager, to share their narrative with me and in return, to have me share my identity with them. The societal values of dignity, justice, and freedom underlie the basis of *kapwa*.

Abigail and Ivy displayed *karagnalan* or dignity or self-worth, or in Enriquez’ (DeGuia 2005:12) more moving words, “[karangalan refers to] the intrinsic quality of person...that allows them to shine despite the grime of their appearance, environment or status in life.”

Justice or *kataurngan*, includes human rights in which justice is based on fairness. In my brief conversation with Jay, the OFW working in Korea, I came to understand how important *kataurngan* is in Jay’s lifeworld. Educated to be a lawyer, his disappointment with his government’s deficiencies in applying justice fairly led him to Korea, where he works as a hourly laborer under less than ideal conditions.

## **Findings**

### **Isolation of Remittance Receivers in the Philippines**

Remittance receivers in the Philippines are often young. They are given the responsibility to discern the best use remittances for the family, and they often feel socially isolated and ill prepared to make wise adult decisions. Their

narrative identity is one bounded by poverty and separation from a parent who is remitting money home from another country.

A recommendation associated with this finding is to examine the personal narratives of recipients in the Philippines appropriating their narratives and sharing their stories so that others can better understand their lifeworld. In Santo Tomas where I conducted my research, there are no public or social services available for young remittance receivers.

#### Implications

All of my conversation participants who receive remittances reflected, either directly or indirectly, a sense of lessened self-esteem resulting from their status as a remittance receiver. I heard how difficult it is to grow up without a mother physically present. Both Abigail and Ivy maintained that they are a minority among their peers who have mothers living at home. Ivy indicated that there aren't people to talk to about her lonely and economically challenged life. Letty and Nieves are grandmothers who are raising their children's children while their daughters live and work in the Middle East. They both long for physically unified families and the opportunity to enjoy their retirement status without having to raise their grandchildren. These are four narratives out of millions in the Philippines. It is a reasonable assumption that many others share their loneliness and marginalization.

#### Proposed Action

The government of the Philippines provides no support services for the poor who rely on remittances. Data collection and dissemination on migrant remittances should be accompanied with legislative and moral action to provide suitable programs on financial planning, caregiver responsibilities, and other services aimed at easing the plight of the young migrant remittance receiver.

#### Summary Statement

In the conclusion of "Asian Experiences with Remittances" Hugo (2005:368) writes that remittance flows from migrants to their home countries have been largely neglected in the analysis of economic development in Asia. The reasons for this neglect are that remittances flow through informal channels, are underestimated in value, and have the greatest visible impact in poorer communities. Pertinent to my research, Hugo (2005:369) states,

We do not yet have a solid understanding of how Asian diasporas operate and generate remittances. While most labor-exporting nations in Asia recognize the importance of remittances, policy and program development remains broad and limited in effect. While there is considerable variation between nations in this respect, there is huge scope for the development of integrated policies and programs, which can maximize the benefits to nations, regions, communities, and families that can result from remittances. At present...such developments are impeded by the fact that many migration flows are undocumented and the fact that labor migrants are often drawn from poor areas in which the lack of integrated regional planning and the dearth of investment opportunities reduces the impact which remittances have on regional and local economies.



My research provides a view of remittances from the Philippines perspective. Conversations document how diasporas operate and generate remittances, particularly among the poor. This research supports the need for narrative to be included the study of migrant remittances.

### **About the Author**

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**Measuring poverty with mixed methods: A Case from rural Colombia**

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## Measuring poverty with mixed methods: A case from rural Colombia<sup>1</sup>.

This study explores poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon in a small municipality in Colombia. To do so, I employ a mixed method design that aims to explore poverty combining both quantitative and qualitative research techniques. The purpose is to identify and operationalize the dimensions of the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI). This approach is replicable and is therefore a starting point for the measurement of poverty in multiple parts of Colombia and other countries with similar conditions. The MPI-Colombia measures five dimensions: household education conditions; childhood and youth conditions; labor; health and access to household utilities and living conditions. The methodological approach allowed the investigator to identify new dimensions and various features of the existing dimensions that would not have been recognized if multidimensional poverty phenomena have been analyzed in isolation.

One important contribution of this work is the use of mixed methods to understand multidimensional poverty in an unexplored small town in Colombia. This study also creates a new measurement model through primary, secondary sources and current information from the municipality, thereby generating reliable information for policy makers. Another important contribution is the finding of the large gap existing between rural and urban poverty and the different experiences of poverty in both areas.

The exploratory results of this research indicate that the Multidimensional Poverty Index vary widely between rural and urban sector (44% vs. 27%). First, *critical overcrowding* varies from 36% in the rural area to 21% in the urban area. The fieldwork also showed numerous cases of several people sleeping in the same bed. Second, *informal employment* varies from 89% in the rural sector to 59% in the urban area. There are high levels of unemployment, especially among women. Third, *low educational achievement* is 94% in the rural area and 58% in the urban area, showing that educational attainment of people age 15 and older is really low especially in the rural sector. In general, the evidence reveals that rural areas have more severe deprivation in access to public services and housing conditions.

Finally, this research allowed the investigator to identify new dimensions of poverty, identifying that geographic isolation, domestic violence and teenage pregnancy affects household welfare.

Key Words: Poverty, mixed methods, locality, diagnostics, poverty measurement, multidimensional poverty

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## 1. Introduction

During the last decade, poverty has affected more than 1/3 of the Colombian population. The levels of inequality between sectors of the society have increased and these means more levels of social exclusion (PNUD, 2010). According to the data from the Mission for the Splice of the Employment, Poverty and Inequality Series -MESEP- the monetary poverty in 2011 was 30% in the municipal headers and 46% in the rest of the country, while extreme poverty was 7% in the headers and 23% in the rural areas (Dane, 2012). From the multidimensional poverty approach the situation is not better. In 2012 the multidimensional poverty incidence in the rural area was 53%, twice the percentage of the poor people in the urban area (24%) (Angulo, Diaz y Pardo, 2011).

The objective of this paper is to make a diagnosis of the conditions of poverty of a small municipality near Bogotá emphasizing the differences of the living conditions from the people who live in the urban and rural areas of the municipality. Taking into consideration that Villapinzón is a municipality which has big differences in its geographic area (66% of the population live in lanes surrounding the village) it is important to determine, through a mix diagnosis, the gap of needs between the urban population and the rural population of Villapinzón analyzing the behavior of the Multidimensional Poverty Index. This document contributes to the literature on public policies to overcome poverty in local levels through the application of a mixed methodology to make a diagnosis of the conditions of poverty in the population, emphasizing the differences by area in a municipality in Colombia.

A diagnosis was made with a qualitative and a quantitative component. The quantitative component allowed making a multidimensional poverty analysis with a representativeness of the *sisbenizable population* (population to whom the Sisbén poll was given because of their socio-demographic characteristics) and with the same actual facts for the urban and rural population in Villapinzón. Throughout a qualitative job different techniques were used with participants from the rural and urban areas. The making of the mixed diagnosis is an important methodological innovation, when making a *triangular* relation between the different methodologies (quantitative and qualitative) and between the data gathered (data base and field work) it was possible to compare and complement the results in order to obtain a better diagnosis.

This document has five parts. The first one is the introduction. In the second part the quantitative and qualitative methodological design is presented. In the third part the diagnosis of the results from a mixed point of view is exposed. In the fourth section there is a comparison between both methodologies, specifically through the incidence of the multidimensional poverty for the poor population and the prioritization of the qualitative dimensions of the participants in this fieldwork. Finally, there are some conclusions.

## 2. The Methodology

### Mixed Diagnosis

The mixed methodology represents the group of “systematic, empiric and critic processes of investigation which imply the recollection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, as well as its joint discussion. In order to infer from all the information gathered and obtain a better understanding of the subject of this study” (Hernández Sampieri, 2006). In this sense, the quantitative and qualitative approaches address different problems and look for different answers.

## Quantitative Component

For the quantitative component the MPI of the municipality was calculated (Multidimensional headcount ratio, Adjusted Headcount Ratio and headcount ratio for poor people) identifying the most important dimensions of poverty in the municipality and making differences according to the geographical area (urban/rural).

### DataBase

The database used in the creation of the MPI in Villapinzón was the database of the Colombian *Identification and Classification System of the potential beneficiaries for social programs- Sisbén*. This database has socio demographic variables and it is related to the capacities approach of Sen (1978), whose capabilities approach focuses on positive freedom, a person's actual ability to be or do something (DNP, 2008).

Sisbén is the information system that allows the identification of the potentially poor population who benefit from the government subsidies. The Sisbén database form Villapinzón has information for 2010. This year a registration of the population of the municipality was made; nowadays there is information of 16.158 people.

This information does not represent the total number of the population. The survey is not representative of the people from socioeconomic stratum 4 and 5, taking into account that 99% of the people registered belong to stratum between 0 and 3. For this reason, the database used represents the 86% of the population and the MPI calculated is representative of this population.

### 3.2.2 MPI Measure

The Multidimensional Poverty Index was developed by Alkire and Foster (2007). The methodology for Colombia was implemented by the National Planning Department (DNP) and has five dimensions: Household education conditions, Children and Youth conditions, Health, Labor, and Public services and Housing conditions. The index uses a weighing structure in which each dimension has the same weight and each indicator is equally weighted.

The Alkire and Foster methodology establishes: i) a cutoff point in the index dimensions to identify the less favored people in each dimension, and ii) determines a cutoff point in the number of deprivations ( $k$ ) a person should have in order to be considered poor (Angulo et.al, 2011). It's important to mention that there is not a methodology which defines what is  $k$  being this, one of the most important critics about the index. In Colombia,  $k$  stands for 5 deprivations.

#### 3.2.2.1. MPI Composition

First of all the **Multidimensional Headcount Ratio** was calculated, which is equal to the percentage of people who live in multidimensional poor households:

$$H = \frac{q}{n}$$

Where:  $q$ : number of people that suffer deprivation in at least  $k$  dimensions.

$n$ : total population.

This indicator has a problem; if a poor household suffers and additional deprivation,  $H$  doesn't vary. To complement this, the **Adjusted Headcount Ratio** was calculated. This rate calculates the proportion of deprivations that this poor population faces, joining information about the number of poor multidimensional people and the proportion of deprivations that they face:

$$M0 = H * A$$

Where:  $A$  equals the average proportion of the poor deprivations, or poverty *intensity*. If there is a new deprivation in a poor household,  $A$  increases and so thus the rate.

### Indicators

The calculation of the MPI in Villapinzón is a replica of the National MPI made by Angulo (2011), which is used to measure the multidimensional poverty in the country and is also one of the official indicators of the National Development Plan 2010 (Conpes 150 de 2012).

The same dimensions and variables were taken into account. The variables associated to the dimensions, as well as its cut offs are shown in Table number 1.

**Table 1. Construction of indicators to measure the Multidimensional Poverty Index**

Dimension	Indicator	Technical Description	Cut off
1. <b>Household education conditions</b>	Low educational achievement	A household is deprived when the average of the educative achievement of the people of 15 years or more is less than 9 school years	9 years
	Illiteracy	A household is deprived when at least one person 15 years or more doesn't know how to read or write.	100%
2. <b>Children and Youth conditions</b>	Child labor <sup>1</sup>	The index shows the percentage of children between 12 and 17 years in the urban area and 10 to 17 in the rural area that are out of the labor market. A household is deprived when this index is below a 100%.	100%
	Non attendance <sup>2</sup>	A household is deprived if less than 100% of the children between 6 and 16 years go to school.	100%
	Educational lag	Percentage of children between 7 and 17 years that don't have educational lag (number of approved years below the	100%

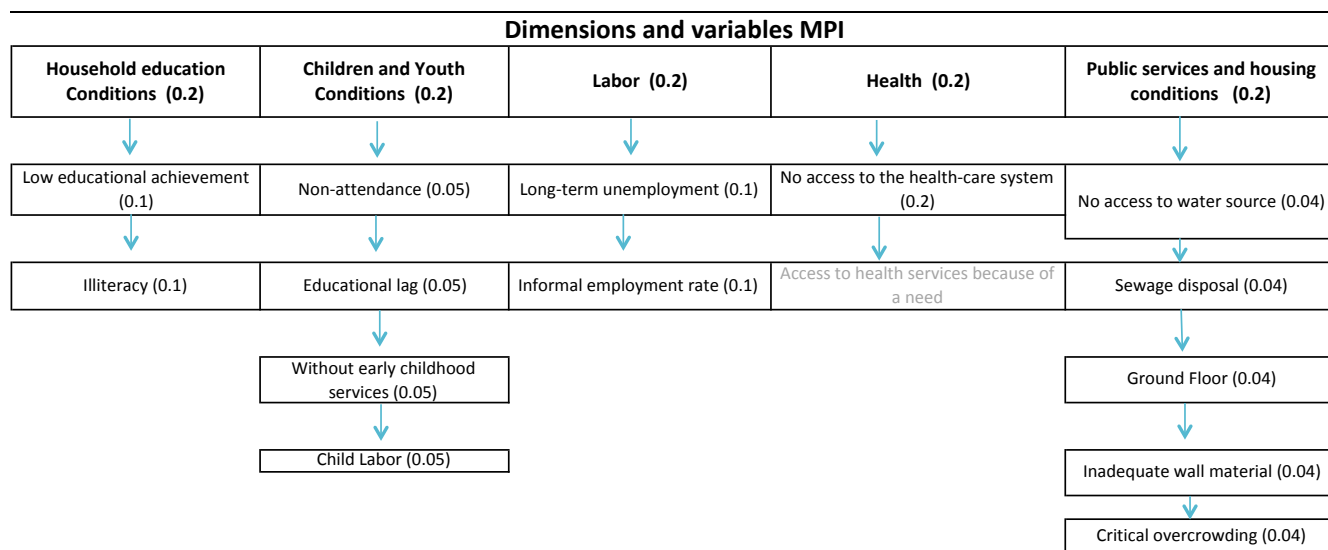
		national norm). A household has deprivation if any of the children between 7 and 17 has educational lag.	
	Without early childhood services	Percentage of children between 0 and 5 years with no access to childhood care (health, nutrition, education). Households with at least 1 child within those ages without childhood services are in deprivation.	100%
<b>3. Health</b>	Healthcare <sup>3</sup>	A household is deprived if any of its members have no healthcare.	100%
<b>4. Labor</b>	Long-term unemployment	Households with at least 1 person unemployed for more than 12 months.	100%
	Informal employment <sup>4</sup>	Households where less than the 100% of the PEA has a formal employment.	100%
<b>5. Public services and housing conditions</b>	Access to water service	Rural area: deprivation if the household gets water to prepare food from a well with no pumping, rain water, river, or other source. Urban area: deprivation if the household has no public sewerage service.	Urban: no water connection Rural: well water, rain water, river, water truck.
	No sanitary service	Urban: there is no connection to the sewerage Rural: toilet with no connection, latrine or do not have sanitary.	Urban: there is no connection to the sewerage Rural: no sanitary service
	Inadequate floors	Deprivation is considered when the household has ground floors.	100%
	Inadequate exterior walls	Urban area: there is deprivation if the materials of exterior walls are made of wood, zinc, material, carton, etc. Rural area: there is deprivation if the material of the exterior walls is made of <i>guadua</i> , zinc, or there are no walls.	Rural and urban areas: inadequate wall materials.
	Severe overcrowding	Urban area: a household has deprivation when the number of people in each room is equal to 3 people. Rural area: a household is deprived when the number of people per room is 3 or more.	Urban: 3 people per room Rural: 3 or more people per room.

- 1 Child labor: children (5 to 17 years) who work at home for more than 15 hours a week, children until 14 years who work and children from 15 to 17 who do hard work.
- 2 Percentage of children in scholar age (from 6 to 16 years) in a household where they go to school.
- 3 Percentage of people at household who have social security (SGSSS).
- 4 Percentage of PEA at household who have a pension (affiliation to a pension).

### 3.2.3 MPI Villapinzón

From the 15 variables used by the DNP, it was possible to rebuild 14 for Villapinzón. The only one that had no information in the data base from the SISBEN was “access to healthcare given a necessity”, which measures the percentage of people in the household that have access to healthcare. Following Angulo et.al (2011), each dimension has a weight of 0.2 (for a total of 1.0), and each variable has the same weight in its respective dimension. The dimensions and variables of the MPI form Villapinzón are shown in Table 2.

**Table 2. Dimensions and variables MPI Villapinzón**



Since this exercise is a replica of the National MPI, for Villapinzón the value of  $k$  is equal to 33% of deprivations: if in the household there are between 4 and 5 variables in deprivations, this household is multidimensionally poor.

A differentiation by geographical area in Villapinzón (urban and rural) was made taking into account the gap existing in Colombia between the 2 areas. Likewise, the MPI was calculated only for the population identified as multidimensional poor in Villapinzón, with the objective of understanding which are the most important dimensions in the index.

### 3.3 Qualitative component

The qualitative component was developed in four phases: i) previous visits ii) participant observation, iii) focus groups, and iv) interviews. In **Table 3**, can be seen each one of the phases, its participants, questions, objectives and topics. The purpose of these phases was to create a participative diagnosis of poverty in the municipality.

**Table 3. Methodology and Qualitative Phases**

<b>Technique</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Investigation question</b>	<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Topics</b>
<b>Phase 1</b> <b>Previous visits</b>	Seven families were chosen by members of the major's office and officers of the National Program Against poverty (Red Unidos).	Which are the living conditions of the population in Villapinzón?	Identify the participants for the different phases of the qualitative component	Search for contacts Leaders and families
<b>Phase 2</b> <b>Participant observation</b>	Rural families (7 people)	How is poverty lived? Which are the living conditions of the population?	Observe, identify, and get information of the experiences and dimensions of multidimensional poverty.	Experiences of the MPI dimensions New dimensions Social Program experiences
<b>Phase 3</b> <b>Focus groups</b>	Teenagers Adults Red Unidos	What is poverty? How is poverty lived? What is needed to overcome poverty? Which is the most important dimension to overcome poverty?	Identify and get information about the perception of poverty from the new dimensions and form the MPI, and experiences from the programs in Villapinzón.	Dimension of the MPI New dimensions Experiences in social programs Important variables in the MPI
<b>Phase 4</b> <b>Interviews</b> <b>Decision making</b>	Decision making	What is needed in Villapinzón to overcome poverty? Which is the most important dimension for Villapinzón? How do the programs work? What would you change?	Identify the importance of poverty and the programs implemented in the municipality.	Social programs Relationship between local and national level Local alternatives to overcome poverty

**Investigation Phases**

### **a. Phase I: Previous Visits**

During **Phase I**, the intention was to recognize that the used methodology was adequate to ensure that the selection design of the participant observation (**Phase II**), the focus groups (**Phase III**) and the interviews (**Phase IV**) were adequate and answered to the socio demographic characteristics of the population of Villapinzón. This first stage of previous visits was important to create confidence and to get to know the community leaders whom later helped implement the other phases of the investigation.

### **Phase II: Participant observation**

During this phase the living conditions of a family were identified in the rural area of the Municipality. Phase II allowed to observe, identify and gather qualitative information from the experiences in poverty dimensions and also had into account new components, which arose during the fieldwork. It is recognized that the norm of the ethnographic investigation of the “participant observation” is a constant effort- which helps (the investigator) to participate in the community of study, and at the same time to observe and then leave, everything in an ethic structure established by the institutional norms (Behar,1996 ; Ritterbusch, 2011.) For this matter, the person who supported the qualitative area joined a family during one week living their daily routines with the purpose of making a participative diagnose from their living conditions.

During **Phase II** the investigation answered to questions like: *what is poverty? How is poverty lived?* Equally important, other observation categories were taken like: policies and programs of the municipality from the perspective of the participants to identify the experience, the knowledge of the dynamics and the rules of the game of the poverty superation programs. The information was gathered through a field journal, videos, photos and audios.

### **b. Phase III: Focus Groups**

In **Phase III** the focus groups were useful to indentify the most important dimensions including the voices of the people of the municipality in order to build a participative construction of the multidimensional poverty. This phase facilitated the identification and gathering of qualitative information about the poverty perception, policies evaluation or programs of Villapinzón, specific dimensions analysis that arose from the results in **Phase II** and the progress in the qualitative component. Some of these dimensions are present in the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) and they also show some differences between the results found in the qualitative and quantitative components.

Three focus groups were formed, each one with three to six people. This sample varied by age, gender and educational level, and not by the social status of the participants. The purpose of this activity was to create a dynamic participation inside the community, in order to motivate the group to get together to talk about poverty, and programs and solutions related with poverty’s overcoming. The participants answered questions like: *what is poverty? What is it lived? How to overcome poverty? Which is the dimension that affects poverty the most?*

### **Phase IV: Interviews**

Through semistructured interviews to decision makers in the topic of poverty and overcoming poverty programs, the construction of participatory diagnosis was deepened.

The interviews used as qualitative techniques are supposed to imply that: i) they can dismantle (...) according to the knowledge between the investigator and the investigated, and ii) they give enough time and space [to transmit] confidence (Crang and Cook, 2007.)

The above, facilitated the usage of the information gathered in **Phases II and III**; since conducting semi-structured interviews helped to identify and elaborate the issues that are of most interest to the investigation.

Seven interviews were done to decision makers who allowed recognizing their poverty perception, policies and program evaluations, since they have been seeing in the community and by this, the multidimensional poverty dimensions were analyzed from the enforcement of the social policies. From this phase of the investigation and from the focus groups, the conditions of the social program in the municipality were analyzed from three categories: i) focalization; ii) duplicity and iii) barriers related to the citizens and the Major's Office.

### 3. Results

Results shown here are organized by the MPI dimensions. It is important to mention that the qualitative component is not representative of Villapinzón, since these results show particular realities from the voice of the participants. The qualitative results were gathered through the four phases of the investigation for the two geographical areas of interest. The quantitative results include i) Headcount ratio in Villapinzón, ii) the MPI dimensions according to the geographical area, iii) the Adjusted headcount ratio and iv) the MPI calculated for the multidimensional poor population.

#### **Multidimensional Headcount Ratio.**

According to the results, there is a difference in the percentage of the multidimensional poor people in the urban area (27,9%) and the rural area (44,4%). The differences in area by dimensions and variables are showed in Table 5.

In Table 5 it can be seen the percentage of deprivation of each variable calculated for the MPI of Villapinzón for economic stratum 0 to 3. The percentage of multidimensional poor people in Villapinzón is around 38%; almost 80% of the interviewed households have only studied 9 years, and more than 56% of the children in Villapinzón between 7 and 17 have educational lag. More than 77% of households indicate informal working, showing labor instability. In the fieldwork it was evident that (specially in the rural area) it is based on the daily wage system, where workers don't have social security or a labor contract. Also, there is a high critical overcrowding rate in Villapinzón, showing that 27 out of 100 households are in deprivation.

**Table 5. MPI Villapinzón**

<b>Deprivations</b>	<b>% (N=6,034)</b>
Low academic achievement	79.83
Illiteracy	9.48
School absence	9.56
School lag	56.84
No child care	30.51
Child labor	2.21



Long term unemployment	0.81
Informal employment rate	77.48
No social security	22.09
No water source	14.00
Excreta disposal	17.83
Inadequate floors	5.63
Exterior walls	0.43
Critical overcrowding	27.33
<b>MPI TOTAL</b>	<b>38.19</b>

### Household Education Conditions

Between the main qualitative results related to education, in the first place there are important differences related to the school year reached in the adult's interviewed in the rural area (Phase II) and in the urban area (Phase III) in favor of the second ones. In relation to the urban/rural difference, children who live in the urban area showed better access to the school than those in the rural area. In the case of the rural family, the problem of geographical isolation was identified; in the case of the children they need to walk for an hour to get to school and the road conditions is also a risk factor for children to get to school, because they have to cross rivers, walk through crops and electric fences. The teacher recognizes that the danger is not only for the rural family but for all the children: “[There are children from other families, that] *need to cross the river so when it rains, it's difficult to cross it, so they don't come.*” (Teacher, participant observation, Quincha, Villapinzón.)



In the rural work it was identified that neither of the parents knew how to read nor write, and this fact is related with the capacities they have to join the labor market. When this question was asked to the rural father, during Phase II of the investigation, the answer was that he doesn't think of going back to school.

The quantitative results for this dimension can be found in Table 6.

**Table 6. Household education conditions, MPI according to area- Villapinzón**

<b>Deprivations</b>	<b>Percentage Urban deprivation (N=2,393)</b>	<b>Percentage Rural deprivation (N=3,641)</b>
Low educational achievement	58.17	94.07
Illiteracy	5.93	11.81

It can be observed that the percentages of low educational achievement are very high in both urban and rural areas. However there is an important difference between both areas; 95% of households in the rural area in Villapinzón have in average less than 9 school years, comparing to the urban area where 58% of households are deprived.

Equally, the percentage of people in the rural area that don't know how to read nor write doubles the percentage of people in the urban area (12% -vs- 6%). These results show the importance of developing specific public policies in the rural area, since the ones designed from the national level don't understand the differences by area are not being effective.

### *Children and Youth conditions*

The fieldwork showed that there are many children that work and study. Although the quantitative data showed that this is not a problem in the municipality, the discussions with children and teenagers made it evident. On the one hand, the participants from the rural area recognized that after school they have to help with cattle and carrying potato sacks: *“I have to help my dad fencing at Doña Lucrecia”* (César, participant observation, 13 years old, Quincha, Villapinzón.) *“I carry three and a half, my brother one and a half”* (Camilo, participant observation, 11 years, Quincha, Villapinzón. It is worth noting that all names were changed in order to protect participant's identity.)



These facts were evident in both rural and urban areas.

In relation to educational lag, an important lag was found both in urban and rural areas; from the nine participants between 7 and 17 years, it was found that two participants from the rural area and two from the urban area have between one and three years of scholar lag. In the rural family César is 13 years old and is in fifth grade with three years of lag, and Laura is 8 years old and is in second grade with one

year lag; in Phase III, Juana is 13 years, and is in sixth grade with two years lag, and Santiago is in seventh grade with 14 years. These participants do not think this is a problem for them to finish their high-school.

Likewise, in Table 7 it can be seen the differences between the two areas according to scholar absence and child labor. Looking at the percentage of deprivation found in the rural area, it doubles the percentage found in the urban area (12%-vs-5% in the first case and 3%-vs-1% in the second case).

In terms of educational lag and access to childcare similar percentages are found, both very high (around 30%).

**Table 7. Childhood and youth conditions**

<b>Deprivations</b>	<b>Percentage of urban deprivation (N=2,393)</b>	<b>Percentage of rural deprivation (N=3,641)</b>
Scholar absence	5.39	12.3
Scholar lag	58.04	56.06
Without childhood care	28.42	31.89
Child labor	0.84	3.05

## Labor

According to the finding in the fieldwork, in Villapinzón it's hard to find a formal job; adults both in



urban and rural areas consider there is not enough labor supply. Despite men and women have difficulties to find a job women are made more likely to be unemployed: “[how many cows did you milk today?] *five cows*, [how much did you gain for milking?] *\$2.500 [COP]*, *I get paid plus a bottle of milk*. [But your husband gets paid more?] *yes, he gets paid by day \$25.000 taking cattle and moving materials, but that does not happen every day*” (Julia, participant observation, 29 years. Quincha, Villapinzón)

Rural families have occasional jobs related to agriculture and other services. Women assured that: “*The majority work is as maids or picking potatoes [while men] work as mason or labors.*” (Ana, Adults, 47 years. Villapinzón.) These labor conditions decrease the women life quality, many of them leave their children alone in the afternoons, and some go through domestic violence because of the money dependence from their couple.

In Table 8 it can be observed that long term unemployment is not an important problem in Villapinzón; these results are consistent with those found in the fieldwork, having in mind that the main problem is the instability in getting a job.

In like manner, it can be observed that the informal employment rate is very high both in the urban and the rural areas, but it is more frequent in the rural area of the municipality (89% of rural households are in deprivation). The data here indicates that a red light should be turned on in matter of labor public policies.

**Table 8. Labor**

<b>Deprivations</b>	<b>Percentage Urban Deprivation (N=2,393)</b>	<b>Percentage Rural Deprivation (N=3,641)</b>
Long term unemployment	1.34	0.47
Informal employment	59.57	89.26

## Health

Health in Villapinzón is more a problem of access than of coverage especially in the rural area. The lack of attention during the night was the topic more mentioned in the Participant Observation. The problem is bigger when talking about serious complications, an example of a rural family; Julián (12 months), fractured his elbow during the night: “*an ambulance came, took him to the hospital and they immobilized his arm, next week he was taken to Chocontá, the next town and stayed there for two days*” (Julia, Participant Observation, 29 years, Quincha, Villapinzón.) What the observation of the fieldwork shows is that health access is different according to the area. In the Urban area the participants considered that the doctors don't give enough attention to the patients, it is better to buy the medicine and administer it at home. For the rural area, Phase II showed that the distance affects the way the

people access the service: “I always have a medicine at home and give it to my children” (Julia, participant observation, 29 years. Quincha, Villapinzón.)

Calculations show that deprivation is similar in both areas, close to 20% (Table 9). These results show that the problem of not having health insurance is bigger than what was identified, since it is affecting 20 of each 100 households.

**Table 9 Health**

Deprivations	Percentage of Urban Deprivation (N=2,393)	Percentage of Rural Deprivation (N=3,641)
Uninsured	22.65	21.72

*Public Services and Housing conditions*

The problem of the people in Villapinzón related to their house is overcrowding. The rural families don't have public utilities. The dwelling visited in this study have four rooms with dirt floors, in the first room there is the kitchen with a wood stove and plastic roof; in the second room is the main room where all the family sleep (seven people), with zinc tiles, in the third and fourth rooms there is nothing because they have no roofs. Some windows are covered with plastic. These households get the water to cook from a well; they have neither electricity nor sanitary service. They need to salt the meat and hang it inside the house to preserve it more days. The family's priority is to change the tiles, roofs and floors.



In the activities from the qualitative work, homes stand-out to be one of the important factors to be considered poor: “floors can be in cement or dirt, so if you have them in dirt you are “poor” (Ana GF Adults, 47 years. Villapinzón).

The work with the database allowed identifying four main gaps in the dimension of the public services and housing conditions (Table 10); the improvement to the access of a water source, the excreta elimination, the inadequate floors and the overcrowding are the variables with the most difference according to the area.

This dimension is one of the most important for the national and the local government to take into consideration since they are worse in the rural areas.

**Table 10. Public Utilities and Household Conditions**

Deprivations	Percentage of Urban Deprivation (N=2,393)	Percentage of Rural Deprivation (N=3,641)
No access to water source <sup>1</sup>	1.09	22.49
Excreta elimination	9.61	25.76



Inadequate floors	0.92	8.73
Exterior walls <sup>2</sup>	0.54	0.36
Overcrowding <sup>3</sup>	35.81	21.75

<sup>1</sup> In the urban area the household is deprived if it has no public utilities or water connection in the house. In the rural area it is deprived if you get water from a well, river or other source.  
<sup>2</sup> In the urban area the household is deprived if the exterior walls material is wood, zinc or other material. In the rural area it's the same, but the exterior walls can be in wood and it's not considered a deprivation.  
<sup>3</sup> In the urban area a household is deprived when there are 3 or more people sleeping the same room. In the rural area a household is deprived were there are 4 or more people sleeping.

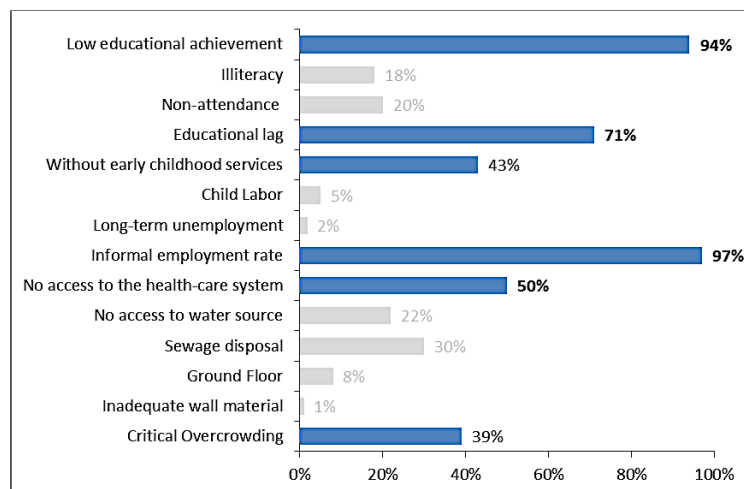
Overcrowding is a high variable and it is different in both the urban and rural area; it is 21.7% in the rural area and 35.8% in the urban area. This difference depends on the cutoff point, which is different for both areas. If both areas had the same cutoff point (3 or more people would be sleeping in the same room) the overcrowding in the rural area would be higher than the one in the urban area. The lack of access to a water source is also more important in the rural area (22.4%-vs-1.0%), also excreta elimination (25.7%-vs-9.6%) and inadequate floors (8.7%-vs-0.9%). These results can be originated because of the geographical conditions of the municipality, the geographical isolation in the 17 villages located in the rural area and the cost and difficulty to provide the different services.

#### 4. Incidence for poor population and comparison of the qualitative prioritization of dimensions

In order to take full advantage of the mixed methodology, two more exercises were performed to compare the poverty condition in Villapinzón. The objective is to identify which are the dimensions that show the highest deprivation percentage (quantitative) and the most relevant in people's experience of poverty (qualitative). This exercise shows how far the MPI reflect people's priorities according to their living conditions.

In the first place, the Headcount Ratio of the MPI dimensions was calculated for the poor population to observe which were the variables most deprived (Graphic 1). This information is important to deepen into the poverty conditions of the poor multidimensional people. Also, to understand these people's perception about their quality of life and the importance to develop integral public policies, which are effective to the population needs.

**Graphic 1. Incidence rate for the poor population**



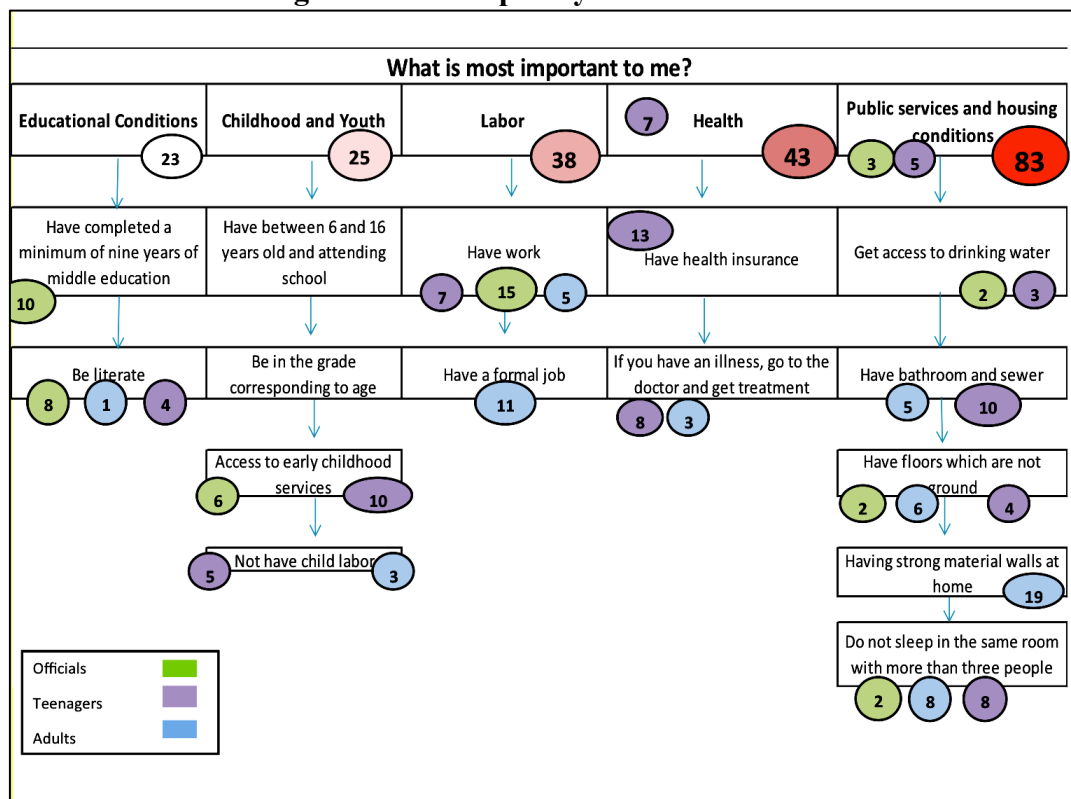
In Graphic 1, it can be seen six variables associated with education, health, labor and household conditions. These are low educational achievement (94%), educational lag (74%), no access to childcare (43%), informal employment rate (97%), no assurance (50%) and overcrowding (39%). To compare this exercise with the perception of poor people according to which variables were more important to them for a better living condition, it was asked in the focus groups to prioritize within the MPI dimensions the most important ones for their well-being.

In Diagram 1 it can be seen the results from the focus groups, discriminated by teenagers, adults and officials of the national network of overcoming poverty. The exercise consisted in giving each participant 5 “*post its*” to assign to the dimensions they thought were the most important. Once everybody had voted, the votes were counted for each option and the group’s preference was established.

For adults the most important variable in order to have a better quality of life is the one of public services and household conditions; the overcrowding was emphasized and also the walls material. In the teenagers group the first place was health, followed by household conditions. Finally the officials group voted for household education conditions and work. A general sum was performed from all the data obtained from all the variables and dimensions and it was found that for these people public services and household condition have a special relevance in order to have a dignified life (83 points in all).

An interesting result in this exercise is to observe that in both methodologies the dimensions of public services and housing conditions and labor have a great importance for people in Villapinzón. The dimension that less matches is the one about household educational conditions, specifically the variable low educational achievement.

**Diagram 1. Participatory Prioritization**



## 5. Concluding remarks

The Multidimensional Poverty Index is a tool that shows the importance of taking into account different variables of the well being to measure poverty in a more complete way. Through this investigation it was identified the multidimensional condition of poverty from the people of stratum 0 to 3 in Villapinzón, Cundinamarca emphasizing the differences according to the area (urban/rural). In Villapinzón, 38% of households are in a multidimensional poverty condition; this means they have 33% or more variables in deprivation.

The mixed methodology used in this work was vital to analyze the poverty phenomenon from different but complementary approaches. Through the quantitative methodology it was possible to calculate the Multidimensional Poverty Index, the Headcount Ratio, Adjusted Headcount Ratio and the Headcount Ratio for poor population specific. Through the qualitative component, specifically through the four phases i) previous visits, ii) participant observation, iii) focus groups and iv) interviews, it was possible to deepen into the causes of the multidimensional poverty as well as in the differences between the urban and the rural area.

The biggest deprivations of the families in Villapinzón are related to low educational achievement (80%), informal jobs (77%) and overcrowding (27%). Doing the exercise only for households under poverty conditions, it was found that the lack of schooling and the lack of access to a health system were particularly relevant. Issues such as geographic isolation and the dispersion of the rural area are fundamental to understand the bigger deprivation in dimensions like education and health in this area.

The rural area presents more severe deprivations in the access to public utilities and household conditions, and these deprivations generate a big difference in the future development of the children. In the qualitative work it was found that there exists labor discrimination towards women as well as overcrowding, not only in the same room but also in the same bed.

Furthermore, it can be concluded that people in Villapinzón consider being the most important variable for their wellbeing the access to public services and housing conditions. Specifically, having access to water, sanitation, good walls, and no overcrowding.

It can be also concluded that the multidimensional poverty conditions are more severe in the rural area households, and taking this into account specific public policies should be taken into action for this area of the population. Variables such as informal jobs and low educational achievement are urgent to face.

Although this investigation answers many questions about the poverty situation in Villapinzón as well as the differences of poverty in different areas, it is important to show that there still exist limits related to which is the best way to integrate both methodologies quantitative and qualitative when measuring poverty as in the Multidimensional Poverty Index.

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# **Microfinance: Rescuing or Betraying gender from the poverty trap? Case Studies of three Districts in West Bengal**

**Dr. Tanusree Chakraborty\***

Alleviation of poverty, the core of all developmental efforts has remained a very complex and critical goal for developing countries. Experience has shown that many of the poverty alleviation programmes have not achieved the expected success. In almost all plans for poverty alleviation and social change, disadvantaged women became a "target" in development activities rather than a group to be co-opted as active participants. Lack of capital is a serious constraint to the development of poor women in rural and urban areas who find little or no access to credit. Credit can help women to take-up farm and allied activities, enabling them to respond to the opportunities created by the process of development. In the present context, microfinance is emerging as an instrument for poverty alleviation and an important means for attaining women's empowerment.

Its appeal is based on the widespread assumption that simply 'reaching the poor' with microcredit will automatically establish a sustainable economic and social development trajectory animated by the poor themselves.

There exist broadly two very different systems for financial intermediation. One is Self-Help Group System and another one is Microfinance Institution System. To truly understand the complexity of the concept of gender – poverty trap and local economic and social development policies and its relation with women's empowerment and role of Microfinance to address this intricacy, the paper makes an effort to assess the benefits of microfinance through Self-Help Group System on women's empowerment and role of Microfinance Institution System on the basis of primary survey undertaken in the districts of Coochbehar, Malda, North 24 Pargana in West Bengal across different social groups.

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It is unlikely that only one intervention such as the provision of credit only will completely alter power and gender relations. Women often value the non-economic benefits of a group lending programme that is SHG programme as much or more than the credit. Some of the most valued include expanded business and social networks, improved self-esteem, increased household decision-making power, and increased respect and prestige from both male and female relatives and community members. When loans are channeled through women's groups and combined with more investment in social intermediation, substantial shifts in decision-making patterns do emerge.

At the same time this paper argues that Microfinance Institution Model may well generate some positive short run outcomes for a lucky few of the 'entrepreneurial poor', the longer run aggregate development outcome very much remains moot. Microfinance may ultimately constitute a new and very powerful institutional barrier to sustainable local economic and social development, and thus also to sustainable poverty reduction. This paper may suggest that the current drive to establish the central role of microfinance in development policy cannot be divorced from its supreme serviceability to the neoliberal agenda. In this regard, this research paper also makes an effort to compare the role of microfinance channelized through self Help Groups and Microfinance Institution on women's empowerment and poverty reduction.

**Key words:** *Poverty Reduction, Microfinance, Self-Help Groups, Decision-Making autonomy, Gender, Women Empowerment, Neoliberalism.*

**JEL Classification:** *Y8, I38, A14, B25, G-21, G-29*

# **Perceptions and knowledge of universal maternity insurance: A study of *Jampersal* implementation in two districts of Indonesia's East Nusa Tenggara province**

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## **Abstract**

The government of Indonesia launched a universal health insurance scheme targeting pregnant women and mothers in early 2011, namely Jaminan Persalinan (*Jampersal*) or Universal Maternity Insurance. The objective of *Jampersal* is to enable Indonesia meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) targets, especially Goal 5 on maternal health. While 2015 is approaching, Indonesia's performance has been unimpressed, with Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR) remains at 359/100,000 live births. The benefits of *Jampersal* include pre-natal and post-natal consultations and birth delivery care in health centres or third class wards in hospitals. In 2012, we undertook a mixed method study to find out users' perceptions and knowledge about *Jampersal* in two districts of East Nusa Tenggara Province. A perception survey was carried out by interviewing 300 respondents using systematic random sampling method and semi-structured interview with ten health workers and health authority. Survey result is analysed with descriptive analytic method and triangulated with the interview results. Findings indicate 50 percent of the respondents have no idea about *Jampersal*; 66 percent mothers in rural area know about *Jampersal* compare to only 32 percent in urban area; respondents are confused of so many health insurance schemes from national and local governments; transportation cost remains a main obstacle for those in rural area to access health facilities; limited presence of health workers and equipments prevent mothers to make use of health centres; 13 percent mothers still delivered at home and 44 percent of them were still assisted by traditional birth attendance, on contrary to the purpose of *Jampersal*, among others. This study recommends better methods to disseminate information about *Jampersal*, most importantly through health workers and family members, inclusion of transport cost in the scheme and a need for a more integrated health planning and policy on the aspect of health infrastructures and workers.

**Keywords:** *maternal health, maternity insurance, universal health insurance, integrated health planning and policy*



UNIVERSITETET I  
NORDLAND

## **Poverty of Education Policies: Why a secular education policy for poverty alleviation in Bangladesh?**

Paper prepared for the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Poverty and Social Protection Conference, Bangkok, 9-11 March, 2014.

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## *Abstract*

*Development implies modernisation involving economic growth, changes in social, institutional, and attitudes which can only be achieved if there are sufficient human resources with knowledge and skills. Investment in education is regarded as the most effective way of providing people with these requirements as well as inculcating them with attitude and values appropriate for modernisation. There is also a gap between what education is expected to achieve and what have been achieved in very many developing countries. This paper gives an empirical account of education policies and outcomes in Bangladesh. It draws together observations and threads of a number of research works to arrive at a somewhat integrated idea of likelihood of educated young people remaining unemployed and not integrated to the society at large. There are differences between the number of graduated young people and jobs available for them owing to education policies and social values influencing the choice of education. Education policies failed to provide the society with conditions necessary for enterprising activities and develop secular values among young students and. Those also perpetuate the tendency of spending on unskilled human resources. As an outcome, inefficiency and waste of resources (both economic and human) is notably high owing to the limited capacity of the labour market to absorb the graduated students. A significant part of the potential resources of the society are excluded from participation in socio-economic development. The biggest failure of the education policy appears to be the religious schools. Mostly driven by abysmal poverty and some attachment to religious values, poor parents in rural Bangladesh send their children to madrassahs where they are provided with food and shelter along with radical Islamic thoughts and ideology but not with skill and knowledge required for the job market. This paper argues for a secular education policy the foundation of which are two core values: The enlightenment and equality( gender, class and other social backgrounds) aimed at 1. Creating innovative human being; 2. The working human being; 3. The liberally educated human being; 4. The social human being; 5. the environmentally aware human being. The combined outcome would be the integrated human being with respect for universal human and democratic values.*

*Keywords: Bangladesh; Development; Education Policy; Secularism; Social values*

## **Introduction**

The notion ‘development’, as worked out by the human development school, includes human choices in three core areas: the opportunity to lead a long and healthy life, the opportunity to acquire knowledge and the opportunity to have access to resources required for a decent standard of living. To these ends, the positive impacts of education can hardly be disputed. Education transmits knowledge and skills, and opens up opportunities for employment. For the students, education means higher income, improvement in their standard of living or moving upward in the social strata. An educated person attains the capability of absorbing

new information faster and can make applications of knowledge and new processes more effectively. In the wider social arena, education is expected to mediate cultural norms and democratic values, affect productivity and growth contributing to well being of a society and its people. There is also a widespread belief, driving mainly from the Western welfare state, that people are entitled to education. As an outcome of multiple roles of education and convergence of interest, there are massive increase of schools, colleges, and universities in most developing countries. Not only enrolments in educational institutions swelled, but also number of young graduates.

Meanwhile, observations suggest that the number of graduated young people tells us little about the quality of education. There is a considerable gap between what education is expected to achieve and what have been achieved. In many developing countries there is a growing concern about the massive unemployed young boys and girls. It is claimed that education policies have created a phenomenon of educated unemployed. The most potential social resources are excluded from participation in socio-economic development.

This paper gives an empirical account of the experience of Bangladesh in education sector. It draws together observations and threads of a number of research works to arrive at a somewhat integrated idea of likelihood of educated young people remaining unemployed. In Bangladesh, there is a huge surplus of unskilled labour force. A major point this paper underlines is that social progress can proceed as planned if there are sufficient people with the required knowledge and skills. In two earlier papers I have demonstrated that there is lack of coordination between education policy and labour market. While, there are significant differences between the number of graduated young people and jobs available for them, there is acute shortage of skilled professionals.<sup>1</sup> Unemployment is a root cause of many social problems: the educated unemployed young people became permanent burdens of their families; they have lost trust in themselves, many seek remedy in drug abuse; they are easy prey of systematic smuggling; without job, they have lost trust in the society. The potential resources remain unutilized and they are excluded from participation in social development. Those rather participate in subversive activities carried out by the religious militant groups. Among them lies the root of political killings.

The section to come presents briefly the education system in Bangladesh followed by an account of the factors that leave impacts on students' choice of education in Bangladesh, including religious education. The third section discusses some key aspects of education

<sup>1</sup> Field study in Bangladesh, December 2010-January 2011. See also Rahman 2009; Rahman 2010.

policies of Bangladesh. The discussion goes on emphasising new orientations to education and systemic changes: changes that would ensure an education policy based upon secular and democratic values that would stimulate the urge for emancipation among the young men and women; that would provide young people with knowledge and skill. It is beyond the capacity of this paper to go into great details on theoretical discussion.

### **A brief presentation of the education system in Bangladesh**

Education system in Bangladesh is diversified: there are private elite schools, mainly English medium, there are government vernacular school, and there are religious schools. The private schools charge very high school fees which can only be afforded by the affluent families. These schools provide the students with better English linguistic capacity. Most important interaction with fellow elite at the school level helps maintaining networks and building social capital which can be drawn upon for career development in future. The state run schools charge a nominal school fee. The standards of these schools vary. There are elite schools and admission to these schools is very difficult. Children, especially of the academics, have easy access to these elite schools due to their merit by virtue of the family environment. There are other state run schools where the rest of children attend. The third group of schools is the religious schools, known as madrassas which serve the lowest tier of education ladder where children from the least privileged house holdings seek entry. These religious schools have grown like mushrooms in the last three decades, from app 4800 in 1990 to more than 9000 in 2010. The enrolment increased from 1.7 million to nearly 3 million. Children who find it difficult to be admitted to state run schools because of their poverty and turn to madrasass. There they are offered free food and clothing and in many cases free boarding. These religious schools offer largely dysfunctional education since the students learn only to read religious books, also in Arabic without understanding what they learning, they are also ill equipped to enter the job market. These children are exposed to fundamentalist world view. The madrassas are the favoured recruiting grounds for extremist political organisations.

### **Choice of education**

People generally feel that education is necessary. Educational policies, institutional structures and regulations of the educational system have impacts on the educational decisions for students and their parents.

Both students and their parents look upon education as opening up opportunities for employment, higher income and improvement in their standard of living. In general,

education is regarded as a major avenue to occupation and higher income. It takes on other values too. Education is greatly respected by most people. To have higher education implies that one has acquired certain respectability. Social elites of all kinds make every effort to give their children higher education. Their choice of education is not a discrete event but embedded in social relations over time, linking past, present and future. It is the family that takes the decision regarding education and career. Parents regard giving education to their offspring as their obligation. Education is tailored to suit what family members, usually parents, define education as a need of their children. Accordingly consumption of education within the family takes place directly through family's values and lifestyle. Children with higher education are evidence of pride of parents. Such a consideration has strong impact on their decision regarding investment in education among the elite groups of different kinds. Their family dignity flowing from the past consumption of schooling endowed parents with knowledge of the association between educational qualifications and future well-being-whether as material comfort, a sense of personal fulfilment, a prestigious job etc. In order to pursue all these goals, they juggle between prestigious schools and house tutors. Rich families send their offspring to exclusive schools. They value prestige attached to those schools.

Parents take decision regarding higher education already at an earlier stage of education at school. The well offs in the society prefer to send their children to prestigious school. The choice regarding selection of schools must be seen as a social mechanism of reproducing families who are able to mobilise a high level of economic and social capital. Investments in education, especially in exclusive schools, include a considerable amount of private and public work before it could be realised. Admission to a school is a complicated process, if not impossible. There is competition among parents for getting their children admitted into a reputed public school. Admission tests usually hold every year, in January. There may be more than 2000 applicants for the 30 places of study available. A number of students qualify through tests, and many do not. For the later group, friends of their parents, or neighbour, may be of help, if they hold a top position in the bureaucracy or in the polity. A student may get admitted by way of her or his family's connections or the parents' efforts to pursue a political leader who would make a recommendation to the school authority. The rich people avoid all these complications by sending their children to private schools.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Educating children in prestige schools costs 5,000 taka (100 dollars) to 20,000 taka (400 dollars) in registration fees every year and 2,000 taka (40 dollars) to 5,000 taka (100 dollars) in monthly tuition fees. Which means 44,000 taka (about 900 dollars) only as fees. In addition one has to reckon on paying for transport, books and papers, which amounts to about 50,000 taka (1000 dollars) annually.

The choice regarding selection of schools can be seen as social mechanism of reproducing families who were able to mobilise a high level of economic and social capital. A degree from a well known educational institution is one requirement for a job with higher salary and status. Higher education, especially from well-reputed institutions, is preferred, not only as a vehicle for social mobility, but as a way of distinguishing their offspring from others. Sons and daughters, who perform well at school and get a higher degree, are the pride of parents and of kin. A reputed school is a source of such pride. Friendship develops amongst parents of children who attended similar schools. Such contacts help them in accumulating social capital. Students from exclusive schools maintain networks, which are used for inter-network services and favour, when they enter into economic life. There is a strong belief that educational certificates are the key to obtaining the best-paid and most secure jobs. Individuals may come to strive for constantly higher credentials in order to procure jobs which previously did not demand these, and for which their education does not in any case prepare them.

Those with academic degrees from abroad have some privileges. They master English language. Their degree and language skill work as comparative advantage for them in business, especially in international trade. Their academic degree and business success, in turn, help both the families in establishing matrimonial relations with other families with higher social status and honour.

Precisely, the choice of education has both social and economic orientations. People value educational achievements and occupational success. The type of education they choose adds more to their stock of social capital, little to human capital. They regard higher education is essential because they want to maintain a life style similar to that of other families with higher status, to achieve status, to establish matrimonial relations with prestigious families etc.

The poor parents put relatively less weight on general education, owing to their choice of religious schools. The rural poor families are the easy prey of the religious schools. The madrassas serve the lowest tier of education ladder where children from the least privileged house holdings seek entry. As mentioned earlier, madrassa attending children are provided with food, clothing and shelter. These religious schools have grown like mushrooms in the last three decades, from app 4800 in 1990 to more than 16000 in 2010. The enrolment increased from 1.7 million to nearly 5.5 million. Children who find it difficult to be admitted to state run schools because of their poverty turn to madrasass. These religious schools offer

largely dysfunctional education since the students learn only to read religious books, also in a foreign language, Arabic, without understanding the contents of what they read. The religious schools do not offer job oriented curriculum. The children are thus ill equipped to enter the job market. These children are exposed to fundamentalist world view. The madrassas are the favoured recruiting grounds for extremist political organisations.

### **Education policies in Bangladesh**

Bangladesh as a nation relatively recently emerged from colonial rule. Its education policies still bear some important legacies of colonial education system. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a system of liberal English-language schools based on the British model was instituted in the region that now constitutes Bangladesh. Various education programmes were designed to provide clerical and administrative support to the colonial administration. Those programmes did not develop practical skills or technical knowledge. Three major objectives of the education policy during British were: a civilizing mission, to create administrative bureaucrats and to serve its the mercantile interest.

During its union with Pakistan (1947-1971) the dominant military-bureaucratic oligarchy, and the political elite, showed little interest in a people-oriented education policy. They regarded mass education, based upon scientific and secular principle, as threats to the very ideology of Pakistan. Education policies based mainly on religious values (Islamic) were used as an ideal vehicle for the propagation of political interests.

When Bangladesh became independent, in 1971, there was a general awareness of the need to restructure the education system to meet the needs of the new nation. The education policy came to be based upon secular, scientific and democratic principles. However, the full potentials of education for affecting development are not realised owing to two major factors; a. politicization of education, b. education policies do not satisfy the demand of the labour market, and c. the spread of religious education and growing number of madrassas. The effects of these factors are clearly reflected in the existence of a surplus of educated unemployed.

In 40 years since its inception as an independent country seven education policies have been formulated. None was implemented fully. The politicians, whoever in power always showed an inclination towards their own philosophy of education which they were not loath to foist upon the nation. Their policy objectives include expansion of enrolment. Those tend to feed into the overriding aim of achieving increased number of students into schools,

colleges and universities. The existing institutions are overwhelmed by applications. The pressure opened opportunities for private universities. Presently, there are 62 private universities in Dhaka only, and permissions were given to nine more. A good number of these universities have cooperation with universities in the U.K., U.S.A, Canada, Australia. The system, at all levels, is geared to imparting the knowledge necessary to passing exams, regardless of whether such knowledge is useful in practical life outside schools, colleges and universities. Most of those institutions perform classroom teaching that motivates students to prepare for examinations only and do not deliver practical knowledge and skills. There are more graduated young boys and girls who regard degrees or certificates as more valued more than what they are useful for. The effect is the diminishing value of a degree. Students therefore compete for even higher qualifications and this fuels enrolment. Diploma disease is now a social disease. Those add more to the high unemployment rate. Following a national daily, there has been a 28 per cent increase in the unemployment rate over three years between 2006 and 2009.<sup>3</sup>

The unemployment rate does not include those who are underemployed. The rate of underemployment is on rise. It was 17 percent in 2000 and 38 percent in 2003.<sup>4</sup> A major reason for underemployment is shortages of skills. There are few people in the labour market with technical/vocational qualifications. The 2002-03 Labour Force Survey estimate shows that there were 53,000 such men and 5,000 such women with vocational qualifications. For every single person in the labour force with a technical/vocational qualification there were more than 104 others who have completed Secondary School Certificate or Higher Secondary Certificate and 34 others who had a university degree.<sup>5</sup> Employers are reluctant to hire unskilled labour force full time.

Education in Bangladesh is far from being a means of transmitting knowledge and skills. There is little discussion on a rational education system that not only would provide the nation with skilled professionals but also save the nation from wastage of time, money, and human resources. There is too little investment in human capital. There is mismatch as regard educational objectives and means to attain those.

Let's take investment in human capital first. Public expenditures for education have always been low, and continue to remain low in Bangladesh. As a percentage of the gross domestic product, the level of expenditure for education in 1983 was approximately 1.3

<sup>3</sup> The Daily Star, 20.05.2010.

<sup>4</sup> Human Development Unit, South Asia Region, The World Bank, June 2006

<sup>5</sup> The Labour Force Survey 2003-04.

percent, a figure that did not rise substantially throughout 1980s. On average, the share of education in the total development expenditure of the government between 1973 and 1983 was only 4.1 percent; in 1985 it was only 3.1 percent. There has been an increase in public expenditures for education during the 1990s still less than half of what other south Asian countries, Thailand, Malaysia etc, spend on education.<sup>6</sup>

The Third Five-Year Plan included efforts to improve quality of education by restructuring higher secondary and college education and introducing management controls and performance evaluations. The problem still remains. Secondary and higher education credentials have little currency in the labour market because they are regarded as purely academic programs and graduated students are far from able to master technical subjects.

Not only the education policy in Bangladesh fails to satisfy the demand of a modern education system, it also perpetuates the tendency of spending on unskilled human resources. In this regard, institutions offering religious education in the last decade increased many fold. The biggest failure of the education policy appears to be the religious schools. Mostly driven by abysmal poverty and some attachment to religious values, poor parents in rural Bangladesh send their children to madrassahs where they are provided with food and shelter along with radical Islamic thoughts and ideology but not with skill and knowledge required for the job market.

### **Arguments for secular education policy**

Secular education is not the same thing as a school based on atheist principle. A religious school may teach that the god exists, an atheist school may teach that no god exists. A secular school is neutral on this issue. A secular education policy promotes the objective way about the different beliefs that different people have about god or gods.

An obvious question is why secular education policy is good for people and for the society. Firstly, it is good for the society for children to be educated together. Religious education does not allow boys and girls attending the same class. The religious schools do not believe in equal status of boys and girls. Secular schools bring children together and teach them the normal subjects that have a basis in scientific fact, like mathematics, language, history and critical thinking. Secular schools teach students different religious beliefs and help them understand other beliefs and respect people with other faith. Secular education, in

<sup>6</sup> World Development 2003. Bangladesh 2020; A long term perspective.



practice secular schools, ensures individual human rights. Under human rights law, parents have a right to have their children educated in a way that is consistent with their religious or philosophical beliefs. Schools should not indoctrinate children with religious beliefs that conflict with the human values and those of their parents. The argument is clear: Secular schools are good for society. The schools system and education open to the adherents of any philosophy, religion, or faith. The curriculum and teaching must promote any particular religious practice, denomination or sect.

In development debate today there is an emphasis on social development. Social development requires providing people with education, job opportunities and other means by which they can realize their potential. Education is expected to provide people with job opportunities and other means by which they can realize their potential. The history of development since the Industrial Revolution, in Western Europe, to the present success stories of East Asian countries, suggests societies can achieve economic growth and social progress through education, technical, managerial and industrial skills. Societies which fail to provide people with education and job opportunities often have high rates of crimes and violence as people seek alternative means for satisfying their needs or improving their living conditions.

Education policies must ensure education transmits knowledge, social values, teach people to think, and provides people with skills so that they secure their livelihood as well as they can contribute to the social progress. It is the responsibility of the state to create opportunities and frame policies. The state, in Bangladesh, to put in the words of a social researcher in Bangladesh, was dwarfing its citizens to make them docile instruments, the very opposite of what education should do i.e. education should be light turned on the mind and heart, the realisation of what one is worth and making one capable of expressing opinion-thoughtfully. Education is the source of inspiration and makes people capable of thinking and be creative. Vocational education is both creative and self realising.

Bangladesh needs an education system that can develop skilled and creative human resources. This would require a dynamic scientific and a creative system of education to develop the minds that will create knowledge, revitalize communities and value system. Higher education is necessary. In addition to guaranteeing young girls and boys their access to education, vocational training must be given priority. These are tasks of policy makers in Bangladesh. Given the necessity of creative human resources, my emphasis is on the objective of stimulating social development through mobilizing young educated boys and girls in Bangladesh. Skills, knowledge and innovation are the driving forces of economic growth and social development. The importance of the skill development policy can be linked to

economic, employment and social policies so that national development may be enhanced in a coherent way. The relatively lower status of the vocational education can be compensated by a higher wage for those who take vocational education. The experiences of the Scandinavian countries may be stimulating. There, private sector representatives take part in the managing boards of technical and vocational institutions. This ensures the market orientation of vocational training. The schools also improve their performances in matching the supply need of skilled professionals with changing demand.

We think Early Childhood Education may be good point of start. It is due to the rate of enrolment in primary schools though increased yet the drop out rate remains still high. One major reason is that children engaged in income-generating activities. Parents may perceive differently, education may help them economically as well as children's experiences of schooling. Parents must be provided with incentives to send their children to general education, not to the madrassas.

Planners, researchers and academics in Bangladesh put emphasis on teacher training. One major argument is that children's experiences of schooling differ greatly, for reasons associated with schools and education systems, and reasons associated with children's lives outside schools. The education system at primary level is geared to imparting the knowledge necessary to passing exams only, regardless whether knowledge is useful outside school, which owes very much to the quality of teaching. A school's teaching staff reflects the national economy, politics and priorities as regards teachers training. Furthermore, since most children start primary school without any pre-school schooling the teachers are under extra pressure to motivate the beginners at the primary school. There are also disparities as regards availability of pre-schooling. The major cities, like Dhaka, Chittagong, have hundreds of institutions offering pre-school education. In these urban areas there are supporters, including researchers and parents, of early childhood development and care. Drawing on Western notion of childhood development and appropriate practices they argue for children's early education that children would be benefitted from structures learning at an earlier age.

Western play-based forms of early education were introduced to Bangladesh in the mid twentieth century, however, remained largely the preserve of the elite. These pre-school institutions contrast the vast majority of primary schools and children entering those schools with no pre-school education. Those lack resources. The teachers don't have proper education and training to perform the job of a pre-school teacher.

In the past, much efforts and resources were frittered away in the name of educational reform. It had been a favourite pastime of all the previous government to set up a commission.

During the last four decades in post independent Bangladesh seven education policies have been formulated, however, none implemented. This left the education field a kind of disorderly and anomalous instead of being the vehicle for fulfilment of hopes and aspirations of the people. The major problem is no government showed a strong determination to implement a democratic and secular education policy. The Qudrat-e-Khuda Commission report of 1974 based upon secular and democratic values. But politicians came to power had their own philosophy and interests and they were not loath to foist upon the nation. Now, despite some success in enrolment and number of institutions, education came to be a dis-unifying factor. The three streams of education- mainstream Bengali medium, English medium and madrassa- are creating division among the people. The nation now lacks a common outlook. The education system is contributing to social fragmentation and hostility. Even a faction of political interests expressed the desire that madrassa education should usurp wider spaces of general education. A report is quite alarming, and disturbing for many who struggle for a scientific education; it says “13 of the 50 test questions for admission to the honours courses under the national university were religious of a nature that even Muslim boys and girls who had no special orientation in Islamic teaching would not be able to answer”. (Zkaria Shiraz, TDS, 04.02.2009). A religious party named jamat i Islami also demanded that the National Curriculum and Textbook Board remove the independence war history as far as it related to the role of Jamat-e-Islami. The party is charged with war crimes during the liberation war of 1971. The party as the patron of madrsassa education makes no effort for updating or modernising madrassas those rather are engaged in anti enlightenment and inducing bigotry and intolerance in the society. Those qualifying from madrassas are found to lack the basic knowledge and skill required for meeting the needs of the society. Yet, they receive funds from the state. Their main sources of funding however are a few Muslim countries in the middle east which have particularistic interests of attainment of Ummah. Madrassas are not only educationally anachronistic; they tend to roll back social progress. As female teachers are not welcome, students fail to grow a positive outlook towards gender issues. Topics related to social progress are never discussed there. They are driven by hate-filled ideology. They don't believe in secular, democratic and human values the very foundation of Bangladesh. They are out to see Bangladesh and the civil society on fire. They are doing it with financial and logistic helps from abroad.

Since 2001, the mentors of radical Islamic thought and ideology in Bangladesh prepared the ground. It significantly owes to the then 18 party alliance, of which Bangladesh National Party and the Jamat-i-Islami were in the front line. The soft approach and to a great extent

patronage of BNP-Jamat alliance government created a fertile ground for insurgency in Bangladesh. Now, the Islamic insurgents have successfully injected a disturbing dimension into the lives of the Bangladeshi people- fear. In a macabre fashion, the protagonists of this ethos who could not accept the creation of Bangladesh and its ideology did more than arouse the fear of invisible terror. They have compromised the environment of trust in which the modern societies live and flourish. What is more unfortunate and uncontrollable is the flow of funds, logistics and explosives from external sources and through undefined and uncharted routes (Khan A: TDS 28.12.2013). Let's have close look to the violent political scene in Bangladesh last year. Only in December 2014, more than 100 people were killed in the rampage and violence unleashed by Jamat and its student front Shibir cadres.

Ill served by corrupt politicians and administration, the youth number being more than 40 millions are fuming with rage. With allurements of a better future and better jobs by destabilising democratic governance and through installing a government of their choice, the disillusioned and disenchanted young men were brought down on the street with the mission to kill, burn and destroy everything, as if this country does not belong to them. These enemies of the people and of the country have nothing to lose but themselves for their acts are born out of blind fanaticism, but the country has a lot to preserve- its honour, freedom, culture and the precious values. What is required is scientific, secular and democratic education policy which can enlighten these vast youth. The madrassas require reform and those must be brought under the general education system. Most madrassas depend on foreign funding, largely from the Muslim countries, and those don't ask for government funding to assert their independence from official control. During the 80s the politicisation of madrassas began to counter the political forces opposed to dictatorial regimes. During this time, madrassas recorded a phenomenal rise in number. At the time of liberation, 1971, there were about 200 madrassas, as of 2006 there were 16,000 registered madrassas and about 5.5 million students.

So the argument for a secular education policy the foundation of which are two core values: The enlightenment and equality (gender, class and other social backgrounds) aimed at 1. Creating innovative human being; 2. The working human being; 3. The liberally educated human being; 4. The social human being; 5. the environmentally aware human being. The combined outcome would be the integrated human being with respect for universal human and democratic values.

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# **Poverty Reduction Strategies: Shifting Pro-Job and the 4th Lowest Deciles Approach, Indonesia**

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## **Abstract:**

This paper aims to examine the best of poverty reduction program in a group of people who are working related to their expenditure deciles in Indonesia. Through a number of poor people shifting among deciles 4th, 3th, 2nd and 1st from the lowest level, in further it would lead to identification of determination on what kind of poverty interventions programs and poverty assistance programs would be appropriate for the poor to be given. The result will provoke the policy intervention in the acceleration of poverty reduction in Indonesia and simultaneously as sources of exchange knowledge among developing countries' literature.

**Key Words:** Shifting Pro Job, 4th Deciles, Poverty Reduction, and Working People

## 1. Introduction

Having livelihood is very important for low level economic of community. The income sources even very small and indecent for poor is the most crucial in terms keeping their live on. This phenomenon is almost happened to people in every developing country when very little tiny of money is very worthy for buying food and save their daily live. On the contrary, people in developed countries facing obesity problem due to overwhelming food provision and even mistaken by food behavior and intake which give impact in their daily life. This two contrast condition in our earth with each case gives problem for each group society.

Driving global extreme poverty to zero, will involve the strategic on a special attention to policies facilitating to the social and economic inclusion of groups in extreme poverty. In the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) been putting the top priority of reducing extreme poverty by following the pillars of equality-equity and injustice to all as human rights. Therefore, those will require addressing the barriers preventing these groups from making full use of economic opportunities. Indonesia is one of the 189 countries that signed the MDG program. Because in each of goals is consisting of MDGs targets that have minimum achievement limit, this means that Indonesia should strive to achieve the targets that have been set in 2015. To realize the objectives of the MDGs in 2015, it would require coordination and cooperation capable of the entire population of Indonesia.

The main problem faced by the nation of Indonesia is poverty. In addressing the issue of poverty, Indonesia can be said almost succeeded. Why do we claim this ? Because according to data written on Kompas Newspaper been recognized as national newspaper (released on 08/06/2005 ), the declaration of the MDGs was launched, in 2000, the number of poor people in Indonesia reached 37.3 million , or approximately 19 percent, while in 2001, the number of poor people felt, though not significantly, reaching 37.1 million of the total population. While in 2004 the poverty rate dropped to 36.1 million, or approximately 16.6 percent. If this progress will continue significantly, then at least in 2015, Indonesia has been able to show the results of the effort to achieve one of the goals of the MDGs. The government should also be more active in communicating with ordinary people. Due to the implementation of such a thing, then the government will understand and comprehend the desire of the common people so that it will look the alignment between the policies of the government with the wishes of the young people who will make the comfort together in achieving these goals.

Regarding the introduction and reasons been mentioned above, the analyses of strategic poverty reduction in developing country such as Indonesia is very high demand for sharing and exchange knowledge among participants of this conference. The research result and Indonesia's experiences which is has similarities to all developing countries in some regions can be a new sources for both literature interest.

## **2. Problem Identification**

The slow progress of poverty reduction in Indonesia had triggered the policy maker and decision makers to fight hard in terms producing a best practice on the effective and efficient way. Therefore, the high concern of Indonesia Government on this matter has lead to establish a specific national team who are working on this. Started in the early 2010 the President of Republic Indonesia, Mr Yudoyono has established a secretariat of the national team for the acceleration of poverty reduction (TNP2K).

One group of the some strategic solutions for poverty reduction in Indonesia among other: The socio-demographic characteristics of workers (individual characteristics, household, household head and region) with the question, 'What are the causes of workers at a particular expenditure group?' Following by 'What is the chance of each of these characteristics in the grouping of workers at a certain level of expenditure?

From the results of the identification problem by answering the research questions mentioned, is expected to provide a portrait or a clearer picture of how the conditions of workers based on certain expenditure groups or factors that cause poverty workers occurred.

## **2. Research Purpose**

- a) To identify sensitive indicator for monitoring program of poverty reduction
- b) Formulating and creating indicators by using specific software base on macro data sets
- c) Identification strategic program of poverty alleviation
- d) Purposing new efficient and effective strategic program on poverty eradication in particular to solve the condition of workers by specific expenditure groups or factors that cause poverty workers occurred.



### **3. Data Sources**

Main data sources for analysis are secondary data which is derived from BPS Statistics Indonesia. Data sources for this analysis are *Susenas* (the National Socio Economic Survey) in 2011 and in parallel with Integrated Social Protection Survey (PPLS 2011) from National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction, been centralized at the Vice Presidential office of Republic Indonesia. Data processing methods used cross tabulation using SPSS and program Redatam + SP, because the data processed is Big Data for 96 million people and 25.5 million households contained in the integrated database sourced from the Collection of Social Protection Program (PPLS 2011 ) conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics. We analyses for Indonesia, except Papua and West Papua province, because in this region information social economic indicator for poverty not complete.

Research methodology is using descriptive analysis in order to provide an overview / general information based on the findings of secondary data in the form of a simple presentation. The Households' classification into deciles been implemented by Proxy Mean Test approach (PMT). This analysis is presented in the form of cross tabulations between the dependent variable and the independent variable.

### **3. Research Framework**

This study tried to classify workers into 40% of the population in Indonesia is the lowest level of consumption based indicators of workers that will be examined based on the characteristics of gender, age group, employment status, employment, hours of work, level of education and assets. Then all the above indicators are distinguished by deciles of Poor People by Gender, Age Group, Activity A week ago, job status, field Main Job, Hours of Work, level of education, assets owned, business loans and assistance program evaluation. In the next stage the pattern of each of the indicators that have been made to show the direction of policy that can be done to enhance poverty reduction programs based on socio-economic characteristics.

### **4. Literature Study**

Poverty is a national problem and requires urgent treatment measures and approaches are systemic, integrated and comprehensive. In order to meet the basic needs of citizens, necessary measures and a comprehensive strategic. Comprehensive poverty reduction requires the involvement of various stakeholders. The central government, local government, business (private individual sectors) and society are those who have the same responsibility towards poverty reduction. The government has been implementing poverty reduction through various

programs in an effort to meet the basic needs of citizens properly, increasing the socio-economic welfare of the poor, strengthening of social and economic as well as implement the accelerated development of underdeveloped areas in order to achieve a prosperous Indonesian society, democratic and in justice .

Program run so far in Indonesia include into 3 clusters, namely Cluster Program I : **POVERTY RELIEF GROUP PROGRAM BASED INTEGRATED SOCIAL FAMILY**, namely group-based poverty reduction programs aimed at social assistance and protection to carry out the fulfillment of basic rights, live load reduction, and improved quality of life of the poor. Focus fulfillment of basic rights is intended to improve the quality of life of the poor for a better life, such as the right to food, health care, and education.

Cluster II program, i.e. **GROUP PROGRAM BASED EMPOWERMENT COMMUNITY POVERTY**, namely poverty reduction efforts is not enough just to provide direct assistance to the poor as the cause of poverty is not only due to the aspects that are purely materialistic, but also because of the vulnerability and lack of access to improve the quality of life of the poor. The approach is intended to empower the poor to escape poverty using its potential and resources.

A group-based poverty reduction program of community empowerment is a further stage in the process of poverty reduction. At this stage, the poor begin to realize their potential and ability to get out of poverty. Empowerment approach as an instrument of this program is intended not only do the poor awareness of the potential and the resources they have, but also encourage the poor to participate in a wider scale, especially in the process of development in the area.

Cluster III program is **POVERTY PROGRAM GROUP BASED ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT OF MICRO AND SMALL ENTERPRISES**. Poverty reduction programs based micro and small business empowerment is a program that aims to provide access and strengthening the economy for businesses small and micro scale. An important aspect in the reinforcement is to provide the widest possible access to the poor to be able to try and improve the quality of life.

However the overall effort of the program would not maximized without the support of other stakeholders. To support a comprehensive poverty reduction and realizing the acceleration of poverty reduction strategy formulated four major. Poverty reduction strategies that included:

- a) Fixing social protection programs ;

- b) Improving access to basic services ;
- c) Empowerment of the poor , as well as
- d) Creating inclusive development

#### **4.1. Strategies to Accelerate Poverty Reduction in Indonesia**

Some strategies of poverty reduction been implemented in Indonesia and conducted by Indonesian Government among in terms including all stakeholders and beneficiaries among other are:

##### **The 1<sup>st</sup> Strategy: Improving Social Protection Program**

The first principle is to improve and develop the system of social protection for the poor and vulnerable. Social protection systems intended to assist individuals and communities facing shocks (shocks) in life, such as the sick, death in the family, job loss, catastrophic or natural disaster overwritten, and so on. Effective social protection systems would anticipate that the person or people who are experiencing the shock not to fall into poverty.

Implementation of this strategy is based on the fact, among others, the large number of vulnerable people falling into poverty in Indonesia. In addition to face the potential problem of high social vulnerability, Indonesia also faced with the phenomenon of the elderly population in the demographic structure. This could cause significant economic burden on the younger generation to bear them or the high dependency ratio.

The high degree of vulnerability also causes high possibility to get in or out of poverty. Therefore, to cope with the magnitude of the possibility of falling into poverty, need to be implemented a social assistance program for those who do not protect the poor from becoming poor and those who are already poor from becoming poorer.

##### **The 2<sup>nd</sup> Strategy: Increasing Access to Basic Services**

The second principle in poverty reduction is to improve poor people's access to basic services. Access to educational services, health care, clean water and sanitation, and food and nutrition will help reduce the costs to be incurred by the poor. On the other hand an increase in access to basic services encourages increased investment in human capital.

One form of increased access to basic services is the most important of the poor increased access to education. Education should be preferred because in the long run it is an effective way for the poor to escape poverty. In contrast, the gap between the education ministry and the poor people are not poor will preserve the inheritance of poverty through

poverty from one generation to the next. The child from poor families who cannot achieve an adequate level of education is most likely to remain poor throughout his life.

In addition to education, improved access should also be considered is access to health care. Better health status, will be able to increase productivity in the work and strive for the poor. This will enable them to generate higher revenues and out of poverty. In addition, improved access to clean water and proper sanitation becomes the main points to achieve optimal health status. Consumption of drinking water unfit housing and poor sanitation increases the vulnerability of individuals and communities to the disease.

### **The 3<sup>th</sup> Strategy: Group Empowerment of the Poor**

The third principle is an attempt to empower the poor to be very important for improving the effectiveness and sustainability of poverty reduction. Poverty reduction is very important to not treat the poor as mere objects of development. Efforts to empower the poor so that the poor need to be done to attempt to get out of poverty and not fall back into poverty.

The importance of implementing a strategy with this principle also considers poverty caused by injustice and economic structures that are not pro-poor. This causes the output growth is not evenly distributed in all groups of society. The poor, politically, socially, and economically powerless, unable to enjoy the fruits of development are proportional. The development process makes them experience marginalization, both physically and socially.

Development concept aimed at reducing poverty through mechanisms generally top - down (top-down). The drawback of this mechanism is without the inclusion of public participation. All initiatives of poverty reduction programs come from government (central), as well as handling. Implementation guidelines and technical instructions are always made uniform implementation of the program without regard to the characteristics of the poor in each region. As a result, a given program often has no correlation with the priorities and needs of the local poor. With these considerations, the overall effort is accompanied by empowering the poor to be one of the main principles in the poverty reduction strategy.

### **The 4<sup>th</sup> Strategy: Development of Inclusive**

The fourth principle is that inclusive development is defined as development that engages and at the same time benefit the entire community. Participation is the key word of the whole execution of development. Fact in many countries shows that poverty can only be reduced in an economy that is growing dynamically. In contrast stagnant economic growth is almost certainly leads to an increase in poverty. Growth should be able to generate productive jobs in large numbers. Furthermore, there is a multiplier effect on the expected increase in

income majority of the population, an increase in the standard of living, and poverty reduction

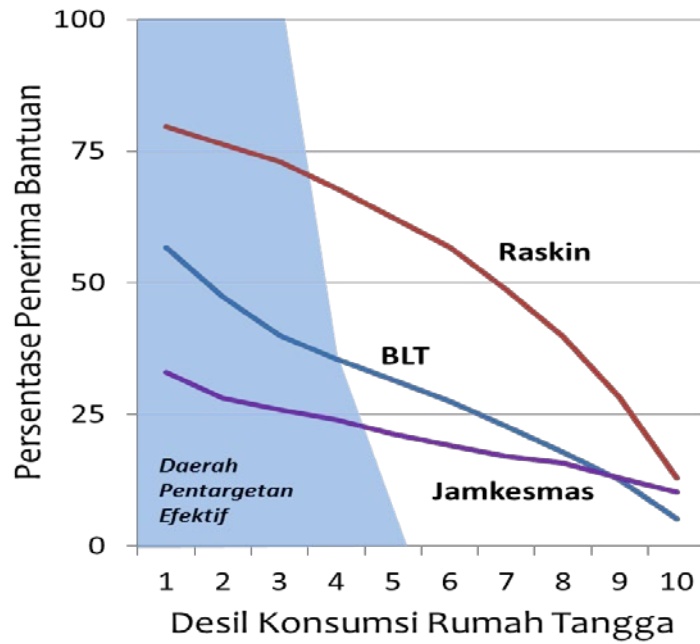
To achieve the condition as noted above, it is necessary to create a conducive business climate in the country. Macroeconomic stability is an important prerequisite to be able to develop the business. It is also necessary clarity and certainty of the various policies and regulations. Likewise, it requires the ease of trying various things such as permits, taxation and ownership protection. Furthermore, micro, small, and medium enterprises (SMEs) should be encouraged to continue to create added value, including through export markets. Quality growth also requires higher priority on rural and agricultural sectors. Rural areas and the agricultural sector is also the place where the poor are concentrated. Thus, the development of rural economy and agricultural sector has great potential to achieve economic growth that generates employment in large and significant poverty reduction.

Inclusive development is also important to understand the regional context. Every region in Indonesia can serve as a growth center with resources and a different commodity. The economies of this region which will be then form the characteristics of the national economy. Local economic development becomes important to strengthen the domestic economy.

#### **4.2. The Weaknesses and Strengths of Each Strategy**

Each program has advantages and disadvantages, on the terms of an evaluation of the beneficiaries of each program, the program beneficiaries in group-based poverty reduction and social protection assistance aimed at extreme poverty. This is due not only because the conditions are very poor people who are vulnerable, but also because they have not been able to pursue and fulfill basic rights properly and independently.

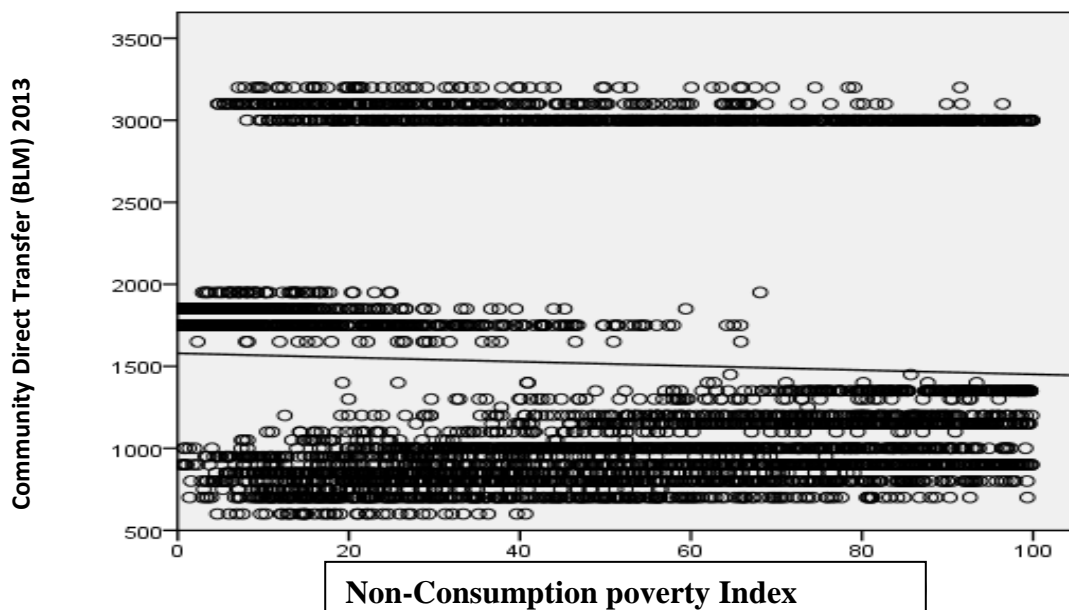
**Figure 1. The Effectiveness of Social Protection Program Targeting**



Sumber: Susenas 2009

Based on the evaluation of TNP2K, only about 30 % of poor people who receive these social protection programs (Raskin, BLT, Assurance). Raskin is subsidized rice for poor. Likewise, the receiver group is a community -based program empowering communities as poor. The poor people are still having the ability to use despite its potential limitations.

**Figure 2. Community Direct Transfer (BLM) 2013 Versus Non-Consumption poverty Index PNPM at Rural**

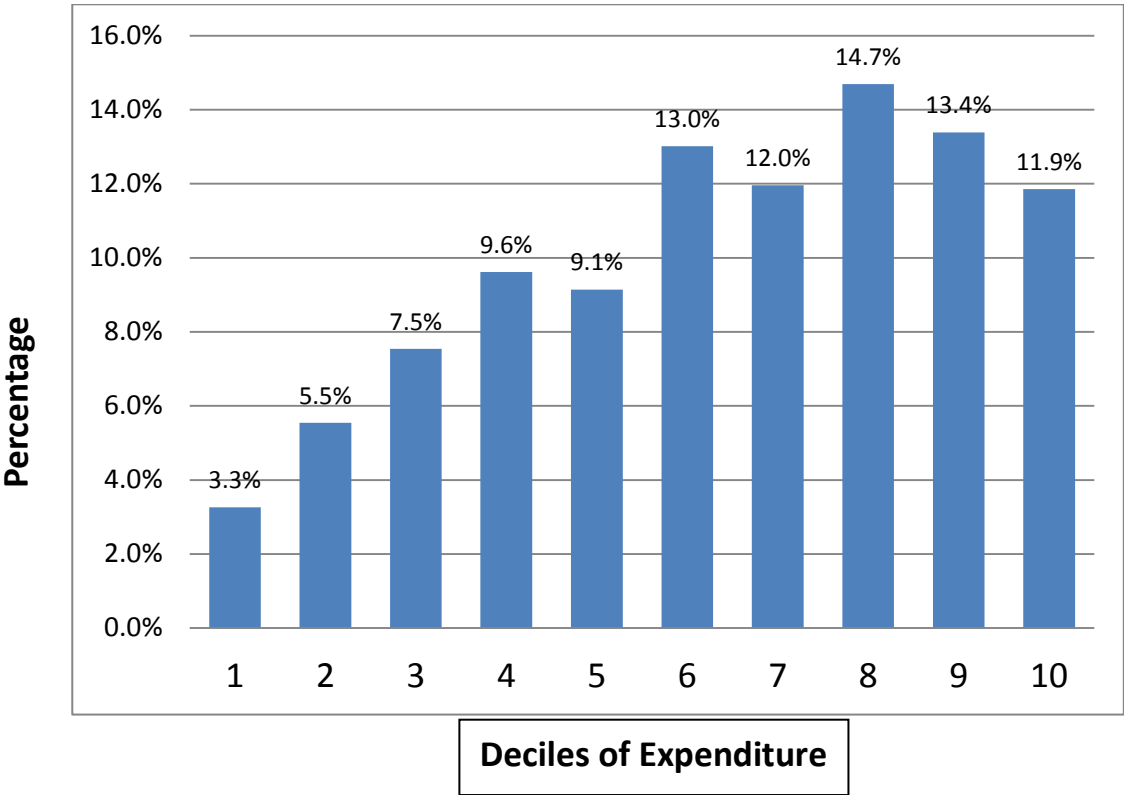


The results of the Rural FY 2013 in good condition location (based on the Non - Consumption Poverty Index and Infrastructure Index)

tend to receive the same treatment as the locations of the conditions are still unfavorable. Likewise, the distribution of BLM PNPM Urban TA 2013 in good condition location (based on the Non - Consumption Poverty Index and Infrastructure Index) tend to receive the same treatment as the locations of the conditions are still unfavorable.

Communities in the state that have good access to transport still has a high tendency to utilize BLM funds for the construction / rehabilitation of transportation infrastructure access ( source : Workshop : PNPM Better Targeting : Application of Composite Index for Sharpening Location and Allocation BLM PNPM Mandiri, Jakarta , May 22, 2013 )

**Figure 3. Targeting Performance of KUR: How well KUR will Target the Poor into Deciles ?**



**Susenas 2011**

The beneficiaries of group -based program empowering micro and small are almost poor communities whose operations in the micro and small scale. The beneficiaries of this program group can also be aimed at the poor who do not have a business or engage in economic activity, but on the terms of the results of the analysis of economic Social Survey 2011, gained only 0.97 % of Indonesia's population is getting KUR program. Of which receives the KUR program, only 26 % is used by households with the lowest levels of spending 40 %.

This condition indicates the accuracy of the target beneficiaries of the program aimed at poor households are still far from expectations. This may be due to administration of KUR - based business there are no specific targets related to the RT level of spending in the KUR program, so that the target RT is not directed at deciles 1-4 in the implementation of the program

### **4.3. Demographic of Working, Income and Poverty**

Unemployment and underemployment is at the core of poverty. For the poor, labor is often the only asset that they can use to improve their welfare. Hence the creation of productive employment is crucial to achieving poverty reduction and economic and social development sustainable. It is important to give a proper job that is safe and a good income for the empowerment of the poor, especially women and those younger.

Rapid economic growth can potentially carry a high degree of expansion of productive and profitable employment, which can lead to a decrease in poverty. However, the contribution of the process of growth on poverty reduction depends not only on economic growth, but also on the ability of poor communities to respond to the increasing demand for labor is more productive in the work category.

Given the importance of employment for poverty reduction, job creation should occupy a central place in the national poverty reduction strategy. Many employment strategies that often applied with strongly associated with the agricultural and rural development including the use of labor intensive technologies, developing of small and medium enterprises, and promoting micro-projects in rural areas. Many strategies to promote self-employment, non - farm employment in rural areas, targeted intervention work, micro-finance and credit as a means of job creation, training and skills formation.

The strategy, however, are often deal with the number of jobs while qualitative dimensions, such as equality, security, dignity and freedom are often non-existent. In general, national poverty reduction strategies, including Poverty Reduction Strategy program does not comment on employment, social protection or rights in the workplace. Neither do they offer in-depth analysis of the impact of poverty reduction policies.

A social perspective on development emphasizes the view that the best route to socio-economic development, poverty eradication and personal well-being through decent work. Productive employment opportunities will contribute substantially to achieve agreed



development goals, in particular the Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty by 2015.

There should be a focus on creating jobs better and more productive, especially those that can absorb high concentrations of poor workers. Among the elements needed to create jobs is to invest in labor-intensive industries, especially agriculture, to encourage a shift in the structure of employment to higher productivity jobs and sectors, and improving the quality of employment in the informal sector. In addition, there should also be a focus on providing the poor with the necessary skills and assets that will allow them to take full advantage of any expansion of employment potential.

According to Kartasasmita (1996 : 240-241) in terms of Poverty conditions can be caused by at least four of the following causes : *Firstly* , the low level of education . Low education levels resulting in a limited ability to self-development and lead to narrow the field to be entered, as well as limiting the ability to find and exploit opportunities. *Secondly*, the low level of health. Health and nutrition level low causing low physical endurance, brain power and initiatives. *Thirdly*, limited employment opportunities. As long as no employment or business activities, during which there is hope to break the cycle of poverty. *Fourthly*, the condition of isolation. Many economically poor people are helpless because of the remote and isolated. They live remote making it difficult or cannot be reached by the ministry of education , health and the advancement of motion enjoyed by other people .

Mean whilst, the other references of Kartasamita , Gina (2006 , September 13 ) stated that ‘The way out for poverty’, among other:

- The poor are often assumed to be a homogenous group, whereas in fact they have characteristics that are quite heterogeneous.
- It depends on whether they live in urban or rural areas, working in the agricultural sector or the modern economy, and also some other factors such as differences in age , gender and level of literacy .
- Poor people also differ according to their opportunity to escape from poverty. They are likely to remain high for the poor in the long term and have little chance to escape from the situation referred to as chronically poor. While those who have sufficient opportunity to liberate themselves from poverty referred to as transient poverty (Institute, 2001, p.9) .

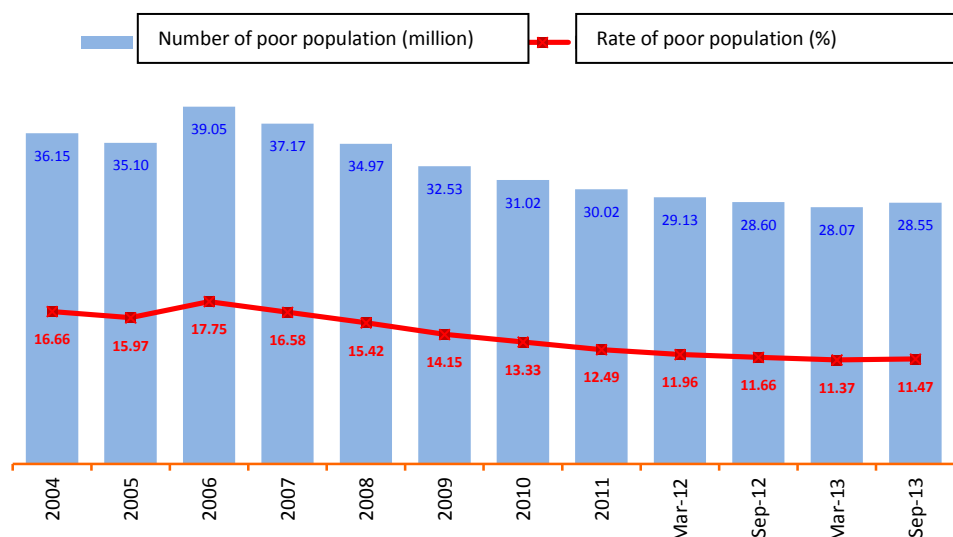
In additional to that the Institute (2001 , May-June ) been recognized that ‘those who experience transient poverty is very sensitive to changes , either due to changes in general economic conditions and changes due to government policy.’ In contrast to the transient

poverty, chronic poverty is not sensitive to the change, the impact is also different to the people in different situations. The causes differ between regions, between households and between individuals. Sometimes the progress of the development undertaken is unable to get them out of poverty. This also stated by Rachbini et al. ( 1995 ) , the opening of the rural economy to a market economy does not necessarily bring benefits to the entire rural population. Only those who have access to capital, credit, information and power can benefit from development programs.

## **5. Analysis**

Economic growth and the movement of the price level will affect the number of people living below the poverty line. During the period 2004-2013, there has been a downward trend in the number of poor and the poverty rate. In September 2013 , there were 28.55 million people living below the poverty line which means poverty rate of 11.47 percent. During the period 2006-2009, the poverty rate fell by more than 1 percentage points each year. However, in the period 2010-2013 was slowdown in poverty reduction. Announcement number of poor and the poverty rate in September 2013 showed an alarming slowdown . Between March 2012 - March 2013, was a decrease in the number of poor by 1.06 million people . However, in the period September 2012 - September 2013 the decline in the number of poor people is just a 50 thousand inhabitants. The same slowdown is true in terms of changes in the poverty rate. Between March 2012 - March 2013, a decline in the poverty rate by 0.58 percentage points. However, in the period September 2012 - September 2013 poverty reduction is only 0.19 percentage points.

**Figure 4. Poverty in Indonesia by Absolute Number and Rate , 2004-2013**



Indicator of the depth of poverty (P1) and severity of poverty (P2) is also a decreasing trend in the period 2006-2013. Downward trend in the indicator depth of poverty (P1) shows that the average expenditure of poor households closer to the poverty line. Meanwhile, the downward trend indicators of severity of poverty (P2) mean the expenditure gap between the poor getting smaller. However, the trend of slowing the decline is also seen very clearly for both these indicators. Slowing the downward trend in poverty indicators will affect the achievement of poverty by 8-10 percent in 2014. Required strengthening the efforts that have been run so far, and more than that required special efforts to reduce the poverty rate.

Therefore, progressive central government through the ministries and agencies as well as local government is necessary to optimize and synergize various poverty reduction programs that have been run. One effort that can be taken is to implement an integrated monitoring system on a variety of programs with measurable targets and achievement of outputs on time, right quantity and right on target in the implementation of the program . (Source: SPECIAL EFFORT REDUCTION OF POVERTY, POVERTY GUIDELINES BASED PROGRAM TARGETING REGION Prepared by : National Team for Accelerating Poverty Reduction in 2014)

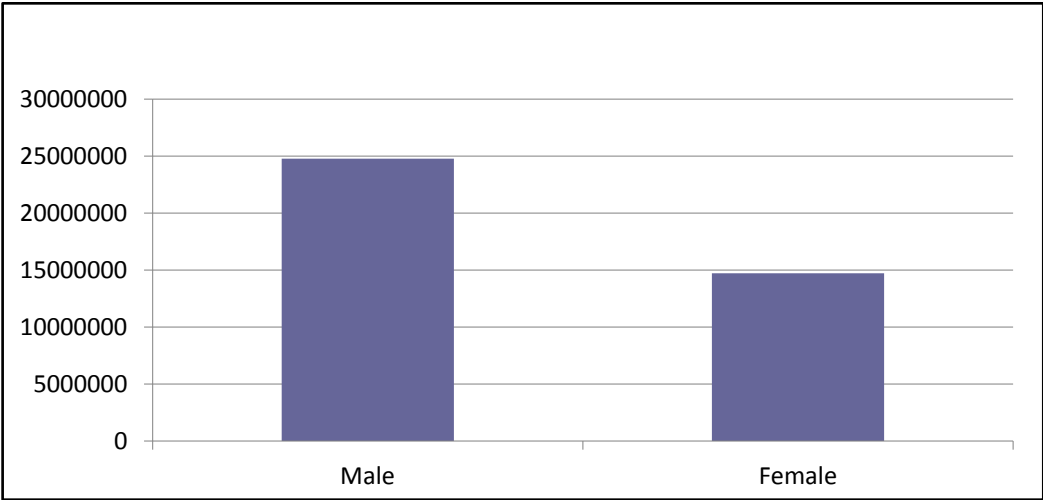
## 5.1. Social Security

Documenting the social protection program 2011 (PPLS 2011) was a national event to obtain data of households and families by name and address of the middle 40 percent of households down to be used as an Integrated Database for assistance and social protection programs in 2012-2014 . PPLS 2011 is a collection of household for social protection ever

undertaken BPS fourth after Socioeconomic Data Collection 2005 ( PSE05 ) , Survey of Primary Health Care and Education 2007 ( SPDKP07 ) and the Social Protection Program Data Collection 2008 ( PPLS08 ) . In contrast to PSE05 , SPDKP07 , and PPLS08 , coverage of households / families in 2011 PPLS larger , namely 40 percent of households that are integrated database for all assistance programs and social protection at the ministry / institution such as, Raskin, JAMKESMAS , PKH and so on .

Population with of the 40 % lowest expenditure based on ppls11 data collection, the male population who work at 57 % , while only 34.1 % of women. This is in line with Susenas 2011, where the majority of women who do not work for the bottom 40% of the population status care of the household and others. When observed regional conditions by provincial workers, the average resident who works about 45 % of the total population of almost provinces. 4 deciles of the population under the greatest works in the Province 51 ( Bali ) i.e. 60.2 % of the total population , while the lowest in 36 provinces ( Banten ) is 35.12 % . These conditions indicate the degree of dependence of the poor and vulnerable is very high , because of the 100 residents who were under deciles 4 , only 45 are working .

**Figure 5 Population Worker by Gender**

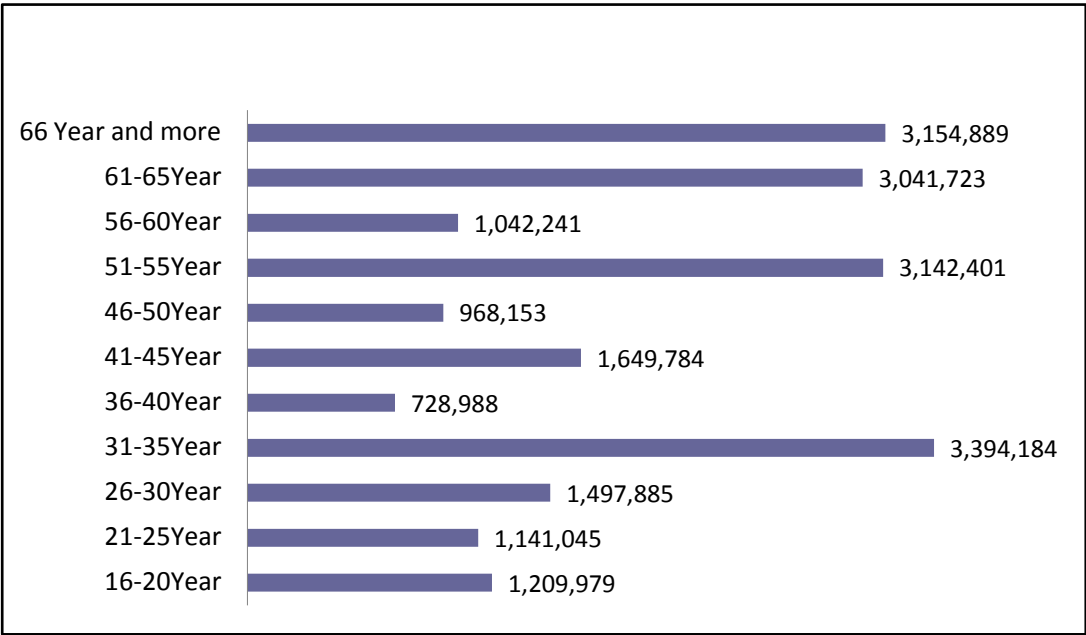


Source: PPLS 11

Working hours, is one of the main indicators that can be used to look at the productivity of workers , Hours pp1s is referred to in a long time ( in hours ) used to work of all work performed during the past week . Judging from the number of hours worked , obtained information that the poor and vulnerable in Indonesia , as many as 58.6 percent of the population who work under 35 hours per week , this condition indicates that the population is below deciles tend to work part time. Proportion 4 hours of part-time work is

highest the province 19th of Bangka Belitung Islands, is equal to 71.26 % and the lowest on 15th province of Jambi is 41.78 % .

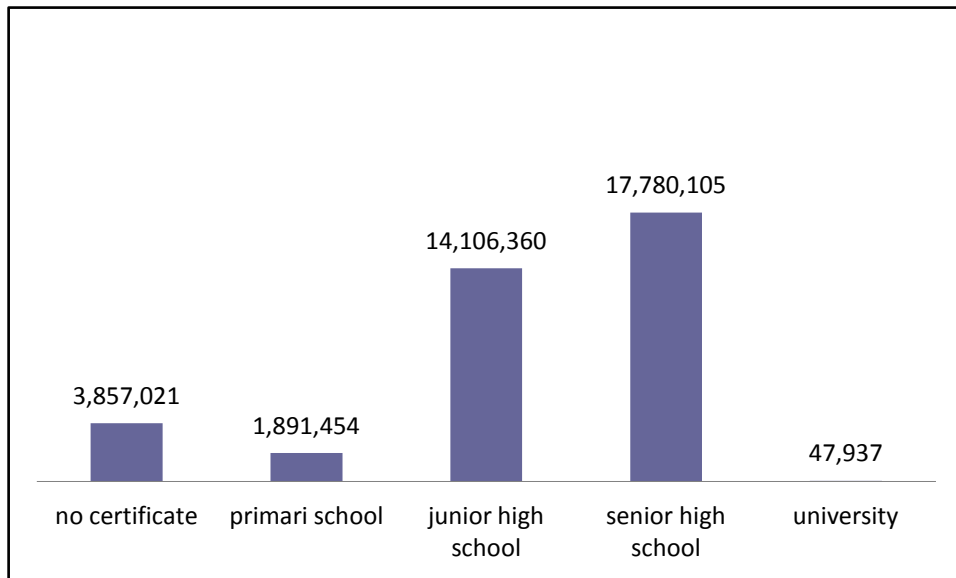
**Figure 6. Population who worked during previous weeks by age group**



Source: PPLS 11

The poor and vulnerable ( 40 % lowest expenditure ) , approximately 72 % in the productive age group of 16-65 years . However, of the total population of productive age, only about 45.87 % of them were working. Groups of the population aged 30-36 years at most the work, the population group 51-55 years. In the older age group 66 years and above are likely to work , it demonstrates the poor and vulnerable in Indonesia have to work into old age , because there is no guarantee pensions for the poor and vulnerable.

**Figure 7. Population who worked during previous weeks by Highest Grades Ever / Being Achieve**

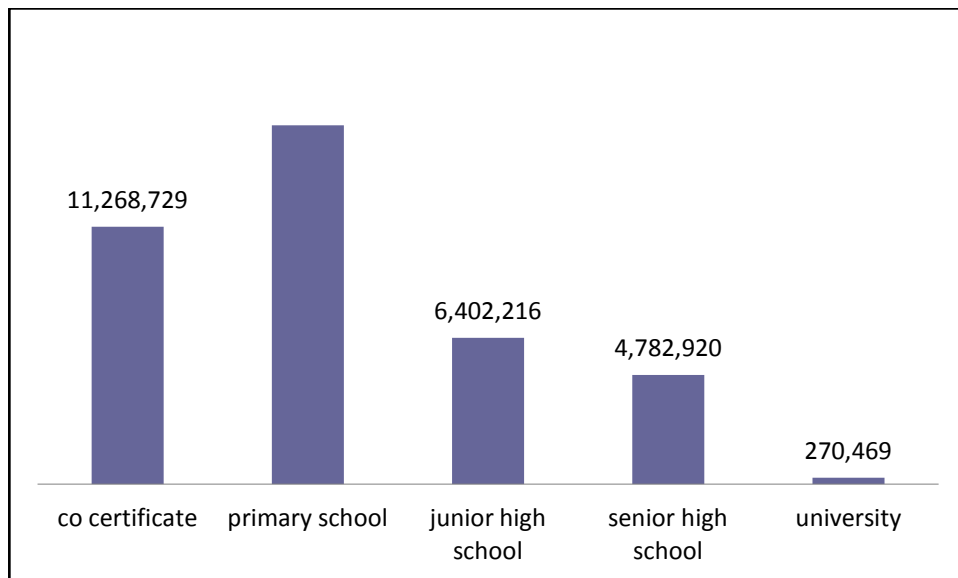


Source: PPLS 11

The education level of workers reflects the quality of workers, one of enrollment rate of the population to see whether the population at school-age was in schooling or not. Generally, the workers on the poor and vulnerable ( lowest 40% ), the largest in the state is no longer attending school 86.37 %. This shows the poor and vulnerable workers of school while only about 4 % of it, while the school has never been about 10 % of the total workers.

Occupied the highest class workers be interesting to analyze, as this information will indicate the highest educational level manpower for the poor and vulnerable in Indonesia. Based on the analysis , there are around 10 % of the working population does not / has not been to school , and 5 % have had elementary education / equivalent , 38 % junior and 47 % are equal and equivalent high school ever . This condition indicates a low quality worker indeed, most of the poor and vulnerable and have completed high school or equivalent to secondary level / SMP by 85 % .

**Figure 8. Population who worked during previous weeks by Highest Certificate Owned**



Source: PPLS 11

The 85 % of the population who have completed the junior and senior high school education, only 28 % were already having middle and high school diploma, it demonstrates many of the poor and vulnerable who dropped out of school in junior high and high school. Policies such as increased levels education programs outside of school and vocational training of workers in the form of such training centers to be important, because most of the working poor and vulnerable do not have a good basic education, because only about 71 % of workers have a diploma only and is not licensed, where these workers have not yet meet 9 -year basic education, while for residents who do not have a diploma need more specific policies in creating income workers.

## 5.2. Asset Ownership

HP asset ownership for the poor and vulnerable around 57 %, this condition is quite high, because technological development and the inexpensive price of credit, asset refrigerator reaches 16 % , bikes 28 % and almost did not have a car . The image above shows the ownership of assets by province in Indonesia.

**Figure 9. Ownership of Asset by Province**



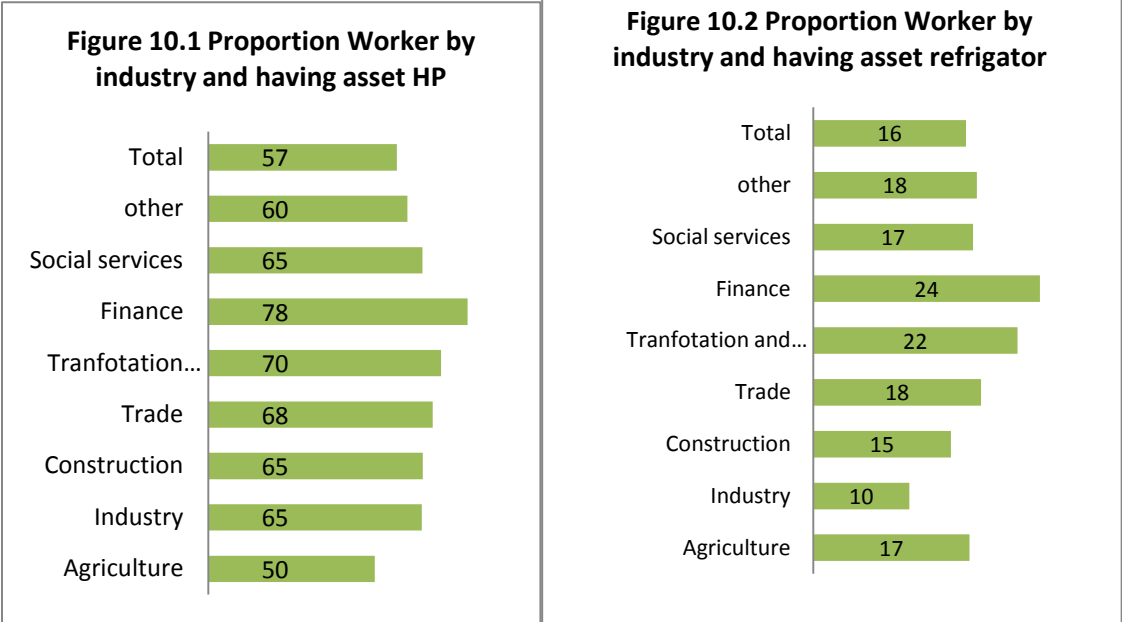
Source: PPLS 11

Ownership of assets is reviewed based on business economic sector or field workers, workers in the financial sector 78 % have mobile phone while at least 50 % in the agricultural sector. HP is now a need for almost all people, there is no difference in the field of business ownership by workers hp. Ownership largest refrigerator on poor and vulnerable households who work in the financial sector, and lows in the industrial sector. While the ownership of assets in the largest bicycle industry workers and the lowest transport workers. Cars for poor and vulnerable workers almost nothing, a small part of transport sector workers have a car , which is about 1 % .



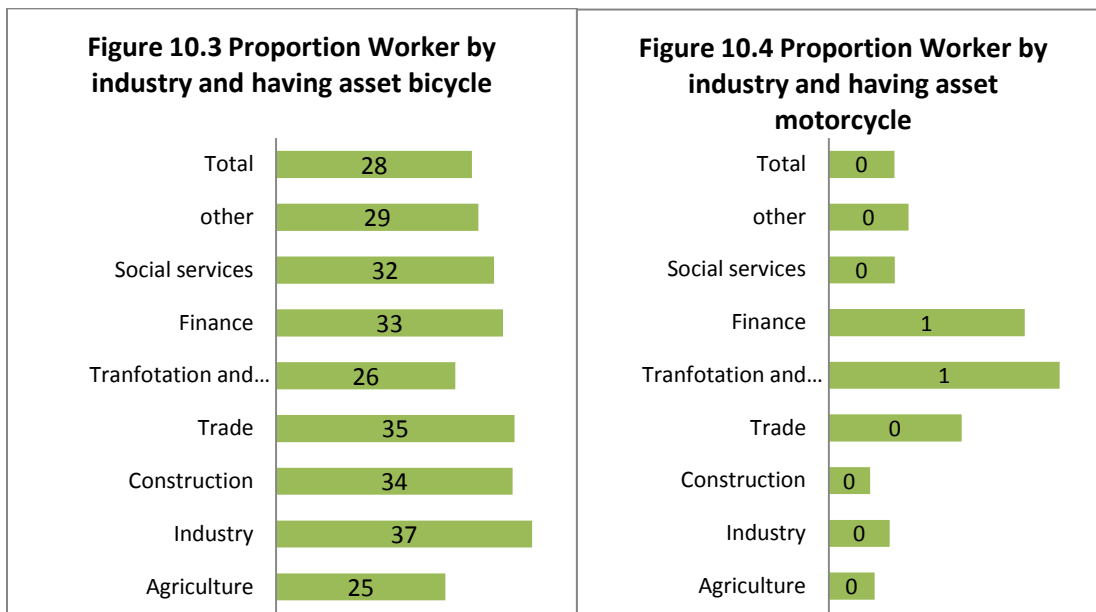
**Asset Ownership by Business Sector**

Ownership of assets is reviewed based on business economic sector or field workers, workers in the financial sector 78% have a mobile phone while at least 50% in the agricultural sector. HP is now a need for almost all people, there is no difference in the field of business ownership by workers hp.



Source: PPLS 11

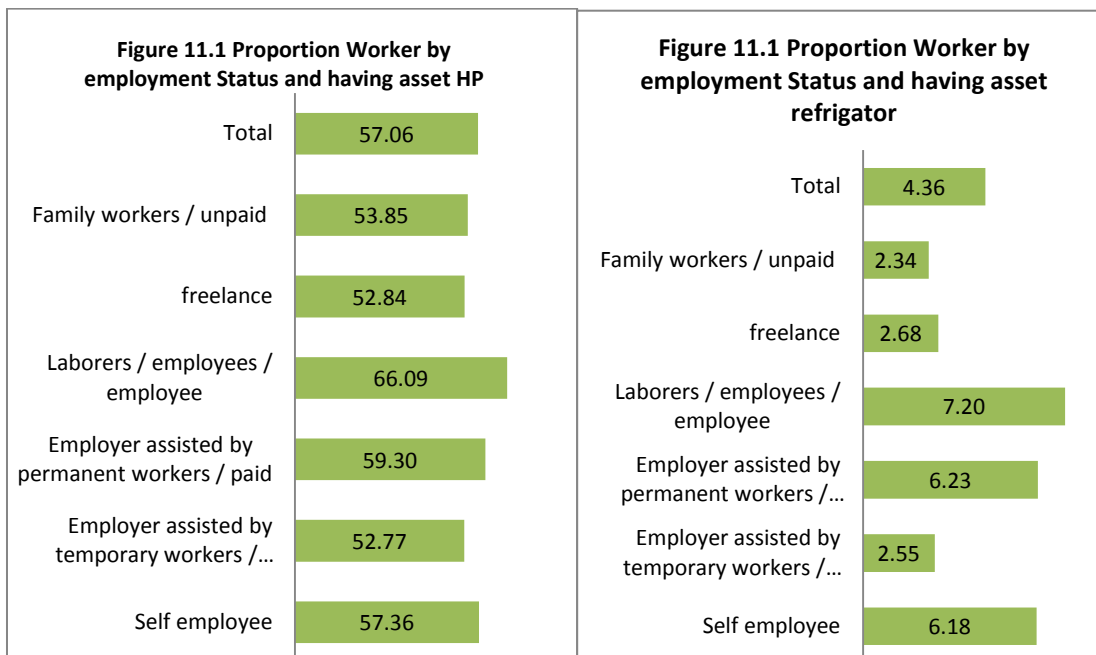
Ownership largest refrigerator on poor and vulnerable households who work in the financial sector, industry, sector and lows. While the ownership of assets in the largest bicycle industry workers and the lowest transport workers. Cars for poor and vulnerable workers almost nothing, a small part of transport sector workers have a car, which is about 1%..



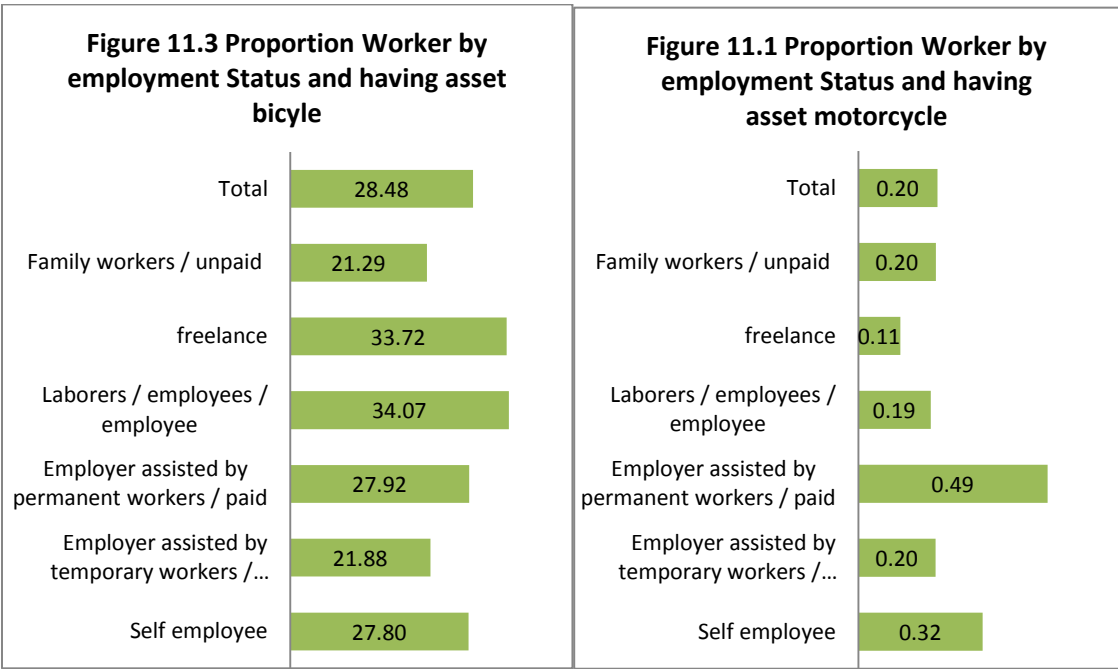
Source: PPLS 11

### Asset ownership by Main Employment Status

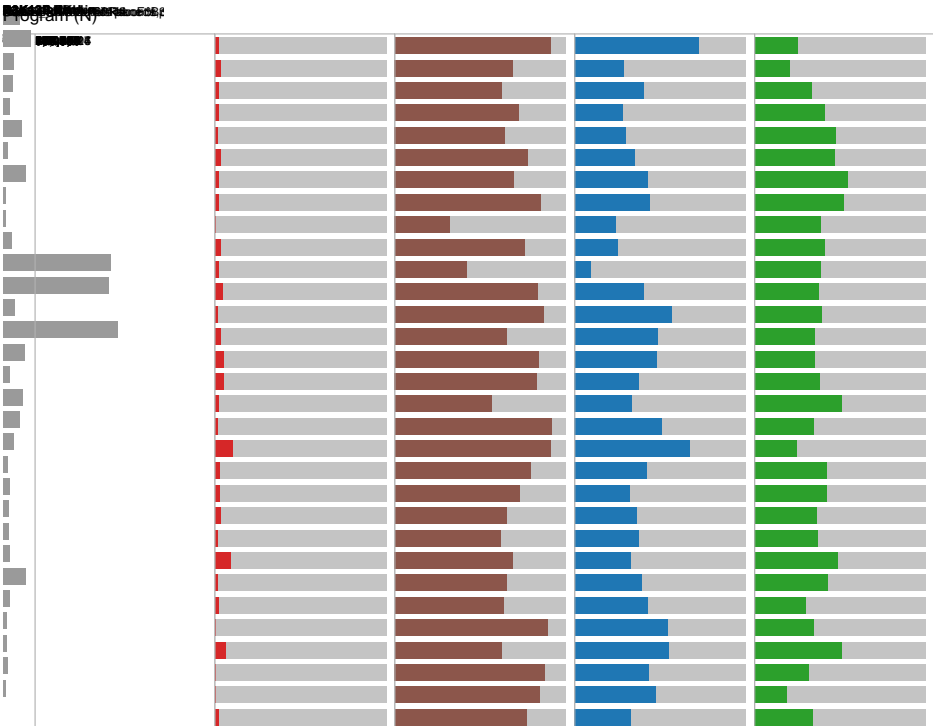
Workers / employees are the poor and vulnerable groups of workers who have the highest Hp, i.e. 66.09 %, generally not too different job status ownership of assets.



Source: PPLS 11



**Participation in the program ( ppls11 )**



Source: PPLS 11

Well targeting for social security programs have better results on the terms of the evaluation of PPLS11, but keep in mind not only the precision targeting of the right side of

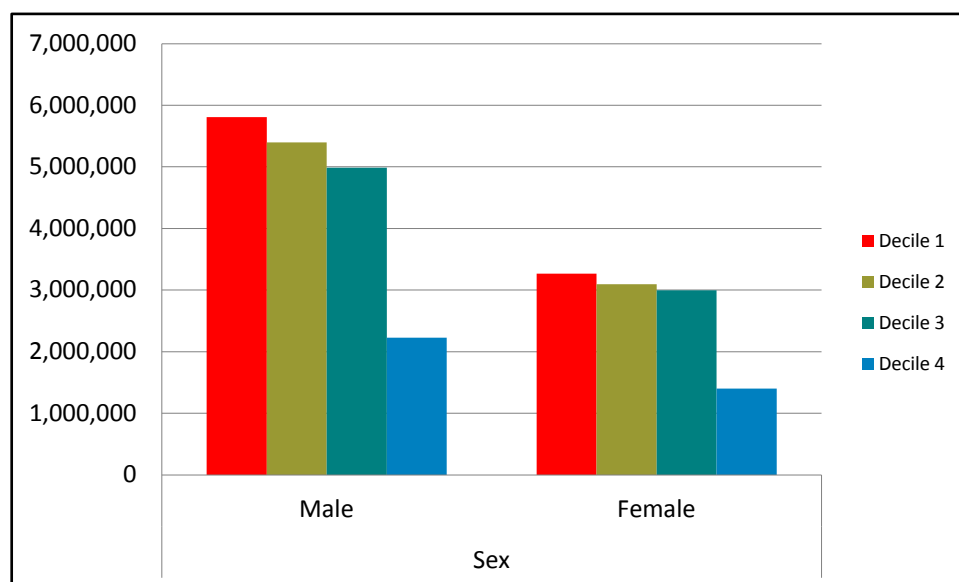
the target, but also on the exact number of items received ex (Raskin 15 kg / household) and timeliness.

The poor and vulnerable also receive health insurance program, nearly 40% of the total population of poor and vulnerable receive health insurance, as well as the family planning program (KB), the poor and vulnerable around 30% of them participate in this program, because it is based on the results of the Population Census BPS Indonesia 2010, Indonesia's population has reached 237 million.

### 5.3. Demographic-Economic of the Poor in the Deciles' Working

The poor and vulnerable are more prone unemployed, the highest in deciles 1st , i.e. 54 % of them do not work. In the following tables we will discuss the circumstances of workers employed by gender and economic social indicators, to show the behavior of workers on the terms of expenditure deciles.

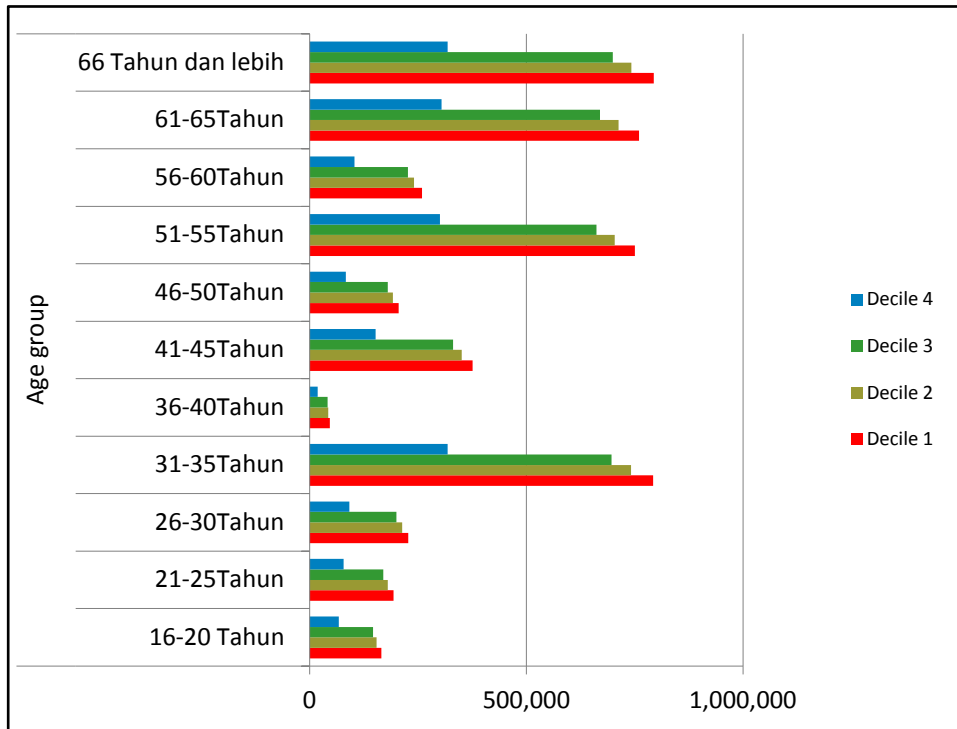
**Figure 12 Workers by expenditure deciles and sex**



Source: PPLS 11

Working population tends to be more men than women , but the ratio of male workers against women on the terms of the largest expenditure deciles on the workers in deciles 1st , namely 1.78, condition shows that there is one woman who worked in the household deciles 1st , there are 1.78 men who worked as well . The higher the lower the household expenditure deciles worker ratio of male to female (in deciles 4th, the ratio of workers by gender 1.58 ) . This indicates that the productivity of male workers is not higher than the productivity of women workers.

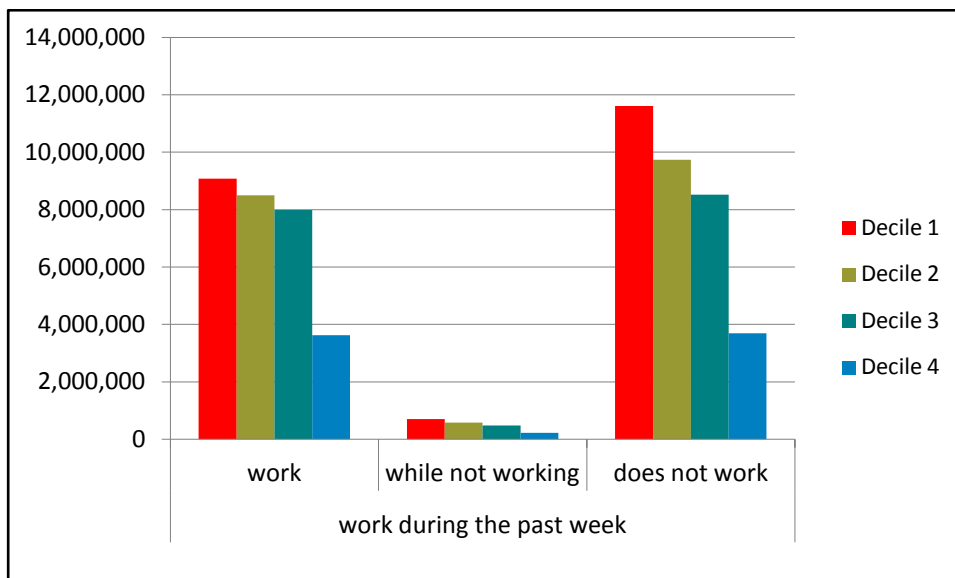
**Figure .13 Workers by Expenditure Deciles and Aged Group**



Source: PPLS 11

In all age groups , workers deciles 1st dominates the number of workers , especially in old age , over 60 years , the poorer the worker , the more the work of old age .

**Figure 14. Workers by Expenditure Deciles and Working Status**



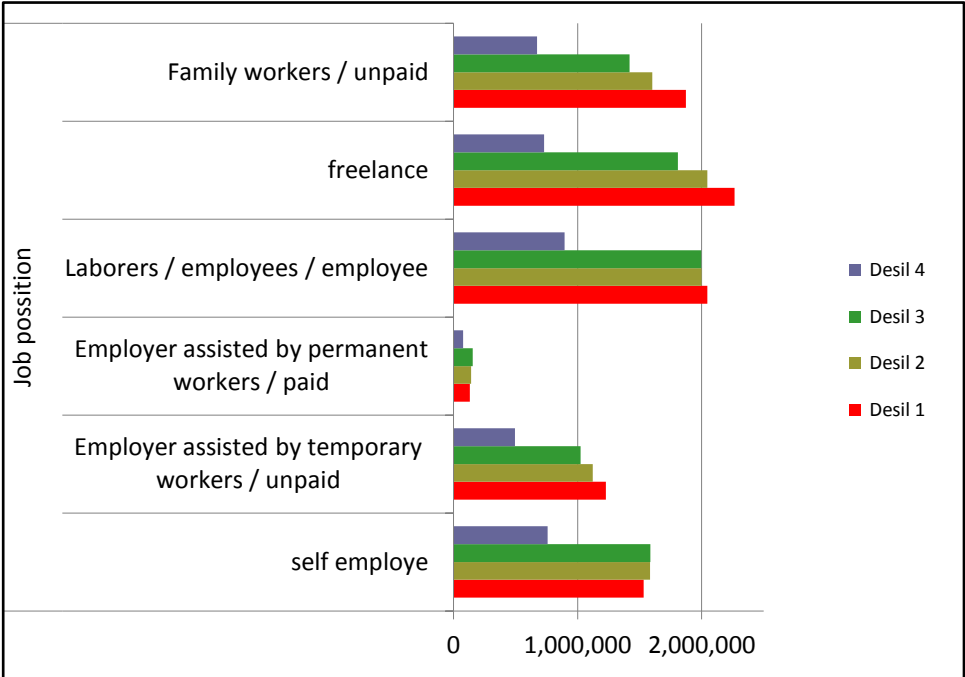
Source: PPLS 11

Conditions of employment status by deciles, indicating a role in almost all deciles free workers and family workers have the largest share. The increase in the proportion of workers employed in the formal sector (workers attempted assisted by permanent workers / laborers are paid and labor / employee) along with increased welfare workers. Similarly to free workers and family workers, the proportion decreased with increasing levels of household welfare.

**Employment by PPLS2011 worked in last week**

The numbers of men who work in the formal and informal sectors tend to be much more than the number of women. This condition is in line with the labor force participation of men trending to be larger than women.

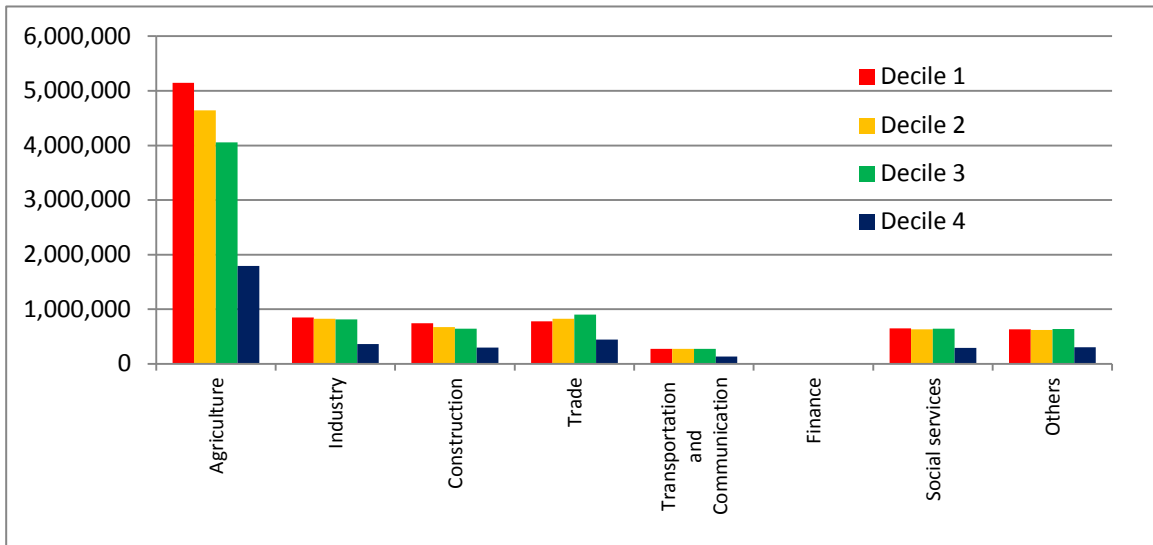
**Figure 15. Workers by Expenditure Deciles and Business Type**



Source: PPLS 11

Main Employment of the poor and vulnerable is mostly working in the agricultural sector. In general, spending 40 % of the population works in the agricultural sector bottom is greater than 50 % .57 % of the population who are in deciles 1st to work in the agricultural sector.

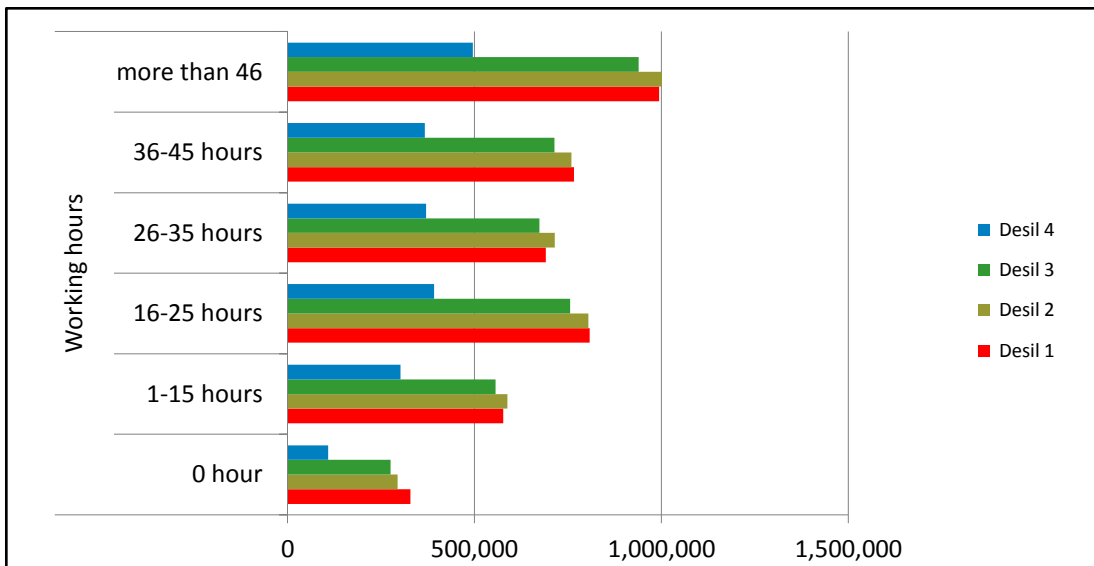
**Figure 16 Workers by Expenditure Deciles and Sector**



Source: PPLS 11

The poor and vulnerable who works 58 % of its work under 35 hours per week. This indicates that the population of labor income below 40 % tend to work is not full. This condition does not work fully because the population tends to be at the bottom 40% of the economy or because the population is only able to access employment below 35 hours per week ?

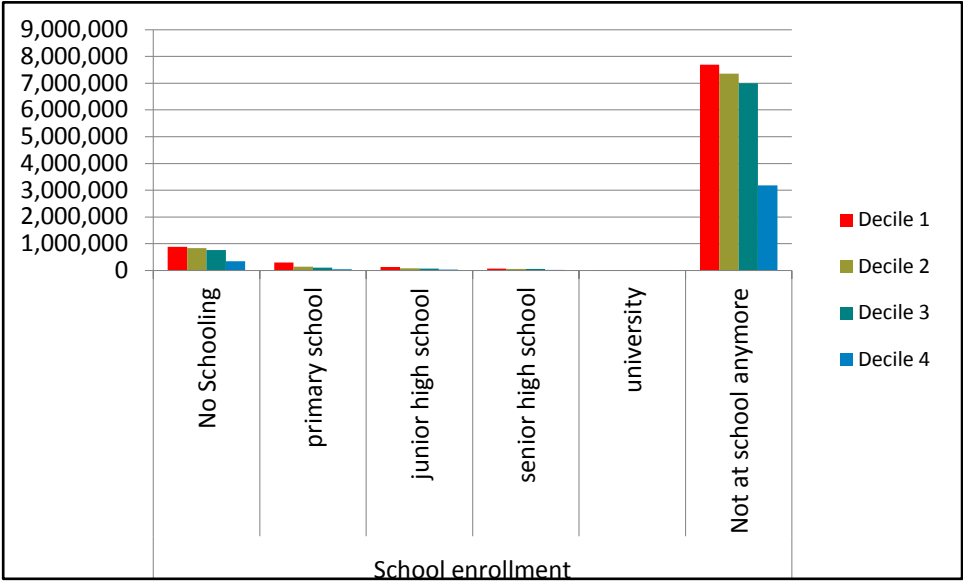
**Figure 17. Workers by Expenditure Deciles and Working Hours**



Source: PPLS 11



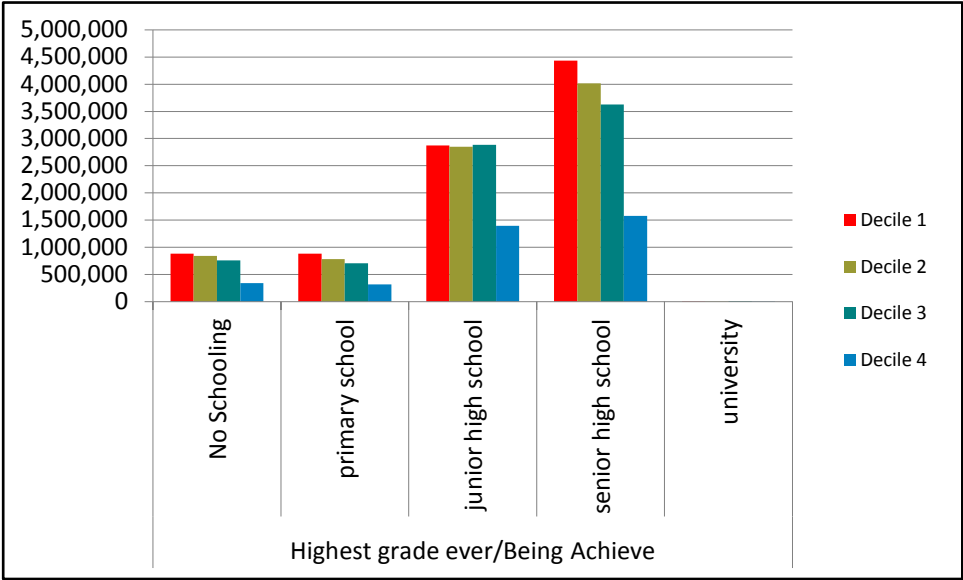
**Figure 18. Workers by Expenditure Deciles and School Enrollment**



Source: PPLS 11

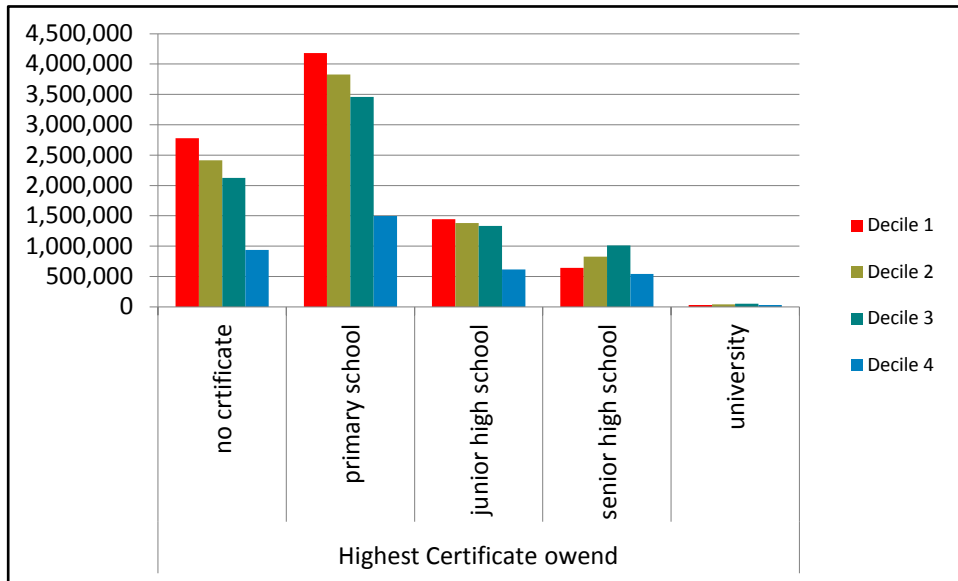
The poorer workers, a growing number of school participation is not / has not been to school.

**Figure 19. Workers by Expenditure Deciles and Highest Grades Ever / Being Achieve**



Source: PPLS 11

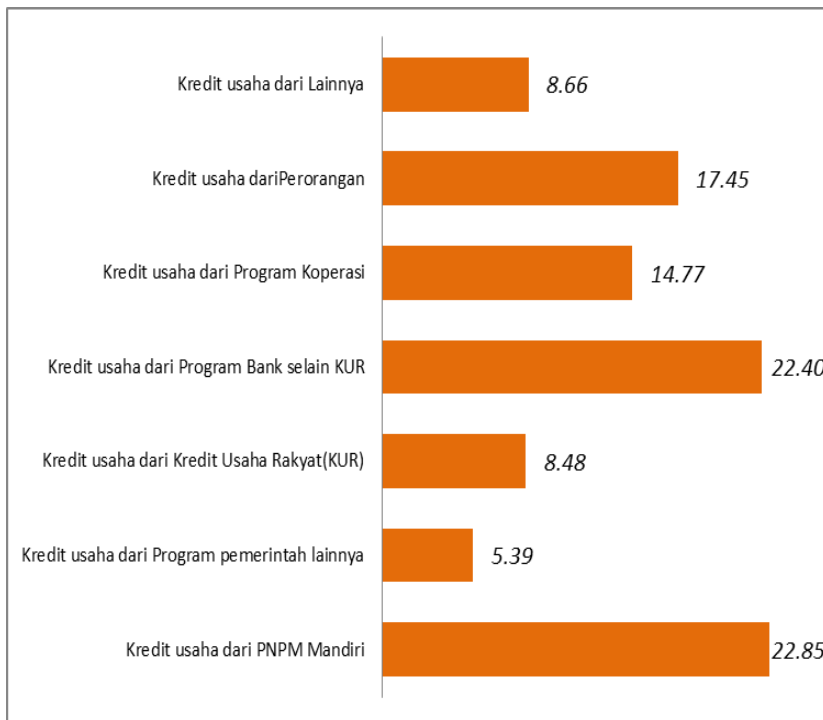
Figure 20. **Workers by Expenditure Deciles and Highest Certificate Owned**



Source: PPLS 11

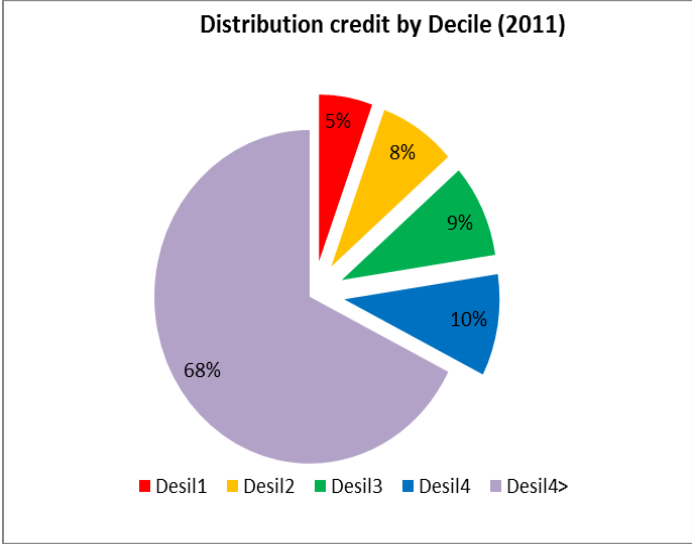
People who work and are in deciles 1st junior and senior high school education tended. There is a tendency of the higher education level of the working population, the higher the level of welfare. In keeping with the educational level of workers, possessed the highest degree of labor employed in deciles 1st, has a primary school diploma or equivalent 46%, and then followed by the state did not have a diploma by 31%.

**Source of Business Credit to Households**



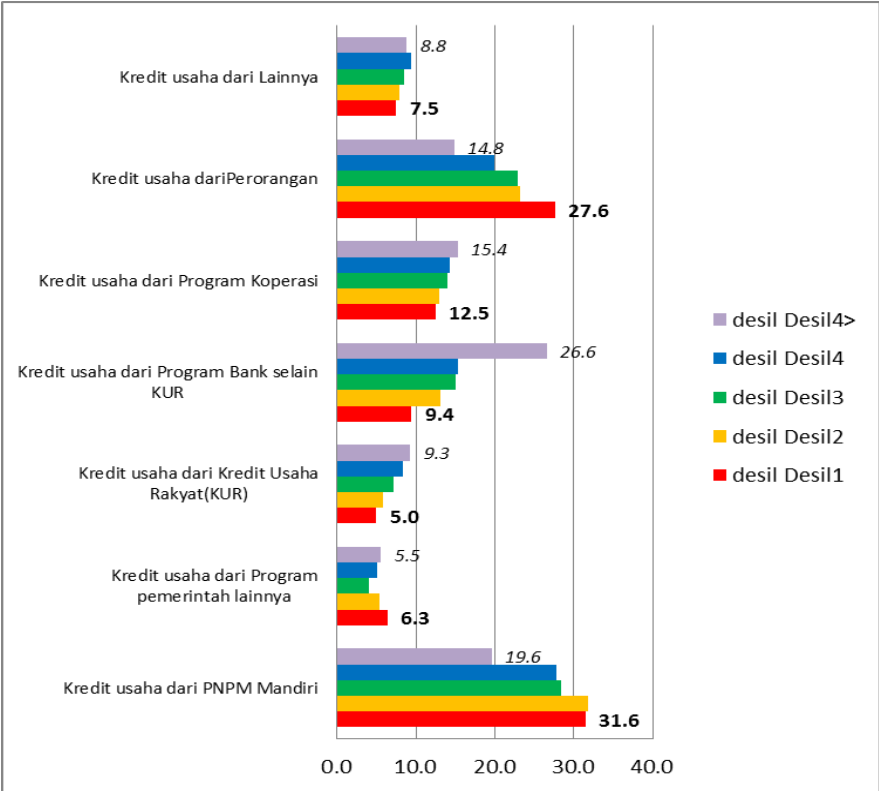
Source: Susenas 2011, BPS

There are 11.8 % of RT in 2011 get business credit, the total of loan recipients, 68 % are above society deciles 4<sup>th</sup>. From who household receive business loans, 8.48 % received the KUR . In general, the three largest sources of business credit is a bank (other than the KUR ) 22.40 % , 22.85 % and PNPM Individual Loans 17.45 % .



Source: Susenas 2011, BPS

**Source of Business Credit to Households by Deciles**

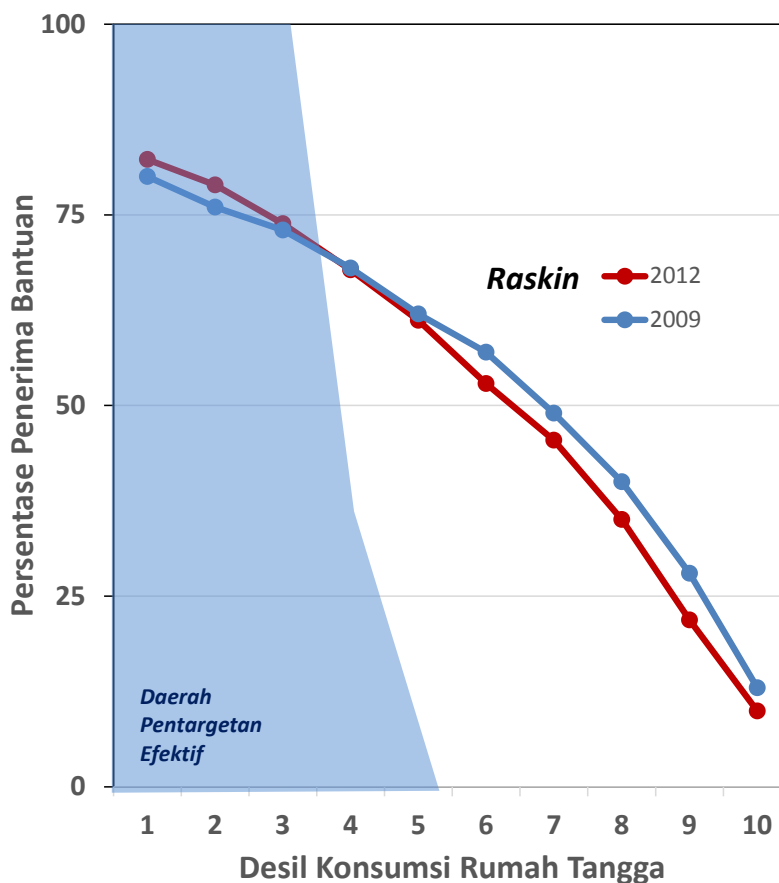


Source: Susenas 2011, BPS

When viewed under conditions of business credit sources by deciles of household expenditure, for the RT which is in deciles 1st , the largest source of credit is the PNPM Mandiri 31.6 % , then the efforts of individual loans 27.6 % . • From RT businesses that accept credit on deciles 1st, only 5 % of whom were receiving KUR . In general, the three largest sources of business credit to the poor is PNPM, Individual and Business Credit Loans from Cooperative Program. Previous image shows the accessibility of households in decile 1 is still very low on access to credit, especially banking.

#### 5.4. MONEV of Targeting Effectiveness of Social Protection Programs

Raskin program is a continuation of the Special Market Operation (OPK) in July 1998 under the Social Safety Net (SSN). In 2002, the Government changed the name of OPK become Raskin to better reflect the nature of the program, ie, as part of a social protection program for poor households (RTM) and no longer as an emergency relief program of economic crisis. Determination of the amount of rice per month per RTM initially at 10 kg, over the next couple of years varies from 10 kg to 20 kg, and in 2007 returned to 10 kg, and then since 2008 to 15 kg. Frequency distribution in previous years 12 times, in 2006 was reduced to 10 times, and in 2007 returned to 12 times per year, then to 15 times per year by 2013.



Source: Susenas 2009 dan 2012

The 3th of the lowest decile been targeted for Rice assistance, almost 25% goes to =>4th decile.

Why can not poor, and the poor can not? For average - to reduce social conflict, Payment Raskin ago, so the new allocation must repurchase / or got bailed out by the money. RASKIN allocation is lacking a lot - but as a national quota program established by the Government and Parliament, then it must have the TARGET

## 6. Recommendations

The proportion of the poor and vulnerable people by employment status, are found mostly do not work. In the deciles has recognized that the lower deciles of household expenditure, the more the proportion of population that does not work. This indicates that the labor market for the poor and vulnerable people are still lacking. Increased labor productivity and the expansion of the labor market is the main focus needs to be done for the poor and vulnerable workers in Indonesia. In accordance with the characteristics of the working poor and vulnerable (less than 40 % ) that are not appropriate to meet the demand of the labor market because most workers have only a primary school diploma and do not have a diploma.

The high proportion of working age population productive poor and vulnerable, and 58% of hours working poor and vulnerable under 35 Hours per week .This shows poor labor productivity tends to be low and vulnerable. In addition, lack of role of women in the labor market shows lack of access to employment and does not fulfill the requirements of the poor and vulnerable entry into employment.

Poor and vulnerable workers mostly work in the informal sector are in the part time job, in addition followed by its status as a laborer. This condition indicates low wages due to workers who only had a primary school diploma and do not have a diploma entry into the labor market is limited , meaning that the available labor market demands that already meet the basic education up to high school level. This condition is also made clear by the undertaking of most of the poor and vulnerable in Indonesia, mostly in the agricultural sector. So the policy of increasing the productivity of the agricultural sector or the transformation of the agricultural sector workers need to be done with improved agricultural technology, increased value added (agribusiness) and the expansion of agricultural product markets so as to improve the income of workers. In terms of transformation of agricultural workers to other sectors need to be carried out by providing specialized training , for example in the services sector (sewing , embroidery , etc. ) and the creation of new jobs to the residents who will be accommodated is the population with low education and agriculture base.

## **7. Acknowledgement**

Thanking goes to some persons from TNP2K, namely to Prof Suahasil Nazara as the head of policy working group at TNP2K and Dr. Irwan Suryanto as the assistant of the head of Policy Working group at TNP2K has support and critic for input to this paper. We cannot disregard that some BPS' friends (national and some provincial Statistics offices) who help in the clarification of concept-definition matters during macro dataset processing and qualitative field work of data clarification. Finally the last one to our family have support us by giving their leisure time with family instead for spending time to write this paper.

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# **Poverty, Inclusion and Social Protection: Revisiting the Sixth Five Year Plan of Bangladesh**

**Md. Jobair Alam<sup>1</sup>**

## *Abstract*

Recognizing that development is a long-term process, Bangladesh Government has adopted the Sixth Five Year Plan (FY2011-2015). The main object of this plan is to reduce and ultimately eradicate poverty following two specific paths, *inter alia*, by accelerating economic growth and by ensuring distributive justice. This plan also contains mechanisms like inclusion, social protection for inclusive development in order to reach the objective. The major focus of this paper will be founded on the issues of ‘inclusion’ and ‘social protection’, which offer a meaningful space for poverty reduction. This paper will argue that for any poverty reduction strategy ‘inclusion’ and ‘social protection’ issues play a pivotal role. The paper will also examine to what extent these two issues are reflective in the said plan. More importantly, this paper will attempt to show that taking inclusion and social protection issues seriously will at least result in sensitizing people about their lack of rights and access to justice due to poverty.

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**Poverty's Root Cause and Possible Solution:  
Ending Reductionism, and Developing a Holistic Worldview**

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**Abstract**

Our wonderful world is burdened by serious and painful crises, including war and violence, poverty and inequality, environmental destruction, and human rights abuses. Analysis shows that women, children, poor people, traditional people, and nature continuously, consistently, and unjustifiably are the victims that carry the agonizing consequences from the crises. The result is that 50,000 people die every day from effects of poverty. At the same time, the political and economic elites are becoming ever wealthier. On deeper examination it becomes clear that the crises are interlinked, that they reinforce each other, and that they are rooted in a fundamental “perceptual and intellectual crisis,” relating to modern society’s reductionist world-view. Modernism and its institutions have a dualised perception, prioritizing quantity of wealth. Hence, political leaders focus on financial matters such as economic growth and profit making. Oppositely, modern values subordinate what relates to a quality of life. The consequence of this one-sided view is that the elite can gain economic profit based on dominating society and exploiting nature. The outcome is the above mentioned interlinked crises, which are destroying a quality of life for society and nature worldwide. The paper will explain the modern reductionist worldview and suggest a holistic alternative.

**Keywords**

Global crises, war and violence, poverty and inequality, environmental destruction, human rights abuses, reductionism, systems thinking, holistic worldview, I Ching, yin and yang,

## Introduction

People all over the world are becoming increasingly critical about the political and economic elites' eternal pursuit of economic growth and profit-making. Although we globally on average generate ever more wealth, the riches are unequally shared. The outcome is that a minority becomes very wealthy, while millions of people suffer in poverty. The situation is specifically desperate in the South (see notes 1). Despite 60 years of development aid, rather than experiencing increased welfare, many people are facing serious hardships. They live in abject poverty, with hunger, malnutrition, and sickness; they are forced to live under authoritarian regimes, with conflicts, violence, and cruelty; they must survive in degraded environments, and exist without personal or social security, all of which destroy their quality of life. Since they have no platform, they cannot speak up for themselves and demand their rightful share of the world's resources. The majority of these people are women, children, traditional peoples, tribal peoples, people of color, and poor people. They are – together with nature – dominated by the global structure of modern economic development, which was defined and implemented by the Northern elite. (Nhanenge 2011, 1-2.)

The political leaders in the North (see notes 1) believed that modernizing the world would improve well-being for all. However, experiencing its negative side effects and the threat of extinction of life on Earth, one must conclude that somewhere, something went wrong. Instead of material plenty, the focus on economic development created a violent, unhealthy, and unequal world. The modern world view has allowed the political and economic elites to live a life in luxury, while marginalizing millions of people. Due to the elite's narrow economic ideology these people have become the victims of modernization. Since the mid-1970s, the critique of global economic activities has deepened due to deterioration of the natural environment. Studies have clearly linked modernization, industrialization, and its economic activities with increased scarcity of natural resources, and generation of pollution and wastes. The end result is climate change and degradation of soils, lands, waters, forests, and air. The latter threat is of great significance, because without a healthy environment, human beings and other animals will not be able to survive. Nevertheless, this real danger to life on Earth has not changed the economic ideology. Oppositely, the economic and political elites, both in the North and the South, have introduced further exploitative economic policies. In this way, society and nature (see notes 2) are forced to pay the price for global economic development, while the elite are reaping the benefits. Unless we increase our awareness and demand changes, this unbalanced economic domination will eradicate life on planet Earth. (Nhanenge 2011, 1-2.)

The first part of the paper presents some features of our global crises. The account of the crises is not a fully researched presentation. Yet it gives an overview of some important aspects of the negative side-effects from the focus on economic profit-making. The goal is to show how the costs of the crises continuously, consistently, and unjustifiably are carried by women, poor people, and nature, while the political and economic elites are reaping the profit. The second part discusses the root cause of the crises, judging it to originate from a reductionist, dualized perception of reality. If the argumentation is accepted as being sound, then, due to consistency, it must follow that a holistic, systemic approach to reality would end the crises and alleviate poverty. The concepts of yin and yang are used to explain the difference between a reductionist and a holistic worldview. **In sum**, the intention with the paper is to give a general picture of how the modern system of progress – which was invented, introduced, and still is promoted by the political leaders in the North – consistently dominates women, poor people, and nature, causing crises; and then to present an alternative view that can alleviate the crises. (Nhanenge 2011, 2-3.)

## Part I

### The Global Crises: Some Features and Victims

## ***The Crisis of War and Violence***

### **Funds Spent on Military and Wars**

Global military spending was in 1978, 425 billion USD or 1.16 billion USD a day. In 1994 it increased to 800 billion USD, or 2.2 billion USD daily. In 2008 it totaled 1,464 billion USD, or 4 billion USD per day. USA accounts for 41.5 percent of the 2008 global military costs. The high sum relates to “the war on terror,” which former President George W. Bush initiated and President Barack Obama continues. (Capra 1982, 2; Rowe 1997, 241; SIPRI 2009.)

The 2012 world military expenditure is estimated to have been 1,756 billion USD or 249 USD for each person in the world or 4.81 billion USD per day. Of this, 40 percent relates to USA’s spending of 708 billion USD or 1.94 billion USD per day. The high cost is associated with the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, where total US federal spending amounted to 1.7 trillion USD, through fiscal year 2013. Future health payments for veterans will amount to 590 billion USD. Adding accumulated interest, the sum total for the wars will be a cost of 3.9 trillion USD. Some find it a low estimate and have calculated total costs to be 6 trillion. (Costs of War 2011; Global Research 2013; SIPRI 2013.)

Also elsewhere in the world are expenditure for military and war increasing. Even in Africa where poverty is rampant, much needed resources are spent on military rather than social necessities. In 1998 African governments spent 11.1 billion USD on their military. In 2008 they used 20.4 billion USD. In 2012 the cost to the military in Africa was 39.2 billion USD. Thus, military spending is increasing. South Africa has the highest budget for military in Sub-Saharan Africa. As from 1988 to 2011, during a period of 23 years, the military expenditure in South Africa increased from 8.40 billion USD to 37.1 billion USD. (Ekins 1992, 5-6; Index Mundi 2012; Rowe 1997 241; SIPRI 2008, 2009, 2013.)

For those who are unsure about the zeroes: one billion is one thousand million or 1 followed by 9 zeroes: 1,000,000,000. One trillion is one million, million or 1 followed by 12 zeroes: 1,000,000,000,000. Check the reference and see how a trillion looks like! (PageTutor.com 2014.)

It was the North that began the system of large scale militarization and then introduced it to the South. In order to rebuild their economies after the Second World War, Europe and USA enlarged production, purchase, and export of military equipment. The rise in the South’s military expenses contributed to their debt crises, which resulted in mandatory introduction of neo-liberal policies normally called Structural Adjustment Programs, causing further cuts in social investments. The focus on militarization also increased debt in the North. USA had in 2011 a debt of over 14 trillion USD. Paying the debt is difficult since the estimated 2011 budget deficit is 1.65 trillion USD and further cut in public spending may result in serious social crises. This deficit should be compared to a 236 billion USD budget surplus left by President Clinton in January 2001 – just before the 9/11 attack, and the start of the war on terror. (Bunch and Carillo 1990, 80; George 1989, 29.)

Poor countries are often encouraged to spend money on arms that could be spent on badly needed health and education services. Pakistan, for instance, spends more on the military than on health and education combined. It has been estimated that arms sales are responsible for a fifth of the total international debt owed by poor countries. Yet despite this, governments in arms-producing countries continue to help companies push their arms on the global South. The arms trade plays a crucial role in creating and exacerbating poverty. It destroys communities, undermines human security and encourages disputes to be settled militarily. It saps the resources of already-poor countries and does so with the support and encouragement of the governments of arms-producing nations. (Campaign against Arms Trade.)

### **The Burden of War on Women, Others, and Nature**

Wars bring along colossal tragedies. One issue is the economic losses, but then there are the appalling social disasters. The civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo has been the deadliest since the Second World War. In total 5.4 million people have perished. Although the Congo war officially ended in 2003, conflicts continued in Ituri and Kivu. A 2007 report estimated that 45,000 people are dying every month. The majority succumbs to diseases and famine; half of these are children. Wars often displace large numbers of people. There are more than 40 million displaced people in the world, with 10.5 million refugees under the mandate of UN's High Commissioner for Refugees. These human beings live in crowded, unhygienic, and poor conditions, which increase the risk of infectious diseases. It was such circumstances that caused an outbreak of cholera and dysentery in a refugee camp after the Rwandan genocide in 1994. Nearly 50,000 refugees died within a month. Thus, wars result in human tragedies. If people are lucky to escape the fighting, they may die later on from hunger or diseases. (Doctors Without Borders 1995; Green Facts 2007; Humanitarian News 2011; IRC 2007; UNHCR 2013; Wikipedia 2014, Second Congo War; Wikipedia 2014, Kivu.)

Since the end of the Second World War there have been over 250 major wars in which over 23 million people have been killed, tens of millions made homeless, and countless other millions injured and bereaved. In the history of warfare the twentieth century stands out as the bloodiest and most brutal – three times more people have been killed in wars in the last ninety years than in all the previous five hundred years. Since 1945, 90 per cent of casualties from armed conflicts have been civilians, compared to 50 per cent in the Second World War, and 10 per cent in the First. Three out of four fatalities of war are women and children. Millions of children are caught up in conflicts in which they are not merely bystanders, but targets. Some fall victims to a general onslaught against civilians; others die as part of a calculated genocide. Still other children suffer the effects of sexual violence or the deprivations of armed conflict that expose them to hunger or diseases. In the past decade, around 2 million children have been killed in armed conflicts, three times as many have been seriously injured or permanently disabled and countless others have been made homeless, orphaned and forced to witness horrifying acts of violence. A recent report from United Nation details the “unspeakable” suffering Syrian children have been subjected to during the three years of civil war. (Overview of global issues; UN 2014).

During armed conflict, women and girls are at risk in all settings, whether at home, in flight or in camps for displaced people. Thus, war is a gender-differentiated activity where women and girls are the main victims. Perpetrators of war see women and their bodies as part of the battlefield. They abduct, abuse, rape, and enslave local women. Violence against women has been reported in every war-zone. Rape often is seen as a privilege of victors in war. During the 1990s, military mass-rapes of women and children took place in Rwanda, Somalia, Croatia, Kosovo, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serbian forces in both Kosovo and Bosnia used rape as a strategy. That was also the case when the Hutus attacked the Tutsis in Rwanda in 1994. The same approach was used in the Darfur region of Sudan. It is estimated that the Hutus raped hundreds of thousands of women and children, who they subsequently murdered. UNICEF estimates that the Hutus killed 300,000 children during the 90 days long genocide; to compare, 319,000 children were born in Canada in 2008. The prevalence and intensity of sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been described as the worst in the world. A 2011 report recorded that 1,000 women had been raped daily. Same year Aljazeera News reported that 2 million women have been raped in the Congo war. Women and girls living in refugee camps are also not safe. They have reported rape, beatings, and abductions when they leave the camps for necessities. Consequently, in wars women are the losers, no matter which side wins. The outcome is significant trauma for women with physical and psychological suffering,

low self-worth, and inability to participate in society. The victims also face barriers to get medical help and justice: people blame them of making false allegation, having committed adultery, or having pre-marital sex. (Aljazeera May 12, 2011; Heyzer 1995, 13; Rowe 2000, 369, 371; UNICEF 2005; UNIFEM 2007; Warren 2000, 208-209; Wikipedia 2014, Sexual violence.)

Wars also destroy nature by releasing toxins, pollutants, and radioactive materials into the air, soils, and waters. In the 1961-1970 Vietnam War, the US army sprayed the vegetation in South Vietnam with massive amounts of defoliants in order to reveal the hiding places of the Vietcong. The most destructive substance, containing dioxin, was called Agent Orange. The legacy to the survivors includes malignant growths, deformed children, and various forms of cancer. The 1991 Persian Gulf War is another example of environmental damage. It contaminated urban water and sewage systems; polluted the air; created oil "lakes"; damaged marine wildlife, coral reefs, and coastal wetland due to oil spills. Even in peacetime is the military devastating nature. In USA the military produces over a ton of toxic waste per minute. It is estimated that its toxic output is greater than the sum of the top five US chemical companies. The military is unrestricted by environmental laws, so it has dumped millions of tons of toxic wastes into the grounds at thousands of sites. (Ekins, Hillman, and Hutchison 1992, 26; UNFPA 2005; Warren 2000, 209-210.)

Conclusively, those who decide to wage wars do not have to carry the effects. They delegate the appalling consequences to civilians – mainly women and children – and to nature.

### **The Pointlessness of Wars**

Our political leaders tell us that the military system is necessary in order to create peace. Yet, in spite of the huge sacrifices made, arms proliferation seems to increase wars rather than peace. From 1945 to 1989, 127 wars took place, killing 22 million people. Currently, 60 out of 196 countries are engaged in wars, and 515 militias-guerrillas and separatist groups are involved. Reality therefore shows that arms proliferation generate more wars. In spite of this, political leaders argue that more and better weapons will bring peace. To justify military increase they claim their weapons are for defense purpose only; but their arms attack. With increasingly dangerous and lethal weapons, also the destruction expands, intensifying the likelihood of a global holocaust. Conclusively, military spending do not prevent wars; they are therefore not justified. (About.com 2011; Capra 1982, 2; Ekins 1992, 5-7, 156; UNICEF 2008; Wars in the World 2014.)

The reasons behind wars relate to our perceptions of threat, feelings of insecurity, and actions of aggression. When one country builds up its military, another country feels insecure and increases its arms. This creates a vicious circle of increased arms, resulting in reduced overall security, and the possibly for war. Hence, to increase security we must remove elements others perceive as threats. These issues relate to well-being including poverty, inequalities, environmental problems, political oppression, ethnic and religious rivalries, terrorism, and crime. All are causing or contributing to conflict and violence. It is just not possible that a small elitist group carry on grabbing most of the world's wealth, without them having threatening arms. Global peace requires a fair distribution of wealth. Thus, the over-consuming Northern countries must lower their resource use. We can only create a peaceful and sustainable world when we change the present consumer and profit oriented economic model, to a resource conserver society. Hence, real security relates on non-military issues like economic well-being, social justice, material sufficiency, and ecological stability. We also need to talk. People must discuss their differences so that one group understands the other. When we understand alternative point of view, we can compromise; find common ground, and peaceful solutions to differences. Thus, rather than using a military approach, we need to deal with the problems that are underlying war. Americans Amory and Hunter Lovins find these to include, "the psychic premises of eons of homocentric, patriarchal, imperial culture." This paper considers these premises

to be the root cause of the global crises. (Ekins 1992, 7, 20-21, 58-59, 156; Rowe 1997, 234; Trainer 1997, 590-591.)

### **Alternative spending**

If the political leaders had invested 600 billion USD a year over the last 10 years in the UN Millennium goals it could have dramatically improved the lives of billions of people and laid the foundations for a sustainable global future. Thousands of lives could be saved each day. Millions of the world's people could escape the pain of poverty. Every girl and boy could be educated. The spread of AIDS could be curtailed. These actions would also make our world more secure. All could be accomplished with a fraction of what the world spends for military purposes. There would still have been enough for some defense expenditure. However, if we invested in peace, we may realize that we had little to fight about. (A fairer world; UNFPA 2005.)

Although the above advice is sensible, political leaders seem not convinced. In their ideology, security comes from military threats and wars that can conquer the opponent into submission. Such a value has consequences. When the state makes the choice for violence, violent values easily become part of society. When leaders silence opponents by force, citizens may also approach each other aggressively.

### **Wars Increase Social Violence and Crime**

With more wars, aggressive behavior in society becomes habitual leading to erosion of social cohesion. Since women and children are easy targets, they tend to become the main victims. Around 35 percent of all women have experienced some form of violence. Women in Africa are almost twice as likely to experience violence as women in Europe are. Besides, between 3 to 24 percent of young women reported that their first sexual experience was forced. Youth violence is widespread. Worldwide there are some 250,000 homicides annually among young people between 10 and 29 years. That is 41 percent of the total number of global homicides each year. For each young person killed, another 20 to 40 sustain injuries requiring treatment. Youth violence has a serious, often life-long, impact on a person's psychological and social functioning. It greatly increases the costs of health, social welfare, and criminal justice services while it is reducing productivity and undermines the fabric of society. (The Guardian 2013; WHO 2011.)

Since USA has the world's highest military expenditure, and South Africa the highest military costs in Sub-Saharan Africa, it may be interesting to examine their social violence rates:

South Africa has a high level of poverty and social inequalities, and ample crime. It has a murder rate of 31.3 per 100,000 populations, which is four and a half times higher than the global average of 6.9 murders per 100,000. When it comes to sexual violence South Africa ranks high. There were 66,387 rapes and other sexual assaults reported for the year ending in March 2013, or 127 per 100,000 populations. The victims are women and children. The South African police believe a woman is raped every 36 seconds, but local women's groups estimate it to be every 26 seconds. It is expected that over 50 percent of South African women will be raped in their lifetime. Due to lack of public trust in the law enforcement, it is assessed that only 1 in 9 rapes are reported and only 14 percent of rape perpetrators are convicted. In addition, South Africa has a very high rate of child and baby rape. This huge number of rape has caused outsiders to refer to the country as the "rape capital of the world". (Africa Check 2013; Nation Master 2002; Wikipedia 2014, Sexual violence in South Africa; Wikipedia 2014, Crime in South Africa.)

Americans are also not kind to their women and children. Every two minutes, someone, somewhere in the USA, is sexually assaulted. There were 247,730 victims of rape, attempted rape or sexual as-

sault in the US in 2002. The majority of female victims are younger than 25; almost half of are under the age of 18. The US Justice Department statistics suggest that only 26 percent of all rapes or attempted rapes are being reported to police. When unreported rapes are taken into account, it is estimated that only 6 percent of US rapists, 1 out of 16, will ever spend a day in jail. One in 5 girls and 1 in 20 boys are victims of child sexual abuse. In 2006, 78,000 children were sexually abused in USA. Because most cases are not reported, it is estimated that the real number could be anywhere from 260,000 to 650,000 a year. Almost 2/3 of all rapes are committed by someone who is known to the victim. (Feminist.com 2010; Nation Master 2002; National Center for Victims of Crime 2010; National Organization for Women 2007.)

**In sum:** There are many factors causing social violence however, it seems that increased militarization, run parallel to increased social violence. It is often men who direct their aggression towards the physically weaker part of society – women and children – they harm them, just because they can!

### **Conclusion on the Crisis of War and Violence**

Most people would prefer to live in a peaceful world. Studies show that social justice is the best way to end aggressive behavior. When inequalities between rich and poor are prominent, and groups in society find their situation hopeless, some choose violence as a means of restoring fairness. Thus, most wars and violence could end by economic redistribution. Yet, redistributing wealth is not a political priority. The current neo-liberal ideology, subscribed to by most politicians, does not include resource sharing, social cooperation, and environmental conservation. Nevertheless, these are the values needed to correct inequalities, to improve the quality of life for women, children, and poor people, and to regenerate healthy environments. Conclusively, rather than choosing wise actions, our political leaders prefer to increase competition for natural resources, maximize individual economic profit-making, leading to greed. The outcome is that war and violence, poverty and inequalities increase, with women, children, poor people, and nature as the main sufferers. (Geen 1995, 409-410.)

### ***The Crisis of Poverty and Inequality***

Poverty is both an absolute and a relative occurrence. *Absolute poverty* is a physical condition of deprivation, while *relative poverty* is more a matter of worth in society. Most relative poor live in the North, while the majority of the world's absolute poor are in the South. (Ekins 1992, 8.)

### **Absolute Poverty**

The data on the world's poor are devastating. The figures differ depending on the method and year used (see detailed explanation in the Appendix) however, the World Bank estimated in 2008 that there are 1.4 billion absolute poor people in the world, out of a population of 6.46 billion people. Thus, 21.7 percent or approximately 1 out of every 5 is absolute poor. These people subsist below the international poverty line of 1.25 USD per day. Most live in the 49 least developed countries, of which 34 are situated in Africa. Their lives are often short. They starve, are weak and suffer from ill-health. As an outcome of this misery 50,000 people die from effects of poverty every day. The majority are women and children. (Global Issues 2011b; Naidoo 2009.)

**Women** make up half of the world's population, but they represent seventy percent of the world's absolute poor people. Thus millions of women live in poverty. Their lives are constantly limited by obstacles of injustice and discrimination that prevent them from achieving a quality of life, including good health, safe childbirth, proper education, and adequate employment. The modern patriarchal world has created extreme gender inequalities where women are faced with prejudice all through their lives from conception, birth, childhood, and adulthood, all the way to their deaths. It



manifests as killing of female fetuses, poor care and nutrition of baby girls, lack of education to female children, low paid employment to women, and overworked, abused, and dominated wives. This lifelong hardship makes women weak, prone to diseases, and they become the poorest of the absolute poor. The suffering of poor women is truly unbearable and not comprehensible to relatively rich people. (Global Citizen 2013; Global Poverty Info Bank; Rowe 1997, 247; The Guardian 2013; UN Women, Women, Poverty & Economics.)

There are 2.2 billion **children** in the world, of these 1 billion live in poverty. Thus, every second child is poor. Of these 640 million children live without adequate shelter; 400 million have no access to safe water and 270 million have no access to health services. Almost 1 out of 3 children in the South are malnourished and stunted. Seventy percent are from Asia. One out of 6 newborn babies has a low birth weight, caused by under-nourished pregnant women. Poorly nourished children are physically weak and easily become sick. Hence, it is estimated that 5 million children die each year due to undernourishment. Around 780 million people are without access to clean water. Of these, only 10 million live in the North; the rest are in the South. In Africa alone there are 345 million people without safe water access. Thus one child dies every 21 second from a water related disease. Around 1.2 billion people have inadequate access to proper sanitation facilities. Lack of hygiene may lead to infection and diarrhea. Nearly 1.5 million children die from diarrhea every year. Thus, diarrhea kills more children than malaria, AIDS, and measles combined. (Global Issues 2011b; Hunger Notes 2013; Stop The Hunger 2014; Water.org 2013.)

According to UNICEF, 7.6 million children worldwide die before their 5th birthday; 4 million newborn babies worldwide die in the first month of life; almost 2 million children die on the day they are born; an additional 3.3 million are stillborn. Almost 3 million of the babies who die each year can be saved with little cost. It is a huge figure, 7.6 million children; it means that 21,000 children die every day, around the world. It is 875 deaths per hour, 15 deaths per minute, and 1 child dying every 4 seconds! The dead toll compares to a 2010 Haiti earthquake occurring every 10 days or a 2004 Asian Tsunami happening every 11 days. Despite the scale of this daily, ongoing catastrophe, it rarely manages to reach the prime-time news, much less sustain headline coverage. The silent killers of children are poverty, hunger, easily preventable diseases, and other related causes. (Global Issues 2005, 2010; The Partnership for Maternal, Newborn, and Child Health 2011.)

The rich G8 nations promised at their 2005 summit to double their aid to Africa by 2010, but actions are lacking. UN recommends that rich countries devote 0.7 percent of their GNP to development aid, but few have met the mark. African leaders promised in 2001 to devote 15 percent of their state budgets to health, but not many achieved it. Conclusively, there is little interest from the side of the political and economic elite to alleviation the suffering of women, children, and poor people. (UNICEF 2005, 2008, 2009; SIPRI 2013.)

### **Relative poverty**

Poverty is also increasing in the North. Official US figures counts that around 49.7 million or 1 in 7 Americans are living in poverty. However, more than 100 million Americans or 1 in 3, live near the brink of poverty; nearly 70 percent of these are women and children: In the USA, 2/3 of **women** is part of the minimum-wage workers. Over 70 percent of these get no paid sick days and in the US there is no mandatory paid maternity leave. Besides, women only earn 77 percent of the salary of their male counterparts, representing an annual difference of 11,608 USD in earnings. Poverty is especially high for women of color, women who head families, foreign-born women, and women living alone being 65 year or older. The poverty level for black, Hispanic, and Native American women were more than three times higher than for white non-Hispanic men. Also **children** suffer from poverty in the US. In 2011, 14.6 million children were counted as being poor; of these 6.5 mil-

lion are considered extremely poor. This is out of a total of 74.5 million American children. Thus 1 in 5 American children are poor. The result of this tragedy is that every 18 minutes one child dies before his or her first birthday. In total, one child is dying from causes related to poverty every 53 minutes, while one child is born into poverty every 29 seconds; thus, poverty in the world's richest nation is a serious problem. (Children's Defense Fund 2011; Common Dreams 2011; Common Dreams 2012; Common Dreams 2012b; EAPN 2010; National Women's Law Centre 2013; Poverty.org 2010, Squidoo.com; The Atlantic 2014; US Census Bureau 2012.)

### **The Glaring Inequalities**

The world has a number of inequalities. The most conspicuous ones are the difference between rich and poor, North and South, and the old, complex, and unjust gender inequality.

#### *The Rich-Poor Inequality*

Despite the financial crisis starting in 2007, wealth almost doubled between 2000 and 2011. In 2013, global wealth reached an all-time high, totaling 238 trillion USD. It is expected to rise by nearly 40 percent over the next 5 years, reaching 334 trillion USD by 2018. USA is the leader in aggregate wealth, with total net worth of 100 trillion US dollars by 2018. Hence, US account for 29 percent of global wealth in 2018. This increased wealth has made rich people extraordinarily wealthy. The 2013 Forbes billionaires list boasts 1,426 names, with an aggregate global net worth of 5.4 trillion USD, up from 4.6 trillion USD. Once again the USA leads the list with 442 billionaires. Hence, economic inequality has increased: around half of the global wealth is owned by the richest one percent; the other half go to the remaining 99 percent. The "Forbes 400" (the 400 richest Americans) owns as much wealth as 80 million American families, representing 62 percent of the US population. Consequently, in USA inequalities have become extreme: an hourly payment to a Chief Executive Officer can be as high as 5,000.00 USD while a worker's minimum-wage per hour is 7.25 USD. (Common Dreams 2013, 2014b; Credit Suisse 2013; Forbes 2013, 2013b; Global Issues 2011.)

The Rich-Poor inequality is precarious. Oxfam has calculated that the 85 richest people in the world have the same wealth as the bottom half of the world's population: 3.5 billion people. Such extreme economic inequality is the result when the political elite are serving the interests of the economic elite to the detriment of ordinary people. That leads to global tension. In November 2013, the World Economic Forum released its report, "Outlook on the Global Agenda 2014". The authors of the report ranked widening income disparities as the second greatest worldwide risk, "Inequality is impacting social stability within countries and threatening security on a global scale". (Common Dreams 2014; Oxfam 2014; World Economic Forum 2014.)

#### *The North-South Inequality*

There is a huge inequality between wealth in the North and South. The Gross National Income per capita for North America was 50,216 USD in 2012; that is 37 times that of Sub-Saharan Africa with 1,355 USD. If one compares the highest ranking country, Norway with 98,860 USD, to the lowest ranking country, the Democratic Republic of the Congo with 220 USD, the difference is 450 times! Hence, the North can afford to buy a lot. Twelve percent of the world's population from North America and Western Europe accounts for 60 percent of private consumption spending. The 33 percent who are living in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa account for 3.2 percent. USA, with less than 5 percent of the global population, uses a quarter of the world's fossil fuel resources and produce 30 percent of the world's waste. This consumption pattern makes countries in the North highly dependent on natural resources from outside their borders. Calculations show that the planet has 1.9 hectares of biologically productive land available per global citizen to supply resources and absorb wastes, yet the average person on Earth uses 2.3 hectares. These "ecological footprints" range from

the 9.7 hectares claimed by the average American, to the 0.47 hectares used by the average Mozambican. Thus, the people in the North have steadily increased their wealth and with that their resource use. Worldwide, private consumption expenditures reached 20 trillion USD in 2000, a four-fold increase since 1960. (Random Facts 2012; Wikipedia 2013, List of countries by GNI; World Watch Institute 2011.)

Thus the North has huge wealth, enough to ease human misery in the South. In its 2004 July/August issue the Ode Magazine had calculated that the North only would need to spend 0.4 percent of their annual income to provide for the basic needs of the entire world population. Annually, and in 2004 prices, the South needed 5 billion Euros to end hunger, 6 billion Euros to give education to all, 9 billion Euros would provide all with clean drinking water, 12 billion Euros would supply basic health care for all, and 40 billion Euros could alleviate poverty. Yet, people in the North choose to spend their money differently. Annually they use 105 billion Euros on alcohol; 400 billion Euros on recreational drugs; 780 billion Euros on arms and military; 1,000 billion Euros on advertisement and marketing; and 2,500 billion Euros on currency speculation. Reality is that resources flow in the other direction: in 1992 the formal and informal transfers of resources from South to North was estimated to be around 200-250 billion USD annually. Global Financial Integrity found in 2008 that illicit financial flows from the South were between 850 billion to 1 trillion USD per year. (Seabrook 1993, 12; Wikipedia, 2013 Capital flight.)

The North-South inequality exists for a reason. The historical colonization of the South by the North persists. It has only been disguised by new concepts like “free markets,” “foreign investment,” or “economic development.” Reality is that the greed of the North is bottom less.

#### *The Male-Female Inequality*

Studies from North and South show that gender inequality pervade the world. Workwise women have fewer opportunities compared to men, they get lower salaries, and the majority of the poor are women. Women are commonly working full-time in economic production, while also doing the unpaid housework, childcare, and family care. In the rural South, women produce 60-80 percent of the food, provide the household with water and fuel-wood and work in the informal sector. In most parts of Africa and Asia women work on average 16 hours daily. In spite of Southern women’s impressive work, economists still call them “economically inactive.” Consequently, work is the longest lasting part of women’s oppression. (Copenhagen Consensus 2012; Cornwell 2004, 51; Ekins 1992, 73; Kelly 1997, 115-116.)

The reproductive work of women is worse. Every day, around 800 women die from preventable causes related to pregnancy and childbirth. That is one woman every second minute. Almost all maternal deaths happen in developing countries. In 2010, 287,000 women died during and following pregnancy and childbirth. The official maternal mortality ratio in developing countries is 240 per 100,000 births versus 16 per 100,000 in developed countries. Thus, on average a woman from the South is 15 times more likely to die in childbirth than a woman from the North. Especially young women have high risk of complications and death as a result of pregnancy and childbirth; it is the leading cause of death among adolescent girls in the South. (WHO 2012.)

Access to education is also gender unequal. Today, nearly 17 percent of the world’s adult population is illiterate; two thirds of them women. An estimated 122 million youth are illiterate, of which young women represent 60.7 percent. This is counterproductive since investing in girls’ education reduces fertility rates, lowers infant and maternal mortality rates, increases women’s earnings and their investment in children’s education. It would also increase food production. Research shows that farmers with 4 years of formal schooling produce 80 percent more crops than those without,

and women are Africa's food producers. Hence, eradicating female illiteracy would decrease public expenditures while improving the overall quality of life for women and children. (Cornwell 2004, 52; UNESCO 2010; World Mapper Illiterate Women.)

No country on Earth is gender equal. This is the conclusion drawn by the Global Gender Gap Report. The Report started in 2006, and represents the majority of the world's countries. Of the four categories, health, education, economic participation, and political empowerment, equality in education exists in 25 countries and in health in 34 countries. Iceland is number one, having closed the gender gap with 87.2 percent. Finland and Norway share the second place with 84 percent. Sweden is number 4 and the Philippines number 5 with 78 percent. United Kingdom is number 17 with 74 percent, and USA number 23 with 73.9 percent. At the bottom we find Yemen as number 136 with 51.5 percent. No country has closed the political empowerment gap or the economic participation gap. Thus, in all countries men hold the political power. Men also earn more money than women do. Yet, this is economic inefficient. A 2012 study calculated that women's lower salaries and exclusion from work has cost the global economy a staggering 15.5 percent of global GDP. The loss is by 2010, between 5 and 13 trillion USD (in 1900 dollars!) (Copenhagen Consensus 2012; Global Finance 2013; World Economic Forum 2013.)

Some even find the world a better place without women. A 1993 survey from India showed that due to preference for boys, female babies received less care and food causing 300,000 more girls than boys to die annually. According to a research done by Amartya Sen, more than 100 million women are missing from the 3 billion populations of South Asia, West Asia, North Africa and China due to sex-selective abortions. (Adepoju 1994, 25; Amartya Sen 1990; Elliott 1994, 25-26; UNICEF 2008; Wikipedia 2014, Sex-selective abortion.)

The Male-Female inequality is complex and includes political, economic, social, cultural, and structural elements. It relates to historical patriarchal concepts of masculine domination of all that is feminine, and it negatively affects women in every aspect of their lives. (Ekins 1992, 75.)

### **Conclusion on the Crisis of Poverty and Inequality**

Poverty and inequality are widespread in the world. The focus on economic profit to the few makes life unmanageable for the many. Thus, excessive luxury lifestyles continue to co-exist with poverty, malnutrition, dis-ease, and death. The main victims are women, children, colored people, traditional people, and poor people in the South. The over-consumption in the North and the marginalization of the South has consequences for the environment. When the fertile lands of the South are used for cash crops consumed by the North, Southern women are forced to use marginal land to produce their food. This exhausts the soils. Hence, Southern women may degrade nature out of need. Yet, the North destroys the environment out of greed.

### ***The Crisis of Environmental Destruction***

Our global natural environment contributes to human life in three ways: it provides resources for the economy; it disposes of the wastes from that economy; it gives services for people in various ways from survival to enjoyment. Global resource use has increased through the years, causing worries about future supply of minerals and fossil fuels. However, lately the focus has been on the negative environmental impact from human economic activities and its waste. The consequences include *climate change* due to the emission of greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>), methane, nitrous oxide, and chlorofluorocarbons or CFCs; the *acidification of lakes* and *forest dieback* due to emission of sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, and ozone; *depletion of the ozone layer* by emitted CFCs; global destruction of biological resources, which manifest as *deforestation*, *desertification*, *species extinction*, *water decline*; and *pollution* from increased industrial, hazardous, chemical, and

radioactive wastes. Because of its high level of industrialization and resource use, most waste and pollution comes from the North. Yet, the effects are global. In the following some of the consequences are discussed. (Ekins 1992, 11-12; Elliot 1994, 42.)

### **Climate Change and its Consequences**

Every seven years, the scientists of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) have with increasingly certainty decided that human activity is causing climate change. In the Headline Statement from September 2013 the IPCC said, “It is extremely likely that human influence has been the dominant cause of the observed warming since the mid-20th century.” “Human influence on the climate system is clear” and “warming of the climate is unmistakable.” The observed changes are unprecedented. The atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide have increased to levels unprecedented in at least the last 800,000 years. CO<sub>2</sub> concentrations have increased by 40 percent since pre-industrial times. The ocean has absorbed about 30 percent of the emitted anthropogenic carbon dioxide, causing ocean acidification. IPCC published their full report, on 30<sup>th</sup> January, 2014. (IPCC 2007, 2013.)

A warmer world will change climate patterns, causing increased floods, droughts, and storms. Hurricanes, typhoons, and cyclones may rise in frequency, intensity, proportions, and locations. To make things worse, the ecosystems that protect us from natural disasters like forests, rivers and wetlands are also pressed. This increases the impact from natural disasters as we saw in the Philippines, when Typhoon Haiyan caused horrible devastation, killing many people. (Houghton 1994, 86-87; Union of Concerned Scientists 2007; Wikipedia 2014, Typhoon Haiyan.)

The temperature increase will warm the oceans, and the sea level will rise. The sea already rose by 19 cm during the last 100 years. If the trend continues, the sea may increase another 50 cm by 2100. That would negatively influence river deltas like the Amazon, the Mississippi, and the coastline of Bangladesh. Thus excellent agricultural land will be inundated causing severe consequences for food production, hunger, and poverty. Due to increased ocean temperature also some glaciers will melt. If the Arctic ice on Greenland would disappear, it would increase warming of the whole Earth, which could drastically change Europe’s climate. (Houghton 1994, 92-94; IPCC 2013; Union of Concerned Scientists 2007.)

Climate change will influence food supply. It may be easy to match crop to the new climate, but warmer weather may redistribute cropping zones. It is expected that the North will produce more food, while the South will decrease its agricultural output. This may led to food scarcity, increased food prices, hunger, and poverty. Forests will be seriously affected by climate change. In a warmer world forests would extend upwards in altitude and pole wards in latitude. Forests do this with the speed of 1 km per year. Yet, rapid climate change may require a speed of 2 to 5 km a year, causing forests to die. This would have serious consequences for millions of traditional peoples who subsist from forest produce. Wetlands and swamps may either move inland taking over agricultural land or, if the change of sea level is rapid, they may disappear altogether. Since 2/3 of human fish consumption comes from these areas, this would have serious consequences for food security, income generation, and in the South it may lead to increased poverty. (Houghton 1994, 96, 103-107; Krause, Bach, and Kooney 1995, 74-75.)

Lastly, warmer climate is expected to increase violence and wars, especially in the South. A study found quantitative evidence linking climate change and the risk of civil conflict. The estimate is that climate change could increase the risk of African civil war by over 50 percent in 2030 relative to 1990. Other studies suggest that conflicts arise due to scarce food supply during warm conditions. Since crop yields in Africa are sensitive to tiny shifts in temperatures, a warmer climate could in-

crease the number of wars. Earlier studies have shown a link between rain and conflict, but now there is clear evidence of a connection between temperature and conflicts. (Sarsons 2011; Journal of Peace Research; Our World UN University 2011; UC Berkeley 2009.)

### **Deforestation and Desertification**

Seventy five percent of the Earth's land area was once covered with forests. Currently, total forest cover is around 3.69 billion hectares, or roughly 30 percent of global land area. The annual deforestation rate is on average 14.5 million hectares. A major reason for deforestation is the use of wood as input to the economy. Forests are also cut in order to make room for commercial farming. Forests are ecological systems essential to life on Earth: they are home to millions of diverse species; they balance the rainfall and prevent flooding, soil erosion, and drought; they give livelihood to millions of indigenous peoples; and they are absorbing carbon dioxide, thus clearing up the greenhouse gases. Especially tropical rainforests are life-giving ecosystems. The world originally had 6 million square miles of tropical forests that covered 14 percent of the land. Now almost half has disappeared. If deforestation continues, all rainforest will be gone after 40-50 years. The consequences from deforestation are serious: more droughts and water scarcity, increase in desertification and warmer temperatures. Consequently, deforestation harms life on Earth. (Dankelman and Davidson 1988, xii; Ekins, Hillman, and Hutchison 1992, 16; FAO 2005; Houghton 1994, 100-101, 146; Mongabay 2011, 2012; Rainforest facts.)

**Drylands** covers 41 percent of the Earth's land and contains 43 percent of the world's cultivated areas. Seventy two percent of the global drylands-areas are situated in the South being home to 2.5 billion people. Around 6 million hectares of drylands degrade to desert-like conditions each year. Over a period of 30 years it amounts to an area of similar size as Saudi Arabia. Between 10 and 20 percent of drylands is already degraded and desertification is making 10-12 million hectares unsuitable for cultivation each year worldwide. Around 25 percent of the Earth's land, or 3.6 billion hectares, is desert. Desertification of drylands is a complex process, which include decreased vegetation, reduction of water, decline of crop yields, and erosion of soils. The major causes of soil degradation are deforestation, over-grazing and over-cultivation, together with water logging and salinisation from irrigation. The root cause of the problem is increased need for natural resources due to excessive human consumption and high population density. In the South, there is often a political pressure for cash crop production in order to earn foreign exchange. This causes exploitation of land and displacement of subsistence people to fragile lands leading to soil degradation. Naturally occurring drought often intensify desertification. Desertification cost an estimated 42 billion USD in lost incomes annually. (Convention on Biological Diversity; Dankelman and Davidson 1988, xi; Ekins, Hillman, and Hutchison 1992, 17; Ekins 1992, 11-12; Green Facts; Houghton 1994, 101; Ifad; IUCN; UNEP 2005.)

Desertification is especially a problem in Africa. Two-thirds of the continent is drylands or desert, and 74 percent of its agricultural drylands is seriously or moderately degraded. Land degradation affects 485 million people or 1/3 of the population. The impacts from land degradation are serious. When farmland becomes scarce, sustainable agriculture decreases, causing food insecurity, hunger, mal-nourishment, and diseases. It gives economics losses at the household level and nationally; it contributes to social disruptions, forced migrations, displacements, leading to misery, poverty, discord, and violence. Environmentally it may cause desertification. Half of the world's poor people live in drylands. The combination of fragile environment and already existing poverty mean that these societies are vulnerable to further disruptions. Revitalizing degraded areas will therefore cause a virtuous circle that can alleviate hunger and poverty leading to increased quality of life for society and nature. Restoring degraded areas is a slow process, but it can be done. Annually 4.5 billion

USD, around 1 day's global military spending, over 20 years is needed to control the problem. (The Nigerian voice 2012; UNEP 2005.)

### **Water Scarcity**

There is the same amount of water on Earth now as there was in the age of the dinosaurs. Thus, the world's population of 7 billion people must share the same quantity of water as the 300 million inhabitants in Roman times. Yet, population growth and modern ways of living has increased water use, leading to shortage. During the 20th century, global population increased fourfold, but freshwater use increased nine times over. Higher temperatures, increased water evaporation, sea level rise, and more droughts also contribute to water scarcity. Water must now be found deeper in the ground. When we remove ground water, land sinks (subsidence), which causes the sea water level to rise. When sea water rises, saltwater intrudes into fresh ground water resources. With a meter in sea level rise, saline intrusion would increase 300 km inland. In addition, stream flow, which is an important source of water for people, could diminish. Thus, overuse of water causes water to run out. (Houghton 1994, 93-94, 97, 100; Lean 2009.)

Modern agriculture use 70 percent of the global water due to its method of irrigation. In order to direct water to agricultural uses, large water dams are constructed. Yet, this kind of water management is doubtful. Irrigation gives huge water waste and it often destroys land with salinisation. Build-up of salt has damaged a quarter of the world's irrigated land. Construction of dams disrupts large natural areas, destroying essential ecosystems like forests and fertile agricultural land. Loss of forests reduces rainfalls and hence food production. Dams also displace thousands of indigenous peoples, with serious, harmful social consequences. Besides, dams are redirecting water flow towards the elite's economic activities, away from the use of subsistence farmers. This diminishes people's food security, and increases hunger and poverty. The systemic effects from redirecting and overusing water, temperature and sea level rise, increased floods and droughts, deforestation and desertification – end in water scarcity. Predictions are that by the year 2025 two-thirds of the world population may live with water stress. Water scarcity also means declining output of crop. Since water gives life, the result from water scarcity is hunger, malnutrition, and death. (Ekins, Hillman, and Hutchison 1992, 17; Gaard 2001, 168; Ifad/b.)

Water scarcity also increases human tension. The Nile runs through ten countries. Failure to agree on water management may bring conflicts. For Egypt the river Nile means survival. Thus, its government has already long ago stated that anyone who limits the Nile's water flow to Egypt declares war. This is becoming real with the building of dams in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Uganda. (Aljazeera 2011; Gaard 2001, 168; Houghton 1994, 97-98.)

Hence, environmental problems lead to increased insecurity. Overuse of natural resources and degradation of the environment intensify competition for scarce resources, which increase aggression and violence leading to conflicts or war. With increased natural disasters, ecological degradation, pollution, and wars, the number of refugees will rise. As per 2013, there are 43.7 million internally displaced persons. It is an increase of more than 10 million people from 2008. In 1990, the IPCC declared that the greatest single consequence of climate change could be migration. Estimates vary, but environmental refugees could reach 200 million by 2050! This has colossal damaging consequences for society and nature worldwide causing the global crises to intensify. The majority of global refugees are women, children, and old people. (Adepoju 1994, 33; Houghton 1994, 113; Humanitarian News 2011; Scroll 2013; UNDP 2008; UNHCR 2013; Wikipedia 2013, Environmental migrant.)

Two reports about the global water situation were published in 2009. The World Economic Forum issued one, while the other, the World Water Development Report, was compiled by 24 UN agencies, sponsored by UNESCO. Both reports perceive the water situation as critical. Already 2.8 billion people live in areas of high water stress. By 2030 the number will rise to 3.9 billion. By then, water scarcity could diminish world harvests by 30 percent, equal to all the grains grown in USA and India. Thus, water shortage will reduce economic growth, and increase food insecurity and hunger. We should also anticipate water conflicts to start in the Middle East and elsewhere. (Ifad/b; Lean 2009; Water.org.)

More than 97 percent of the Earth's water is salty and most of the remaining 3 percent fresh water is frozen in the polar ice-caps. Hence, the atmosphere, rivers, lakes, and underground water stores hold less than 1 percent of available fresh water. This must provide water to support the Earth's population. Hence, fresh water is a precious resource. The increasing pollution of our rivers and lakes therefore gives cause for alarm. Most fresh water pollution is produced when organic material such as sewage, fertilizers, industrial waste, oil, and consumer waste enter water ways. Bacteria, algae, and other micro-organisms feed on the water's organic waste causing large populations to develop, absorbing the water's oxygen. Although fresh water holds high quantities of oxygen, a small decline can have harmful effects on river animals. Consequently, lack of oxygen in fresh water makes it impossible for other organism to survive. It has become dead water. Contaminated fresh water is also not suitable for human consumption. Pollution is therefore yet another reason for water scarcity. (YPTE.)

India's river Ganges has been ranked as one of the five most polluted rivers in the world. Close to a billion gallons of raw sewage gushes into the river each day, turning it into a slow-flowing sewer. Industrial wastes from factories along the river banks increase the pollution. The Ganges is now so toxic that people staying close to its banks are more susceptible to cancer than anywhere else in India. Mississippi River in USA contains millions of pounds of toxic waste, mixed with poisonous chemicals and sewerage. This highly toxic water has created a "dead zone" in the Gulf of Mexico, where no organism can survive. Due to oil drilling in the area the Mississippi is prone to oil spills. The latest disaster was the 2010 BP Oil Spill in the Gulf of Mexico, when over 200 million gallons of oil poured into the Gulf, created havoc on the Mississippi River Delta. There are many more highly polluted rivers: Indonesia's capital Jakarta holds some of the most polluted waterways in the world. Citarum River in West Java is now so densely covered with millions of tons of waste that the river water is hardly visible. In China's Yangtze River pollution has extinguished fish and other wildlife. The Yellow River was considered "the cradle of Chinese civilization," it is now "unfit for human consumption". Europe has the same problem, with Italy's Sarno River being the most polluted. Most rivers in England and Wales fail the European standards of water quality. (Buzzle; The Guardian 2009; Wunderground 2013.)

It is perplexing that people, out of greed for economic profit, are willing to pollute waters in rivers – that very life enhancing and precious resource that none of us can be without. Hence, due to ill-conceived, inconsiderate, and irrational human actions, clean water is under extreme stress. Oceans have also become victims from economic development. Sewage, garbage, and oil spills have begun to overpower the oceans' diluting capacities, causing contamination of coastal waters. Consequently, pollution and waste is a serious threat to life in society and nature worldwide.

### **Pollution and Waste**

Each second, industries worldwide release 310 kg of toxic chemicals into our air, land, and waters. This totals around 10 million tons of toxic chemicals that annually are contaminating our natural



environment. Of these, more than 2 million tons are recognized carcinogens (causing cancer). (Worldometers 2014.)

Most chemicals are used in agriculture. Due to the scientific method of food production, modern agriculture demands chemical inputs. According to US Environmental Protection Agency, USA used 500 million tons of agricultural pesticide in 2007, costing 12.5 billion USD. This is almost a doubling compared to 7.2 billion USD in 1988. The world market paid nearly 40 billion USD for 2.4 billion tons of pesticide. Indeed, scientific agriculture is extremely lucrative. It was invented by the US scientific elite, it is promoted by the US political elite, and it is profiting the US economic elite – while society and nature carry its toxic costs. The chemicals are causing ecosystemic imbalances, polluting natural resources, killing insects and other life. Chemicals are also a threat to people's health. If they enter the body the chemicals remain in the tissues for years because the immune system cannot dispose of them. Due to the high use of chemicals in US most Americans have toxic compounds stored in their fatty tissues. This may give various diseases, including asthma, autism, learning disabilities, birth defects, reproductive dysfunction, diabetes, Parkinson's and Alzheimer's diseases, and several types of cancer. Since their organs are not fully developed to withstand the chemical attacks children are at a greater risk than adults. People in developing countries are also vulnerable to toxic chemicals. UNEP estimated in 2012 that harmful chemicals are causing 964,000 deaths and almost 21 million injuries annually to people in the South. Many of these chemicals are produced by USA or Europe, where their use have been forbidden due to toxicity. To gain economic profit the industries then export the chemicals to the South, exploiting its insufficient legal enforcements. Many users are unaware of the chemicals' dangers. Study has shown that information on toxicity was lacking for 79 percent out of 48,500 different chemicals listed. Yet, even if labelling would be optimal, people may not be able to read it or understand the language. When agro-ecology and organic farming have proven to produce healthier and more food per hectare, one wonders why we have chemical agriculture. Rather than improving food production it seems to be a profit maker for the economic elites. Consequently, introduction of chemicals in food production has proven to be a great risk for society and nature, we should therefore doubt their benefit. (Beyond Pesticides 2010; Biyokulule 2010; Ekins, Hillman, and Hutchison 1992, 17; EPA 2002, 2011; Newman 1994, 47-48; Norgaard 1994, 24-26, 47; Rodale 2012; SRFood 2010; WECF 2012.)

Oil spills is another threat to society and nature. In 1967, when the Torrey Canyon wrecked off the Isles of Sicily, Europe experienced its first large oil spill. The dispersant sprayed on the 119,000 tons oil slick was more toxic than the oil and did unspeakable damage to marine life and to the local economy. In 1989, the Exxon Valdez ran aground in Alaska spilling 37,000 tons of crude, causing massive ecological damage. In April 2010, BP's Deepwater Horizon oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico exploded and sank, killing 11 rig-workers. The accident ruptured the oil pipe, causing thousands of barrels of oil to gush into the sea daily. The oil slick and the toxic dispersant BP applied caused huge ecological destruction and harmfully affected human health. The Deepwater Horizon oil spill is considered the largest accidental marine oil spill in the history of the petroleum industry. (BBC 2010; Care2 2010; Ekins, Hillman, and Hutchison 1992, 26; Popular Mechanics; Wikipedia 2013, Deepwater Horizon oil spill.)

Nuclear power plants are yet another hazard to society and nature. Nuclear explosions, nuclear waste, and reactor spills have released thousands of tons of toxic materials into the environment. The risk of accidents polluting the air, waters, and food, leading to increased risk of cancer and genetic diseases, is very real. In 1986 the reactor accident at Chernobyl caused a massive release of radiation. Two hundred thousand people were evacuated permanently from the zone. It is estimated that over 7,000 died from radiation exposure during the cleaning up operation. Estimates of excess cancers and premature deaths are between 40,000 to one million depending on the calculation

method used. On 11 March 2011, the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster in Japan unfolded. The nuclear plant was hit by a tsunami, triggered by the Tōhoku earthquake, and it started to release radioactive materials. Some 300,000 people evacuated the area early exposing them only to small amounts of radiation, making cancer risk limited. Nevertheless, land and waters have been contaminated. Fish and other marine life contain high levels of radioactive substances, making them unsuitable for consumption for years to come. The radioactive danger is not over. Decommissioning of the power plant is under way, and it will take a very long time. The Independent Investigation Commission found human error to be the cause of the disaster. The plant was not built to withstand earthquake and tsunami. Its technology was old, poorly maintained, and regulation not respected. The most basic safety requirements were not met. The disruption to society and nature caused by this huge natural disaster will never be fully healed. (Capra 1982, 3; Ekins, Hillman, and Hutchison 1992, 27; The Guardian 2013b; Wikipedia 2014, Chernobyl disaster; Wikipedia 2014, Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster.)

The Chernobyl and Fukushima nuclear disasters are tragedies of such gigantic social and environmental proportions that any sane and rational person would abandon nuclear power technology all together. However, due to its immense profitmaking the economic and political elites still promote nuclear power plants as being safe, economic, and efficient, working hard making the public believe their myths. (World Nuclear Organization 2012.)

Depositing of industrial waste materials is a great danger to societies and nature. In spite of that, toxic dumping sites continue to grow. The Stringfellow Acid Pits was such one. It was a licensed hazardous waste disposal site receiving liquid wastes from local corporations in California, USA. The pits were situated in a canyon above the small rural community of Glen Avon. In 1978, the area received heavy rains, causing the dam to fall apart. To relieve pressure the local government decided to release toxic chemicals into the community over a period of 5 days, without informing the public. People were only alerted when the water caused shoes to fall apart and jeans to disintegrate. Although the government ended the exposure and cleaned up the site, the health of the community had been disrupted. Out of 21 staff at the school, 17 got severe diseases or died. Young men became sterile. Women had miscarriages or delivered premature babies. Children got asthma and allergy. Many had blurred visions, dizziness, headaches, and skin diseases. (AllGov 2012; EPA 2013; Los Angeles Times 2012; Newman 1994, 44-47.)

EPA estimates that 256 million tons of officially classified hazardous wastes are produced in the US each year. This exclude toxic and hazardous waste produced by industries not monitored by the EPA, like the US military. US have at least 36,000 seriously contaminated sites. Costs for wastes cleanup is between 370 billion and 1.7 trillion USD. Thus, it may not happen. Therefore, the government is searching for appropriate sites to place toxic industries and waste disposals. The place chosen depend on its economic, social, and racial constitution: (zoology.muohio.edu.)

Governments tend to place environmental burdens on people in low social positions. Thus, they permit companies to locate their plants in rural communities, using up the water, polluting the land, and threatening the health of people, while transferring their produce to the wealthier urban residents. Gaard calls it for *environmental classism*. The US government and the industries have become accomplices, making it legal to kill people with toxic chemicals. Instead of prevention, they discuss “acceptable risks.” Hence, the law permits corporations to kill, as long as they stay within a set limit. Thus, greed is prioritized over life. An internal memorandum shows how corporations calculate with people’s lives: the vice president of Gulf Resources and Chemical Corporation in Idaho estimated how much Gulf would have to pay if it continued to expose children in Kellogg to lead contaminated smoke. The estimated liability for poisoning 500 children was 6-7 million USD. Alt-

though they knew the harm they were doing, the management still increased the emission due to the high prices of lead in 1974. The corporation paid the fine, reaped the profit, and the children of Kellogg endured the pain. The elite try to manipulate poor people into believing that the suffering is the price one must pay for living in a modern society. Yet, in reality the suffering is the price someone else pays: the rich people benefit, while the poor people suffer. Since poor people cannot move away, their communities carry the costs from the conniving between the political and economic elites. (Gaard 2001, 166; Newman 1994, 48-50.)

Communities of color are deliberately targeted when placing polluting industries and toxic waste disposals sites. The government officially sanctions this activity. The people cannot complain because they are excluded from decision making bodies that may prevent such activities. Gaard calls it for *environmental racism*. Studies show that authorities relax enforcing environmental laws in minority communities. The United Church of Christ Commission on Racial Justice in USA concluded in a 1982 study that race is the best indicator to identify communities most likely to be the location of toxic waste sites. (Des Jardins 2001, 240; Gaard 2001, 162; Newman 1994, 50; Wikipedia 2014, Environmental racism.)

Women carry a heavier environmental burden than men. In ecological fragile zones women and children are 75 percent of the affected people. Gaard calls it *environmental sexism*. Modern culture sees nature as supplier of endless resources and a place that eternally cleans up its waste. The same applies to women. Women are seen as instruments to satisfy the needs of husbands, children, and clean up after them. Thus, modern society perceives women and nature alike. There is therefore a connection between the health of nature and the health of women, and their families. Since we live in nature, nature's health problems give human's health problems. There is continuity between the Earth body and the human body. Many Southern rural women depend on natural resources due to their gender role in producing family sustenance. Survival for them is healthy nature. When nature's health declines so does that of women. Therefore, when economic activities cause natural degradation, they also negatively affect women. Consequently, due to its focus on economic growth, development makes women poor, while drawing men into its profit-seeking activities. (Des Jardins 2001, 240; Gaard 2001, 161; Heyzer 1995, 3; Shiva 1994, 1-2, 9.)

Due to public outcry, Northern governments have introduced stricter rules concerning disposal of toxic wastes. This has caused companies to dump toxic wastes in poor countries with few regulations. The World Bank and the World Trade Organization support the trade as a wealth earner for the developing countries. Hence, the North has offered hazardous waste on the world market including toxic materials, flammables, explosives, carcinogenic, and nuclear materials. Many countries in South America, Asia, Africa, and East Europe have joined the trade. The economic benefits from importing toxic wastes are attractive for the South. British firms offered Guinea-Bissau 120 million USD per year to bury industrial waste material. The amount is equivalent to the country's annual GNP. Yet, for the companies the price is small, compared to the price for disposing wastes at home. In this way, poor countries are more likely to suffer environmental degradation from toxic waste than wealthy countries are. This relates to the historical legacy of colonialism. The North exploited the Southern countries' natural resources to increase their own living standards. They were not concerned about the environmental consequences and the cost for the local communities. This colonial injustice lives on in the global economic system. Therefore, when economists conduct a cost-benefit analysis on toxic dumping, the result shows it is more economic efficient to allocate environmental risks to people and places with least economic value. Des Jardins refers to a 1991 memorandum from the World Bank: Lawrence Summer, the chief economist, argued in the memo that it is economic logic to dump toxic waste in countries with low wages because it will give the lowest costs in case of compensation. Since the World Bank exercises decisive control over developing nations'

economies, such an attitude has serious ethical problems. Thus, we also have a case of *environmental colonialism*. (Africa Faith & Justice Network 2012; Des Jardins 2001, 241; Ekins, Hillman, and Hutchison 1992, 17; Elliott 1994, 35-36; Newman 1994, 48; Wikipedia 2014, Environmental racism.)

Depositing wastes in the South presents a huge risk to its people and nature. The countries rarely have relevant technology or knowledge for handling the dangers involved. Thus, in 1992, the Basel Convention came into force. It is an international treaty designed to reduce the movements of hazardous waste between nations. But the treaty is weak, which prompted the Organization of African Unity to pass the Bamako Convention in 1998, calling for a ban on importation of hazardous wastes to the continent. Individual African countries have consequently reversed agreements, confining exports to South Africa and Morocco. Most industrialized nations agreed to end shipping of hazardous waste to the South. Yet, the practice continues illegally, and with dangerous consequences, in some areas. While UNEP has given advice on how to deal with some core waste material, there are no international norms on what is proper waste treatment. Hence the risk continues. (Elliott 1994, 37; Wikipedia 2013, Bamako Convention; Wikipedia 2013, Basel Convention; zoology.muohio.edu; UNEP 2010.)

### **Conclusion on the Crisis of Environmental Destruction**

Worldwide governments have taken ownership of their country's natural environments. They have defined laws, making it legal to exploit natural resources for profit-making and using nature as a dumping place for toxic wastes. Although this has serious negative consequences, political leaders do not change the system, instead they delegate the side-effects to those they consider not having economic value: women, children, poor people, traditional peoples, and nature. This is deterioration of democracy. When the losses become too heavy, people protest. To curb the protests, the state introduces measures that limit citizens' freedom further. Such actions constrain democracy further or prevent it from developing. It often leads to human rights abuses.

### ***The Crisis of Human Rights Abuses***

All of the above crises relate to human rights abuses. War and violence, poverty and inequality, and environmental destruction are all leading to human repression. In wars civilians are not safe but treated cruelly and inhumanly. Poverty and hunger take away people's rights to well-being, dignity, health, and life. Forcing people to live with pollution and toxic waste endangers their welfare, security, and health. In the following discussion, the focus is on human rights abuses done by the political and economic elites, to gain power and profit. (Ekins 1992, 12.)

### **Priority: Violence and Domination over Human Rights, Democracy, and Freedom**

In 1948, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for all people and all nations. In the Human Rights, UN stated in clear and simple terms rights that belong to every person, equally. Everyone everywhere has the right to live with dignity. No one should be denied their rights to adequate housing, food, water and sanitation, education and health care. As Article 22 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says, "Everyone ... is entitled to realization ... of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his (or her) dignity." These rights belong to us all, women and men, colored and white, traditional and modern, child and adult, poor and rich, of any religion. We must know them, promote them, and defend them. In 1976, the Human Rights Bill became international law; nevertheless, our universal human rights are grossly abused. (Amnesty International 2014, Amnesty International, Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Wikipedia, Universal Declaration of Human Rights.)

Amnesty International produces an annual report that features human rights violations all over the world. In their 2013 Report, Amnesty International lines up human rights abuses done in 2012 by some of the 192 UN member countries' governments towards their citizens: 21 governments executed people; 101 repressed their citizen's right to freedom of expression; 80 governments conducted unfair trials denying their citizen's justice; between 794,000 and 1,115,000 people have died as a direct result of battles fought in 131 armed conflicts; 30 percent of women aged 15-19 years in least developed countries are married. If present patterns continue, in the next decade around 100 million girls will be married as children. (Amnesty International 2013.)

Governments are torturing and killing their own citizens, including children. Syria is an example of that. "I found my boys burning in the street. They had been piled on top of each other, and set on fire." This is a mother describing what happened to her three sons in Syria. In Syria, gross human rights abuses and war crimes are done by all parties involved. This includes crimes against humanity, indiscriminate attacks on residential areas, political killings and torture, also of children. Despite abundance of evidence of crimes committed by the Syrian government, the UN Security Council fails to protect civilians. This comes from Russia and China's perception of "respecting the sovereignty of the state." This argument is absurd. Whether it is the ongoing starvation of people in North Korea or the Syrian conflict, inaction in the name of respect for state sovereignty is intolerable. The focus must be on human rights and security. (Amnesty International 2013; UN 2014.)

Another example of government exploitation over the last decades has been the abuse of indigenous peoples' land rights. Instead of respecting the traditional value that communities are guardians of the land and its resources, governments and their corporations have been moving into traditional areas, forcibly displacing indigenous communities, seizing their land, in order to exploit it with planting of cash crops, or extracting oil and other minerals – all for profit making. Exactly now, when governments should learn from indigenous people about how to protect nature and develop it sustainably, the opposite is happening, and it is done with tremendous brutality. This is in complete ignorance of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which explicitly requires states to ensure the full and effective participation of indigenous peoples in all matters that concern them. Instead their land is grabbed and indigenous rights activists face violence and murder when they defend their communities and their lands. Such hideous human rights violence, done by governments and their corporate partners, is happening across the globe, for the purpose of economic profit making. (Amnesty International 2009 Nigeria, 2013; AWID 2013; Farmlandgrab 2013; OHCHR 2007; The Guardian 2013c.)

Governments also neglect satisfying the needs of their own poor people. Despite significant economic growth in many countries, millions upon millions of people continue to live in life-threatening hunger and poverty, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Profit from the continent's mineral wealth does not benefit poor African people. Corruption and the flow of capital into tax havens outside Africa are two key reasons. Lack of transparency and accountability make this abuse possible. And there is as yet, no justice for poor people for these horrible human rights violations. (Amnesty International 2009 Nigeria, 2013.)

Consequently, human rights are faring poorly, and so is democracy. The Economist Intelligence Unit is compiling a "Democracy Index." It provides a snapshot of the state of democracy worldwide for 165 independent countries and two territories. The index is based on five categories: electoral process and pluralism; civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture. The outcome of the research places each country within one of the following four types of regimes: full democracies; flawed democracies; hybrid regimes; and authoritarian regimes.

The 2013 report is the fifth edition of the Democracy Index. It reflects the situation at the end of 2012. (The Economist Intelligence Unit 2013.)

In 2012, global democracy was at a standstill, thus there was neither significant progress nor regression in democracy on average in that year. The year was characterized by some specific developments: the movement for democracy in the Arab world started well but it remains highly uncertain; popular confidence in the political institutions declined in many European countries and political leadership has been weak in solving the debt crises; USA and UK are at the lower end of “full democracies” due to paralysis and institutional crises; in Eastern Europe democracy declined, only Georgia improved significantly; due to crime, violence, and drug-trafficking democracy in Latin America has not progressed. (The Economist Intelligence Unit 2013.)

The index listed 25 countries as full democracies; 54 countries are rated flawed democracies; 37 are considered to be hybrid regimes, and 51 authoritarian. Thus, 37 percent or 2.6 billion people are living under authoritarian regimes. This big number comes from China being rated as an authoritarian regime. As usual the Nordic countries received the highest score. Norway is number 1 with 9.93 out of the maximum of 10 points. Sweden is number 2, Iceland number 3, and Denmark number 4. United Kingdom is number 16, just a bit ahead of Uruguay and Mauritius. United States is number 21. The last of the 25 full democracies is Spain scoring 8.02. Of interesting flawed democracies is South Africa being number 31 scoring 7.70 points. Israel is number 37 with 7.53 points. Ukraine, Turkey and Egypt are considered hybrid regimes. Authoritarian regimes include apart from China, also Russia, Saudi Arabia and Iran. North Korea is placed at the very bottom of the list, with a score of 1.08 points. (The Economist Intelligence Unit 2013.)

With only 11 percent of the world’s population, or around 785 million people out of 7.1 billion, living in full democracies, one needs to consider if the institution “democracy” has failed humanity. Perhaps the European political theory and structure of representative democracy is culturally based and not universally applicable. If the Europeans had left Africa alone, the inhabitants of the continent may have developed their own diverse political systems, with numerous interconnected smaller self-governing units, joint via tribal networks, and those who share similar cultures and values. Due to colonialism Africa comprises of big nations separated by unnatural borders, mixing diverse and unconnected peoples, according to the ideology of the colonial masters. It may be relevant to question the European political structures and its “democracy.” Rather than exhibiting leadership in representing citizens, defending their rights, many politicians are using their position for self-aggrandizement, while controlling dissents and dominating the population.

The hardship of people under the current political system is further confirmed in the findings of “Freedom in the World 2013: Democratic Breakthroughs in the Balance,” the latest edition of Freedom House’s annual report on political rights and civil liberties. The report reveals that more countries recorded declines than gains during 2012. According to Director Arch Puddington, this marks the seventh consecutive year in which countries with declines outnumber those with improvements. Yet, the number of countries ranked as Free increased by 3, and now stands at 90, suggesting a potential for progress in the mist of deterioration. (Freedom House 2013.)

The report shows that authoritarian governments are trying to weaken elements that pose threats to their repressive and corrupt rule. There have been notable declines for freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, the rights of nongovernmental organizations, independent judiciary, and equal protection under the law. The aim is to prevent any groups with a political agenda from functioning. This curbs activism in fields like environmental protection, women’s rights, gay

and lesbian rights, rights of traditional peoples; any movement against government corruption, internet censorship, and private surveillance. (Freedom House 2013.)

Freedom in the World is a comparative assessment of global political rights and civil liberties covering 195 countries and 14 territories, since 1972. The report applies one of three broad categories to each of the included countries: Free, Partly Free, and Not Free. A *Free* country has open political competition, a climate of respect for civil liberties, significant independent civic life, and independent media. A *Partly Free* country is one with limited respect for political rights and civil liberties. Partly Free states frequently suffer from an atmosphere of corruption, weak rule of law, ethnic and religious strife, and often a single party dominates the political landscape despite a certain degree of pluralism. A *Not Free* country is one where basic political rights are absent, and basic civil liberties are widely and systematically denied. (Freedom House 2013.)

Results for 2012 deemed 90 countries as Free, representing 43 percent of the global population or 3,046 million people. Partly Free countries stood at 58, which is 23 percent of the world's total or 1,614 million people. Finally, 47 countries were measured Not Free, including 2,377 million people, or 34 percent of the global population, more than half are Chinese. Of the Not Free countries, 9 received the lowest possible rating: North Korea, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Somalia are in that group. In general, least freedom was found in the Middle East and Africa. Western Europe fares the best, but the Americas are not far behind. (Freedom House 2013.)

Conclusively, human rights, democracy, and freedom are not enjoyed by the majority of the world's population. Many people suffer injustice, inequality, domination, restrictions, control and deprivation including violence and murder. The culprits are the political and economic elites.

### **Priority: Profit over People**

Although the North supports human rights and democracy, they have not done much effort to improve global human rights violations. They seem to forget their ideals when their own economic interests are at stake. Thus, Western countries are collaborating with oppressive regimes. The US foreign policy states that it will not accept regimes that are uncooperative to American interests. Yet, if they cooperate, even dictators and military regimes may get US support. Everybody knew about the cruelty of Iraq's former dictator Saddam Hussein, but Western governments still supported him in the Iran-Iraq war. They sold him military equipment, making it possible for him to build the fourth largest army in the world. They also supplied weapons of mass destruction into a power-sensitive region. In 1988, when Saddam Hussein used chemical weapons against unarmed Kurdish Iraqi citizens, the international community did not impose sanctions against Iraq. Yet, when the oil of Kuwait was at risk, USA went to war. Had they not supplied Iraq with weapons, we could have avoided the Gulf War and hundreds of thousands of people would still be alive. Besides, had USA done efforts to diminish their oil consumption and developed available alternative energy sources, the oil supply from Iraq and Kuwait would not have been important. (Ekins 1992, 12-13.)

China, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Sweden, Ukraine, UK, and USA are some of the world's main arms exporters. Apart from China, these countries call themselves democratic. In spite of this, they still sell arms to regimes that use them to repress their own people. The UK sold arms to Indonesia, Nigeria, and Saudi Arabia. The Indonesian army killed 200,000 people in East Timor; the Nigerian regime killed the human rights campaigner and leader of the Ogoni people Ken Saro-Wiwa together with 8 other Ogoni people; Saudi Arabia is an authoritarian regime with a poor human rights record. Democratic countries also manufacture and sell weapons of torture to repressive regimes. In 1991-1993 USA exported to Saudi Arabia the following items worth 5.4 million USD: thumb cuffs, thumb screws, leg irons, shackles, handcuffs, straitjackets, and specially designed elec-

tric instruments for sexual torture. Conclusively, democratic countries support oppressive regimes to commit human rights abuses, in order to earn economic profit. (Rowe 1997, 237, 240; SIPRI 2012; Wikipedia, World's largest arms exporters.)

United Nations also prioritize economic profit, at least in its Security Council where the real power lays. It happened in Bosnia in 1992-93, in Rwanda in 1994, and it happened again in Darfur, Sudan in 2003. The international community does not act to stop killing of ethnic people. The law on genocide, which UN members signed after the Second World War, says that if a situation is called genocide, countries are bound to act. In spite of that, genocide continues. Lack of UN intervention in Darfur is due to the veto powers from the Chinese and Russian governments. Both have considerable economic interests in Sudan and are therefore opposed to sanctions. Hence, according to BBC News July 10, 2005, the UN representative from China had only one comment to the journalist's question as to why, "Business is business." Besides, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council: China, France, Russia, UK, and USA export 88 percent of the world's conventional arms. Thus, it improves their arms business to veto sanctions against countries with armed conflicts. As a consequence of the value that governments prioritize profit over people, no sanctions can be imposed to stop government-sponsored attacks, rapes, and killings of ethnic groups. The conflict in Darfur has been described as "staggering in scale and harrowing in nature." Over 2.8 million people have been displaced since 2003 and about 480,000 people have died from starvation, diseases, and killings in Darfur since 2003. (Amnesty International 2006; End Genocide; Wikipedia 2014, Darfur.)

Worldwide people are becoming aware that corporations only focus on economic profit-making. If it gives profit, corporation will do business with totalitarian regimes. Since regulations reduce profitability, it makes good business sense to eliminate them. Thus, corporations try to remove any obstacles for profit, including democratic control and human rights. Some US corporations even worked for Adolf Hitler, reaping large profits. The US business machine company IBM supplied the Third Reich with tabulation machines to do the calculations at Nazi extermination and slave-labor programs. IBM's staff knew that the German government had placed the IBM machines in concentration camps where Jews were exterminated. The IBM technicians trained the users and maintained the machines in the camps. IBM also supplied punch cards for the machines, until 1941 when USA declared war on Germany. Conclusively, corporations do not have ethical standards; they only focus on economic profit-making. Hence, if there is profit in killing people, corporations will be helpful in providing the means. (Bakan 2004, 85, 88-89, 95, 101.)

The focus on maximizing profit makes corporations engage in unlawful behavior, like the world's largest conglomerate corporation General Electric Company (GE) does. Multinational Monitor compiled some of the company's major legal violations between 1990 and 2001, which included 44 criminal cases lost by GE. All of the cases were directly or indirectly a violation of human rights. They included environmental pollution, violation of workers safety rules, illegal weapons sales, fraud, money laundering, delivery of defective items, design flaws, deception of consumers, overcharging, and unfair debt collection practices. Most of the cases related to pollution of public drinking water, rivers, and soils. The defective items and design flaws were serious enough to cause airplane crashes and faults at nuclear plants. Thus, corporations do have obstacles when they disregard laws that protect people and nature. Yet, they just make cost-benefit analyses that include possible fines and compensations. For them it is cheaper to break the laws, than to play by the rules. Their singular focus is on maximizing their profit, and at that corporations are successful. Here are some examples: if Wal-Mart were a country, its revenues would make it on par with the GDP of Norway, the 25th largest economy in the world, surpassing 157 smaller countries. Norway's GDP is 414.46 billion USD and Walmart's revenue is 421.89 billion USD. General Electric is bigger than New



Zealand. New Zealand's GDP is 140.43 billion USD; GE's Revenue is 151.63 billion USD. GE would rank as the world's 52nd biggest country. Microsoft is bigger than Croatia. Croatia's GDP is 60.59 billion USD. Microsoft's Revenue is 62.48 billion USD. Microsoft would be the world's 66th richest country. (Bakan 2004, 75-77; Business Insider 2011; Ekins 1992, 72; Wikipedia, Forbes Global 2000.)

Another human rights violation occurs when government officials steal economic resources, meant to pay for public services like health, education, water, and sanitation. Transparency International is annually publishing a "Corruption Perceptions Index," which measures domestic, public sector corruption. The Index serves as a reminder that the abuse of power, secret dealings, and bribery continue to devastate societies worldwide. (Transparency International 2013.)

The Corruption Perceptions Index ranks countries based on how corrupt their public sector is perceived to be. A country's score indicates the perceived level of public sector corruption on a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 means it is perceived as highly corrupt and 100 it is very clean. A country's rank indicates its position relative to other countries in the index. The 2013 Corruption Perceptions Index comprises 177 countries and territories. (Transparency International 2013.)

No country has a perfect score but two-thirds score below 50. This indicates a serious, worldwide corruption problem. Fragile, unstable states plagued by conflicts and wars are at the bottom of the Index. These include Somalia, North Korea, and Afghanistan scoring 8. Just above comes Sudan with 11 points and South Sudan with 14. Libya has 15 and Iraq 16 points. The top countries are Denmark and New Zealand sharing the first place, each with 91 points. Third place is shared by Finland and Sweden, scoring 89 points. Norway and Singapore are sharing place number 5 each with 86 points. United Kingdom is number 14 with 76 points, and USA is number 19 with 73 points. China shares place number 80 with Greece, each with 40 points, while Russia shares place 127 with Pakistan at 28 points. It should be added that the Index has been critiqued: since corruption is willfully hidden it is impossible to measure directly; instead, proxies for corruption are used, making it not an actual national corruption risk; however, it is still an indication. (Transparency International 2013; Wikipedia 2014, Corruption Perceptions Index.)

Conclusively, most governments, businesses, and institutions prioritize economic growth and economic profit-making, whether they achieve this by legal or illegal means, by ethical or unethical actions. They are conversely much less concerned about the well-being of people.

### **Priority: Men over Women and Children**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was the outcome from experiences in the Second World War. Due to the atrocities done, the UN wanted to make a global agreement of rights to which all human beings are entitled. The Declaration has 30 articles, some of which are as follows: Article 1 asserts that all human beings are created free and equal in dignity and rights. Article 2 finds that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration, without distinction of race, color, and sex. Article 3 says that everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security. Article 5 declares that no person must be tortured or subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Article 7 promises that all are equal before the law and entitled to equal protection of the law. Article 16 says that men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality, or religion, have the right to marry. Marriage requires the free and full consent of the spouses, who have equal rights before and during the marriage, and in case of divorce. Article 25 promises all the rights to a standard of living adequate for their health and well-being, especially mothers and children. Finally, article 26 gives everyone the right to free elementary education. (Wikipedia, Universal Declaration of Human Rights.)

These are the promises; but there is far between promise and reality. For many women the rights of freedom, equality, dignity, and security are not accessible. Instead brutal, ruthless, and violent treatment is routine. Inhuman treatment of women and girls is pervasive. Below some disturbing data are presented. (Amnesty International, Violence Against Women Information.)

*Intimate partner violence:* Every 15 seconds, somewhere in USA, a woman is battered; it is done mainly by her intimate partner. In 2005, 1,181 American women were murdered by their partner; an average of 3 women daily. Women from the lowest income category experience more than 6 times the rate of partner violence compared to women in the highest income group. In Australia, Canada, Israel, South Africa and the United States, between 40 and 70 percent of female murders are caused by intimate partner violence. In South Africa, a woman is killed every 6 hours by an intimate partner. According to a 2013 global review of available data, 35 percent of women worldwide have experienced violence from either an intimate partner or a non-partner. Individual national studies have figures up to 70 percent. Gender-based violence kills and disables the same number of women between the ages of 15 and 44 as cancer does. Its toll on women's health surpasses that of traffic accidents and malaria combined. The US Center for Disease Control estimated the cost of domestic violence in 2003 to be 8.3 billion USD. This includes medical care, mental health services, and lost productivity. In England and Wales it amounted to 37.6 billion USD in 2004. A 2009 study in Australia estimated the cost of violence against women and children to be 11.9 billion USD per year. (Amnesty International, Violence Against Women Information; National Organization for Women 2007; UN Women 2011, 2013.)

*Female genital mutilation* is a deeply rooted traditional cutting operations performed on women and girls. It is often part of fertility rituals and justified as a way to ensure chastity and genital purity. The estimate is that 135 million girls and women alive today have undergone female genital mutilation, some with dire consequences like infection, sterility, and psychological traumas. An estimated 3 million girls are at risk of mutilation every year. Female genital mutilation is taking place mainly in Africa. However, it is also done in some Middle Eastern and Asian countries. A 2005/6 study found that 97 percent of Egyptian women between the age of 15 and 49 had undergone mutilation; Mali, 92 percent; Burkina Faso, 77 percent; North Sudan, 90 percent. Although all countries in which female genital mutilation is practiced have legislation making it illegal, lack of re-enforcement and prosecution of the perpetrators means that the mutilation continues. (Advocates for Youth; Amnesty International 2006; Amnesty International, Violence Against Women Information; UN Women 2013; UNIFEM 2007.)

*Dowry murder* is a cruel practice where the in-laws kill a young bride because her family cannot pay her dowry – a payment made by the bride's family to the in-laws when she marries. Since the dowry is quite high, exceeding at times a family's annual income, they cannot always pay it, which leads to violent disputes. It mainly takes place in Asia. In India and Pakistan, thousands of women are victims of dowry deaths. Annual estimates vary; UNFPA reckons that 5,000 women are burned to death, disguised as "kitchen accidents," because their dowry was considered insufficient. In 2007, a report assessed that 22 women were killed each day in dowry-related murders, more than 8,000 women in that year. (Advocates for Youth; Amnesty International, Violence Against Women Information; UN Women 2011; UNIFEM 2007.)

*Honor killing* relates to murdering of women, who have been raped, who are suspected of engaging in premarital sex, or who are accused of adultery. The women's own relatives kill her, because they perceive violation of a woman's chastity is an insult to the family's honor. In order to improve the family honor, she must be removed from their lives. In a study of female deaths in Alexandria,

Egypt, it was found that 47 percent of women, who had been raped, were subsequently killed by a relative. Honor killings take place mainly in the Mediterranean and Gulf countries. (Amnesty International, Violence Against Women Information; UNIFEM 2007.)

*Early marriage of girls* happens throughout the world, especially in Africa and South Asia. More than 64 million girls worldwide are child brides, married before the age of 18. Of South Asian women, aged 20 to 24 years, 46 percent were married before the age of 18. In West and Central Africa the figure was 41 percent. Early marriages is a form of sexual violence, because it forces girls, as young as 7 years, into sexual relationship, which will endanger their health, raise their risk of exposure to HIV/AIDS, and limit their chance to attend school. Besides, early pregnancies are risky for adolescent girls; pregnancy-related complications are the leading cause of death for 15 to 19 year old girls. (UN Women 2011, 2013; UNIFEM 2007.)

*HIV/AIDS* transmission is an additional form of violence towards girls and women. Due to women's subordination in society, they are unable to refuse unwanted and unsafe sex. Often men are forcing women to sex, which results in bruising and bleeding, providing the transmission of the HIV virus. Women are already two to four times more likely than men to become infected with HIV during intercourse. Especially, young girls are vulnerable. It is estimated that young women aged 15 to 24 are three times more likely to be infected with HIV than young men at the same age. Besides, women do not often seek AIDS treatment due to fear of abandonment and violence if they disclose their HIV-positive status. Such women have been driven from their homes, left destitute by their family and community, and are subjected to extreme physical and emotional abuse. In 1998, men in South Africa stoned a woman to death, after she had declared her HIV-positive status on the radio and in the television on World Aids Day. (Advocates for Youth; UN Women 2013; UNIFEM 2007.)

“Gender Based Asylum” is advocated by the UN High Commission on Refugees. UNHCR finds that, “women fearing persecution or severe discrimination on the basis of their gender should be considered a member of a social group for the purposes of determining refugee status.” Such persecution include harms unique to their gender such as, but not limited to, female genital mutilation, forcible abortion, domestic violence not acted on by the state, and honor killings. (Amnesty International, Violence Against Women Information.)

Violence against women is rooted in a global patriarchal culture, which undermines women and denies them equal rights to men. It is a value that has objectified women and thus legitimized the appropriation of their bodies for selfish or political ends. Since states have a responsibility to protect individuals from human rights abuses, and since violence against women is a human rights abuse, and since these gender-based violations against women continues, global political leaders are indirectly responsible for, and thus complicit in these horrible human rights violations against women. (Amnesty International, Violence Against Women Information.)

The victims' young age, signifies that **children** are suffering human rights abuses. This happens even though the UN in 1989 adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child. In it, the world promises its children the rights of freedom, protection, and family environment; education, basic health, and welfare. Tragically, for millions of children reality is different. As mentioned above, hundreds of millions of children are suffering from war, violence, hunger, poverty, ill-health, and many more abuses. But there is more: Although international law prohibits children's participation in armed conflict, armed groups and government forces recruit children to participate in all aspects of contemporary warfare: they kill or are being killed in combat; they serve as human mine detectors, participate in suicide missions, or work as spies, messengers, lookouts, and perform other support tasks, including sex. There are an estimated 300,000 *child soldiers* in more than 20 countries

around the world, 40 percent are girls. Most are in Africa. Due to their immaturity, child soldiers suffer higher casualties than their adult counterparts. Some countries *execute children*, or they execute the adult person for an offense done as a child. Since 2004 China, Iran, Pakistan, and Sudan have put child offenders to death. Many children do not enjoy family environments. Although the number is not confirmed, there are an estimated 100 million *street children* in the world. The concept embraces a diverse group of children living and/or working on the streets. Finally, governments are obliged to deliver children free elementary *education*. Yet, many children do not attend school for various reasons. One is that education is not free as promised, and too expensive for poor families to pay. In such cases, girls are more likely to stay home, since overworked mothers need their daughters' workforce. Hence, the subordinate social position of girls and women continue as a vicious circle. (Amnesty International 2009; Overview of global issues; The Independent 2012; UNICEF 2005b, 2006; UNICEF Factsheet.)

### **Contemporary Slavery**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights says in its article 4 that no person can be held in slavery or servitude. Therefore, slavery and slave trade in any form is prohibited. In spite of this, there are more slaves in our world today than there were at the time of anti-slavery campaigning in the 17th century. Contemporary slavery takes various forms and it affects people of all ages, races, and both sexes. ILO estimates that 20.9 million people globally, are victims of forced labor. Women and girls represent 55 percent of the total and 98 percent of the 4.5 million people forced into sexual exploitation. (Anti-slavery International 2009; ILO 2012; UN Women 2013.)

Of the 20.9 million forced laborers, 18.7 million or 90 percent are exploited by individuals or enterprises in the private economy. Out of these, 4.5 million or 22 percent are victims of forced sexual exploitation, while 14.2 million or 68 percent are victims of forced labor exploitation in economic activities, such as agriculture, construction, domestic work, or manufacturing. The remaining 2.2 million or 10 percent are in state-imposed forms of forced labor, or working for rebel armed forces. Geographically, victims of forced labor can be found all over the world. The Asia-Pacific region has the largest number of 11.7 million or 56 percent of the total. Africa is second with 3.7 million or 18 percent. The rest are in all other regions of the world. (ILO 2012.)

Of the total number of victims, 11.8 million or 56 percent are subjected to forced labor in their place of origin, while 9.1 million or 44 percent are moved internally or internationally. Cross-border movement or human trafficking normally relates to recruitment and transportation of women, girls, and boys for the sex-industry. However, trafficking also occurs for other uses such as slavery in sweatshops, domestic work, and agriculture. Moreover, it includes adoption, forced marriage, street begging, and even organ extraction. (ILO 2012; UNFPA 2002; UNIFEM 2007.)

Contemporary slavery is a highly profitable organized crime. Figures vary, but ILO projected in 2005 that the human trafficking industry alone generated a shocking 31.6 billion USD in annual profits. UNIFEM estimates 1/3 of this amount. In the UN it is believed that human trafficking is the third most lucrative criminal or illicit industry, after drug smuggling, and arms trafficking. It is difficult to prosecute traffickers. Countries have diverse laws and the involved nations have not established coordinated mechanisms. Moreover, corruption among civil servants exacerbates the illegal trade. Human trafficking also thrives on nations in conflict. Gigantic opportunities open up to traffickers given the breakdown in law and order, disintegration of family units, and the collapse of entire economies. (ILO 2005; UNFPA 2002; UNIFEM 2007.)

Human trafficking is founded on patriarchal ideology. This form of abuse is therefore based on domination, exploitation, and disregard for the dignity of women and children. The underlying

causes for human trafficking relate to feminization of poverty, unequal gender relations, female ignorance, male greed, political instability, and conflicts in the home country. These situations may force women to seek jobs elsewhere or families may decide to sell their children. Since women and girls are less valued, families more often use them as commodities. Thus, poverty, inequality, and greed are *supplying* the victims. Increased economic growth is another reason for increase in sexual trade. In East Asian countries improved economic circumstances has created a middle class with men able to buy sexual services. Thus, wealth has increased the *demand* for sex slaves. Especially young, healthy virgins are in high demand. Studies find that buyers of sexual services are average men, often married or in stable relationships. They represent all nationalities, all ages, and all lifestyles. (UNFPA 2002; UNIFEM 2007.)

### **Conclusion on the Crisis of Human Rights Abuses**

From the above discussions, it should be clear that poor people, traditional people, people of color – usually women and children – suffer much of the human rights abuses. It should also be clear that those people who sit in positions of economic and political power, directly or indirectly, are responsible for the abuses – they are usually men. (Ekins 1992, 12.)

## **Part II**

### **Global Crises: Cause and Possible Solution**

#### ***Cause of Crises: Reductionist Perception***

In Paul Ekins' opinion, the four crises are difficult to resolve individually because they are inter-linked and reinforce each other: wars usually bring poverty, environmental problems, and abuse of human rights. Poverty leads to environmental degradation, revolts, and repression. Destruction of nature often ends in poverty, social upheaval, and oppression. Abuses of human rights are entangled in all the other crises. Thus, the four crises function in a web-like fashion and are difficult to improve individually. If we should hope to make positive changes, we must look beyond a cure of each crisis, towards a process of overall healing. Hence, the crises must be seen as symptoms of a systemic "dis-ease". (Ekins 1992, 13.)

Hazel Henderson and Fritjof Capra agree with Ekins. We cannot understand the crises in isolation. How they manifest is not important. War, poverty, environmental destruction, and human rights abuses are all rooted in a systemic crisis, "a crisis of perception". It derives from the Western obsolete, reductionist worldview. Modern science, economics, technology, government structures, and academic institutions are using a fragmented methodology that is inadequate in dealing with a systemically interlinked world. Using the reductionist method, many scientifically educated people cannot understand and hence resolve systemic crises. Most political leaders also fail to see that crises are inter-linked. They cannot grasp that favoring one part of the system, i.e. the economy, will negatively affect other parts of the system, i.e. society and nature, causing crises. Thus, politicians cannot comprehend that economic profit-making is only possible by exploiting society and nature, causing harm to its life. (Capra 1982, 6; Capra 1989, 248; Capra 1997, 3-4.)

Richard B. Norgaard has arrived at a similar conclusion. The reason behind the environmental crisis relates to the Western philosophy that sees a good life as modern and progressive. Using modern science and its technology, man could control nature and all could have material abundance, administered by rational social organization. Applying this to the South as well would lead to peace on Earth. All could be part of a new, collective, modern culture. However, modernity betrayed us. Instead of unity, it led to inequalities, environment destruction, wars, and a deadlock where governments cannot find rational solutions to the crises. (Norgaard 1994, 1-2.)

Modern culture was founded on false beliefs about science, technology, society, and nature. Scientists assume that progress happens in a linear, progressive fashion. Thus, improved science will advance technology, leading to more rational social organization, increased economic growth and material well-being. It is perceived as an eternal activity, determined by science. Yet, the view is too simple. Progress cannot continue forever since the means – our natural resources – are finite. We do not have an endless supply of natural resources with which economists are calculating. Thus, in the name of progress, we are depleting our natural resources and destroying planet Earth. Eventually, modernity will end human existence. (Norgaard 1994, 32-34, 54-56.)

The false beliefs relate to the premises underlying the Western worldview. Norgaard calls them for atomism, mechanism, universalism, objectivism, and monism. They translate reality as follows: social or natural systems consist of unchanging parts, the sum of which equals the whole. The relationship between the parts is fixed and changes are reversible. Although systems may be different and complex, all are based on a limited number of underlying universal laws, which are unchanging and eternal. One can understand these laws by observing a system from the outside. The knowledge derived at is objective and universal, and the only way to understand the system. When we know the laws of a system, we can predict its actions, and control the system. In this way, the system can be manipulated to benefit human beings. (Norgaard 1994, 62-66.)

It is important to understand these premises since they determine mainstream political discourse, public information gathering, decision-making, and implementation of activities. These premises made it possible to perceive nature as a mechanical and static system that can be controlled from the outside. It allowed people to exploit natural resources and destroy the environment. Yet, reductionist thinking and its static perception of nature are based on a false theory. In reality when a part is changed in one place, it impacts on multiple other parts elsewhere, on their relationships, and on the whole. Hence, in a system nothing remains the same when any one part is changed. Thus, nothing can be excluded from the context; not the observer, neither any human action. Therefore, believing in these premises is part of the crises with which humanity is faced. Consequently, the global crises are rooted in “a perceptual and intellectual crisis.” Since reality is complex, applying these simple premises will lead to crises. Each crisis is seen as an anomaly, but when they accumulate, it becomes a paradigmatic crisis, demanding change. Conclusively, the modern world’s reductionist perception of reality blinds us to different ways of seeing reality, and prevents us from applying alternative solutions. The modern paradigm is therefore limited and limiting in dealing with complex systems as nature and society. (Norgaard 1994, 62, 70-73.)

Ekins agrees and adds that science is the most dangerous result of Western worldview. Being founded on a mechanical and reductionist perception of reality, it cannot deal with wholes, relationships, living organisms, human consciousness and meaning – all of which are part of our reality. Due to this limitation, science becomes inadequate as a knowledge system; it cannot help us create well-functioning societies. Instead, the elite used science as a tool to dominate society and exploit nature, for profit-making, leading to the above crises. Being a scientific project, also Third World development is based on domination. The plan was to modernize the South by the means of economic growth. But due to science’s reductionist focus on quantitative values only, development overlooked what matters to people, and destroyed the quality of life for women, poor people, and nature. The state system helped with this. In the modern worldview, the government is the ultimate authority. It therefore exercises absolute power over the lives of its people, its natural environments, and defines the rules of development. This has been disastrous for millions of people. Political leaders have mercilessly enforced the economic growth model. They have wasted resources on arms, prestige projects, and their own luxury life styles. They have caused wars and repressed their citizens. They have destroyed natural resources meant for people’s subsistence. Hence, science, eco-

conomic development, and the state have been a cruel experience for society and nature in the South. They made a violent world with human repression, poverty, and environmental disintegration that may lead to the death of all. (Ekins 1992, 202-207.)

### ***Solution to Crises: Systemic Approach***

If we intend to resolve the current crises, we need to apply alternative premises. Norgaard calls these for holism, determinism, contextualism, subjectivism, and pluralism. In a system, parts cannot be understood separate from the whole, and the whole differs from the sum of the parts. Parts and their relationships are continuously changing, adapting to each other. Some changes may be mechanical but commonly they are evolutionary. Besides, changes in a system depend on multiple factors, which make change chaotic, discontinuous, and unpredictable. Further, a system cannot be understood isolated from human perception, values, experience, and actions. Thus, systemic knowledge is not universal or objective. Instead, we may comprehend systems in diverse ways depending on the values we apply. With these alternative premises we must perceive nature and society as complex systems that continuously change according to various causes and in contradictory ways. In Norgaard's opinion systems do not only change individually, they also co-evolve, making the outcome complex, chaotic, and non-comprehensible for people. Hence, dealing with dis-orderly, co-evolving systems limits our ability to predict effects and control events. We can only explain afterwards. As Norgaard expresses it, the co-evolutionary explanation sees how nature is social and how society is natural. Thus, we cannot call a co-evolutionary explanation for "progress," it is a change. A change takes place when a part fit with other parts. Hence, change is a process of experimentation. The parts that work are selected, while those that do not fit, are rejected. Since we cannot predict and control social and natural systems we must, in order to minimize unwanted change, learn new rules. We need to experiment cautiously and monitor the chain of events carefully; to limit risks, we must choose small-scale activities over large-scale ones; to quickly undo unwanted changes, we must prioritize short-term actions over long-termed ones; finally, diversity gives a better chance for success. Such wisdom may give us a new foundation for solving the global crises. (Norgaard 1994, 23, 28, 36-37, 46-47, 62.)

If the above explanation about the causes of the crises is acceptable, then it must follow, that modern society need to make a paradigm shift. The crises must be examined within a systemic paradigm and from the insight this gives, actions can be suggested. One urgent adjustment relates to economics. Global political leaders prioritize the economy as the only important issue. They perceive economics as a true, neutral, and rational science they can deal with separately from other aspects of life. Thus, political leaders run the economy with no concern for society and nature, causing crises in both. When we use systems thinking, this becomes absurd. In the real world, economic activities take place inside society and nature, all parts interact. When we realize this, we can develop a suitable economic model that includes society and nature. Conclusively, successful solutions to the global crises require a radical shift in perceptions, thinking, values, and actions. We must limit reductionist thinking and give a prominent space to systems thinking. (Capra 1982, 6; Capra 1997, 3-4; Ekins, Hillman, and Hutchison 1992, 40; Norgaard 1994, 47.)

### ***Holistic Worldviews***

Many scientists have realized that the reductionist philosophy is inadequate in explaining reality. This has resulted in an evolution of alternative worldviews. During the 20th century organismic biology developed, emphasizing that living organisms are integrated wholes. This developed into *the general systems theory*, which sees the world as being interrelated, and all phenomena as being interdependent. "A system" means an integrated whole, the understanding of which cannot be reduced to the sum of its parts. Or said differently, the whole is more than the sum of its parts. The reason is that essential properties of the whole occur from the relationships between its parts. It con-

sequently is a holistic perspective, which is known as systemic and the way of thinking involves systems thinking. Systems thinking relates to the understanding of a phenomenon within the context of a larger whole. Living organisms, ecosystems, and societies are all systems. The concepts systemic and ecological are therefore similar. Although biologists initiated systems thinking, it was further enriched by the gestalt theory in psychology and the new science of ecology. Further input came from Gregory Bateson and the ecosystemic school in psychology, which is considered a brand of holism. A different type of holism called the Santiago theory was developed in the 1970s by Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela. After its publication, one of the oldest statements of holism, developed by the South African General and Field-marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts, was reviewed and gained new significance. Smuts published his book, "Holism and Evolution" already in 1926. *Smuts' holism* came at a time when there was an increasing realization that the mechanical worldview's reductionist thinking had a limited usefulness, when it comes to exploring and explaining reality. Smuts' holism was therefore proposed as an alternative statement. In his book, Smuts attempted to define the essential characteristics of holism and to differentiate it from reductionist thinking and mechanism. Smuts' holism consequently deals with self-determined wholes, parts, their relationships, and their context. It remains one of the most comprehensive statements of holism to date. It was also one of the first – probably the first – perspectives of holism presented as a worldview. (Capra 1982, 26; Capra 1997, 17-18, 26-27; Capra 2002, 29; Kotze and Kotze 1993, 15-17, 21; Merchant 1980, 292.)

There is a third philosophy, similar to the general systems theory and Smuts' holism, which can perceive reality holistic and promote ideal systemic change. It is the Chinese cosmology, I Ching, with its yin and yang forces. In the following, the I Ching worldview is presented.

### ***The I Ching Worldview***

I Ching means Book of Changes. It is based on Chinese cosmology (the study of the origin and nature of the universe). Ancient Chinese philosophers believed that all manifestations of reality are generated by the dynamic interplay between two polar forces, which they called yin and yang. The I Ching is therefore concerned with yin and yang and their relationship. Thus, yin yang is a philosophy of change. (Loy 1987, 41; Palmer 1997, 31-32.)

The I Ching was developed from the wish to ensure success in change. The Chinese concept of change was shaped by observing natural events: the course of the sun; the change of day and night; the succession of seasons; the flow of water. Confucius found that, "Like this river, everything is flowing on ceaselessly, day and night." Therefore, change is what life is all about. Change is a constant aspect of existence. The reliability of change lays in the paradox, "Change that is the unchangeable." One can count on the stability of change. Consequently, in Chinese philosophy activity is a vital feature of the universe. The universe is engaged in a ceaseless motion the Chinese call "Tao," which means "the way." Since change is natural its reverse is to go against nature. Hence, the opposite of change is not end of movement, it is rather growth of what ought to decrease; downfall of what ought to rule. (Capra 1982, 9, 19; Wilhelm and Wilhelm 1995, 26, 29-30; Palmer 1997, 31-32.)

Change does not happen suddenly and irrationally. Change has its set course in which the tendencies of events develop. Like we expect the sun will rise tomorrow and that spring will follow winter, we can also anticipate that the process of change is not chaotic, but pursuing fixed courses. Change is not external. It is an inner, impulsive inclination according to which development takes place. Change does therefore not take place due to an outside force. It is natural and innate in everything. Thus, change is not a dictate to which one must surrender; it is rather an indication, showing the direction one ought to take. A change is therefore natural but to identify it and follow its course



is a free choice. Having a choice means that we can influence change. Yet, successful influence is only possible by going with the direction of change, not against it. Therefore, within limits, we are both masters of our own fate and able to interfere in the course of events beyond our own sphere. Nevertheless, one must recognize the limits and remain within them. The Book of Changes was written in order to promote such understanding. (Capra 1982, 19; Wilhelm and Wilhelm 1995, 26-27, 30-32.)

### **The Yin Yang Forces**

I Ching perceives reality (Tao) as a process of ongoing, repeated rise and fall of the two archetypal poles, yin and yang. Everything joins in the cosmic process. Thus, the nature of existence (Tao) is a cyclical, ceaseless motion. Hence, yin and yang are elements of change. If they were destroyed, there would be nothing by which changes could be perceived, and without change, also they would cease. (Capra 1982, 17; Wilhelm and Wilhelm 1995, 40.)

Yin and yang put the boundaries for the cycles of change. While they are opposites, they are not of a different kind. They are rather two extreme poles of one whole. Nothing is only yin or only yang; everything is both. Although each wants to dominate, they cannot, because each includes within itself a part of the other. Therefore, when one arrives at its peak, it starts to decline, permitting the other to rise. It is a dynamic relationship. One is increasing, while the other is decreasing. When yang is taking form, yin is disintegrating, returning to the state of formlessness. Life and death, growth and decay, the cycle never ends. The ongoing flux between the two poles exists in everything. The yang forces of day, give way to the yin forces of night, and vice versa. It is a natural order founded on a dynamic tension between yin and yang. Thus, the yin and yang symbol is the essence of this equality, balance, and harmony. Dynamic tension results in balance. Handling the tension ends in harmony. Harmony is consequently not the absence of tension; harmony is created by balancing differences and handling conflicts. With balance and harmony, changes take place steadily and in continuous progression. (Capra 1982, 18; Loy 1987, 42; Palmer 1997, vii, ix; Sizoo 2000, 46.)

It is believed that yin and yang appeared at the beginning of time, when a flash of lightning split the cosmic darkness bringing light. Since then yin and yang are the only two cosmic forces that exist. Nothing has life except through them and all that is, contains both of them. Yin and yang relates to the first known world religion, shamanism. It perceived two worlds: a material and a spiritual world. The spirit world often threatened the material world, hence the shaman needed to balance the two. In the 5th century BC, a revolution in thought disputed the two world's unequal relation, and a new model with two equal worlds emerged. At the same time, the Chinese developed technology to tame the rivers and the risk of floods, and the earthquakes and the risk of drought. Chinese people have historically suffered serious floods caused by the Yellow River bursting its banks, inundating their homes and fields. However, with the new model humans no longer were at the mercy of the gods. People could, through their own efforts rightly applied, interact with nature and influence the spirit world. Thus, the yin and yang theory emerged from human interaction with nature. This interaction is consequently the basis for understanding the traditional Chinese view of how harmony and balance are created. (Palmer 1997, viii, 1-5.)

The theory had two traditions: *Confucianism* finds that yin yang balance is achieved by human action. *Taoism* sees the human role as one of "active in-action," which is not the same as no-action since absolute rest does not exist. Active in-action is in Chinese called "Wu-wei." It means avoiding acting contrary to the way of the Tao. Hence, if people go with the flow of nature, their actions will be successful. If they go against the flow of nature, they create troubles. Thus, Taoists believe that things should be allowed to run their own course, and that all can be done by non-action. The ten-

sion between active Confucianism and inactive Taoism parallels the tension between yang and yin. Confucianism lacks humility and is too arrogant. Taoism lacks action and is too inert. The solution is a dynamic tension between humility and pride, non-action and action, going with the flow of nature and holding back the tide. This interaction forms the basis of the Chinese worldview. There are consequently two kinds of activity; activity done in harmony with nature; and activity going against the natural flow of things. Passivity is not available. Yin is the responsive, consolidating, and cooperative activity; yang is the aggressive, expanding, and competitive activity. Yin action relates to the surroundings, representing ecological and social action; yang action focus on the self, representing individual and egocentric action. (Capra 1982, 19-20; Palmer 1997, 6-7, 10, 12.)

The yin yang forces are linked so the welfare of one affects the welfare of the other. If the universal yin yang balance is upset the Earth is distressed, resulting in natural disasters that negatively influence all. If people's yin yang balance is disturbed, they will negatively influence the balance of their surroundings, causing harm to all parts of the universe. It is therefore important to maintain balance, personally and cosmically. Hence, the Taoist saying, "You are the universe and the universe is you" makes sense. Everything in the universe is interconnected, so yin and yang are a whole. Yang relates to form and the process of taking form, yin refers to matter/energy, which takes form and dissolve into formlessness. Matter/energy cannot exist without a form and there can be no form without matter/energy. When we experience our everyday world, mentally perceiving it to have an objective self-existing form, it is the phenomenal yang world we see. Yet, when we stop projecting our form upon the world, we become aware of yin and its formlessness. It is a change from observing forms to see that of which they are forms. Yin and yang are consequently diverse ways of experiencing and knowing the same world. Yang is based on rationality and reason, while yin is based on intuition and emotion. (Loy 1987, 42-44; Palmer 1997, 15, 18-19.)

Yin and yang are not good or bad; they just are, and as a consequence, the cosmos is. This perception differs from the Western worldview, which sees dark yin as bad and light yang as good. However, it is a dualist and bias perception. It falsely presents a value choice between two opposites: men are superior to inferior women; white people are better than people of color; and humans are more important than nature. This dualist view has permitted white men to dominate women and people of color, and exploit nature, causing cosmic imbalance. To recreate balance, we must include opposites as equals, without any value assumption. In the holistic Chinese philosophy, opposites simply exist and reflect the eternal yin and yang fluctuation. Yin and yang are therefore not moral values. One is not better than the other. What is good is a dynamic balance between the two, while imbalance is bad. The aim is to balance the two forces, because any excess causes crises. We consequently cannot separate yin and yang. We cannot understand them independently. We cannot perceive day without night. Conclusively, everything in the universe is made up of yin and yang. Yang relates to that which is hot, dry, light, and active. It manifests in fire, sun, mountains, spring, summer, day, surface, gods, heaven, men, life, and south. Yin relates to that which is cold, wet, dark, and passive. It manifests in water, moon, rivers, floods, trees, autumn, winter, night, interior, spirits, earth, women, death, and north. Yang implies what is expansive, aggressive, and demanding. Yin corresponds to what is contractive, conservative, and responsive. (Capra 1982, 18; Loy 1987, 41; Palmer 1997, viii-xiii; Veith 2002, 17.)

People also have both yin and yang forces; men are more yang, women are more yin. In Chinese belief, certain things are given at birth, but nothing else is fixed. Thus, our fate is in our own hands. If we take control of our lives by improving our personality and behavior, we can change who we are. Since not all would choose the same, it will generate differences. Hence, Chinese philosophy celebrates diversity. This is opposite to the Western obsession with making all alike. The West needs one model that explains all. When they meet diverse models, they ignore, suppress, ridicule,

or eradicate the alternative. Yet, the drive for oneness will lead to an even greater diversity. The opposite force will reappear as a natural part of reality. (Palmer 1997, 20, 23.)

Due to differences among people, there is always the potential for disagreement leading to conflicts and violence. Instead of removing disagreements, we must try to create balance by holding powerful opposite forces in a dynamic tension. Such tension gives energy. If the energy is not used to find a balance, it can be destructive. Yin and yang is therefore about conflict resolution. It is unwise to pretend that conflicts do not exist or they will go away. The rise and fall of powers is as natural as the rise and fall of summer. Trying to allow yang to suppress yin, is foolish. It leads to chaos and crises, while ultimately the yin will rise. It is equally destructive to be totally yin. To use or to be only one aspect of the twin forces is unhealthy. Denying the opposite is to store up troubles for the future. (Palmer 1997, 107.)

Conclusively, everything in reality is both yin and yang. To deny this is unwise and can lead to crises. Handling contradictions within, by seeing them as a natural part of who one is, is often a great relief. It helps us realize that these issues are not inconsistencies, only aspects of two opposing forces at work within all of life. Accepting this as being natural is a way out of the dualist either-or trap and the inner contradiction. (Palmer 1997, 108.)

### **The Feminine Yin and the Masculine Yang**

Consequently, there are within each of us two forces: yin and yang. They are opposites and must be kept in balance. Yin relates to feminine qualities, and yang to masculine traits. They occur in varying proportions in both men and women. The outcome of the interaction between the yin and yang forces decides a person's character. Thus, a person is the sum total of his or her yin yang mixture. We were all born balanced, but we can adversely affect this balance. Macho, aggressive men have too much yang. Overly subservient women have too much yin. Often men lose the balance. Domineering attitudes mean that much of the yin within is being ignored. If women never argue or are distant, they may have lost most of their yang. If we allow either yin or yang to overstep a certain point, we become unbalanced. Although yin and yang result in differences of temperament between men and women, it does not follow that women can only do domestic work, while men must work outside the home. That is purely a patriarchal division of work. (Capra 1982, 19; Palmer 1997, 13-14; Veith 2000, 15.)

In patriarchal culture the yin yang balance is missing. Instead there is a rigid, dualized order where men must be masculine and women feminine. It has given men (and masculine women) the leading roles and most of society's privileges. Especially dangerous is the patriarchal bias relating women to emotions and passivity and men to rationality and activity. This distinction has placed men in charge of women, resulting in men becoming controlling, dominant, and even violent towards women. This was opposite in early Chinese society where male and female were equal. Yet, in 1500 BC, also China became a patriarchal society. This means that much of the relationship between men and women in traditional Chinese society was oppressive towards women. Thus, the harmony sought by men, was at the expense of women, who were kept to their submissive role. (Birkeland 1995, 56; Capra 1982, 19; Palmer 1997, 69, 71.)

Modern society, including the Chinese, is a masculine yang world. This unbalanced focus is causing crises. Thus, the revolt of the yin is inevitable. The peak of the yang phase has passed, and the rising of the yin is beginning. The outcome will make the world a different place for women, poor people, traditional people, people of color, and nature. Working towards a more equal world, we have much to learn from the concept of yin and yang. Its conflict solving model can teach us neither

to deny the masculine yang nor the feminine yin, but to see them as different and complementary parts of a unified, balanced whole. (Palmer 1997, 73.)

Below some yin and yang manifestation are mentioned. The yang or masculine force is in each case mentioned first:

**Yang-yin;** parts-whole; culture-nature; human-nature; male-female; white-black; master-slave; civilized-primitive; mind-body; reason-emotion; rationality-intuition; mental-manual; theory-practice; universal-particular; science-experience; science-spirituality; analytical-synthetic; linear-cyclical; reductionist-holistic; quantity-quality; subject-object; self-other; egoistic-relational; individual-social; production-reproduction; public-private; aggressive-responsive; domination-subordination; competition-cooperation; expansion-contraction; active-passive; strength-weakness; creative-receptive; joy-sadness; exploitation-conservation; self assertive-integrative; mechanistic-ecological; exterior-interior; beautiful-ugly; time-space; visible-invisible; square-round; dry-wet; hard-soft; large-small; heaven-earth; sun-moon; day-night; summer-winter; warm-cold; fire-water; growth-decay; life-death; form-matter/energy.

### **Living Harmonious Lives**

There are consequently two types of consciousness, knowledge, and activity typical of a human being. The masculine yang is rational, while the feminine yin is intuitive. They are complementary functions of the human mind. *Rational, yang consciousness* is linear and analytic. It analyses, discriminates, measures, and categorizes. Rational yang *knowledge* is therefore fragmented. It relates to science and tends to generate individual, competitive, large-scale, mechanistic, and productive *activities*. It focuses on quantitative growth and expansion, according to a theoretical model with a reductionist scope. Being highly active and ego-centered, the activity may, in its extreme form and without a yin restraint, become aggressive, violent, exploitative, and domineering. *Intuitive, yin consciousness* is a direct, non-intellectual experience of reality in an expanded state of awareness. It is holistic, synthetic, and non-linear. Intuitive *wisdom* is associated with spirituality. It is the basis for qualitative, social, cooperative, ecological, and reproductive *activities*. It is done practically, at a small-scale, with a holistic scope. The activity may in its extreme form, and if unchecked by yang, become diminutive, and subordinate to other activities. Psychologist Robert Ornstein notes that the rational, quantitative, reductionist cognition is a function of the left hemisphere of the human brain. The right brain hemisphere is conversely the source of intuition, qualitative, and imaginative modes of cognition. Both modes are equally important, and both need to be applied in order for a human being to live a balanced life. We can consequently live harmonious lives, when we ensure a dynamic tension between both types of consciousness, knowledge, and activity. (Capra 1982, 21; Henderson 1978, 15-16, 329.)

### **The Crises of Modern Yang Culture**

When we apply the yin yang framework, it becomes clear that the Western culture is founded on patriarchal ideology. It has glorified the masculine, yang forces, and subordinated the feminine, yin energies. It favors rational knowledge over intuitive wisdom; science over spirituality; competition over cooperation; men over women; individuals over society; and exploitation of natural resources over ecological conservation. This modern worldview is the root cause of our global crises. It has imbalance in thoughts and feelings, values and attitudes, encouraging unstable economic, social, and political structures. It has overvalued individual freedom, self-interest, and competition; ignoring cooperation, community needs, and social integration, which are relegated to the unpaid work of women. Janis Birkeland finds that the masculine yang features are not only glorified, they are presented as the essence of human beings. Conversely, the experience, wisdom, and needs of anything that relates to the feminine yin, manifested in women, indigenous people, and nature, are considered

of little relevance in the public arena. Thus, modern culture has isolated the left-brain cognition from the right-brain one and made rationality overall superior, while devaluing all feminine concepts. Such dualized, one-sided view is reflected in the organization of modern culture where scientism and its quantitative methods dominate all social, political, and economic institutions. According to Chinese wisdom, neither the masculine nor the feminine force is intrinsically bad. What leads to crisis is trying to isolate one force from its opposite. This is exactly what the modern culture is doing, and it has caused the current crises. In Henderson's opinion, the imbalance will eventually kill humanity. (Birkeland 1995, 55-56; Capra 1982, 22; Henderson 1978, 15-17, 48, 400; Versfeld 1979, 52-53.)

This dualized, reductionist theory, which is the basis for the dominant yang values in modern society, was reinforced during the Scientific Revolution. It changed the early organic view that a society develops in cycles, into the idea that society evolves in a linear forward progression. The aim of progress is to go beyond practical social and natural limitations, towards unlimited, individual freedom and self-realization, ending in absolute certainty. Thus, by applying pure yang reason, and the rational scientific method, human beings can reach certain knowledge needed for progress. In Birkeland's view, the yang premises manifest as follows: human nature is masculine. Thus, to become human, one must be free from dependency on inferior feminine energy, including women, society, and nature, and make them tools for the use of the superior yang person. Via liberty from practical constraints and use of rational self-realization, a person becomes a free, self-interested individual with universal knowledge. The more one can distance oneself from the feminine, the more successful the person will become. The yang world measures success according to quantity of wealth and power-over-others. Thus, the successful, independent, rational, and selfish individual will be wealthy and powerful. On the other hand, dependency, powerlessness, and poverty are inferior traits, which justify unequal treatment. Conclusively, the glorification of yang makes modern political leaders (men and women) able to disregard and distance themselves from the suffering of women, poor people, and nature. (Birkeland 1995, 59.)

Society has been socialized into believing that yang forces are superior, and few question this absolute truth. Such manipulation stops us from grasping the causes of our crises: when humans are egoistic, independent, competitive, power-seeking, and aggressive, then control, coercion, and hierarchical structures become necessary to manage conflicts and maintain social order. This legitimizes militarism, capitalism, sexism, classism, colonialism, racism, and other deplorable "isms" of modern society. Conversely, caring, trusting, cooperative, and social yin relationships are seen as belonging to a sentimental, distant, and unrealistic past, so they are dismissed. In this way, politicians remove power relations from social debate and implement dominant institutions. Their reason is obvious: when a group of greedy and maximizing individuals are living in a world with limited resources, then controlling structures are needed. It will otherwise end in "dog-eat-dog" survivalism. Militarism is therefore presented as being unavoidable, regardless of its obvious irrationality. The outcome of such a yang world is war and violence, poverty and inequality, environmental destruction, and human rights abuses – global crises where nature and society cannot survive. (Birkeland 1995, 59.)

When the crises extends, global leaders try to improve the situation. But since they can only apply their yang worldview they fail. Every time economists compare the rights of modern man and woman against those of indigenous peoples, the needs of the living against those of future generations, the interests of human profit-making against benefit for nature the latter will always lose. It is impossible in a yang perspective to balance the needs of indigenous people, future generations, and nature against the interests of modern, living, economic man/woman. Only when we add yin, and create a dynamic tension between yin and yang, can we include all needs and resolve the crises.

Hence, a balanced yin yang approach would give as much value to the need of indigenous people, responsibility for nature, and concern for future generations, as it would to individual economic rights. The outcome is harmony. (Birkeland 1995, 69-70.)

The one-sided yang evolution has now reached an alarming stage, manifested in our global crises. Due to the extent and size of the crises, it has become a biological survival to reintegrate yin. Thus, we need to create a dynamic tension between yin and yang, leading to balance and harmony. According to the Chinese philosophy, yang cannot go on forever without self-destruction. Thus, having reached its climax, yang must retreat in favor of yin. The evidence of yang's retreat is seen in the increasing number of movements promoting alternatives to the current modern culture, its politics, economics, and technology. They demand peace, cooperation, equality, and ecological sustainability. These movements insist on a revival of the yin force and manifest what Capra calls for "the turning point." As Henderson says, "The old instrumental yang is now turning into a re-emergence of the subtler yin, intuitive consciousness, to restore the balance." The metaphor of turning the tide, restoring dynamic tension between yin and yang, will bring cosmic and inner balance necessary to resolve our global crises, including alleviate poverty. (Birkeland 1995, 56; Capra 1982, 30; Henderson 1978, 15-17, 330, 384, 400.)

### **Conclusion**

There is today a profound global concern for the natural environment and intense opposition against the ever-increasing pollution from economic activities. There are anti-war and anti-nuclear movements wanting an end to the aggressive and violent yang behavior and its technology. There is strong global support for reinstating democracy, gender equality, and upholding human rights. There is serious criticism of governments and their increased integration with the corporate business elite and their joint focus on maximizing profit, while disregarding human well-being. There are world-wide actions against hunger and poverty, and the ongoing exploitation of women, children, indigenous people, poor people, working-class people, and people of color by the elites. There is also a shift from material consumption to simplicity and from economic growth to spiritual growth. Consequently, people want to recover the quality in their lives; they want freedom from domination; they want to live with adequate means in peaceful and healthy social and natural environments. These developments manifest the rise of yin awareness. Fritjof Capra calls them for "the rising culture." They often operate separately, but since they have common aims, the movements will eventually combine. It will become a powerful force of social transformation that will end the reductionist, dualized, masculine yang ideology, and replace it with a holistic and balanced yin yang worldview. The transformation will affect every aspect of modern life: its knowledge system, its economic system, its technologies, and its political institutions. Conclusively, when we realize that the root cause of our global crises is the reductionist perception of reality, then we can make systemic changes. We can add feminine yin to our unbalanced masculine yang world, restore a dynamic tension between yin and yang, and balance the energies. The outcome is harmony, which is needed to end our global crises and create a quality of life for society and nature worldwide. (Capra 1982, 30-31.)

## Notes

1) *North and South*: In economic development literature “North” normally refers to industrialized countries, which are considered rich, modern, and scientifically developed. “South” refers to non-industrialized countries, which are considered poor, scientifically under-developed or undeveloped. North and South did at first relate geographically, since the northern hemisphere was more developed compared to the southern hemisphere. However, the geographical North/South division is no longer consistent. Australia and New Zealand are considered industrialized countries but they are placed in the southern hemisphere. Besides, some countries in the South like Brazil, India, and South Africa, are becoming quite advanced in their industries, while millions of their populations are poor. To make things easy, North refers to rich countries or rich regions. South refers to poor countries or poor regions. Both concepts are used with capitals.

2) *Nature and Society*: In this paper, “nature” refers to everything that is not human made. The concept is all embracing including animals, birds, fish, insects, plants, trees, forests, waters, mountains, air, soils, stones, minerals, and more. “Society” refers to any kind of social organization created by human beings. Society and nature are both manifestation of feminine yin, while the opposite concepts of individual and culture are manifestations of masculine yang.

## Appendix

### Real poverty statistics!

It is important to mention that there are disagreements regarding actual poverty and hunger figures. The World Bank, who has monopoly on making these statistics, updated their 2010 figures in 2012. The new figures are still based on 2008 data, but they made a post-2008 analysis, attempting to include effects from the economic crises. The outcome was that the number of people living below 1.25 USD per day decreased by 620 million. That came just after an increase of 400 million, due to statistical adjustments. Hence, for 2010 the Bank reckons that there are around 1.29 billion people living on less than 1.25 USD, down from 1.94 billion in 1981. The trend this figure suggests, would lead to halving the number of people living in absolute poverty by 2015. Hence, the international community would have reached the Millennium Development goal on poverty reduction. (United Nations 2013; World Bank 2010; World Bank 2012; World Bank 2012 PovcalNet.)

Nevertheless, the figures are questioned. Some reasons are obvious: most gains in poverty figures relate to China, where absolute poverty decreased with 510 million people, thus the poverty reduction is regional rather than global. Another issue is that the number of people living above 1.25 USD, but below 2 USD daily has doubled from 600 million to 1.2 billion from 1981 to 2005. This suggests that the absolute poor moved only some few cents upwards. Finally, the figures do not fully account for the 2008 financial crisis, including the food prices, which continue to rise. Hence, the statistics are already outdated and we may even experience a rise in both poverty and hunger when figures are correctly calculated. Additionally, some wonder if the staff at the World Bank is listening to their “masters’ voice” rather than calculating reality. It has been clear for years that the World Bank is controlled by the US government and their political ideology of neo-liberalism, which has shown to create wealth for the few and poverty for the many. Thus, presenting low poverty figures would support the ideology of the political elite, rather than show reality. If this is correct, it could create doubt about any figures and statistics made by the World Bank and even some parts of the United Nations. All of these critical points are relevant; however, the main critique towards the poverty and hunger statistics must be that they are based purely on figures. In reality the concept of poverty relates to a quality of life, rather than to a quantity of money. Therefore, many people who live from 1.25 USD per day do not consider themselves poor as long as they have free access to adequate resources like healthy environments, clean water, fertile lands, basic education and health. Oppositely, when people are deprived from such basic necessities, even a higher amount of USD per day may not be sufficient to exit poverty. (Deutsche Welle 2012; Share The World’s Resources 2012; Reuter 2012; United Nations 2013; World Bank 2010; World Bank 2012; World Bank 2012 PovcalNet.)

Here are the last reliable poverty figures based on World Bank Development Indicators 2008. They show the proportion of the world’s population at different poverty levels in 2005: 0.88 billion people or 13.6 percent of the global population live from or below *1 USD* per day; 1.4 billion or 21.7 percent live from *1.25 USD*; 1.72 billion or 26.6 percent live from *1.45 USD*; 2.6 billion or 40.2 percent live from *2 USD*; 3.14 billion people or 48.6 percent live from *2.50 USD*; and finally 5.15 billion or 70.6 percent of the world’s population live from *10 USD* per day. Conclusively, half of the world’s population lives from 2.50 USD per day, and more than 2/3 of the world’s population lives from 10 USD per day. (Global Issues 2011b.)



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## Biography

Jytte Nhanenge is a Danish woman, who has been working with Third World development in Africa for many years. Being troubled about its inability to alleviate poverty, she decided to find out what is wrong with development. She then embarked on a lengthy study period at University of South Africa (UNISA). Her search was for an ethics in development. Using inputs from many insightful authors, Jytte compiled the outcome of her search in a comprehensive and holistic dissertation titled, "Ecofeminism: Towards Integrating the Concerns of Women, Poor People, and Nature into Development." She rewrote the dissertation into book form, and in 2011 University Press of America published it. Currently, Jytte is building an educational website. The name is "Forum for Holistic Transformation: Ending Patriarchy and Creating a Quality of Life for Society and Nature Worldwide" or in short Intsangano. Intsangano is meant to inform how, and by which means, the political and economic elites are dominating society and exploiting nature, depriving both from a quality of life. Intsangano is available, free for all. Thus, everybody is warmly welcome at <http://www.intsangano.com>. Jytte lives in Chimoio, Mozambique.

# **Prototyping a Community Empowerment Index for PNPM Inti (Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat)**

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## *Abstract*

PNPM Inti is the community-based poverty reduction program that is run nationally in Indonesia since 2007. So far, it has used a lot of output-based performance indicators for evaluation process, but never have an index that could effectively show the performance of community empowerment process.

An effective index is significantly needed in terms of Monitoring and Evaluation activity due to the very high number of participant, its multiple steps of empowerment process, and a tight schedule to do the spot-check for validation. The index has been built by considering six steps of community empowerment process and three main indicators. There are serious challenges in order to find a solution, as following: (1) highly number of variables, (2) highly variance that is caused by heterogeneity of districts character, (3) highly number of missing data under MIS application for data collection.

Through factor analysis and outlier re-estimation, the performance index and data completeness index have been produced to investigate the districts that still have a weak performance. Hopefully, it will give some benefits because it has an index range that is easy to interpret, effective for investigation of weak performance causes, and has a benchmark among chosen areas.

*Keywords: PNPM Inti, community empowerment, factor analysis, dashboard*

## BACKGROUND

PNPM (Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat) is a poverty reduction program through community empowerment and capacity building in the levels of community and local government including stakeholders and decision makers. This program runs in Indonesia since 2007 and consists of two main programs: PNPM Rural and PNPM Urban. They are popularly known as PNPM Inti.

The successful of PNPM program depends on the involvement and participation of every community members in every empowerment stage. It expectedly can changes the mindset and improves the individual and community capacity in relation to the existing poverty problem and situation. Later on, the action plan and execution are taken to improve their quality of life and welfare.

The PNPM implementation covers all sub-districts in Indonesia. It is supported by a NMC (national management consultant) in national level and facilitator in community level. There are three components in the implementation process, as following: (1) community development, (2) capacity building of the government and local actors, and (3) a direct community funding component.

Community development consists of some activities to build the community critical awareness and autonomy. It involves community potential mapping, community needs and problems, community participatory plan, organizing community, resources utilization, monitoring, and maintaining the achieved results. Capacity buliding of the government and local actors is the series of some activities to improve the capacity of local government and local community actors or care-group, so they can create a conducive situation and a positive synergy for people, especially for poor people to run their life in a better way. A direct community finding component is a self-reliance stimulant for community to financially support their planned activities, especially activities that directly go to poor people.

During community empowerment process of PNPM, there are 7 stages popularly known as PNPM cycle (see table 1). Every stage has the objective and target.

Table 1. Seven stages of PNPM community empowerment

<b>Flow</b>	<b>Stage of PNPM Empowerment</b>
1	Socialization & community sharing
2	Understanding the poverty
3	Mapping the social resources
4	Organizing the community
5	Planning the activities
6	Executing the activities
7	Utilizing and maintaining the results

Unfortunately, every stage in the cycle of PNPM has never be a quantitative part of any PNPM performance analysis or evaluation. In fact, almost any performance reports, thematic analysis, or even quantitative analysis about PNPM performance are using final output of the program that is more about physical building, street, health or education facility, rather than issuing the process of community empowerment.

On the other side, the monitoring and analysis (monev) activity is always be an important part of PNPM successful story. However, although the NMC (national management consultant) has run monev activity, from year to year it becomes difficult complex due to the increasing number of participant and activities in the stages of PNPM cycle.

The PNPM database system, nevertheless, has maintained the records of activities data. Some data were smoothly collected in a routine timeline, but some others not. The varied field situation of community, the different skill of field operators, and the different quality of database application and hardware in some districts bring a serious problems for NMC money team to do their job. The money activity becomes difficult to do because the data seems updated in an inconsistent way, and it frequently makes the spot-check monitoring activity late in relation to the tight timeline of the stages.

TNP2K (national team of accelerating poverty reduction) has a task to support NMC to run their money activity in a better way without asking them to do extra efforts regarding to the routine data of PNPM cycle. After doing some discussions, build the index of community empowerment process along PNPM cycle stages might be a good options, because it will give a complete picture of districts performance, which can be used to trace the bad performance of some districts in a quick way and then doing a spot-check to them quickly before they run the next stage.

This paper is about the methodology of designing the first index prototype of community empowerment process. Because PNPM Rural and Urban have a different role of doing PNPM cycle stages, their index prototypes will be built differently, but they still work in a similar analytical steps.

## PROBLEMS

An effective index is significantly needed in terms of money activity due to the very high number of community as participants, its multiple stages of empowerment process, and a tight timeline schedule to do a spot-check for validation.

After evaluating the database records about activity variables, the team has decided that the index can be built by considering the first six stages of community empowerment process (see table 2). Soon, some serious challenges are found in order to find a solution, as following: (1) the high number of variables, (2) the high variance in almost all variables that is caused by heterogeneity of districts character, (3) the highly number of missing data under database transfer application for data collection.

Prior to variable selection, the team faced about 400 variables for PNPM Urban and 600 for PNPM rural, which are very high to be analyzed. But, since it has some periods of database application development by using different consultant, in fact the real number of variables are only about 90 for every PNPM. Through a careful selection, the team choses only some relevant activities to be indexed, those mainly have quantitative scale records. Table 2 gives the information about the number of activities in every stage (column a) and the number of variables to be indexed (column b). There are 14 activities for PNPM Urban and 16 for PNPM Rural, 56 original variables for PNPM Urban and 60 for PNPM Rural, and it creates 42 indicator variables for the index of PNPM Urban, and 44 for PNPM Rural.

Table 2. Stage flows of PNPM empowerment and its statistics of processed variables

Flow	Step of PNPM Empowerment	PNPM Urban			PNPM Rural		
		<i>A</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
1	Socialization & community sharing	1	4	3	2	8	6
2	Understanding the poverty	1	4	3	1	4	3
3	Mapping the social resources	3	12	9	3	12	9
4	Organizing the community	1	4	3	4	12	8
5	Planning the activities	7	28	21	2	8	6
6	Executing the activities	1	4	3	4	16	12
<i>Total</i>		<i>14</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>44</i>

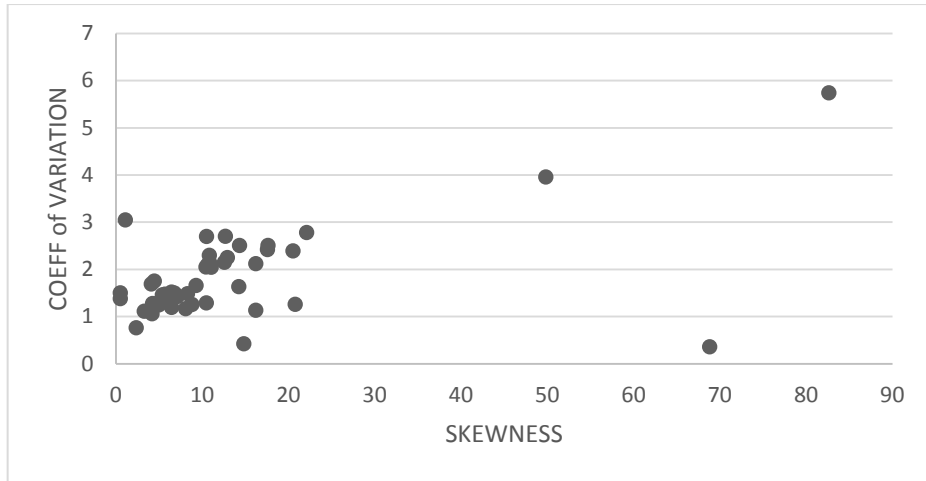
*a* = number of activities

*b* = number of original variables

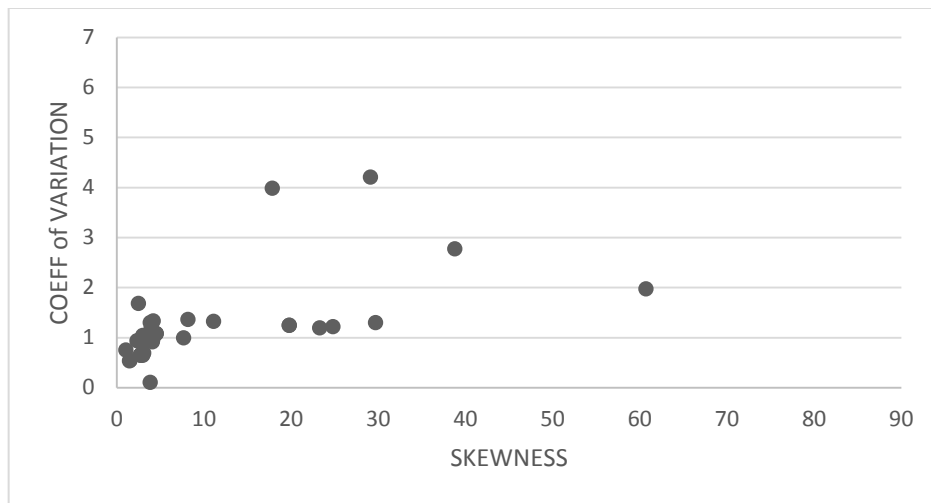
*c* = number of indicator variables

The high variance of variables is another problem to be seriously solved (see graph 1 and graph 2). In both PNPM programs, the skewness are very high which creates a high coefficient of variation. The ideal value of skewness is 0 and coefficient of variation is 1. Because both of them have a very high value, that is a bad news for analysis using statistical approach, because it always assume that the data has a normal distribution. Furthermore, the high skewness reflects the risks of final index distribution. It will potentially produce the high score of index average but with the situation that most districts will have the low index score. It might bring a 'lie' information, because people might conclude that most districts have a bad community empowerment performance.

The missing data could be a serious case because it reflects two main situations. Firstly, it has no activity to be done like a case in PNPM Urban cycle. PNPM Urban uses the role "1-2-1-2-1 .." years of cycle, while PNPM Rural uses similar activities every year. The '2' means two years 'review only' activities. Those are the years that not every activity should be done, such as producing an action plan that only be done in year '1'. Secondly, the districts field operator are frequently not discipline in transferring the data. This case most happens in PNPM Rural, because the communities are in a village-based, compared to PNPM Urban that runs in sub-district-based. A villaged-based communities have a high heterogeneity according to their access, educational level, daily activities mostly as farmer, and even public facilities to run meetings. Avoid to solve the problem of missing data is potentially creates a wrong statistics. Unfortunately, doing a value re-estimation is not a simple thing too because the data might pooled in the next stage of activities. Thus, a field confirmation might be a wiser conclusion to get a more clean data from the community.



Graph 1. Statistical data distribution of PNPM Urban original variables



Graph 2. Statistical data distribution of PNPM Rural original variables

## METHODOLOGY OF PROTOTYPING

To build the index prototype, there are some aspects should be counted. First, the dimension of variables should be reduced to simplify the sub-index and thus the interpretation. Second, there is a need to clarify every data, especially for missing data and very extreme data. This is a cleaning and cleansing data. Third, there must be a mechanism to make 'missing data' speaks, because it affects the value of index score.

The detailed steps of building the index can be seen in table 3. That is a basic steps for both PNPM programs. However, the first prototype for PNPM Urban is for their year '1' data since it contains the complete activities of empowerment.



Table 3. Flow chart of prototyping the index

Start	Process	Next
step - 1	Collecting original data and variables	step - 1a
step - 1a	* <i>cleaning and cleansing</i>	step – 2
step - 2	Formulating indicator variables	step - 2a and step – 3
step - 2a	* <i>flagging the missing data</i>	step – 6
step - 3	Doing factor analysis and get the factor scores	step – 4
step - 4	Creating factor indices	step – 5
step - 5	Producing performance indices (PI) for every stages	<i>End</i>
step - 6	Producing completeness indices (CI) for every stages	<i>End</i>

Step-1 is the process of translating the NMC database format into TNP2K format that is proper for statistical analysis. Two difficult consigneerings have been done to decide the relevant activities and variables, and to create several sql-server queries according to the different cohort of the communities as PNPM participants.

Step-1a is the part of step-1. A clarification and cleaning process of data have been done in two months by NMC in order to reach a high valid data, while cleansing data is the process of deciding the threshold value to re-estimate the extreme data. The monev team of NMC has the main role to reach the right decision, and the discussion has been very intensive since none of them has experienced to do it.

Step-2 is the formulation of indicator variables. It is created from original variables that basically consists of: (1) number of meetings, (2) number of participants, (3) number of women as participant, and (4) number of poor people as participant. The general indicator variables are: (1) the average number of participant per meeting, (2) the percentage of women as participant in meetings, and (3) the percentage of poor people as participant in the meetings. Some indicator variables might not applied in some activities regarding the objective behind it, and some other indicator variables must be neutralized by the total number of adult people in the relevant district. Those consensus has been reached between TNP2K analyst team and NMC monev team.

Step-2a is a part of step 2, that is the moment of flagging the missing data to be clarified before re-estimated or being stated as ‘null’ or ‘not relevant data’. This step is useful to create the additional index named as Completeness Index (step-6).

Step-3 is the step of reducing the dimension of variables through factor analysis. KMO measurement, total variance explained, and the final communality of extracted factor are the main statistics parameter behind the process of deciding the number of factors. The result can be seen in table 4. Compared to table 2 (column c), the dimension has been well reduced. It has been reduced from 42 to 17 for PNPM Urban, and from 44 to 21 for PNPM Rural. However, the factor scores are the components to be used to produce the six index in six stages or flows (see table 2).

Step-4 is the interpolation process of factor scores into an index ranging from 0 to 100, while step-5 is the process of counting the index for every flow by using linear equation of related factor scores. The weight for this first prototype is neutral or similar for every factor score. Later, it is expectedly different among factor score, depend on the input from NMC monev team after they implement the index for evaluating the district performance. The index is named Performance Index (PI).

As the complement of the PI, a Completeness Index (CI) has also been produced. It reflects the status of data behind PI index score. A low CI score means the requirements to some districts to improve their data collection process, and as a consequence the current PI score will also be low.

Table 4. Result of dimension reduction by factor analysis

<b>Flow</b>	<b>Step of PNPM Empowerment</b>	<b><i>PNPM Urban</i></b>	<b><i>PNPM Rural</i></b>
1	Socialization & community sharing	2	3
2	Understanding the poverty	2	2
3	Mapping the social resources	3	5
4	Organizing the community	2	5
5	Planning the activities	6	3
6	Executing the activities	2	3
<i>Total</i>		<i>17</i>	<i>21</i>

Once the CI and PI completed, NMC money team can choose the actions based on the result (see table 5). The low CI combined with low PI reflects the needs to improve the process of data collection regarding the timeline of serial activities along the stages of empowerment. When the CI is high, therefore the money team can choose the districts with low PI to be spot-checked soon before the next stage is completed. But when its PI is also high, therefore the money team can analyze how the community implement the empowerment process well. They can trace the index score from stage to stage and see it in a time series pattern. Furthermore, they can trace deeper into the factor score index, which reflects the implementation performance of every activity inside the stages. Thus, this index generally allow the money team to effectively monitoring and doing detailed analysis on every districts and community in every stages of community empowerment.

Table 5. Follow up actions of Money activity

<b>Completeness Index (CI)</b>	<b>Performance Index (PI)</b>	<b>Action</b>
<i>Bad</i>	<i>Low</i>	Improving data supply
<i>Good</i>	<i>Low</i>	Field spotcheck
<i>Good</i>	<i>High</i>	"Good" - no action

Nevertheless, some important aspects should be addressed. First, the prototype uses factor analysis that can only supported by the ‘good internal correlation among variables’, and the statistician of TNP2K must have a well language to make every person of NMC money team understand about the idea and its consequences. Second, the index range 0-100 reflects the ‘relative comparisons’ of performance among districts. It should not directly compared to the physically-output-based performance indicator that is usually used to produce the PNPM report. Third, however, there are some windows of opportunities to improve the prototype significantly. The different maturity of districts, the geography and demography locations, and the different cohort are the good examples that might produce different characteristics of data to be counted prior to do data cleansing and factor analysis.

## LESSONS LEARNED

Some important lessons are learned during the activities of prototyping the index, as following:

- A close, intensive, and continuous coordination between statistician, expert program officer, and money person is a must, especially to reach a right understanding of every statistics and methods behind it.
- A tight schedule of activities and its data status is very critical prior to fixing the format for index analysis.
- The immediate action is needed from NMC database management team to discipline the field operator in data collection and its validation.
- There is a need of dashboard to present the PI and CI index visually, so the NMC money team can easily access the districts performance both in general performance and in detailed activity performance.
- There is a need to do a benchmarking for a district performance to compare to the districts that generally have the worst or the best results.

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## BIO DATA OF WRITERS

Wahyono Kuntohadi is a senior data analyst in Monitoring and Evaluation (Monev) working group of TNP2K. He is a former lecturer and consultant of applied statistics. His expertise is beyond advanced statistics analysis, especially in time series and multivariate, and it is ranging in various areas: monitoring and evaluation of humanitarian program, early warning system of extreme climate modeling and its effects, and marketing and service research in some industries. Currently, he is developing the dashboard analysis of PNPM and PKH those are about poverty reduction, and under coordination with some ministries.

Bagoes Joetarto is a PNPM monev specialist in Cluster-2 (working group for community-based poverty reduction policy) TNP2K. He is a former director of RIS, one of four PNPM-Inti programs in Indonesia. He also has some experiences in national scale as team leader in some community empowerment programs as following: Urban Poverty project, Rural Infrastructure and Social Economic Development, Neighborhood Upgrading and Shelter Sector Project, Kampung Improvement Project, and Muhamad Husnie Thamrin project.

Silvira Ayu Rosalia is a junior data analyst in Monev working group of TNP2K. She is interesting to work using multivariate and quality control statistics. She was graduated as a bachelor of statistics, and her current task is developing the dashboard analysis of PNPM community empowerment. Before join in TNP2K, she worked as a part time data analyst in Biomass Statistical Consulting that assist people to conduct research using statistics analysis.

Syarifudin Prawiro Nagoro is a consultant for PNPM Monitoring and Evaluation data in Cluster-2 TNP2K. He was an expert consultant of data management in PNPM Urban.

# **Social Isolation and Civic Disengagement in Post-Agrarian Communities**

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## **Abstract:**

This paper looks at the links between rural development, national and international migration, social isolation, and civic disengagement in two communities in the Western United States. The communities are located in an agricultural region, in which density of development has created a pattern of large, sprawling, cities surrounded by small communities populated mostly by agricultural workers. I look at low-income families in both types of communities, and trace the ways in which different kinds of economic and social disenfranchisement have occurred for both native-born citizens and recent (mostly undocumented) immigrants from Mexico. I find that in both cases a combination of structural and social factors results in severe social isolation, which in turn undermines their abilities to participate in civil society in any meaningful way, leaving these populations disempowered and voiceless within their own societies. The paper traces reasons for this social isolation and its impacts upon low-income populations, and explores policy solutions that can address both social and political disenfranchisement.

## **The Employment of Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013 - Old Wine in a New Bottle?**

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Since Independence, India has initiated various developmental activities for the improving the standard of living of its citizens without any discrimination. These developmental activities have been well linked to the “Individual Rights” as those rights are fundamental rights in the country. At various stages, either by the legislators or by the judiciary, most of the Human rights, including third generation human rights, have been recognised and respected by way of interpreting the Indian Constitutional Provisions or by way of expanding the scope of the rights.

Similarly, various efforts have been taken for the upliftment of the weaker sections and marginalised communities so as to have an inclusive growth at the national level. However, for nearly four decades, India has been battling with issue of manual scavenging without much success. Due to the mounting pressure from the NGOs and various sections of the people, India enacted the “Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act, 1993, with the aim of complete elimination of humans from carrying out scavenging acts and prohibited the construction of dry latrines but did not concentrate on the rehabilitation issue. The Act has not achieved its objectives due to lack of effective implementation. Due to the ineffectiveness of the legislation, people approached the Apex Court for prohibition of manual scavenging in the country. The ineffectiveness of the legislation led to the filing of a PIL before the Apex Court for prohibition of manual scavenging in the country and is still pending. In the mean time, by realising the importance of the problem, the new legislation, i.e., the Prohibition of the Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013, has been enacted and the draft rules are yet to be finalised for this Act. In this context, it is essential and inevitable for us to analyse the issues of manual scavengers and their rehabilitation needs. This would be done with the help of critically analysing the Employment of Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013. While doing so, adequacy of the new legislation to address the issue of manual Scavengers in India would be examined

## **Manual Scavenging: Brief History**

According to some literatures, there is no evidence to show that scavenging was being professed as caste based activity during the ancient period. Rather, it was given as a punishment for the slaves.<sup>1</sup> Even there was no evidence for this profession being practised due to the open defecation which was much prevalent. However, it had been practiced as a profession during the Muslim Rule.<sup>2</sup> It was due to the cultural and social life style of the peoples especially in the royal families. These circumstances paved a way for converting those people who were deployed for removing the night soil, were later identified with different community names due to their geographical locations. Even though, these literatures show disconnect between the caste and the scavenging in the ancient India, it could not prove the same in the midlevel or pre independence era. Different studies that have been conducted from the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century clearly reveal that they belong to some caste. Even among others in the same caste who were considered as untouchables by other communities, scavengers were given with lower dignity.

According to 1931 Census, it was found that 20 Lakhs people<sup>3</sup> were involved in various seeping and scavenging activities in the undivided India. However, after Independence, it was estimated that 8.2 Lakhs in 1961<sup>4</sup>, 6.18 Lakhs in 1981 and 4 Lakhs in 1989.<sup>5</sup> At present, it is estimated that 12, 00,000<sup>6</sup> people are one way or other involved in the inhuman activity. Since there is no source to verify the figures except the recent one, we need to have some sort of belief over those contradicting data.

## **Prohibition of Manual Scavenging Laws: From 1993 to 2014.**

At various stages, Government has constituted number of committees to look into the issue of manual scavenging and their livelihood along with dignity aspects. At last, in the year 1993<sup>7</sup>, India enacted its first legislation i.e., The Employment of Manual Scavengers and

<sup>1</sup>. See for detailed discussion on the history of the manual scavenging in India, Srivastava, B.N. (1997). *Manual Scavenging in India: A Disgrace to the Country*. Concept Publishing Company (P) Ltd. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>. *Id*, p. 10 – 15.

<sup>3</sup>. *Id*, p. 20

<sup>4</sup>. *Id*, p. 21

<sup>5</sup>. *Ibid*,

<sup>6</sup>. See for the latest data about the state of manual scavengers and detailed discussion about the the Employment of Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013, *Analysis and Recommendations in the Context of the Employment of Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Bill, 2012* prepared by National Campaign for Dignity and Eradication of Manual Scavenging i.e., Rashtria Garima Abhiyan. The same is available at <http://sa.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/ProhibitionOfEmploymentAsManualScavengers.pdf>, Last visited on 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 2014.

<sup>7</sup>. The Act came into force from 5<sup>th</sup> June, 1993.

Construction of Dry Latrine (Prohibition) Act, 1993<sup>8</sup> which prohibited the construction dry latrines and the employing people for scavenging activities. As stated in the title of this legislation, the legislation had two different functions but both had inter-linkage. The main reasons were due to the lack of awareness among the people about their own rights and dignity aspect and lack of technology also.

Scarcity of water not only in the urban area but also in the rural area led to the larger number of dry latrines construction in the country. Therefore, the people who claimed themselves belong to the upper caste of the society deployed various people belong to particular caste (lower caste) for the scavenging activity not only in their home but also at the common toilets too. Due to numerous protests by the non state actors like, NGOs, Individual and Private Institutions, the 1993 Act was enacted to prohibit the construction of dry latrines through which they wanted to abolish the manual scavenging.

Though the aim was to eliminate manual scavenging, the 1993 Act had very limited application due to narrow constructions of various definitions and the restricting the scope of that legislation. The 1993 Act defined “*dry latrines*” which “*means a latrine other than a water-seal latrine*”<sup>9</sup>. From this definition one can very well understand that dry latrine is the one aspects of manual scavenging. Other latrines that are lacking sanitation facility surely would require manual cleaning. In this context, 1993 Act lacked the very core concept itself. Another important aspect was the definition of manual scavengers<sup>10</sup>. Since the definition<sup>11</sup> did not convey other activities like cleaning, disposing or somehow connected with the human excreta, those who were employed or involved in those types of activities were never considered as manual scavengers and the 1993 Act was not applicable for them.

One of the most vulnerable institutions which employ people for manual scavenging even today is Indian Railway. These employees are deployed for removing human excreta at the track and the station premises. This activity was never come under the 1993 Act since it is a government entity.

The Act was completely silent on the aspect of hazardous manual cleaning of sewer and septic tank. In addition to the above points, lack of proper implementation had led to

<sup>8</sup>. Here after, it will be referred as 1993 Act.

<sup>9</sup>. The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrine (Prohibition) Act, 1993, s. 2 (c)

<sup>10</sup>. *Id.*, s. 2 (j).

<sup>11</sup>. "manual scavenger" means a person engaged in or employed for manually carrying human excreta and the expression "manual scavenging" shall be construed accordingly;



mismanagement even to the extent of inactiveness. The 1993 Act focused only on the prohibition of manual scavenging and did not address the issue of “rehabilitation of manual scavengers”.

Due to the failure of this 1993 Act, public interest litigation (PIL) has been filed by Safai Karmachari Andolan<sup>12</sup> in 2003 before the Supreme Court which is still pending.<sup>13</sup> In addition to the safety measures for the scavenging swage workers, Supreme Court has given numerous guidelines in *Delhi Jal Board Case*.<sup>14</sup>

In the mean time, the Government decided to have new legislation on the manual scavenging. Then the same has been passed and it has come to force.<sup>15</sup> Even the rules have been notified.<sup>16</sup> If so, it is worth to examine that the pitfalls of the 1993 Act has been given with due attention in this new legislation and how far the new legislation will address the concerns of the manual scavengers.

### **Employment of Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013: An Over View**

This 2013 Act has been enacted with an open acceptance that manual scavenging in India has been considered as historical injustice and the Act is striving to restore dignity of those people. More over it is worth to extract the preamble of the 2013 Act.

*“An Act to provide for the prohibition of employment as manual scavengers, rehabilitation of manual scavengers and their families, and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.*

*WHEREAS promoting among the citizens fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual is enshrined as one of the goals in the Preamble to the Constitution;*  
*AND WHEREAS the right to live with dignity is also implicit in the Fundamental Rights guaranteed in Part III of the Constitution;*

<sup>12</sup>. Safai Karmachari Andolan (SKA) is a national movement committed to the eradication of manual scavenging and the liberation and rehabilitation of all such safai karmacharis into dignified occupations. More specifically, seeks ensure implementation of the Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act 1993, penalising offenders who continue to build dry latrines or employ persons for manual scavenging. SKA advocates the complete abolition of manual scavenging, demolition of all dry latrines and replacement with water sealed or sanitary pit latrines, and the rehabilitation of all persons engaged in manual scavenging. Concurrently, SKA aims to organise and mobilise the safai karmachari community around the issues of dignity and rights, as part of the process of their rehabilitation and realisation of rights.

<sup>13</sup>. Even though the matter is pending since 2003, at various stages the Court has issued appropriate direction to the central as well as state governments on this issue.

<sup>14</sup>. *Delhi Jal Board v. National Campaign for Dignity & Rights of Sewerage & Allied Workers*, (2011) 8 SCC 568

<sup>15</sup>. It has come into force from 18<sup>th</sup> September, 2013.

<sup>16</sup>. The rules have been notified on 12<sup>th</sup> December, 2013. The same is available at <http://socialjustice.nic.in/pdf/manualsca-rules2013.pdf>, Last visited on 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 2014.

*AND WHEREAS article 46 of the Constitution, inter alia, provides that the State shall protect the weaker sections, and, particularly, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes from social injustice and all forms of exploitation;*  
*AND WHEREAS the dehumanising practice of manual scavenging, arising from the continuing existence of insanitary latrines and a highly iniquitous caste system, still persists in various parts of the country, and the existing laws have not proved adequate in eliminating the twin evils of insanitary latrines and manual scavenging;*  
*AND WHEREAS it is necessary to correct the historical injustice and indignity suffered by the manual scavengers, and to rehabilitate them to a life of dignity.”*

From the above, it is very evident that the Government has accepted the inefficiency of the previous legislations and the injustice caused to those people. Even while reading the title of the statute, it talks about the rehabilitation aspects of manual scavengers. Let us discuss the important aspects of the 2013 Act.

When we compare with the old legislation, the present Act provides extensive coverage of people who are involved in manual scavenging in all the forms. Even swage/ septic tanks cleaning would also be part of manual scavenging.<sup>17</sup> Without proper protective gears, such activities cannot be carried out and strictly prohibited under this Act.<sup>18</sup> Interestingly, the definition of manual scavenger under the 2013 Act would cover even the manual scavenging at the railway track.<sup>19</sup> By this way, one of largest entity has also been dragged into. Similarly, the definition of insanitary latrine would have clear as well as broader understanding than the concept of dry latrine under the 1993 Act.

Importantly it addresses the rehabilitation issue of the people whose dignity has been restored.<sup>20</sup> The government has notified various measures for the improvement of manual scavengers.<sup>21</sup> With respect penal provision and penalty part, violation those provision would lead to minimum one year and maximum 5 years punishment if there is any subsequent offences by the same person. The fine amount would range from 50,000 to 2 Lakh.<sup>22</sup> More over the offence under this Act are cognizable and non-bailable also.<sup>23</sup> For the proper implementation, it requires to constitute a monitoring committee for time to time measures.<sup>24</sup>

After reading the above points, it is possible for one to conclude by saying that the 2013 Act may be considered as a mile stone in the modern history of India because the dignity of around millions people are to be restored. However, it is worth to critically analyse some of the key provisions for having better understanding and clarity on the effectiveness of this legislation.

<sup>17</sup> . The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and Their Rehabilitation Act, 2013, s. 2 (g) & s. 5

<sup>18</sup> . The 2013 Act, s.2 (d) &

<sup>19</sup> . The 2013 Act, s. 2(g)

<sup>20</sup> . The 2013 Act, s. 11 to 16

<sup>21</sup> . The same is available at <http://socialjustice.nic.in/scavengers.php>, last visited on 2<sup>nd</sup> March, 2014

<sup>22</sup> . The 2013 Act, s. 5 to 10

<sup>23</sup> . The 2013 Act, s. 22

<sup>24</sup> . The 2013 Act, s. 24 onwards

### **The 2013 Act: A critical Analysis**

In the light of the above discussion, if we look at the definition of “hazardous cleaning”, though the protective measure are mandatory for those hazardous cleaning works, it would further increase number of human beings employed rather than using machines. When it come to manhole cleaning, type of protective measures, suitability and adoptability of those equipments should also be studied and used very carefully. If the use of human beings is continued for those activities, then there is no meaning of taking about dignity. Complete modernization of swage cleaning and septic tank cleaning is required in this country so as to completely restore the human dignity.

Then the next aspect is the definition of “Manual Scavengers”. Though the definition is very extensive one, the exception provided to this definition for the railway is unwarranted. If so, then the state itself is again encouraging the manual scavenging with the protective gears. It is worth to be noted that the protective gears using in the swage and tank cleaning is entirely different from the using protective gears for the excreta removal at the railway track

Rapid industrialization and urbanization has led to migration of people from rural to cities. As a result, toilets are insufficient which results in open defecation. Therefore, again this would force some people to clean the human excreta.

After having careful perusal of the above point, it can be very well concluded that the 2013 Act is not aimed to completely eliminate the manual scavenging rather than it is an encouraging tool to continue inhuman activities with the help of protective gears. Therefore, it is worth to conclude by saying that the Stat has committed another historical error by enacting such inefficeitn legislation on the manual scavenging.

# **The regeneration of a silent rural community:**

## **Case study on San-Xing community, Wujie Township, Yilan County**

**Mei Zhen Ji <sup>1</sup>**

### **Abstract**

Since 1949, the year of Restoration of Taiwan, The government has implemented a series of land reform policies. Taking “rural land owned by farmers and used as agricultural aims” as the core of agricultural land policy, and it exactly made farmland increase the quantity of crops and peasants raise their income. However, more than sixty years after then, owing to the problems such as narrow operation scale of farm, the shock from global free trade, the worse and worse situation that agricultural land was occupied by nonfarm activities etc., agricultural land has been decreasing, and agricultural production environment has been destroyed. Furthermore, the rural communities has gradually declined. Therefore, the government has constantly adjusted agricultural land policies from 1990’s and taken “loosing rural land owned by farmers and practicing rural land used as agricultural aims” as the direction to agriculture development, and it has tried to combine the concept of “ production, living and ecology” and bring agricultural land policies into rural area development policies so as to solve these problems completely. The most representative policy was Rural Rejuvenation Policy, which has implemented from 2008, but the effect is yet to be investigated.

The research took Yilan county Wujie township San-Xing community as the studying case. This community’s residents are now mostly elderly because it was the outflow of population for the past. However, due to the change of Taiwan social and economic environment, The community can’t avoid that agricultural land has been decreasing, the development of agriculture and rural areas have been on the downgrade. In order to solve these problems, the community has implemented the plan of the rural regeneration, expecting to maintain and protect agricultural environment, promote agriculture development, revive the vitality of rural areas and improve peasants’ economic and living conditions.

Through reference analysis and in-depth interview, this study took Yilan county Wujie township San-Xing community for example, expecting to understand the policy of the rural regeneration for the influence on rural community. Furthermore, this study also discuss the community how to

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overcome the problems of the ever-changing social, economic, environment . In addition, this study provide some suggestions to be the reference resources for the development of the rural community.

Keywords: rural communities, agricultural policies, rural development, rural rejuvenation , Taiwan

## **1 Preface**

Agricultural policies are the agricultural development plans or regulatory blueprints formulated to ensure the agricultural production & economic development, and welfare enhancement for all citizens or farmers. These policies are usually implemented under the constraints of established systems, but may also be instituted under the committed revamp of the system. (Kasper and Streit, 1998). The so-called "system" can be defined as a set of formal and informal rules, and its enforcement arrangements. The purpose of setting the system is to guide individual behavior towards a specific direction or goal. Therefore the daily activities and social interactions are required as incentives for building the system, and precaution against the breeding of ambiguous system. (North, 1990; Aijing Yan, 2011:168).

After World War II, the rural production was crucial to the national survival, the agriculture industry was the mainstay of Taiwan's overall economic development. The first phase of land reform was therefore implemented from 1949-1953. Measures such as the 37.5% arable land rental reduction, public land release, and land to the tiller were adopted to improve the agricultural structure, and promote agricultural development. However, the measures were solely for improving the production relations, enhancement of agricultural productivity, and transference of land capital to industrial capital. Though, economic efficiency had been raised too certain degree, the measures emphasized on distribution of land ownership that resulted in an under-scale and fractional productivity of cultivated land. With the industrial and commercial developments, there had been a widespread outflux of farming labor and non-fully engagement in tilling, but farmers were still reluctant to lease their unfarmed lands to others. These had lead to a stagnant lease market for arable farmland and the perplexity in difficult expansion for farm business scale. The expansion of the operational scale of farms was hindered by reasons namely as follows: limitation on identity transference for farmland that led to the gradual aging of agricultural business operators and low input of younger generations; stringent rules in classification of agricultural land that step up the complexity of land ownership relations; since the implementation of the 37.5% arable land rental reduction, a strict tenant protection policy had been adopted, strictly limited the landlords to terminate their leases and thus nearly prohibited their chances of recovery of farmland. The impact was seen in the rigidity of arable land tenancy system that impeded farms' expansion of operational scale. (Aijing Yan, 2001:26; 2010:169)

In view of this, the Executive Yuan approved, " the second phase of agricultural land reform program " in 1982 to increase farm business efficiency, reduce agricultural production

costs , thus improving the agricultural structure and facilitate agricultural development . However, the expansion of farm scale depended merely on purchase of arable land, it was hard to raise funds to purchase land with limited loan amount. With the existence of 37.5% arable land rental reduction system, the implementation of entrust operation had cast uncertainties over the applicable provisions of the two systems, and held the farmers off with ineffectual identification costs induced. Moreover, the liquidity of arable land tenancy market would be affected by the inevitable increase in transaction cost during negotiations among multi-parties over the fractional arable lands. Due to the ineffectiveness of the program, since 1987, it has been in continuous implementation after being reviewed and incorporated into and continued for implementation under "The improvement program of agricultural structure to increase farmers' incomes."(Aijing Yan, 2010:169)

Subsequently, with Taiwan's imminent accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), adjustment of agricultural structure, improvement of production conditions were clearly imperative. Knowing the effectual implementation of the previous overly rigid agricultural policy, the government adjusted its policy guidelines and opted for " loosening the farmland ownership policy for farmers and actualization of farmers' ownership of farmland for farming purposes,' in hope of keeping the basic principles of ensuring basic food security, maintaining agricultural development and natural ecological environment . Simultaneously, a detailed comprehensive review of "Agricultural Development Act" was conducted and amendments were promulgated on January 26, 2000. In which, to ease the farms' expansion of operational scale, measures covered such as a relaxation of free trading of agricultural land, and agricultural businesses may purchase agricultural land to facilitate input of funds and technologies. Regulations were loosened on arable land division to reduce prolonged disputes, stipulations were set over the circulation of agricultural land use rights, and over the lease contract of arable lands after the law amendment, covering lease duration, rental, and payment mode set freely by the lessor and the lessee according to the contract, the rules were inapplicable to the 37.5% arable land rental reduction provisions. To reverse the already rigid tenancy system, the act mandated that lessor do not need to pay compensation to the lessee for the recovery of farmland upon the termination of lease (Aijing Yan, 2001:26 -27; 2010:169-170).

Since the first implementation of land reform in Taiwan, the most noticeable impact on rural communities was the arousing of farmers'tilling motivation that led to a big leap in productivity per unit area. Yet the small-scale, fractional production of arable land has resulted in a host of problems such as small operational scale of farms, the impact of global trade liberalization, and the rival for agricultural land for non-agricultural activities. These led to the gradual loss of agricultural land, and damage to the agricultural production environment and in the end causing the desolate dwindling of rural communities and its development. To this end, agricultural department proposed in the 1990s the agricultural policies for three regenerating businesses -production, life and ecology. Rural development was incorporated into the agricultural policy to

seek for overall solutions to the aforementioned problems. Today's most representative policy is the rural community regeneration policy promoted in 2008, which shows the Taiwan's determination on overall rural development through legislation, however the effectiveness of this policy has yet to be tested.

This paper adopts literature analysis and in-depth interview as research approaches, taking SanXing community, Wujie Township, Yilan County as case study. It is for the understanding of the impact on rural communities and analysis of the discrepancies between the result of policies implemented and the targets set under the Taiwan rural community regeneration policies. In order to achieve sustainable rural development, and provide reference for Taiwan government's adjustments over agricultural policies and development of other rural communities, how the rural communities overcome problems caused by changes in social and economic conditions were also explored herein.

## 2. Rural Development and Analysis in Taiwan

The rural rejuvenation project<sup>2</sup> was launched as one of i-Taiwan 12 Projects by Taiwan's President Ma Ying-jeou after his assumption of the office in 2008. It was to address the hollowing-out of rural communities that gave rise to issues such as demographic aging in rural communities, out flux of young labor force and depletion deficiency in software and hardware constructions. There had been rapid industrial changes and adjustments in rural development (from primary industry to secondary and tertiary industries). The drastic transformation in the industrial environment led to structural changes in industry, income, and population, resulting in the depletion of affluence in rural communities. To understand the multitude of predicaments in rural communities, we need to investigate how the various stages in rural development processes have impacted the agricultural production, living and ecological environment in rural communities. This paper then explores and analyzes the problems in rural developments in respect to economic, social and environmental aspects.

### 2.1 Rural development process

The Taiwan national government began its first land reform in 1949 covering important measures, such as "the 37.5% arable land rental reduction"<sup>3</sup> executed in 1949, the "Public land

<sup>2</sup> Rural rejuvenation policy guidelines, the last viewed date: 201411 / 15 Website: Soil and Water Conservation Bureau, Council of Agriculture

<http://www.swcb.gov.tw/class2/index.asp?ct=Bulletin&AutoID=475&uT=Bulletin2&m1=8&m2=44>

<sup>3</sup> The so-called "37.5% arable land rental reduction" scheme was set based on the private farmland leasing regulations of Taiwan Province and its enforcement rule no.2. The rental of arable land should not exceed the amount of 37.5 per cent of the total annual harvest/ three hundred seventy-five thousandths' annual harvest of the main agricultural products. The rental in the lease agreement exceeding this amount (37.5%) will be deducted, but kept unchanged if the rental was below this amount. This reduction scheme took effect from April 1949 and the renewal of the contracts were mostly done by the second half of the year, affecting three hundred thousand renewal contracts and three hundred and seventy thousand total tenants which is 45% of the total farmers, involving the total land area of two hundred fifty-six thousand hectares that was almost equivalent to all the leased

release”<sup>4</sup> in 1951 and the “Land-to-the-Tiller”<sup>5</sup> in 1953. By these measures, farmers’ land ownership of self-farmed land was established to boost agricultural production, farmers’ income and stabilize the political situation (Cheng Chen,1961:79 -88; Congxian Wu, 1981).

However, some scholars pointed out that the move would actually reduce rather than raise the farms’ operational efficiency, as Jiayu Hong (1989:5-1 ~ 5-4) pointed out that the 37.5% arable land rental reduction scheme did not carry any technical efficiency nor contribute to changes in economic efficiency. Hongjin Tsai (1997:33-67) pointed out that the rural land reform had numerous contributions to the agricultural industrial development such as: 1. activate the farmers’ operational motivation and free planning. 2 Promotion of precision utilization of rural land and labor force. 3. Government improved agricultural facilities and technologies accordingly. 4. Substantial agricultural production and sales growth. However, the reform left behind a host of agricultural problems such as: 1. resulting in the structural defects as seen in scattered farmland and peasant agriculture. 2. Deficiency in agricultural capital and transference. 3. Overestimation of agricultural development after the land reform whose impact on development of agricultural industry construction was however ignored.

Tenant farmers sprung to become the landlords after the first land reform. Their income started to rise and the regular farmers could afford to pay their children’s education, resulting in the first wave of emerging middle-class. Later, the government established thorough water irrigation facilities and farmers’ organizations to back up the agricultural development. Farmers’ associations provided production technology and fertilizers to build up favorable development conditions for Taiwan’s agricultural industry.

In the 1960s, Taiwan strived to develop industries, as Tenghui Li (1980) put it: "Basically, Taiwan’s economic development was a relative expansion of non-agricultural sector, and was the process of economic structural change, so the more rapid the economic developed; the greater the changes would be in the economic structure. That could easily end up in a dislocation between demand and supply by the agricultural and non-agricultural departments and a rival for

private land. Last Visit Date: 2014/1/16 : Website <http://ap6.pccu.edu.tw/Encyclopedia/data.asp?id=7551>

<sup>4</sup> The so-called Public land release (Sale of Public Land) was to sell public land to the farmers to create tiller households, and to replace the government-owned tenancy system by farmer-owned arable land system. That was one of the major features of implementation of the land to the tiller policy which were also demonstrations of rental reduction and a large number of private lands expropriation from the landlords for resale to farmers. Since the promulgation of "the act for fostering tillers by the sale of public farmland in Taiwan Province " and " the unemployment relief measures on sale of public land in Taiwan province", the actual sold area of public land was sixty-three thousand morgen since the implementation of sale of public land in 1951, where paddy field area was thirty-one thousand three hundred seventy-one morgen and dry farmland area was thirty-one thousand six hundred twenty-nine morgen. It generated one hundred twenty-one thousand nine hundred fifty-three household in total. Last Visit Date: 2014/1/16 : Website <http://ap6.pccu.edu.tw/Encyclopedia/data.asp?id=7551>

<sup>5</sup> After the implementation of the land to the tiller policy which was the government policy of rental reduction and the sale of public land, government started to plan a full implementation of the policy "land to the tiller" in 1952. In the same year on January 20, Legislative Yuan approved the implementation of the land-to-the-tiller act and Bond of Taiwan Province Act. After works like propogandizing, supervision, and examination, government officially announced the expropriation and sale of leased private farmland to tenant families in May. Last Visit Date: 2014/1/16 : Website <http://ap6.pccu.edu.tw/Encyclopedia/data.asp?id=7551>



utilization of resources." Zhenghong Liao, Chunchieh Huang and HsinHuang Hsiao (1986:6-11) believed that from 1953-1995, Taiwan Agricultural Policy was featured with a so called "suppressive development strategy", in which the government consistently optimized productions by agricultural sector as the propelling power to support the industrial sectors. Yet, it became sign of future sluggish agricultural development in rural communities and the result of general farmland decay at a later time (Jianhong Dong , 2009:82 -90 ).The twelve years from 1968-1980 could be called the period of Taiwan's agricultural recession, and uneven agricultural and industrial developments (Tianquan Wu 1993:385-387 ). To shorten the differences income gap between agricultural and non- agricultural sectors, from 1982-1991 resolutions were raised to adjust agricultural structure and nurture professional farmers to improve their income. Therefore in 1982, the "second phase of agricultural land reform act" <sup>6</sup> was proposed, but it was just like a flash in a pan. In the second half of 1983, the U.S. demanded Taiwan to reduce rice exports.

In February 1984, after signing the Sino-American treaty on rice export agreement ", there has been a never-ending request by the U.S. for the opening up of Taiwan domestic market of agricultural products. Taiwan agricultural industry is now facing no longer a technical issue but political and economic issues. Besides, in recent years, there has been acceleration in trade liberalization internationally. Taiwan as an export-oriented country will take it as a norm to gain the export opportunity for other industries at the expense of agricultural exports. This has brought about the increasing imports of agricultural products, pressure for domestic agricultural operations, and the rigorous challenges peasants need to face. At that time the agricultural sector was confronted with the following three major issues : peasant agriculture adjustment, low prices of commercialized agricultural products, and the mastery of precise direction for agricultural policy decisions.

By 1990, affected by trade liberalization, Taiwan was in application preparation to join GATT<sup>7</sup>, and that casted even more severe impact on Taiwan domestic agricultural product. Due to fractional arable farmland and relative higher agricultural labor force, once Taiwan was open to agricultural imports, it placed itself in a disadvantageous position in sense of market price, and made many farmers suffer from grave reduction in income. Viewing the overall economic development track, the GDP total output value of the primary industry (agriculture, forestry,

<sup>6</sup> Taiwan's Executive Yuan approved the "second phase of agricultural land reform program" in 1982, which aims were to improve the agricultural structure and promote agricultural development. The main contents were providing loans for land purchase, the redistricting of agricultural land (finished area: 70,674 hectares), the implementation of mechanized agriculture and the implementation of joint, entrusted and cooperative business operations to expand the scale of the farm operation. It showed that the focus of agricultural policy in that period was still on the adjustment of agricultural production structure and the operation mode to improve agricultural productivity for increase in farmers' income.

<sup>7</sup> In 1990, Taiwan applied to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade Pianxiang (GATT), and then attended the meeting as an observer in 1992. After the establishment of WTO in 1995, Taiwan's applied to join WTO, and successfully accessed to it until January 1, 2002. Last Visit Date 2014/1/15: <http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E8%BE%B2%E6%9C%83>.

fishery and animal husbandry) slid continuously from 7.26% in 1983 to only 1.9% in 2012. The employed population of primary industry in the total employed population slid from 18.6% in 1983 to 5.0% in 2012, demonstrating a noticeable out flow of surplus labor force of agricultural sector in rural areas, and implied the outflow of rural population to urban areas. In respect to agricultural household income, according to the data in Agricultural Statistics Annual Report 2012, by the Council of Agriculture, in 1983 agricultural source of income of farm families accounted for 25.63%, non-agricultural income accounted for 74.37%. The per capita income of each farm family earned only 72.22% of the non-farm families', indicating a relatively low agricultural labor productivity and income level. In addition, the high proportion of farmers' reliance on non-farm income demonstrated clearly the decline in the importance of agriculture industry in rural areas, making for the direct and indirect severe out flux of rural labor force and the decline in the rural environment. It signified clearly the rapid decline and growth respectively in agricultural and other form of industries, as well as the intense international competition in agricultural products Taiwan faced after its accession to the WTO in 2002. These led to the lowering importance of agricultural production, and changes in production patterns and functions of the agricultural economy in rural areas. With the formation of Western diet culture and leisure living trend, the rice market shrank, agricultural industry shifted from the production pattern to other directions such as provision of the three regenerating business in the agricultural sector that concerns agricultural products, related leisure or ecology-focused agricultural services (Chengjia Li, 2012:77)

Due to the urbanization and booming trend of industrial and commercial development in the Taiwan's rural areas in the 1960s and 70s, a vast majority of population concentrated in urban areas, resulted in a severe outflow of rural population, a relative higher proportion of aging residents, inadequacy in various types of infrastructure and public facilities, and eventually a relatively backward rural development. Government in the past rarely invested in building software facilities to foster the construction of rural culture, which resulted in the gradual disappearance of rural life and its cultural characteristics. Hence, this paper covers the social, economic, environmental aspects to review rural communities' issues and explore the issues that the rural communities are confronting with, so as to be addressed by agricultural administrative units.

## 2.2 The Problem of the Rural society

The rapid developments of economy and cities have changed the values of rural communities' residents over a long period of time, weakening the residents' identity with their hometown and neighborhood relationship. As there is a lack of community awareness and centripetal force that makes enough public affairs participation, eventually it has resulted in a loss of traditional rural culture.

In the 1960s, Taiwan began to become industrialization and urbanization oriented; indirectly

causing the changes in the rural residents' values that the residents wanted to emulate cities. Yet, worsened by the lack of environmental aesthetics concept and inadequate participation in public affairs, there was a drastic loss of rural characteristics such as original spatial pattern, landscape, facilities and ecological environments, inducing the rural environment issues. Therefore how to strengthen the quality of rural human resources and appeal the inflow of quality city population are in fact the keys to the promotion of future sustainability and diversity in rural development.

### 2.3 The Problem of the Rural Environment

Agricultural productivity downturn is not only reflected in the industrial development in rural areas, structural changes in employed labor force, but also in the significant changes in land use accordingly. In regards to land usage, according to county [Statistical Abstract](#), the changes in amount of existing non-urban land in various districts, the restrictions on non-urban land development area have increased yearly, while the specific agricultural areas and rural area have dwindled yearly due to decline in agricultural development. Specific farm land areas took up 14.54% of non-urban land in 2003 and reduced to 11.45% in 2012<sup>8</sup>. Rural area also reduced from 1.09% to 0.88 %, indicating that the main agricultural production land have been shifted gradually to other kind of usages. Thus, the decline in rural areas caused by agricultural development, social structural changes, changes in patterns of land use have all attributed to the substantial changes in rural landscape, ecological environment, culture and society.

Owing to the high-density in urban areas, the steep land and house prices, there has been a sprawl of rural communities in the urban peripheral area and a leapfrog development. Farmhouses and illegal factories scattered in agricultural land, poorly planned public facilities like newly built roads have affected the agricultural mechanization and mass production and made the original green areas or biological habitat fractional. Coupled with improper handling of contaminated sewage and garbage, ecological system such as rural canals, ponds, woodlands, rivers, wetlands have been damaged. This has resulted in the destruction of ecosystems and the worries over the safety of agricultural production and lives.

The government departments in the past viewed balanced urban and rural development the equivalent of urbanization of rural communities. This ended in the improper planning for public facilities, and a corresponding lack of integration with the local features and cultural characteristics. Lateral transplants of public facilities in city pattern to rural areas were made. Myriad straight asphalt roads, cement paved square, monotonous and not distinctive public buildings were built. Architectural forms in rural areas were also similar to those in urban areas with monotonous two or three-floored buildings that came in flat-top reinforced cement, cement brick walls , parking space and paved yard, making it hard to perceive the pastoral, rustic, and natural harmony in rural communities again.

<sup>8</sup> Detailed areas of redistricted non-urban area, Agricultural Statistics Yearbook (2012), Council of Agriculture, the last viewed date: 201411 / 15 Web site: <http://agrstat.coa.gov.tw/sdweb/public/book/Book.aspx>

The outflow of rural population has weakened the quality maintenance need and abilities for the upkeep public facilities and living environment. Moreover, local government is constrained financially; construction of facilities for urban areas comes above rural communities' policies, leading to the relative insufficiency in construction, maintenance manpower, and funding of public facilities in rural area. Public facilities are at low service quality, and are caught in the vicious cycle of outflow of man power, lack of incentives for industrial investment, and inadequate jobs opportunities.

#### 2.4 The Problem of the Rural Economy

In the past, Taiwan neither lacked the effective guides in superior planning act for rural planning, nor was there nor rural landscape management act to regulate the construction behavior in rural communities. The current territorial planning system covers national regional planning, comprehensive land development plans, regional plans, county comprehensive development plan, and urban planning. Except for the regional and urban planning that carries specific legal acts, there are no legal guidelines for superior national and county comprehensive land development plans. The current national regional plan was made before the national land planning act. This plan is the most superior legal plan in spatial planning system. Prior to 2009, there was no specific law to guide the planning of constructions in rural communities. Therefore, rural communities had to follow mainly the "non - urban land use management regulations" and "agricultural development act" as guidelines for its planning and spatial development. However, agricultural development act focuses on agricultural land management, failing to guide the substantial construction and development of rural communities, nor giving guidelines that involve land utilization, planning and construction management, landscape ecology and environmental protection, planning and initiation of public facilities in rural communities. Usually, the general management of land use and construction regulations are applied, but that couldn't meet the particular needs of the rural community and residents' needs, and thus unable to effectively implement a sustainable development in rural area.

The rigidity of land use and management mechanism, the complex land ownership in the past had affected the rural construction, the development and the rural areas with concentration of rural residents. According to the utilization of present non-urban land usages, though there is regional planning, which however are limited to giving directional guidelines but not substantial planning? As time changes, there have been transformation and diverse developments in rural economy and land usages. The zoning ordinance used in land usage could no longer meet the current economic development need and had affected the diverse development in rural communities. For the land usage for public facilities in rural communities, the rigidity in land control could not meet the industrial and living requirements in providing public facilities for rural settlements. Residents could only have paved roads, conduct partial repair to ditches based on the existing spatial structure set in early development pattern. Issues such as narrow

winding paths in alleys of early rural settlements, inadequate public facilities and poor drainage are all longstanding environment problems that can't be solved. Due to complex land ownership and cadaster, coupled with outflow of population, the private residential housing has turned dilapidated without any management. All these contributed to the vicious cycle of poor living quality in rural settlements, out flow of population and limitation over industrial development. Rural developments involve various aspects such as agriculture, land, construction, resource management. It was under different units in the central and local government, confined by different legal stipulations. It is hard to have unified regulatory authorities; the insufficient funding and local administrative management manpower mean it is hard to have effective implementation of planning, construction and management of rural communities. Since there is no responsible unit to coordinate the rural communities' construction, implementation and management works, the rural developments have become even difficult. How to address the disorderly development of rural phenomenon by rural policies, regulations and planning, and give effective guidance to the three rejuvenation projects (agricultural production, life and ecological environment )in an overall development to actualize a new agricultural system are the important items in rural development for agricultural administrative units.

## 2.5 The Introduction of the Rural rejuvenation topics

Due to urbanization and booming trend of industrial and commercial development, a vast majority of population concentrated in urban areas, resulting in a severe outflow of rural population. As there are limited resources, only a few areas or important constructions can be invested in rural areas, leading to an inadequacy in infrastructure and public facilities. Besides, investment is rarely input for building software facilities to foster the construction of rural culture, causing serious backward rural development, obvious low living functions, growing gap between city and rural lives, and eventually the gradual disappearance of rural life and its cultural characteristics. However, in face of international globalization, the rebuilding of traditional rural communities is an important policy, Taiwan therefore is promoting rejuvenation project for rural communities to enhance the overall development of rural communities and restore the pride of resident to fulfill the target of constructing a new, wealthy rural communities. About the contents of rural rejuvenation, in 2008, the agricultural administrative units proposed "health, efficiency, and sustainable management" as the principal axis in agricultural policy that covers farmers, consumers, the environment, descendants, as well as the concern for the global world. There are several features in the rejuvenation act in agricultural community:

1. Focus on the existing agricultural rural community; make use of integrated planning concepts to strengthen the collective bottom-up participation and system.
2. Establish the overall rejuvenation in rural community, and stress the collective planning and establishment of agricultural industry, natural ecology and living environment.
3. Emphasize the preservation and maintenance of rural culture and greening of rural

landscape.

4. Consider the lack of rural building sites, propose plans such as incentive for absent landlords, self-motivated planning of shared land or flexible management of land usage in the revamp of rural communities.
5. Promote consolidation and relocation of agricultural land by redistricting rural community and surrounding rural land to activate the utilization of rural land.
6. Encourage the establishment of the community convention and architectural style with local characteristics to create pleasant environment for rural areas.

The explication of the rural rejuvenation policy and meaning of the relevant act. The design of a system concerns the overall improvement plan for rural area development, and also hidden rural land usage issues. It is hoped to flexibly manage the approved rural regenerated land to resolve the illegal usage of land.

## 2.6 The Problem of the rural rejuvenation system

To promote rural rejuvenation programs, the collective bottom-up participatory system is strengthened. Rural communities are encouraged to integrate rural community organizations to propose the vision, targets and idea of the rural rejuvenation project according to residents' needs and wishes, with reference to the local government's plan on overall rejuvenation of rural areas.

The local government will then plan and construct with the consolidated concept together. The plan should include the overall environment improvement for, agriculture (fishing) villages, construction of public facilities, infrastructure improvements, individual housing renovations, industrial activations, preservation and utilization of cultural and ecological conservation projects.

Residents of rural communities jointly develop rural rejuvenation projects for review by the county government. Upon approval, county (city) government will set the annual rural rejuvenation projects and apply for subsidies from the Council of Agriculture. One of the intentions of rural rejuvenation projects is to establish a bottom-up participatory system, and arouse people's concern for community -affairs so as to further achieve a sense of community cohesion. But the definition for the farming and fishing villages is still uncertain, what is the criteria for figuring out the four thousand farming and fishing villages?

Of course, there are differences in farming and fishing village conditions. According to article 3 , stipulation 1 of the act, the definition of rural communities "refers to the settlement of certain scale in a non-urban land and the incorporated area covered in result of the overall development needs of neighboring regions." The content is vague with scope undefined, showing no clear criterion for judgment. So defining the scope of agricultural and fishing villages to decide the eligibility in filing application for the rejuvenation project is a core of the rejuvenation project. Yet the existing stipulation states that local government determines the rural community that wants to apply for the rejuvenation project.

What are the agricultural authorities' review criteria for granting subsidies? Even though the local government with approval rights for the rural rejuvenation project has followed the review and execution supervisory act, can the local government reach consistent agreement with the community organization over the approved item and budget within their jurisdiction of the rejuvenation project? As required by law, the rural communities that proposes the rejuvenation plan needs to integrate as one organization, does it mean it can be an organization capable of integrating the organization, proposing and implementing rural rejuvenation plan?

Besides raising the view passively in accordance with regulations, is there any other remedy or access for appeal for farmers with different or opposite views? This annual budget is so huge in amount, the usages are stated on the surface, but how is the subsidies reach the rural communities? Though there are specifications and scoring on review items, they are not clear in standards. Moreover, as required by law, local governments will organize rural rejuvenation review panel which consists of a 7-member review committee, in which 4 are experts and scholars with terms of office under local government. So there is not enough independence in review and cannot avoid the influence from local government and exclusion of rural participation in the rejuvenations.

Referring to the fund usages for rural rejuvenation act, the fund is mainly for overall environment improvement and construction of public facilities in rural communities. It seems to be alright at the first glance. But subsidized items include pedestrian trails, bike paths, community roads, ditches and simple parking lots, parks, green spaces, squares, sports, cultural and landscape leisure facilities. Do we really need to differentiate a pedestrian trail, a bike path or a regular road in rural areas as we do in metropolitan areas? Are parks, green spaces, squares, sports and landscape leisure facilities needed by farmers or cosmopolitans? Are there incongruities between the original and traditional rural areas?

Most importantly, these subsidized items lack of associations with agricultural production in rural rejuvenation projects. After all, the rural rejuvenations must base on the balanced development themes of "agricultural production, life and ecological environment", but not lost of balance by focusing on "life" only. However, agricultural authorities usually stress on hardware construction, neglecting the most crucial industry-- agricultural industry. Agricultural industry is the source of income for farmers. Although the majority of farmers don't fully engage in farming, and the agricultural authorities also hope to promote tourism and leisure industries in rural areas, each rural communities has its geographical conditions, natural resources, human resources. That means, there are heterogeneity and diversity in rural areas, the rural rejuvenation of rural development policy should support development of its characteristics. Agricultural businesses should be improved ecologically so as to avoid the environmental destruction of agricultural land. Then have it further developed to have characteristics of leisure tourism with traditional rural culture and lifestyle. The rural rejuvenated will then preserve the lifestyle that belongs to the residents, but also provide an excellent agricultural production base with quality

ecological environment.

In Taiwan, community building in some counties failed to become the focus of local government administration, resulting in inefficient integration and allocation of resources of community resources. For example, owing to inconsistent concept, idea and practices among the county government's Civil Affairs Bureau, Bureau of Social Affairs, Department of Education, Cultural Center and other units, there are unsystematic planning and integration of community resources that resulted in their wastage or misallocation. Now there is a seemingly even distribution of authorities over the rural rejuvenation policies among central authority, local, and communities, but local governments still hold considerable review power. Affected by the local elections, there is no guarantee that the rural rejuvenation project will not be manipulated as a tool for local politicians to dominate the rural communities.

In the past, community building emphasizes self-motivated participation but except some active involvement from cultural workers and people that concern community affairs, residents from rural communities remains indifferent to the surrounding environment, showing low willingness of participation in public affairs. Due to today's competitive living conditions, people are getting distant from each other, rural community rejuvenation project hopes to elect a representative to propose the plan to the government, which will virtually create a negative experience, coupled with the aging rural population and inevitable different views of rural development, the rural rejuvenation project could set off the dispute in the communities. (Tianshang Li, 2005,179 -180). The community resources differ in each rural community, how and what is the development priority for the rural poor? Should their production problem be resolved before going onto the "activation" topic? But rural units hope to deal with land usage issue which is also a very important in rural rejuvenation project. Problems such as the settlement of shared land that is not fully utilized as being subject to the provisions of handling of shared land. Secondly, traditional rural settlements are surrounded by a considerable amount of public land, and land and facilities of farmers' associations, irrigation association, and state-owned businesses. As the managing units have no sufficient fund and manpower, those lands are not utilized, managed and under long-term occupation or lay idle to become unkempt spots in the community. Thus, the rural rejuvenation projects stipulate that those lands must be activated and re-use in line with the implementation need of the rural rejuvenation project. Land needs to be activated and re-used, to improve the overall quality of the environment in rural areas.

But when the community residents call for cooperation from local units to meet their needs, they are usually hindered by contract issues that the public land can hardly be re-used efficiently. The public sector is often the biggest stumbling block to land activation, and there is no corresponding mechanism to deal with this kind of issue in rural rejuvenation projects. Though rural rejuvenation act has approved the rural communities for rejuvenation projects, for the concerned rural communities that need to implement of land usage management, the local



government should speedily develop the rural rejuvenation project, simultaneously conduct the district planning and allocation of public facilities. Rural rejuvenation plan scores in four functional zones namely, rural living area, rural production areas, rural ecological zone and rural cultural zone. Upon approval by central agricultural authorities, local governments should allow usage of items, details, and architectural style in accordance with the various functional areas announced by the central agricultural authorities, and carry out the management of land usage and architectural style. “The items and details in various functional areas” are different from the existing provisions of non-urban land usage control in Taiwan. That is, the dealings with the activation of rural land by rejuvenation policies do not comply with the existing land control regulations. The serious problem is that the local governments have produced two sets of control standards for non-urban land control. The approved rural communities for rejuvenation are applicable to the “review, management and supervision act for rural rejuvenation project”, whereas the rural communities that have not applied for the rejuvenation projects are applicable to the existing stipulation. The difference between them is that the former enjoys a looser control. Initially, the government designed the system to aim at promoting sustainable development of rural communities, rural activation and rejuvenation, improving basic production conditions, maintaining rural ecology and culture, enhancing life quality to build some new, wealthy rural villages. Yet its real purpose is for land activation and resolving the issue of current illegal usage of land. The project has failed to deal with the rural production positively. If the farmers are not farming, are they still farmers?

The above mentioned are problems faced by rural communities in the past and present. From these problems in the reality, we can also spot some shortcomings in the rural rejuvenation project. This paper takes Sanxing Community of Wujie Township, Yilan County as the subject of case study. The subject, Sanxing Community mainly produces rice. The prosperous scene of rice production could be seen from the Barn of Erjie in Yilan, from where, rice was transported to other areas in early days. But this once vibrant rural community turned silent due to adjustment policies by agricultural sector -- fallow farmland, reduced rice production, switch to other crops in arable land, and the outflux of labor force that led to the generally aging residents. Yilan County has limited fund on improving the rural environment, the agricultural development in rural communities and farmers' income are limited, resulting in inability to improve the social environment. But in recent years, due to traffic improvements, urban people have been bringing rapidly the urban perception into rural areas, and diluted the existing rural identity. In face of the incentive system in rural rejuvenation policies, the studied subject also hopes to restore the vitality and rich cultural life in rural areas through rural rejuvenation project. However, does the purpose of this system fit well with the vision of the subject of this study? How should the rural agriculture be activated? It should not be focusing on land activation only and abandon our excellent agricultural production base. The content of this paper is mainly about the approved rural communities for rejuvenation, and through interviews to understand the implications of

rural rejuvenation projects to residents there, so as to investigate if the rural rejuvenation policies can really bring about the balanced development of three rejuvenation businesses (agricultural production, life and ecological environment ) to the silent rural areas.

### **3 The Actualization of the Rural Community Regeneration in SanXing community, Wujie Township, Yilan County**

Yilan County is located in the northeastern Taiwan, with mountains on its three sides, Pacific Ocean on its east, and fertile Lanyang Plain (Yilan Plain) formed under the erosion of Lanyang River. It is one of the important agricultural counties in Taiwan of 2.6627 Esq. in area, with 727 households, totaling 2,164 people.

Since olden days, San Xing Village has been a typical agricultural village that focuses on agricultural industry, producing mainly rice. SanXing Village has its name originated from the morphing of one letter respectively from the village names of FuXing Village and second SanJie Village. The original expanse of FuXing Village is in the vicinity of Erjie Village's *Xi Di Cheng* (溪底城 Riverbed Town). *Xi Di Cheng* (溪底城 Riverbed Town) is somewhere along the North Road of *FuXing Road* (復興路). *Xi Di Cheng* (溪底城 Riverbed Town) gained its name from two stories. It is reputed that before the building of *LanYang River*(蘭陽溪) dike, the village settlements nearby the WangSheng Temple was flooded with soaring stream water during typhoon seasons, turning itself into a riverbed. Another similar story is that at the initial stage of development of LanYang, LanYang River was usually severely flooded that often caused the dike failures. Over time, it became a desolate land that the late developers had no more fertile ground to choose from but just made do to settle there. As developers gathered, a settlement was gradually formed and *Xi Di Cheng* (溪底城 Riverbed Town) was thus named from then on. *Xi Di Cheng* (溪底城 Riverbed Town) is still a common name in use, known as a typical rural settlement with most residents live by farming . However, as production environment changes, farming income can hardly maintain the basic household subsistence. Therefore, with the major out flux of the residents, early traditional courtyard houses were left uninhabited and turned dilapidated. The rural community is in a bleak scene, with residents lacking faith in the community's future development. To rescue this vanishing settlement, in 2007, Da ErJie Cultural Foundation (hereinafter referred to as "Foundation") strived to join the “. “The manpower training plan of rural rejuvenation” held by Ministry of Agriculture, Taiwan, SWCB (Soil and Water Conservation Bureau) Council of Agriculture. From caring class, advanced class to core class, the project along with the local residents participated in courses to discover the community resources and characteristics explore topics and proposals for solutions to community issues, study and set the visions for the future rural community's regeneration. It is anticipated that through the regeneration project, the lost ecological, cultural, industrial and self-confidence of the community can be restored and head for building a hopeful community that is full of stories.

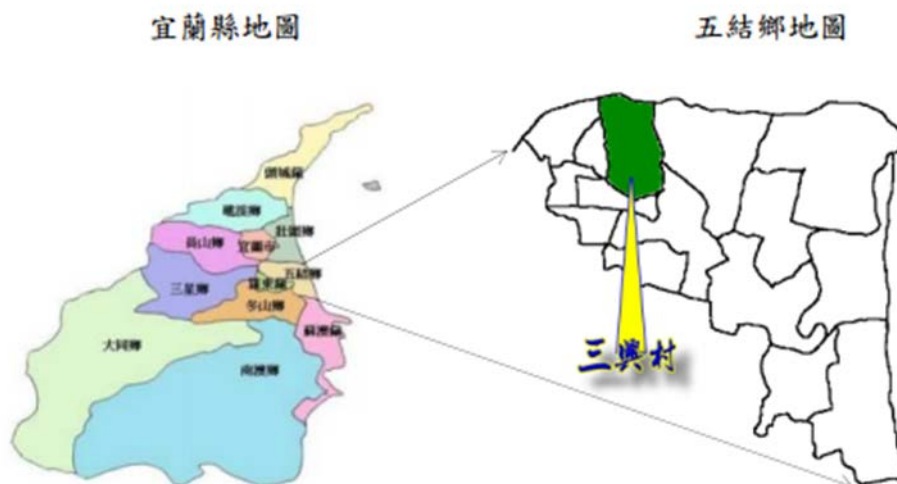


Figure 1: SanXing community location map, Wujie Township, Yilan County

Source: Wujie Township Office, Yilan County SanXing community, just like any other rural communities, has gradually lost its agricultural productive function in result of changes in social and agricultural policies. Coupled with the opening up of Yilan National Freeway in rural areas, a further urbanization has been prompted. The overly urbanization also triggered the influx of city people into the countryside, ho have accumulatively brought along the urban perspectives that has intensified the dilution of the sense of rural identity and its integral rustic role. “The manpower training plan of rural rejuvenation” The rural community regeneration project is for helping the residents there to regain their faith and pride of their community. SanXing community residents are starting to participate in “The manpower training plan of rural rejuvenation” willingly and learn how to restore the fading out sound of rural community.

Through activities, the " Foundation" will mobilize community residents to search for the original development trend and specialty resources, and manpower resources to rebuild the living cultures, history hall, local culture and history, folk customs and relevant rituals and ceremonies that originally belong to the rural communities. The purpose is for promoting the residents' understanding and willingness of participation in the local development, foster the imagination and energy for symbiotic development, and empower the local residents. The daily, living experiences are sought after for conducting direct exchanges and sharing between the expertise and residents' regular experiences.

During the participatory process in community affairs and activities, through learning and taking actions, SanXing community residents have gradually started to show certain passion and care for their local affairs. From the past community to its today's rejuvenation, the community is no longer desolate and aims for finding back the fade-out sound of rural community.”

Respondent 1- "What is that fading sound? It belongs to people, gongs and drums, and

children laughter... we are all delighted when we heard a child's crying sound from certain family, for there has been no such sound for ages. “

Sound vanishes with the outflux of younger generation from the original community, therefore rural communities regeneration policies are for revitalization of rural communities. Rural communities are not merely used as basis for the production of agricultural products; they should an appealing living space in the countryside. Through the participation and compromises made by community's residents, the regeneration project is set for improving the fundamental production conditions within the rural community and maintenance of rural ecology and images.

Respondent 2- "ChiNan Chen, the former Chairman of Council for Cultural Affairs (Ministry of Culture) said: "Building a community is like building a temple in early farming communities. Villagers made use of their nightly spare time, gathered at the square in front of the temple to discuss the outlook and style of the temple, fund-raising and work distributions. Villagers share the money, efforts they could bear, totally free from reliance on governmental resources and assistance. The whole process took place according to one's most familiar and capable ways.

Like early agriculture life in Taiwan, during Village Temple Fair for village gods, funds are collected according to the number of males and area of land of each household. There would be people help arranging parade formation or carrying out religious ceremonies. Most residents in the community are involved in the process, thinking the ceremonies as an important event of one's family and part of the life throughout the year. It does not require special arrangements and mobilization, or changes in the way of life and habits, and of course, all is done out of sincerity in a habitual behavior but not based on consideration of material relationship.

SanXing community respondents comment on some cultural heritages such as " Wanggong Temple ", " Erjie Canal ", " Barn of Erjie Farmers' Association" within the community. It is believed that "cultural heritages are a display of a way of life if they are released from a single base and isolated historical value; their layers of history and social context are compiled subsequently and instilled with local cultural energy. So the research interprets" regional / environment" that demonstrates cultural heritage as a flow not a form of living. "Preservation" is a remembrance or passing down of the past; "Revitalization" is a continuation or creation of the future, hence it is an incorporation of two aspects--concept and action-taking."

Respondent1- " However, in the pursuit of modernity, the negative effects produced by discarding of local characteristic, monotony, commercialization, standardized production and overly development have in reality, severely suppressed the various possibilities for cultural

heritage preservations and revitalizations. That may constitute the reason why Taiwan cultural heritage preservation has been focusing on the structural repairs, landscape maintenance, consistently promotion of tourism, and setting up some unknown café, restaurants, arts, and display space around cultural heritages.

Taking Erjie "Wanggong Temple" as an example, which has been an important belief in Yilan. The Erjie "Wanggong Temple" is a masterpiece by traditional craftsmen Kavalan II. Though it doesn't have long history, it represents as an item of an era and witnesses a period of time in history. To preserve the look of the old temple, and allow the continuation of the residents and believers' emotional connection with " Wanggong Temple ", the old temple of Erjie "Wanggong Temple" was moved horizontally for rebuild into a new temple. Preservation of the old temple means retaining a shared memory for all and building a bridge for the continuation of tradition from modernity.

Respondent2- "To match with the temple moving activities, there was an exhibition on "The Nostalgic New Temple" and invited performances by community folk arts groups and local school communities. These activities were an integration of religious faith, community humanities, and performing arts."

Later, a program on "Join in carrying stones for temple-building" was held to let the community residents to participate local affairs by mobilizing them to carry stones in relay to lay the foundation of the new temple. Whether the "Relocation of Temple by thousand people" or "Join in carrying stones for temple-building", it concerned not only the relocation of a temple, but the continuation of shared memory for the community residents. Erjie Canal is one of the important landscapes in SanXing community. Chairman of the Foundation mentioned:

"Sweet memory came into my mind whenever I think about playing at Erjie Canal or the moments when fish and shrimps swimming leisurely. Starting from unknown time, Erjie Canal was surrounded by U-shaped cement ditch; there was no traces of fish and shrimps and affinity between man and rivers.

I was then astonished to notice this and decided to approach the county government to help return the water space to the next generation. I led villagers to build the community. The first step began with landscaping. Under the efforts of everyone, willows were planted along the Erjie Canal, U-shaped ditch was gradually broken, and stream water has been drained into the primary school, creating an actual ecological education environment. "

Although Erjie is a small village with poor socio-economic conditions, in order to attract residents to participate in community activities, must find ways to make residents come out and engage in community building. During the community building in the past, there was lucky-draw for Mid-Autumn Festival for villagers to participate. When the villagers come to understand the spirit of community-building community spirit, the festival activity was changed to poetry and

music games. By the third year, to celebrate the festival, a carnival of “bringing our own dishes!” was held to invite the solitary elderly villagers to participate. Through a big reunion, the villagers learned to share and care for each other.

After a few years’ community building events, Erjie residents have reached community consensus and local identity. They feel responsible for local affairs , through learning and participations, they understand group interest should be placed above individual interests. This concerns organization leaders who needs to understand the thinking of residents, and through a variety of activities to keep residents enthusiastic about local affairs.

The grocery run by Mr. ZhiWen Cai was located 500 m away from the rear of Erjie Wonggong Temple. The house is 40 years plus, in the early times, it was once lived by no less than 15 people in the Cai family. The Cai’s lived very close to Wonggong Temple. When baseball was prevalent, neighbors would gather at Wonggong Temple to watch the game or Taiwanese opera. Though people had TV by then but there was a shared memory of watching TV together at Wonggong Temple. The temple courtyard was used as a baseball field, and the temple as the shelter during typhoon days. In fact, the grocery displays the early bowls and dishes of early Taiwan, the rustic furnishings in the store will let tourists understand more about this Da Erjie area. Community residents all enjoyed milling about or chatting there about the peaks and bits of life in the olden days in Erjie, slowly help regaining its role as a gathering place for all.

Chen's old house is located in the Erjie old town alley. It has preserved the architectural beauty of traditional abode. As the father and son of Chen’s family were educated and well versed in literature, they kept lots of rare editions of ancient medicinal books, magazines and Four Books and the Five Classics. In addition, their family farmed and ran a rice mill in early days, so lots of farming implements or living utensils were kept intact.

Erjie Paper Plant was established in the Japanese ruling period. Paper was closely related to the development of Erjie. In recent years, the plant was in decline under the pressure of internationally competitive market. To extend the relations between paper and the community life, the community started to hold paper-related courses in 2003. Among which, include plant craft paper, rubbing, prints that build connections among humanities , architecture , environment, and life stories in Erjie for creative works. In order to further enhance the quality of Erjie paper art creation, the 11th warehouse will be used as the Museum of Da Erjie Paper Art. The museum on one hand will serve as the interactive creational space for retired staff from the paper plant and the nearby residents, while making itself an important tourist attraction in the community.

" The Barn of Erjie Farmers’ Association, Wujie Township " is located on the south bank of the LanYang River, nearby the Erjie train station. In 1998, Yilan County Government decided to include" The Barn of Erjie Farmers’ Association, Wujie Township " the only remaining barn architecture from the Japanese ruling period as a historic site, and that was a major turning point

to the barn's fate. In 2009, the Yilan County Government entrust the operation of Erjie Barn, which is the current Barn of Erjie Rice Farmers' Cultural Hall to Da Erjie Cultural and Educational Committee. Activities such as operations of catering business, exhibition and interpretation on rural communities' heritage are aimed at revitalization of the community's cultural heritage. Since the Foundation is the promoter and implementer of the SanXing rural community rejuvenation project, the Foundation uses the venue of the Barn of Erjie Farmers' Association as the Foundation office to handle their existing affairs and keeping close interactions with community residents, and that is very different from other communities.

SanXing community is really quite rich in terms of cultural landscape, but not sufficient enough to bring back the far gone fading sound. Therefore the community residents hope that through the manpower training plan of rural rejuvenation" to investigate the following topics to reach consensus gradually. During the process of locating the rural resources (rural landscape) of SanXing community, after several rounds of discussion and exchanges on topics such as internal resources, living, production and ecology, the following items are formulated namely, four major development zones, loop and inter-connected trails, spacing idea for divisions of regenerated rural communities, and software empowerment projects. Discussed issues such as the followings:

1. The opinion about the farmland within the community
2. Where are the idle houses/land? Besides the public lands and private lands, include the lands currently in use but may be idle in the future.
3. Which areas are not easy for fire engines and ambulances to get in?
4. Where are the flooded areas?
5. Locate the trails that worthy of learning experiences by cycling or hiking. (Users can be schools for teaching purposes, tourists, community residents, and more routes can be designed)
6. The stops along the trails and the possible business ideas around those stops raised by the community
7. The locations of public facilities that needs upgrading (major public service center).
8. Systemic facilities ( eg small-scale learning rest stops)
9. Reinforcement of landscapes along loop trails (Eg: greenway, streets with features, old houses)

"Through the community resources survey and community residents participatory identifications over items such as community resource points, stops await improvements, and available idle space; we formulate various featured zonal themes within the planned scope, and further establish the core idea for the community rejuvenation. "

It is obvious that the regeneration project of SanXing community must first have a good production environment, followed by living and ecological environment. Yet from the topics discussed above, we learned that the residents don't pay attention to the understanding of production environment. Other items emphasize on residents 'usages of public facilities, was it related to the governmental subsidies (that contain economic incentives)? If the subsidies are

properly used, it will have a positive effect on the community. Yet if it is used for profiting certain stakeholders, it will accelerate the decline of rural areas.

The rural communities rejuvenation of SanXing community is mainly led by the Foundation, different from other rural communities that led by village head or chairman of community development association. In the case when community residents don't have complete information, the leading rural development associations are usually in information-wide advantageous position. This advantage produces self- profit making situations, and thus affecting the residents' decision of participation. Yet Foundation that leads the SanXing community rejuvenation requests directors and supervisors work without income, only one administrative staff is paid. The Foundation leased the Barn of Erjie Farmers' Association via OT payment. Part of the catering and exhibition space contribute to the source of income, a part of the barn is used as the Foundation office, giving the Foundation a different role from other community leaders. The organization led by the Foundation provides the community residents with shared public facilities, and that is an incentive for increasing the residents' organizational identification with the foundation, unconsciously strengthening the leading power of the organization. The Foundation plays the role of collecting idea and mastering sufficient information in pursuit of collective interests.

The Foundation held meetings to gather the residents to reach consensus before setting the plan for rural community rejuvenation. Presently, through meetings before holding activities, potential organizations can be found internally, that means the organization can supply the residents with beneficial public facilities and also avoid the appearance of opportunists. The rural community rejuvenation is for upgrading the entire rural landscape environment; some residents might just enjoy the benefit without paying any efforts. Therefore the organization uses the residents' participation at the meetings to express their needs, tackle and or meet their requirements. In this way, residents are attracted to involve in the discussion of the rural areas rejuvenation.

#### **4. Conclusions:**

Before 1990, Taiwan's agricultural policy was mainly about using a variety of measures to improve the productivity of agricultural products (especially food) and farmers' income. There should have been a cause and effect between increase of agricultural productivity and farmers' income. Yet under the low food price policy and the pressure from the U.S. that allowed a lot of U.S. grain imports, even though there had been an increase in productivity of Taiwan agricultural foods, farmers' income did not improve. (Tianquan Wu 1993:389). Thus in 1984, the promotion of "paddy transference " was in fact a product of international political pressure. That is to say, prior to 1990, the practices of Taiwan agricultural industry and land policies were actually production-oriented.

The agricultural policy adopted a low food price and the "Paddy transference" policy disabled



farmers' income from rising while the national development was shifted from agriculture to industry-oriented. Under limited resources, rural constructions were only for facilities such as farm roads and waterways for irrigation. The outflow of agricultural labor force led to the increase in the productivity cost of rural areas, with the conflicting industrial policies, contributing to today's miserable situation in rural communities. The reason for this outcome was that there had been too much emphasis on the extent of the contribution of an industry, coupled with past national policy that advocated "raising industries with agriculture, assisting agriculture with industries."

This policy extracted resources accumulated by agricultural industry for transference to industries that failed to give the immediate support to the agricultural industry after their take off. Moreover, the agricultural industry was once again sacrificed in trade liberalization. The government showed an intention of good will, however when exploring the meaning of the Act and the content of the proposed projects for rural rejuvenation, it was still all about some hardware- based constructions. In contrast with the legislative intention which states: "to promote the sustainable development in rural areas, the activation of rural areas, the improvement of basic production conditions, the maintenance of rural ecology and culture, the enhancement of the quality of life and the building of new, wealthy rural communities", does it mean that the process of improvement in hardware construction is able to get an opportunity of promoting rural sustainable development? Moreover with the past redistricting plan for farmland, there should have been some improvement for the rural communities. Yet both aforementioned policies failed to achieve the aims. The improvement of basic production conditions without clear, proper adjustments or measures to resolve the marketing problems of agricultural products would mean that the impossibility for improving farmers' live, not to mention the effective drawing of young people to engage in agricultural industry back at home.

The characteristics of agricultural industry have constrained its production, with many factors such as limited area of arable land, climate changes, high labor costs , unbalanced production and marketing, unstable price in agricultural products are all unfavorable to efficient agricultural production. Therefore, rural rejuvenation policies should stress even more on the balanced development of the three rejuvenation points of "agricultural production, life and ecological environment". However, the intention and meaning of the act have deviated from these three points. On review of the rural rejuvenation projects, the local competent authorities have also failed to understand that agricultural production is one of the life lines of rural communities and that neglected the marketing problems of agricultural industry. If the agricultural production in rural areas had been prosperous and there had been improvement in farmers' income, the farmhouse would not have been miserable and all the households would have a tidy look. Therefore from the study of the subject in this paper, it is found that the focus of rural rejuvenation projects is still on hardware construction. Although there is an elevation of cultural connotation, it is still inadequate for the transformation of agricultural industry into tourist industry. On the fourth year since the agricultural sector 's proposal and implementation of the rejuvenation policy for

tackling the rural issues, if there are still no concrete measures to resolve the marketing problem in agricultural products, how can the goals of balanced development of “product, life and ecology” be fulfilled? The rural rejuvenation policies will fall into the trap of activating the land by turning rural areas into the plight of leisure holiday spots for urban people.

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# The Unsuccessful Poverty Reduction Strategies in Indonesia and the Alternatives Solutions (The study on *BLT* and *Jamkesmas*)

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## ABSTRACT

Indonesia as the 16<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world, the 4<sup>th</sup> in Asia-after China, Japan and India as well as Southeast Asia's largest-has the potential to be the seventh biggest by 2030, due to the increasing economic. Indonesia also has many potential natural resources that can be utilized to support development in order to increase the nation welfare. However, the number of poor people still has not been significantly reduced, reaching 28.07 million or 11.37% of the total population in 2013. The Government has tried to reduce poverty with some programs such as *BLT* (*Bantuan Langsung Tunai*/Direct Cash Assistance) and *Jamkesmas* (*Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat*/Community Health Protection Scheme). However, the programs are considered not effective and do not make poor people become financially independent. Ironically, in inadequate evaluation, the Government continues to runs the programs. By using a qualitative approach, researchers will provide policy alternatives that can be implemented by Government.

**Keywords:** *Poverty Reduction Strategies, Evaluation, Alternative Solutions*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, a development country located in South-East Asia, has an enormous economic growth since 2011. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) noted that Indonesia ranked as the 16<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world for 2011 and even it is projected to reach 7<sup>th</sup> largest economy in the world in 2030. Indonesia's GDP in 2011 reached US\$ 0,8 trillion and with GDP growth 5,2% from 2000-2010 (McKinsey Global Institute, 2012). This achievement was because Indonesia has economic stability, prospective democracy, and the number of population. Indonesia's population reaches 248,5 million in mid 2013 (PRB, 2013), and the composition of people under 30 years old is 60%. It means that Indonesia will have a demographic bonus/surplus. Through the demographic bonus, Indonesia will have many work forces that could increase the economic productivity. This is like what China feels now. Meanwhile, Indonesia still faces poverty problems because the poor number reaches 28,07 million in 2013. If this problem could not be addressed, the economy projection in 2030 could not be realized and vice versa, the poor family-with low productivity-will diminish GDP level.

As stipulated in Indonesia's Constitution Year 1945, poor people are under government's responsibility. To implement this constitution, government gives mandate to *Menkokesra* (*Menteri Koordinator bidang Kesejahteraan Rakyat*/Coordinating Ministry for People Welfare), *Kemsos* (*Kementerian Sosial*/Ministry of Social Affair), and *TNP2K* (*Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan*/National Team for the Acceleration Poverty Reduction), and *TKPKD* (*Tim Koordinasi Penanggulangan Daerah*/The Regional

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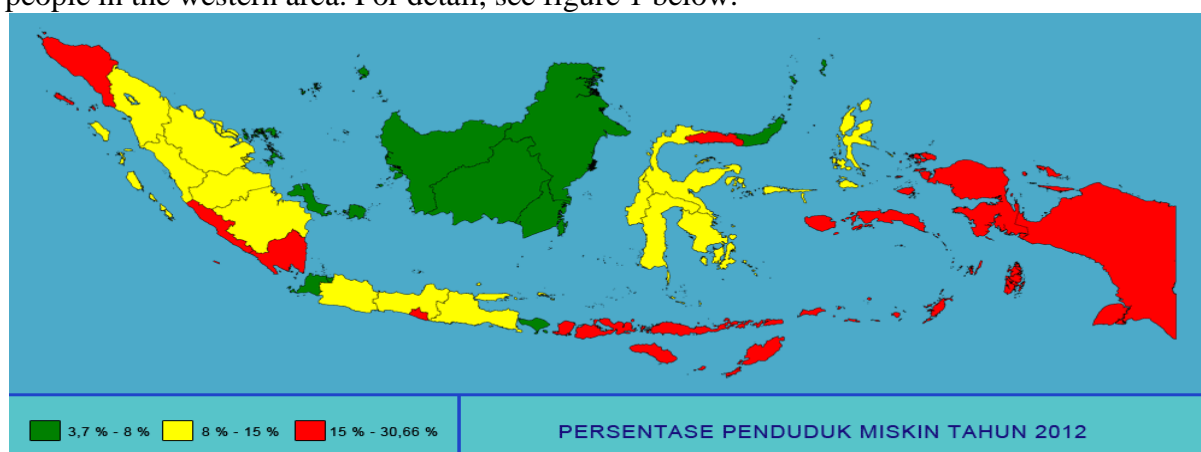
Poverty Eradication Coordination Team), to work against poverty. Poverty number in Indonesia slightly decreased from 2004 to 2013 as follows:

**Table 1 Poverty Number in Indonesia from 2004-2013**

Year	Number of Poor People (million)			Percentage of Poor People		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
2004	11,37	24,78	36,15	12,13	20,11	16,66
2005	12,40	22,70	35,10	11,68	19,98	15,97
2006	14,49	24,81	39,30	13,47	21,81	17,75
2007	13,56	23,61	37,17	12,52	20,37	16,58
2008	12,77	22,19	34,96	11,65	18,93	15,42
2009	11,91	20,62	32,53	10,72	17,35	14,15
2010	11,10	19,93	31,02	9,87	16,56	13,33
Mar-11	11,05	18,97	30,02	9,23	15,72	12,49
Sep-11	10,95	18,94	29,89	9,09	15,59	12,36
Mar-12	10,65	18,49	29,13	8,78	15,12	11,96
Sep-12	10,51	18,09	28,59	8,60	14,70	11,66
Mar-13	10,33	17,74	28,07	8,39	14,32	11,37

Source: BPS, 2013

Although the number of poor people getting higher from 2005 to 2006, the number of poor people continuously decreased from 2006 to March 2013. In March 2013, the total number of people is just 28,07 million or 11,37 % from the total of population. Statistically, this data shows that government could reduce poverty successfully. However, poverty is not merely viewed as the number of poor people. The quality of poor people covered by the government is the most important. Many people are doubtful that government could reduce poverty. Some others claim that poor people are now worse off than they were before the devastating 1997 financial crisis that swept the region, and the gap between rich and poor is widening ([www.ruralpovertyportal.org](http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org)). Moreover, the development in Indonesia is not well distributed so the number of poor people in the eastern area are worse than the number of people in the western area. For detail, see figure 1 below.



**Figure 1 The Distribution of Poor People in Indonesia for Year 2012**

Source: TKPKD

The red areas show that the number of poor people is about 15-30,66 % from the total population in these areas. In the eastern area, such as Papua, Mollucas, and Nusa Tenggara, most areas are in red. Meanwhile, the green and yellow areas are centralized in the west and in the mid. These mean that government focus its development in the west and mid areas.

Poverty reduction in Indonesia left many stories behind. The stories were about the challenges and problems, both in program planning and program implementation. As a good will to reduce poverty, President of Republic Indonesia, Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono instructed related institution to succeed some programs such as *BLT (Bantuan Langsung Tunai/Direct Cash Assistance)*, *Jamkesmas (Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat/Community Health Protection Scheme)*, and others. Uniquely, one of the program seems to lift up president's popularity, such as *BLT*. *BLT* was suddenly created by the government in 2005 to compensate the decreased-oil subsidiary. Government gave direct subsidy in amount IDR 100.000 (one hundred thousand rupiah) to each people and it was given instantly per 3 months. The problem arised when there were some people died due to the chaos on the queue of money distribution, improper utilitization of the fund, making poor people unindpendent, many wrong beneficiaries accept it, and other problem. Although this program generates many critiques, ironically, government still continues this program. It shows that government do not make a comprehensive evaluation about the program and do not think for the future. This is only one story about *BLT* and the other programs also left many problems. What programs left problems and what are the strategies to solve it, will be briefly described in this paper.

## II. POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGIES IN INDONESIA

World Bank has been undertaking a public expenditure review of social assistance programs and review of targeting in Indonesia. This gives a clearer picture of the state of social assistance in Indonesia and will allow the government to further develop its priorities for social assistance reform. Early results confirm fears about targeting performance.

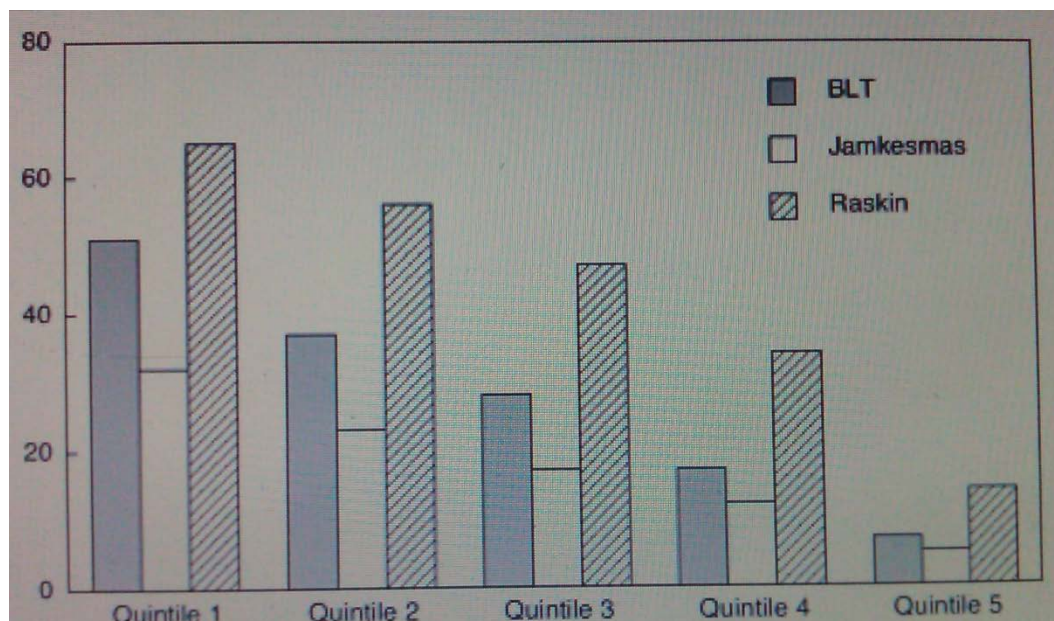


Figure 2 Coverage of Social Assistance Programs by Income Quintile

Source: World Bank, 2010

As figure 2 shows, Raskin does best at reaching the poor, with coverage of 65% in the first (poorest) quintile. *BLT* and *Jamkesmas* cover only 51% and 32% of this group respectively. *Raskin* does less well, however, at keeping benefits from the rich-14% of raskin benefits are captured by the richest quintile. The main message from this analysis is that all of the major social assistance programs are currently poorly targeted (Chris Manning, 2011).

Here are some poverty reduction strategies initiated by the President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

### **II.1. *BLT* (Direct Cash Assistance)**

In 2005, world oil price was increasing and making government gave more subsidy. If government did not increase oil price, the oil subsidy would increased from IDR 21-120 trillion. In order to save *APBN* (*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara*/The National Budget), government increased oil price by 32% for premium (from IDR 1.810-2.400 per liter) and by 27% for diesel (from IDR 1.650-2.100 per liter) in March 2005. In October 2005, the government increased oil price again by 87 % for premium (from IDR 2.400-4.500 per liter) and 105% for diesel (from IDR 2.100-4.300 per liter) (www.kompas.com). As a way to maintain economy stability, especially to aid poor people, President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono issued President Instruction No. 12 Year 2005 about *BLT* to Poor Family. Toward this regulation, government allocated IDR 15 trillion for 19,1 billion families and each family had IDR 100.000 (www.investor.oc.id). Each family who was registered to get *BLT* was required to withdraw the money in the post office in all of rural/urban area in Indonesia.

In 2008, Government decided to increase oil price by 33% for premium (from IDR 4.500-6.000 per liter) and by 28% (from IDR 4.300-5.500 per liter). One day after the increasing of oil price, Government decided to continue the *BLT* program. Although *BLT* program lead to critiques, government still used the same program but with different name to respond oil-subsidy reduction in 2013. The program was *BLSM* (*Bantuan Langsung Sementara Masyarakat*/Temporary Direct Cash Assistance). Government allocated IDR 9,32 trillion for 15,5 billion poor families (www.tempo.co). If in *BLT* poor people received IDR 100.000 per month, in *BLSM* they received IDR 150.000 per month.

### **II.2. *Jamkesmas* (Community Health Protection Scheme)**

*Jamkesmas* is a social support in health care for the poor people. The government will pay the contribution. This programme held by *Kementerian Kesehatan* (Ministry of Health) since 2008 and is a change from the *JPKMM* (Program Jaminan Pemeliharaan Kesehatan bagi Masyarakat Miskin/ Health Insurance Program for the Poor) or better known as *ASKESKIN* program held in 2005 until 2007 (*Jamkesmas Regulation*). The program is to improved access to quality health services to the poor and less fortunate through health insurance. This program uses the principal of social health insurance as stipulated in *SJSN* (*Sistem Jaminan Sosial Nasional*/Social Security Law) or *Undang-Undang No.40 tahun 2004*. This principal included efficient, effective, transparent, etc.

*Jamkesmas* is a new health system in 2014 administered by *BPJS* (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial*/The Social Security Provider) according to *SJSN* is universal health coverage. *Jamkesmas* program to overcome barriers and obstacles of access of the poor to health services also to improve the health status of the poor to meet basic right of every citizen to obtain health care. The aim of *Jamkesmas*, namely (*Jamkesmas Regulation*):

- a. *Jamkesmas* provide convenience and access to health services to participants in the entire network of health facilities implementing this program;
- b. *Jamkesmas* encourage increased health care, standardized and quality controlled and cost;
- c. Financial Management of State held by a transparent and accountable.

The Indonesian Government provided health insurance to Indonesian citizen based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, namely:

- a. Article 28 H, paragraph (1) that every person shall have the right to live in physical and spiritual prosperity, to have a home and to enjoy a good and healthy environment, and shall have the right to obtain medical care.
- b. Article 34, paragraph (1) that impoverished persons and abandoned children shall be taken care of by the State.

Not only based on the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, but also and Ministry of Health Regulation Number SK No. 1241/Menkes/SK/XI/2004 on assignment of PT Askes (Persero) in health care management program for poor people. There are Indonesian regulations relating to funding and fund management, as well as health service delivery. *Jamkesmas* based on Presidential Regulation Republic of Indonesia Number 12 Year 2013 on Health Insurance or Perpres No.12 Year 2013 too. As per Article 1 point 1 Perpres No.12 Year 2013, the Health Insurance is a guarantee of health coverage for participants to gain the benefits of health care and protection to meet the basic needs of health given to every person who has paid dues or dues paid by the government.

### **III. THE UNSUCCESSFUL POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGIES IN INDONESIA**

The successful of a program or policies depends on how the government implement it because it correlate positively. Program is a tool from the government in order to achieve the goal of a policy. William (Hildreth, 2007: 518) defined policy implementation as “*include implementation strategies in an analysis so that policy maker could appreciate the problems that faulty or slipshod implementation could engender; armed with such knowledge, the cognizant policy maker would select the most effective policies and programs.*” Meanwhile, Patton dan Savicky (Nugroho, 2008: 338) argued that implementation is a part of a policy. It means that if government fail to implement than the program or policy goals will fail too. Carrol H. Weiss (Nugroho, 2008: 344) stated that *policy failures* consist of 2 kinds, they are *program failures* and *theory failure*. *Program failures* happened when the policy can not be implemented based on its design and *theory failure* happened when the result does not fit the expectation.

Leviton (1980) defined poverty as a lackness of goods and services needed to achieve the good life standard. Meanwhile, Schiller (1979) defined poverty as the inability to get better goods and services to fulfill limited social needs (Mashud et al., 2010:7.41). In addition, Mashud said that there are some criteria used to identify whether someone or group is poor: (1) those who live under the poverty line, (2) those who do not have production assets with their own power, (3) those who uneducated/low educated, (4) those who live in a village and do not have their own land, and (5) those who live in a city with no or minimum of skill.

In Indonesia, someone stated as poor when his/her income is below IDR 200.262 per month (web.worldbank.org). This category is different with World Bank because World Bank defined “poor” as a one who live with less than US\$ 2 per day (www.gemari.or.id). The different category between BPS (Indonesia) and World Bank often make the number of poor people becomes a controversy.

This research is a qualitative research by using study literature technique. Researcher specify 2 programs, BLT and Jamkesmas, because these programs generate more problems than others. Jamkesmas in this term are focused until 2013 before Indonesia implement Universal Health Coverage (UHC) in January 2014.



### **III.1. *BLT* (Direct Cash Assistance)**

Both *BLT* and *BLSM*, researcher note that there are some problems as follow.

#### **a. Regulation problem**

The implementation of *BLT* for the first time, in 2005, was lack of regulation. Government only used President Instruction No. 12 Year 2005 to implement *BLT*. In the Law No. 1 Year 2005 about the First Revision to Law No. 36 Year 2004 about 2005 National Budget, and then revised to Law No. 9 Year 2005 about Second Revision to Law No. 36 Year 2004 about 2005 National Budget, there was no specific article stated about *BLT*. In Indonesia, President Instruction is not a part of regulation hierarchy. Under the Law, there are Government Regulation, President Regulation, and Local Government Regulation. Generally, government will make a Government Regulation as a technical procedure to implement a Law. However in the *BLT* 2005 case, Government did not make a Government Regulation or even President Regulation but only used President Instruction. So, the *BLT* 2005 was lack in the umbrella law.

In 2008, government used Law No. 16 Year 2008 about the Revision of Law No. 45 Year 2007 about National Budget for Year 2008, especially on Article 14 Point 2. The derivative regulation from this Law was inadequate because government only used President Instruction No. 3 Year 2008 about *BLT* Implementation for the year 2008. In 2013, government repeated this problem because *BLSM* regulations were only Law No. 15 Year 2013 about the Revision of Law No. 19 Year 2012 about National Budget for Year 2012. Meanwhile, derivative regulation was only President Instruction No. 5 Year 2013.

The lack of regulation shows that government did not plan *BLT* and *BLSM* well. Due to the lackness of the regulation, no wonder if the implementation of *BLT* and *BLSM* did not run well. Government only thought that poor family needed aid as a compensation for the oil-subsidy reduction. Government used short cut in planning the program: giving money will help their buying power.

#### **b. No Updated Database**

The database used by government as a basic for distributing *BLT* was not update. Consequently, not all poor family received *BLT*. Meanwhile, there were unpoor family received *BLT* because they were head of village's relative. For example, in Kupang, head of villages prioritized their relatives to receive *BLT* (kupang.tribunnews.com). In other place, Bitung City, Manado, *BLT* receivers were dominated by head of village's relative also (www.hariankomentar.com). Ironically, although database for year 2005 was not update, government still used it as a basic for 2008 distribution. The 3 years condition were different because some poor people who received *BLT* in 2005 were getting better in 2008 and people who were poor in 2008 did not received *BLT* because they were unregistered. Responding this problem, Major City of Surabaya sent a clarification to the government, asking government to update the database (news.detik.com).

Not only *BLT* but also database used in *BLSM* distribution were not update. Member of *DPR* (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*/House of Representative), Ace Hasan, complained to government because government use 2011 data as a basic for the distribution of *BLSM*. As a consequent from the unupdated database, there were 8.554 protection cards (*KPS*) returned back to government (www.dpr.go.id). *KPS* was distributed to poor-registered family and as a requirement to withdraw *BLSM*. Another consequent was many poor families protested head of village because they did not get *KPS* although they were poor.

From these findings, unupdated database caused problems but ironically government did not learn from the past. What government did was far away from the concept of anticipatory government, prevention rather than cure, popularized by Osborne and Gaebler in

1993. Actually, 2005 cases could be a lesson for government to anticipate the same problem repeated for twice or more.

### c. Chaos in the Distribution Process

*BLT* distribution caused chaos in many areas. Government made a cooperation with *PT Pos Indonesia* so that registered family could withdraw their *BLT* in the post office in every subdistrict. However, the distribution process did not run well. Many chaos happened due to indisciplined people. People were not patient to queue because they had to wait for hours. Consequently, some people were dropped and unconscious, and even, in Indramayu, West Java, an old man was died when queuing *BLT* for 3 hours ([www.indosiar.com](http://www.indosiar.com)). Here are an example of *BLT* distribution.



**Figure 3 People were Queuing during BLT Distribution in One of Village in Indonesia**  
Source: [www.kabarindonesia.com](http://www.kabarindonesia.com)

Another tragedy was in 2013 when an 72 year old man died due to fatigue. He asked his nephew to withdraw *BLSM* in a post office in Jakarta but officer refused him and asked the name stated in the card to withdraw *BLSM* by himself. After queuing, he was rejected because his *BLSM* was already taken by other people and he was asked to take it in the North Jakarta Central Post Office. In the way, he felt fatigue and then died ([www.tempo.co](http://www.tempo.co)). These tragedy actually could be minimized if government distribute *BLT* and *BLSM* well. People do not need to queue for hours if the government schedule the withdrawal process.

Other tragedies also found during the distribution of *BLT*. *Susenas* (*Survey Sosial Ekonomi Nasional/National Survey and Census*) 2006 in 566 village found that there were some problems arised during *BLT* distribution. See table 2 below for details.

**Table 2 Problems Happened during *BLT* Distribution**

<b>Problems</b>	<b>% Village</b>
<b>Injuries</b>	14,9
<b>Protest</b>	34,6
<b>Intimidate BPS' Staff</b>	4,4
<b>Intimidate Village Officer</b>	11,8
<b>Vandalism of Public Facilities</b>	1,5
<b>Clash</b>	1,4

Source: National Survey and Census, 2006

The most cases were protest and happened in 34,6% of total village or 196 villages. People protested *BLT* staff because invalid database, rigid process in withdrawal process, unclear schedule to withdraw *BLT*, and so on. The second case was injuries during *BLT* distribution process. People were not be patient to take a long queue so they pushed one another and it made chaos. It happened in 14,9% of village or in 84 villages. These are some problems arised during *BLT* distribution process in 2005.

#### **d. Misuse of Fund**

Many stories about the misuse of fund came from *BLT* and *BLSM* program. Not a little people used the fund to gamble or to have fun (Ismail, 2009). Due to many cases found during *BLT* program, the Head of Central Java House of Representative asked government to stop *BLT* because it was used to have fun ([www.tempo.co](http://www.tempo.co)). In another place, many people mortgaged the *BLT* card to the moneylenders because they borrowed some money to the moneylenders and they could not paid it ([www.suarakarya-online.com](http://www.suarakarya-online.com)). The misuse of *BLT* and *BLSM* fund might happened because the mentality of the people. They felt get it freely, without any sacrifice, so they did not have a responsibility to use it well. This mentality relates to what Koentjaraningrat (2004) said about Indonesian weakness: avoding to take a responsibility.

#### **e. Inequality of *BLT* and *BLSM* Value**

The last problem is about the inequality of *BLT* and *BLSM* value. People received *BLT* in amount IDR 100.000 and *BLSM* in amount IDR 150.000 per month. The problem arose when the value of Rupiah was not equal among some areas in Indonesia. For example, in Central Java, people could buy many things with IDR 100.000 but people in Papua could only buy little things with IDR 100.000. It was because the life standard in Papua was higher than in Java. As an archipelago country, Indonesia has many islands. The hard distribution of goods from Java to Papua made the price more expensive than in Java. So, the inequality of *BLT* and *BLSM* value created new problem for people in Papua.

### **III.2. *Jamkesmas* (Community Health Protection Scheme)**

There are several problems faced this program as follow:

#### **a. Poor health services, no rewards and no punishment**

At Health Clinics in District Ciseeng, Bogor, the regional government not utilizes the recording and reporting system. The recording and reporting is done only for the purposes of the report to the regency. The health clinic not analyzes the situation from year to year. The Standard operation Procedure is quite good but not tight enough because there is no imposition of sanctions for a violation. In addition, there are procedures that are not

implemented in the data collection process, including the use of indicators of poverty in the feasibility test candidates (Bayu Kurnia, 2010).

Besides that, often there still mismatches claims by an independent verifier for external parties or Hospital do not check before re-verification. This is because there are no rules governing verification in hospital. Monitoring has not been done to the whole hospital because of large number of hospitals in cooperation with *Jamkesmas* program, so monitoring is focused on hospitals that did not submit the report at all.

A number of patients turned out to poor families must spend in order to get a *Jamkesmas* card. Most perpetrators of illegal charge a public servant in the *RT (Rukun Tetanga/neighborhood)* or *RW (Rukun Warga/neighborhoods)*. This was revealed in a public discussion organized by ICW (Indonesia Corruption Watch), "Sues Hospital Service to the Poor". The existence of informal payments to receive a *Jamkesmas* card that is revealed through methodical survey of '*Pelaporan Kartu Warga*' (citizen report card) conducted in 2009. There are 738 respondent patients in 23 hospitals in Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Bekasi and Tangerang. ICW Researcher, Ratna Kusumaningsih, said as much as 7.9% of respondents said there are charges. To get a *Jamkesmas* card, patients spend an average of IDR 345,000. For a poor family card funded by the government of DKI Jakarta, charge average of IDR 101,000 and for the *SKTM* afford to IDR 89,000. The three main actors are the chairman of the *RT / RW* (30.6 percent), village officials (22.4 percent), clinic staff (20.4 percent), and brokers.

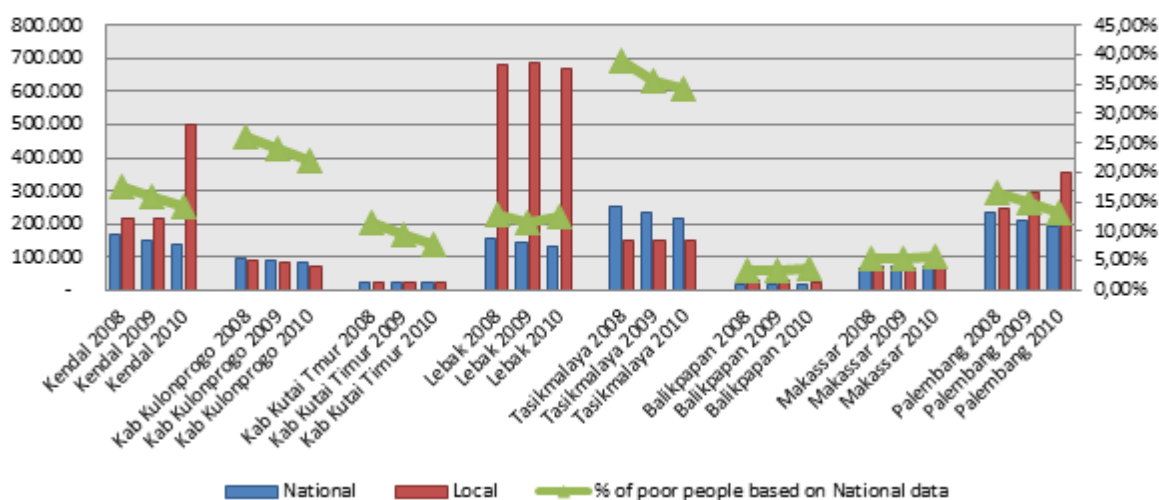
In addition, the lack of regeneration officers and the officers are less likely to accept new technology. This is due to the age factor besides that, the verifier officers in the village appointed by the respective village head. This procedure leads to the missing target because the data collection process likely to be invalid.

#### **b. Inaccurate database**

The discovered of inaccurate database that used by the officers was found in many places in Indonesia. In 2012 through 2013, there will be about 20 million poor people who could potentially ignored health care. This community cannot seek medical treatment because their membership rights being ignored or not recorded (KPKMAK). Inaccurate database used in Aceh Tamiang. At Seruway district, *PNS (Pegawai Negeri Sipil/civil servants)* and those who have died get the card (aceh.tribunnews.com) On 7 January 2013, 15 people came to *Bappeda (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah/Champaign Regional Planning Agency)* and *BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik/Central Statistics Agency)* in Padang. They questioned the data collection that is considered not valid. Chairman of *RT03 RW14 Bungopasang, Juhardio Anse*, revealed there are 3 heads of families are not recorded. He rate that families deserve *Jamkesmas* because of the poor. Meanwhile, Chief of Medical Officer in Padang, Frisdawati, claimed the data is not accurate (www.jpnn.com).

There are differences data between *BPS* and local government. Local government feel that the *BPS* data are poor quality, outdated, do not reflect the characteristics of local poverty problems, etc. Local government used their own poverty criteria. The criteria are different from the national results in complexity of miss-targeting problems. *BPS* uses poverty data for *Jamkesmas* from 2007 to determine the recipients for the 2010 program this make the targeting system of *Jamkesmas* ineffective and sub-optimal in covering the poor (IBP Indonesia Core Team, 2012). The differences between national and local poverty data can be seen in the figure below. Kendal and Lebak have the greatest differences between the national and local poverty data in 2010. This difference occurred due to political influence that used poverty issues for election purposes.

**Figure 4 Difference Between National and Local Poverty Data, 2008-2010**



Source: IBP Indonesia Core Team, 2012

### c. The implementation is less effective

There is a negative perception of service quality of *Jamkesmas* where many health centers that lack of qualified staff, including a shortage of doctors and inspection tools, the treatment is not earnest and long waiting times.

ICW find that there are claim was rejected by the hospital. There are eight people who claim to feel an unpleasant service. Rejection reason is limited beds, hospital equipment is inadequate, no specialists, the administration is not complete and no down payment. Female patients are often ignored and less respected in the hospital service. While the male patient complained of a lack of discipline doctors, and the presence of down payment requirements if they want to be served. In addition, many complain about hospital infrastructure, especially the cleanliness of toilets and bathrooms (ICW).

*Jamkesmas* mechanism implemented in Bogor is less effective to help cheap or free health care for the poor. Because only about 20 percent of a health card that is absorbed. However, on the other hand, the Government of Bogor still bear the cost of health care for the poor by using a poor family card or a *SKTM* (*Surat Keterangan Tidak Mampu*/statement of poverty) in the amount of billions of dollars. In the number of people registered, only 20 percent were able to utilize funds from the central government. The rest citizens are guaranteed health card is never sick so that funds cannot be disbursed ([www.pikiran-rakyat.com](http://www.pikiran-rakyat.com)).

### d. Misuse of *Jamkesmas* cards

Card users are not the card owner and some of the card owners are not categorized as poor people. In Ciseeng, Bogor, *Jamkesmas* participant did not have the *Jamkesmas* card so the health assurance process became difficult. Many people who are known by the health officers are not a poor person but they used the *Jamkesmas* card. The health officers have been reported to the district but the district did not give a good response because they are suppressed by the society (Bayu Kurnia, 2010). Medical Officer in Malang will seek uncategorized poor people to turn back the card and substitute the card to categorized poor people ([www.malang-post.com](http://www.malang-post.com)).

#### **IV. INADEQUATE EVALUATION**

After the implementation, policy or program should be evaluated to know the success, effect, or result. Dunn (1999) stated that evaluation was a set of policy process; started by agenda setting and ended by evaluation. In this stage, policy/program will be evaluated to know whether it could solve the problem. Public policy basically made to achieve the goals. To know how success the policy/program is, government should make indicators or criteria as a basic assessment (Winarno, 2007). In addition, Nugroho (2003:183) states that evaluation is used to know the gap between “reality” and “expectation”.

Both *BLT* and *Jamkesmas* had inadequate evaluation. Actually government conducted some evaluations but the evaluation done in 2008. From the information collected during 2005 and 2006, researchers do not find any evaluation conducted by government. Some of evaluations were conducted by NGO such as SMERU. The comprehensive evaluation held by government was in 2008. Government conducted a survey in 566 villages in order to evaluate the *BLT*. However, ideally government do an evaluation after the programs have already done. It means that government ideally do an evaluation in 2005 because evaluation could be held in some terms. First, before implementing the program, second, during the program, and the last, after the program has already done. From the finding above, researchers argue that the evaluation in 2008 is very long away from 2005. Evaluation should be done as soon as possible in order to reduce unwanted things happened again in the future. Another thing is related to the goals measurement. Evaluation is very important in order to know whether the program effective. The problem arised when the government did not have a clear regulation. As researchers state above, the government only used President Instruction as a technical regulation. In this President Instruction, researchers do not find any clause about goals measurement, and evend not an evaluation procedure. The absence of evaluation procedure mentioned in a regulation will cause the program doesn't meet the goals.

#### **V. ALTERNATIVES SOLUTIONS**

From the explanation above, researchers provides alternatives in the form of:

1. There should be a clear legal framework governing the poverty reduction. Government shall make a Government Regulation as a technical procedure to implement a Law.
2. Inaccurate or no update database.  
Inaccurate or no database update is due to the familiarity with the field officer as the head of the village, as well as the data used is the data still no update. The BPS team selects residents in the poor category. The data obtained by BPS team was a lot of errors. From the surveyor, the data obtained can be error. BPS team takes data from the visits and interviews, though many things can be deliberately concealed. BPS team would be hard to find out a wealth of new residents known. So that not poor citizens could get medical treatment. The data collection should be carried out by field officers of citizen groups with re-checking of the BPS team. If the team found any violation, there are already sanctions.  
In addition, the data processing should be done every month, as well as the wise utilization for consideration in taking policy measures at least at the district level. In addition, the use and utilization of information technology as well as a good system data management should be improve. So the resulting information is more valid and useful.
3. Chaos in distribution.  
The government should prepare a solution for the risks of possible queue are booming. For example, adding employees at the distribution of funds. In addition,

there must be same opinions between the field officers who provide funds, it must be consistent, they are only received the person whose name is listed, other than the listed name, cannot receive the funds.

4. Misuse of funds and cards (Improper use of funds and cards in funding their life)  
There should be not in the form of funding, but in the form of working capital in the form of skills and capital. For example, the elimination of rent a place in the market, providing a suitable place for street vendors without collecting rent. Skills training can be free for the vendors so that they can develop the business. Punishment is given to persons who are not people who are eligible to receive a health card but using a health and take the card.
5. Inequity of BLT.  
The BLT should be adjusted to the value in each area. It can be seen from the *UMR (Upah minimum Regional/regional minimum wage)* of each region.
6. Improvement of service.  
The government should provide apparent protection to the officer in charge because their position could come under pressure from the community to provide a report. And there should be punishment for officers who violate the authority. The officer must always be given continuous training on this program, so they already knew at the time to face all the problems that arise in implementation. Training for officers should be done more than once to be able to ensure officers understand and master the training materials. For training to be effective as intended, the training should be provided a mentor nearby without having left behind by the ongoing training materials.  
To minimize the time wasted due to the error, officers should examine first before submitting the report to the independent verifier. The quality of verifier at the district should be improved so the accuracy would be easy to manage. There should be an implementation of the punishment and reward as the encouragement for the officers. There are facilities for clinic staff in performing their duties. Perform system maintenance, facilities and infrastructure, as well as existing technology and then increased again in future in order to maintain the integrity of the information that had previously been there.
7. The implementation less effective. There must be immediately effective supervision.  
Government should be transparent to the problems that arise with the implementation of the program, so that the public can provide input alternative solutions so that governments do not arise in the next course of the same or similar problems.

## VI. CONCLUSION

Since poverty in Indonesia becomes major problems, government implemented some poverty reduction programs such as *BLT (Bantuan Langsung Tunai/Direct Cash Assistance)* and *Jamkesmas (Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat/Community Health Protection Scheme)*. However, the programs are considered not effective due to some problems, such as regulation problems, inaccurate database, chaos in distribution process, and some other problems. While this problem existed, the evaluation from the government was inadequate, noted that government only did some evaluation. Due to this problems, researchers proposes some alternative recommendations such as there should be a clear regulation framework, update database, improve the quality of service delivery, and conduct regular evaluation.



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## **Trafficking and poverty – plight of young girls from Assam (India)**

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**Abstract:** *Born a woman amidst poverty add to the vulnerability of young girls being trafficked for labour and exploitative purpose. Children, mostly girls from the minority communities and the tea gardens in Assam are victims to the huge trafficking racket. Their vulnerability increases during times of natural calamities like the flood or situations of ethnic conflict in the state. This paper attempts to bring to the fore the agony of young girls hailing from economically deprived families in the remote villages of Assam who became potential targets of trafficking. Not being welcomed by birth, considered a burden, denied education, doing all the household chores has been the experience of these girls. The promise of exciting job offer and a comfortable life in the cities lured these girls and their families to blindly fall into a malicious trap. Kids as young as seven years are not spared in this huge gambit. Abject poverty was the push factor as shared by the girls rescued from exploitative conditions. The agony and misery faced by these girls are discussed herein. Further, the strategies adopted by Government in addressing their concerns and creating a proactive environment are also debated upon.*

**Key words:** poverty, vulnerability, trafficking and exploitation

## **Introduction**

Human trafficking has been drawing a lot of attention in this globalized world during the past three decades. Trafficking in women and children is an area of great concern drawing the attention of policy makers and crucial stakeholders since 1980's in India (Roy, 2010). Poverty and trafficking are intrinsically connected fuelling the entire process of trafficking in developing countries. Born and growing up in poverty affects the socio-economic, cultural and political fabric of one's life. Poverty adds on to the vulnerability factor of individuals being trafficked and exploited. Gender is a crucial defining factor making the vulnerable even more vulnerable of being exploited. Hailing from marginalized communities by itself subjects them to a lot of discrimination and exploitation and to add on to it being born a woman further enhances the vulnerability factor.

## **Indian poverty in a global perspective**

Around 1.2 billion people across the world live in the extreme clutches of poverty and fitting within the parameters of the definition of world bank as those living with less than 1.25\$ a day according to the International Poverty line. A third of the world's poor are found in Sub Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2013). India falls within the lower middle income country and in spite of being a country with fast growing economy; one in three of the world's poorest live in India. (Nelson, 2013). India on the positive side has demonstrated a decline in poverty along with China in 2010 compared to other countries. The income according to World Bank estimates of an average extremely poor person in India has increased by 14 percent between 1981 and 2010 (World Bank, 2013). However, this is not a very promising sign as the scenario amongst the rural poor has not improved. 78% of the poor live in rural areas and in India, 70% of the people live in villages constituting a major proportion of the rural population. Progress or increase in salary has been observed in the urban areas unlike the rural areas wherein agriculture is the main source of income. Globalization and influence of the west has its impact in the rural areas luring many of the youngsters to flee agrarian life and aim for a fast paced life in the cities. World Bank Report (2013) also discusses on the gender disparity among the poor and women are more to be affected as the scope and avenues for education is less compared to men. Poor women between the ages of 15 and 30 have undergone one year of less schooling compared the men from poor sections of the population.

In India, the Tendulkar poverty line (calculated by a leading economist of the country, late Prof. Suresh D. Tendulkar) was fixed at Rs. 16 (0.258 US\$) for 2004 – 2005, a level that was equivalent to US \$ 1.00 per day as per the PPP terms (purchasing power parity) in line with the International poverty line. Currently, the Planning Commission has come up with a new poverty estimate of Rs. 29 per day (0.469 US\$) that meets the revised International poverty line of US \$ 1.25 per day. Reality is that one fairly decent breakfast in the city costs around Rs. 50 (Shah, 2013). It is estimated that 29.8 percent of Indians live below the country's national poverty line (UNDP, 2010) and 32.7 percent lived below the International poverty line of (US\$ 1.25 per day) based on World Bank estimate in 2012 (Global Slavery Index, 2013).

## **Poverty and its implications with trafficking**

The country sharing international porous borders with Bangladesh, Nepal, China, Myanmar, Bhutan and Pakistan makes it easier for the traffickers to operate on an Inter –country mission. Most of the victims are taken across the borders for commercial purposes. The huge

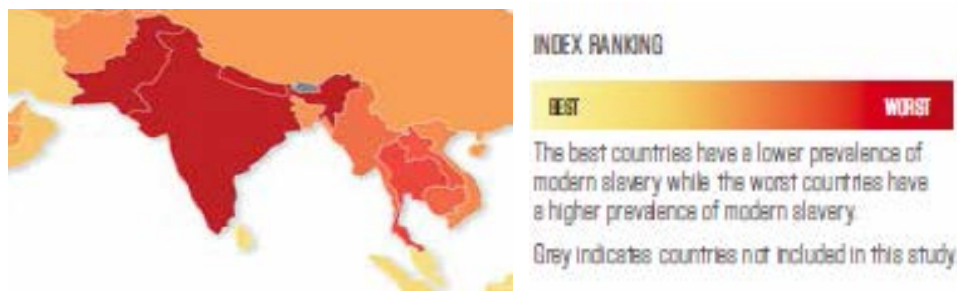
trafficking networks also operate within the country transporting children and young women from one region to another.

Empirical evidence portrays the interlinking between poverty and trafficking. The concepts are equally complex and multidimensional and no single factor can be associated with either poverty or trafficking but clubbed together, the consequences are disturbing and frustrating. India, a lower middle income country has been identified as the source, transit and destination in the entire process of trafficking. Disparities that exist in the economic front and poverty are closely correlated with situations such as exploitation for labour purposes through trafficking networks as seen in developing countries Mahlar (1997). In the absence of a unanimously accepted definition of trafficking, India adopts the definition as described in the United Nations Trafficking Protocol popularly known as the Palermo Protocol - Art 3 (2000) as:

*‘ recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation’.*

The above definition includes varied forms of trafficking. It can be referred to with many names such as slavery, trafficking, forced labour, forced marriage. Nevertheless, all the victims have gone through a situation almost like slaves with absolutely no freedom, no right to think or execute what they feel, always at the mercy of someone, being controlled, dominated, beaten up, abused and exploited. It is alarming and equally distressing to know that India has been ranked 4<sup>th</sup> globally as one of the worst countries for the high prevalence of modern slavery as it is called. Global Slavery Index has estimated that 72.14% of the estimated total 29.8 million people in modern slavery are in Asia. (such as Pakistan, India and Thailand).

Figure 1. Prevalence of modern slavery in Asia



Source: Global Slavery Index (2013)

According to the US Trafficking in Persons Report (2013), an estimated 20 to 65 million Indians are into forced labour in the country. The Report further states that most of those trafficked in the country are deployed in various labour force be it working in industries, or as construction workers, or as domestic workers within the country itself with the sad scenario of some of them being hereditary slaves in their own villages. In one of the states in northeastern region of the country, many generations in a family are serving as bonded laborers without any respite and not knowing how to escape the situation in spite of the country abolishing the bonded labour system. Nearly ninety percent of the internal trafficking is from the rural to the urban areas in the country being lured for better prospects or promised education in the cities. Children as young as four or five years old from the state of Assam

are promised better education in boarding schools in the southern part of the country and they languish in exploitative conditions, with no access to basic needs.

### **Vulnerability factors**

In the entire gamut of trafficking, vulnerability of the victim is taken advantage of by the traffickers. In the area of study, certain factors were emerging as common amongst the victims who were rescued which are being children, born poor, being girls, and hailing from either minority communities (muslims) or the ethnic communities (adivasis) who belong to the other backward classes. Further, in situations of natural calamities like flood or during ethnic conflicts, those who are already within the factors cited above become easy targets and prey for the traffickers. A usual sight in the relief camps is observed annually where the victims of flood disaster are lodged. Traffickers hover around luring the families to send away the girls to work with wealthy families in the metro cities of the country. Helplessness of the parents in guarding their grown up daughter within the relief camp is exploited by the trafficker and many of the girls are taken away.

### **Scenario in Assam (Northeast India)**

Assam is one of the eight states that constitute the Northeastern region of the country and known as the gateway to the Northeast. It shares borders with all the states of the northeast and also with neighbouring countries. The paper is based on the data gathered directly from the girls rescued from trafficking within the state and across the country. Observations and understanding of the environment in the tea gardens in three districts of the state provide additional insight into the entire gamut of trafficking. Tea garden workforce consists of the *adivasi* people belonging to indigenous community who had migrated during the British rule to Assam with promises of better pay, good working condition and so on none of which has been materialized. The permanent worker in the garden earns Rs. 91 per day in the place of study whereas it is less as Rs. 71 in some of the other gardens in the state. Permanent or temporary workers form the workforce in the gardens and in majority of the households both the husband and the wife are employed. Unfortunately, the wages at the end of two weeks is handed over to the male, presumably the head of the family. It was observed on the day of the salary that nearly half of the money was utilized for alcohol and some to pay off debts and hardly anything left for the family.

It is only the permanent workers who were provided with houses (quarters called 'line') by the management that had electricity. They were also provided with subsidized ration of rice, wheat, tea leaves, blankets and some basic amenities such as medical care. The temporary workers (called 'faltu') had to build their own house (mostly made of mud) and had no access to electricity and clean drinking water, were only provided with basic ration. Every household has an average of five children. Absence of high schools in the village lead to drop out from further schooling of majority of the children after primary level of education. Boys in the families are lucky to pursue their education in the high schools that is located 13 kms away. The only means of transport for these families in the gardens is a bicycle. The really motivated families persevere to send their wards far away for higher education and the rest are complacent that they have older children (predominantly girls) to manage the house during the day when they are off to work. majority of 70 percent of the married women were not educated in the gardens surveyed and this trickles down to the next generation wherein the girls do not pursue studies after the primary level.

The workers have no means of transport to connect them to the cities or neighbouring towns other than their bicycles. No other transport facilities are available to the people that during

medical emergencies they need to be at the mercy of the tea garden management to provide an ambulance for transporting the sick to bigger hospitals.

The striking reality in the gardens is that when dusk sets in, they are engulfed in darkness as majority of the households do not have electricity. The husband and wife are both in an inebriated condition and one can imagine what life and enthusiasm is left for the children of these homes. In many of the houses, local liquor is brewed at home making it all the more available.

Based in an environment with no access to higher education, no electricity, absence of clean and safe drinking environment, and lack of avenues for further growth and progress emerge as 'push' factors for the children to leave the safety of their homes. The astounding reality is that in almost all the gardens, every household have atleast one child (mostly girl) employed in the metro cities (such as Delhi, Mumbai, Guwahati or Bangalore). It is sad to know that most of the parents do not know the whereabouts of their girls since they left home. Some of them are very proud to say that their girls are working in the towns and earning Rs.5000 a month which is double the wages of the parent.

The trafficker is not a stranger in all the incidences observed and they reside as one among the workers in the garden. When a young girl who was doing her eleventh standard in junior college was asked about the lifestyle of young girls in the tea gardens, she responded with a lot of anger, *'most of the girls of my age are not here. They have gone off to work in the cities. They go out of their own choice, no one is forced. A group of girls go with some guys expressing the desire to work outside.'* She continued when probed about their return, *'they do return, some of them with kids. They do not share about what they are doing. One of the girl left her child here and went back'*.

Globalization has its impact in luring the young to the cities hoping for a life full of comfort and access to modern accessories. As evident from the observations made in the tea gardens, due to the dispelling environment with no scope or avenues for the young to progress, no job opportunities other than the tea estate or agriculture, they fall as prey to the attractions outside and are caught in a web of problems, unable to free themselves. The traffickers capitalize the vulnerability of the families in the gardens and effortlessly achieve their goal.

As for the minority communities in the State, the plight of girls is even more deplorable. Attainment of menarche in the girl's life puts an end to their schooling and they are ready to be married. Child marriage is another serious concern in these communities. The girls are easily lured into relationships and they are forced to elope to a new place. She is first sexually abused by her so called lover who then hands her over to the middlemen who place her in a brothel. She can escape from these clutches only during police raids.

Interviews with the rescued victims depicts certain trends in trafficking. Majority of the girls were 15 years of age at the time of abduction, and all those rescued from the cities of Mumbai, Pune and Goa were used for commercial sexual exploitation. The girls who were rescued in Delhi were from places of labour (domestic labour). The girls belonged to either the *'adivasi' community or the muslim community from Assam*. Some of the girls were trafficked after being sedated and this pattern was observed in a specific district. Almost all of them were not educated with a few exception of up to the primary level. The dispelling and demotivating environment in their own homes have been compelling factors allowing them to be trafficked. A few incidences of death of the girls in their places of work have been

reported and no further action has been taken by the family other than brooding in sorrow and helplessness.

### **Case studies (based on interviews held with the rescued victims)**

Some of the crucial cases of the trafficked victims are discussed to understand the agony and turmoil they went through in their places of destination. All cases of trafficking go unreported and there is a dearth of data in concerned departments as the families do not inform the police about their child being sent away to work. Only the rescued victims stand up to unravel the truth and their bitter experiences which they would want to bury and forget it once and for all.

#### **Case study 1**

*Sheila, 14 years, Rekha 14 years and Seeta 16 years share similar experience in their life. All the three girls hail from neighbouring tea gardens of a particular district and they never knew one another until they met in the same Children's home that lodges children in need of care and protection. Children of tea garden labourers, the girls had not been to school. A person in the guise of belonging to a recruitment agency had met up with each of the girls' family and lured them with promising jobs in Delhi, the capital of the country and had taken them at different intervals. It so happened that after enduring all the hardships of labour, having no freedom or the liberty to do anything, the girls realized they were not being paid for their work. When questioning the employer, they were in a state of shock to hear that the money was either paid to the recruiting agent and they would not be receiving any monthly salary. The reality was too astounding for these young girls who had left their home with dreams of a city life and earn a lot of money for their future. Sensing foul play in the entire racket, each of them ran away from their employer's house and was taken into custody by the police who placed them in a children's home. It was there that they met one another and on further discussion discovered the commonality of their experience that brought them together. As they hailed from Assam, they were transferred to the home in Assam where they languished for a long period of time until their families could be traced. With coordinated efforts of the police and the authorities of the home sustained efforts were made to locate their residence and handed over to their families who were overjoyed as they got to see their girls after three years and presumed they were permanently lost or dead.*

Analysis of cases of rescued victims portray that there are different trends in each of the trafficking incident. The girls fall into a trap of being lured to fall in love with the trafficker and finally get abducted in the process. The case presented below is the experience of one such victim.

#### **Case study 2**

*Jameela was just 13 years old when she had to leave home. She belongs to a remote district in the state, born and reared up in poverty as a result of which she has not been to school. Her father earned his living, pulling a rickshaw and spent all his wages on alcohol, justifying his drinking for his hard labour. Her mother worked as a maid in different houses trying to feed the family consisting of five children. Jameela was left with the responsibility of doing the chores at home and caring for her younger siblings. She was in love with a boy from the neighbourhood and her parents aware of it immediately planned her marriage to a different person and also pressurized her to consent for the marriage. Helpless and not wanting to be married to someone against her choice, she was left with no option but to elope with her lover who brought her to the state capital. He stayed with her for just a month and he absconded leaving her in the lurch in a new place with no avenues for survival. She took to rag picking to support herself and misfortune did not leave her even in this situation. One late evening, she was trapped by a stranger when she was returning home after her work and he brutally raped her near the garbage area. Hearing her screams, public rushed to her rescue, picked up the perpetrator and handed him to the police. Jameela was in a shattered state, unable to even speak for*



*some days and took some time to recover from the shock. She was in the destitute home wherein she was exposed to psychosocial interventions and vocational rehabilitation. But she was determined to start life afresh and push away the past episode of her life behind. She was rescued to her family after she expressed the desire to be with her parents.*

It has been observed that the clutches of the heinous act does not spare children as young as seven years old as presented in the case below.

### **Case study 3**

*Maina was just seven years old when she was rescued. She still had the baby looks with all the front teeth fallen which even more reinforces how young she is. She hailed from a very remote tribal village in the state of Assam and having lost her mother, was left with the mercy of the father to raise them up. Maina was the third born among four and was never sent to school. A huge trafficking racket is busy with its operation in her village as many girls like Maina have been trafficked through the same agent. She was brought to work in a reputed, wealthy house in the city. She found another 14 year old girl from the same village working there and they found solace in the company of one another as both of them were brutally beaten up and physically abused by their employer. It is ironical to know how she looking very much like a baby had to take care of a small kid in the house where she worked. To add to it, she scrubbed utensils and washed clothes with those tender hands. For a few months, she was subjected to this kind of maltreatment and abuse and finally one day she and the other maid decided to run away because of one incident. Maina had taken some biscuits from the refrigerator and eaten for which she was brutally and heartlessly beaten with an hot iron rod that left fresh scars on her hands. Both escaped and met some public on the road away from the home and shared their problems. A person immediately responded and filed a case in the police station against the employer and handed the girls for safe custody with the police. They were then transported to the children's home for rehabilitation and reintegration efforts to be carried out.*

The patterns that emerge in the above case studies are examples of sheer slavery the girls have witnessed. It is the control of a person to deprive them of their freedom and exploit them. They were subject to working in rigid conditions, left to survive on their own, beaten up and threatened.

### **Policy implications and Government participation**

Consistent and constructive efforts are being taken by the Governments both at the centre and in the state to curb the menace of trafficking. Being a clandestine, multidimensional, complex process, the onus of addressing this cannot be left with the Governments alone.

**Table 1. International conventions ratified by India**

INDIA	Ratified
Slavery Convention	Yes
Supplementary Slavery Convention	Yes
UN Trafficking Protocol	Yes
Forced Labour Convention	Yes
Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention	No
CRC Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children	Yes
Domestic Work Convention	No

Source: Global Slavery Index (2013)

It calls for the sincere effort and perseverance of all the citizens to tackle this global issue. Table 1. Presents the varied Conventions and Protocols related to trafficking and related concerns ratified by the Government of India. Cause of concern is of not ratifying two major conventions dealing with Worse forms of child labour convention and the Domestic work convention which has a strong bearing with trafficking (Global slavery index, 2013).

The protocol issued by the Government on the procedures related to pre-rescue, rescue, post-rescue and rehabilitation of trafficked victims outlines the varied step by step procedures to be adhered by the professionals deployed in an rescue operation. However, not all those deployed are aware of these procedures that would prevent a lot of hassles and discomfort to the victim.

Coordinated efforts by the Ministry of Home, the Ministry of Women and Child Development, Ministry of Labour to address the issue and put systems in place is the need of the hour. Each of them has their own mandate and it should not be a blame game rather an effort of working hand in hand is needed. Implementation of MNREGA (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guaranteed Act assures hundred days of employment with wages. Further, the introduction and implementation of the scheme ‘ Integrated Child Protection Scheme’, launched in 2009, focuses on a decentralized system of building up protective environment for all ages and ensure that children are protected and allowed to grow their full potential. The CID (Criminal Investigative Department), of Assam, in 2010 undertook the task of sensitizing and capacity building of the police personnel at the State and District level on issues related to trafficking and child protection. Anti-human trafficking units (AHTU) were set up in 14 District headquarters to take up all measures to address the problem at the source itself.

It can be reiterated that trafficking cannot be addressed by setting up preventive units or the Government using stringent measures to nab the perpetrator and prosecute him. Each and every individual, especially the vulnerable and high risk groups need to safeguard themselves. Strengthening those vulnerable groups (young girls) through education and providing them a safety network is essential. Involving the local Panchayats in lending their support is a worthy step in addressing this global concern. Supporting the rescued victims to be advocates in sharing their experiences with the wider world to sensitize people on the evils of trafficking needs to be achieved to change the attitude of the young minds who are lured with the comforts of the urban world.

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# **VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: AN ENTREPRENEURIAL, STRATEGIC TOOL FOR EMPOWERING NIGERIAN WOMEN; An analysis of two training academies.**

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## **Abstract**

A Century ago, about 92% of our ancestors were entrepreneurs. Now the number is between 12 and 22%. As we lost our entrepreneurial skills, a new paradigm emerged globally.

The world has shifted from centralized authority, through downsizing, companies' splits etc, and the realization that being an employee is riskier than being an employer of labor fueled the incredible home-based business revolution in the 1990's.

In recent years, entrepreneurship has achieved significance as a driver of economic growth and poverty alleviation in Nigeria. This paper focuses on various entities that promote capacity building and entrepreneurship development through vocational education among women in Nigeria, paying special attention to ways in which these entities can better coordinate their efforts by examining two case studies.

Reviews of literature on Vocational training, entrepreneurship empowerment, poverty eradication followed by a conceptual framework modeling efforts of the Nigerian government, the private sector, and the citizens' sector in promoting entrepreneurship empowerment is documented and appropriate research statistical tools were adopted to measure these efforts. The paper's conclusions emphasize that neither markets nor governments are enough to eradicate poverty, especially in the Nigerian context. Instead, a trisectoral approach recognizing the complementarities between the government, private, and citizens' sector may be the solution to successful capacity building among Nigerian Women.

**Keywords:** Entrepreneurship, Empowerment, Capacity building, Vocational education, Trisectoral.

## Introduction

According to the World Bank definition; Poverty is hunger, it is lack of shelter, poverty is being sick and not able to see a doctor, and it is not being able to go to school, not knowing how to read, and not being able to speak properly. Poverty is not having a job and the fear for the future, living one day at a time. It is losing a child to illness, brought about by unclean water, and lastly, it is powerlessness, lack of representation and freedom (World bank, 1996). In basic economic terms, Poverty is living on less than \$1 a day.

Poverty has many causes, all of which reinforce one another. One source of poverty is the lack of basic services, such as clean water, education, and health care. Another is lack of assets, such as land, tools, credit, and supportive networks of friends and family. A third is lack of income, including food, shelter, clothing, and empowerment (political power, confidence, dignity)

Poverty is dehumanizing. Nothing erodes human dignity like poverty. Today, African nations have little input in world affairs because of her poverty. Notwithstanding Africa's large population of 600 million people, with a size twice that of United States of America, it's of no consequence to the world at large. Why? Like the Bible says. 'The voice of a poor man is not heard and his words are despised'. (KJV, Eccl. 9: 14-17). No matter what we say as Africans, until we recover our economic dignity, we will remain the foot mat of the world. That is why economic recovery is a must. Our human dignity as a people must be recovered (Oyedepo, 2007).

Economic recovery is a universal possibility, and it has been proven in several parts of the world. History records that the nation of America went through a great time of economic depression, yet today, the world's economy is determined by the value of the American dollar. China has become a nation to watch, because it is gradually taking over economically after a process of recovery. The G8 is powerful not necessarily because of its political system, but due to its economic power (Oyedepo, 2007).

Nigeria has immense potential waiting to be unleashed and talents to be tapped, to become the largest and strongest economy in Africa.

Before the restoration of democracy, Nigeria suffered setbacks that tarnished its reputation. The Nigerian government had adopted various attempts to alleviate poverty, from the Pre-SAP, SAP and Post-SAP era's. It must be stated that lack of continuity and shift in approach, trailed poverty alleviation programs since the ouster of the Second republic in 1983.

Each subsequent military administration came with a different idea or no idea at all. Poverty reduction programs became more 'regime specific' because there was hardly any continuity with those initiated by previous governments. Nonetheless, most of these poverty alleviation programs suffered the same fate as a recent government assessment showed. It found that they all failed due largely to the fact that;

- They were mostly not designed to alleviate poverty
- They lacked a clearly defined policy framework with proper guidelines for Poverty alleviation
- They suffered from polity instability, political interference, policy and macroeconomic dislocations.
- They also lacked continuity

Duplication of functions by a myriad of agencies involved in anti-poverty Schemes and programs in the past had been blamed for their ineffectiveness and outright failure. (Ali Garba, 2006)

On the other side of the coin, Wealth is essentially a product of man's capacity to think right and think possibility. The economic recovery process of developing nations can never be by the efforts of foreigners. History shows that every recovery process was engineered by the nationals of that country, not foreigners.

Despite the various attempts to solve the poverty issue, it is still alarming to note that 70% of Nigerians still live in abject poverty, and women and children are the most vulnerable groups in Nigeria. It is also a well known fact that when women are empowered, they attend to the needs of the home without reservations, when women are empowered, nations are empowered. Women are a vital segment of the Nigerian economy and most importantly need to be empowered.

Regarding these facts, poverty eradication is a major challenge for developing countries especially Nigeria.

Entrepreneurship on the other hand is the act of being enterprising in pursuit of a specific opportunity by setting up a new venture. The new venture could be a company, partnership or setting up as a sole trader.

Adekeye & Ajayi (2005) define entrepreneurship in Nigeria as the creation of jobs by an individual or a group of individuals through self-innovating efforts motivated either by opportunity or need.

They held the view that entrepreneurship is a vibrant assertion of the facts that an individual can be developed, then outlook can be changed and their ideas can be converted into action though on organized and systematic program for entrepreneurs. It was also felt that systematic training can be given a better output and attracting people for taking up business venture can change economic scenario.

According to Allen (2005), by moving from farms to factories, we delegated our freedom to large, centralized organizations. We got soft. We lost our entrepreneurial skills. And now that the new paradigm of the world is changing, we've been forced back to the farm, so to speak-back to individual responsibility. The whole world is moving away from centralized authority of every kind. With downsizing, companies are splitting into profit teams: smaller PT boats instead of lumbering battleships. Many of those who have been downsized are realizing that being an employee is even riskier than being in business for themselves.

In recent times, the debate on knowledge economy has drawn more attention of governments to Vocational and Technical Education program in Nigerian universities. This is basically to combat unemployment and poverty in the society as well as improve the economic performance of the nation. Worldwide, governments are doubling their efforts in promoting vocational and technical education in tertiary institutions, with a very firm and strong belief that skill formation enhances productivity and sustains competitiveness in the global economy. According to Atchoarena (2004), in recent years, the debate on the knowledge economy has drawn more attention of governments to vocational and technical education. This, of course, has made the governments of South Africa and Philippines to reshape their vocational institutions in order to make them more efficient and effective (Holmes 2004). This was done by merging technical and vocational education together as a means of rationalizing resources and concentrating management capacity with the intention of improving institutional efficiency and effectiveness. This was also done in the spirit of developing appropriate skills and competencies to combat youth unemployment, poverty and further contribute to social transformation.

According to Danko (2006), Vocational and Technical education is the core of both the individual's and the society's economy. He further stressed that through acquisition of skills, individuals could explore their environment and harness the resources within it, which could serve them and the

society since the wealth of the society determines to a large extent, the development of that society. Okorie (2001) said that Vocational and Technical Education is basic for rapid technological advancement. The trend now in societies shows that the level of one's education does not have a significant effect on one's growth rather the effect is more pronounced on the level of skills possessed and the ability to apply the skills in the real world of work.

From a sociological point of view, the importance of Vocational education cannot be undermined. Juvenile delinquency, unemployment, adult crime, unstable and unsatisfactory homes have been attributed to lack of vocational education and training. Some social reformers, professional sociologists, educators and writers have been so convinced of the broad social value of vocational education that they ascribe most social ills to vocational incompetence and therefore conclude that vocational education is the answer to many of the ills in the society; for example, unemployment- the alienation of youth and lack of respect for social institutions. Indeed, they perceived vocational education as anything less than the salvation of civilization.

This paper therefore brings to the fore some salient contributions this neglected education sector can make in Nigeria economic development by producing labour market ready graduates.

### **Poverty in Nigeria**

Official statistics show that in 1980, the national average of poverty incidence in Nigeria was 28.1 percent of the population. This grew to 46.3 per cent in 1985, 65.6 per cent in 1996 and 70.0 per cent in 1999 (FOS, 1999; World bank, 1999). United Nations, (2003), report show that poverty is still deepening with over 70.2 per cent of people earning less than US\$1 a day.

The World Bank human development index of 2007/8 ranked Nigeria as the 158th and was rightly classified among countries with low human development index. The United Nations human poverty index (HPI) which focuses on the proportion of people below a threshold level within the various dimensions of human development comprising living a long and healthy life, having access to education, and a decent standard of living gave Nigeria a value of 37.3. This value places Nigeria on a rank of 80 out of 108 developing countries. The HPI measures severe deprivation in health by the proportion of people who are not expected to survive age 40.

Social conditions in Nigeria present a startling paradox: despite a rich endowment of natural and human resources, most of the country is poor. For decades the country has struggled to improve socioeconomic conditions, which have declined despite increasing revenue from crude oil. The growing incidence and the dynamics of poverty in Nigeria have stratified and polarized Nigerian society between the haves and the have-nots, between the north and the south, between the educated and the uneducated. Poor parents beget poor children, creating a kind of dynasty of the poor. The resulting tensions and social conflicts have eroded the fabric that held society together Poverty reduction is the most difficult challenge facing Nigeria and its people and the greatest obstacle to pursuit of sustainable socioeconomic growth.

The poverty rate in Nigeria increased from 27 percent in 1980 to 66 percent in 1996; by 1999 it was estimated that more than 70 percent of Nigerians lived in poverty. Life expectancy is a mere 54 years, and infant mortality (77 per 1,000) and maternal mortality (704 per 100,000 live births) are among the highest in the world. Other social indicators (from 1999) are also weak:

- Only about 10 percent of the population had access to essential drugs.
  - There were fewer than 30 physicians per 100,000 people.
  - More than 5 million adults were estimated to be living with HIV/AIDS.
  - Among children under five, almost 30 percent were underweight.
  - Only 17 percent of children were fully immunized—down from 30 percent in 1990—and almost 40 percent had never been vaccinated.
  - Only about half the population had access to safe drinking water (40 percent in rural areas, 80 percent in urban areas).
  - Some 29 percent of the total population lived at risk from annual floods.
  - More than 90 percent of the rural population depended on forests for livelihood and domestic energy sources.
  - Rural households spent an average of 1.5 hours a day collecting water and fuel wood, with household members walking an average of one kilometer a day to collect water and fuel wood. (World Bank, 2005)
- Poverty has a rippling effect on any nation; hence it is imperative to study measures to help reduce poverty in Nigeria.

### **Vocational Education: the concept**

According to Danko (2006), Vocational education, is an education program that prepares students mainly for occupations requiring manipulative skills or non-technical occupations in such fields as Agriculture, Business Education, Home Economics, Painting, Decorating and others, organized to secure confidence and experience by the individual students. It is also designed to develop skills, abilities, understanding, attitudes, work habits and appreciation encompassing knowledge and information needed by a worker to enter and make progress in employment on a useful and productive basis.

Practical's in vocational technical training are found in many subject areas such as woodwork, metal work, building construction, tailoring and dress making, dyeing, plumbing, electrical installation, block laying and concreting, carpentry and joinery, furniture making, motor vehicle mechanic works, electronics, radio and television servicing and technical drawing. Studies have revealed that the degree of the contributions made by educated people on the job is dependent upon the degree of the appropriateness of the vocational training Nneji (1997). The emphasis laid on the appropriateness of vocational training in the developed countries emanates from the fact that such training is said to have on job performance (Nneji, *ibid*)

### **Vocational Technical Education (VTE) in Nigeria.**

In Nigeria, enrolment rate in vocational technical education programs are low. People prefer courses in general education that will prepare them for professions like law, medicine, pharmacy, nursing, engineering etc with apathy to vocational technical education. Parents are not far from blame in this awesome discrimination against vocational technical education. They encourage their children, wards to read glamorous courses that do not involve practical skills. They prefer working in air-conditioned offices. The impact of general education from the colonial masters is still in vogue today. The reasons that the Nigerian value system and orientation is tilted towards general education. Most people choose occupation because of social status and prestige in their community as well as opting to satisfy their friends and associates undermining their aptitude for the course enrolment Okorie (2001). The reasons



are not far fetched. Vocational technical education right from its inception has been tagged 'education for the handicapped, for the drop-out and for the never do well. Odu (2003)

Students loss of interest and apathy towards manual work can be attributed to society's apathy towards manual work. Therefore, the findings support Olaitan (1996) assertion that the Nigerian society of our time regards vocational technical education as a form of education meant for people who are backward academically and as such, there is a general apathy towards manual work, even though the current high rate of unemployment should teach otherwise.

In recent times there has been emphasis on improving vocational and technical education in tertiary institutions basically for combating unemployment and poverty, as well as improve the economic performance of the nation. According to Usioboh (2007), successive governments have over-emphasized other university education program above the equally important technical and vocational education. He said further that, what is needed is for the government to give adequate and equal attention to all the various levels of education of our citizenry, in the overall best interest of the country and the growth of our national economy but unfortunately, the government emphasis on Vocational and Technical Education program in Nigerian is merely on the pages of papers and television. Successful Nigerian governments have not found it needful to promote and adequately finance both the planning and implementing befitting vocational and technical education program in Nigerian to produce the desired result rather the government find it easier to give more attention to general and science education. The society, which would have been on the neck of the government to finance the planning and implementation of vocational and technical education program in Nigerian universities, according to Amoor (2009) has a misconception that vocational and technical education is an education that is meant for the dropout, unintelligent and under-achievers. This misconception has in no small measure frustrated the enrolment of candidates into the vocational and technical education program in Nigeria.

The education reforms/policies of 1970s and 1980s which focused more on the acquisition of certificates instead of the needed vocational skills have caused many Nigerian youths and adults to move into the education industry in pursuit of certificates. As a result of this, the education industries grew rapidly in size in late 1970s and 80s. The growth, according to Teboho (2000), was mainly in size and not in quality. Teboho further stated that the education system of Nigeria and some other development counties are still far from being ready for the challenges of preparing students for the contemporary global world.

The rapid technological changes in the 21st century posses challenges to education and employment sectors. The new labor market demands have caused many graduates with various certificates to be unemployed. The massive rate of unemployment and the changing face of the economic, social, political, labor market worldwide have led to new education reforms/policies with emphasis on vocational technical education (VTE) geared towards helping the youths and adults to be self-dependent. Cinterfor/Ilo (2006) stated that VTE can be a tool to counteract at least in part, the harmful effect of unemployment by promoting greater job turnover and guarding against the risks of obsolescence.

According to Danko (2006), the objectives of vocational education are to prepare the learner for entry into employment in his or her chosen career, meet the manpower need for the society, increase the option available to each student, motivating force to enhance all types of

learning and enable the learner to wisely select a career. Based on these objectives, one could derive the importance of vocational and technical education as the provider of employment and poverty alleviation.

Dr. Obiageli Ezekwesili, former Vice President World Bank and former Education Minister in Nigeria created the Innovation and Vocational enterprise Institutions initiatives focusing on the development of skills for economic competitiveness and in conjunction with the NSE launched the ‘adopt a school program’, an initiative to foster philanthropy by corporations, community groups and individuals. She was so concerned about the high rate of unemployment in the country, and the idleness and restiveness of Nigerian youths, especially young school leavers from the Secondary school, and unemployed Nigerian graduates.

According to Van Ark (1992) the Dutch school system is said to pay attention to “high standards in mathematics and the provision of technical education at ages 14-16 for a third of all pupils, and widespread vocational education at 16 +. Unfortunately, Nigeria does not seem to give technical and vocational education the attention they deserve and this appears to be one of the reasons for rising unemployment and poverty in the society. May (2006) also posits that the neglect of technical education in the area of adequate personnel, financial support and facilities to encourage technical and vocational education are robbing the nation of the contribution their graduates would make in the economy. Furthermore, Asogwa and Diogu (2007) maintained that there is an urgent need for the peoples’ attention to be redirected towards self-reliant and sustainable means of livelihood which technical education provides.

### **History of Vocational Technical Education (VTE)**

In the course of history, most education came about through participation, preparation for work and adult life happened by interaction, not through training in separate specific institutions. This was because young people took on the tasks of their parents when production remained stable over generations. All they needed to know was what their parents knew i.e. how to till and irrigate the soil, how to stitch a dress, where to fish and hunt, how to feed the herd. In every society, knowledge is power, but as long as the knowledge needed remained local and specific, it could be transferred directly from parent to child. In many countries, the so called “on the job” training is still predominant method for educating the young. Hernes (2004)

The fundamental change in mode of education has come about as a result of fundamental changes in modes of production. As population diversity increased further, division of labour became beneficial. Rather than inheriting skills, it became more valuable to specialize and learn a particular trade. Such skills could only be learned from masters of that trade, who were not always parents.

Craftsmen and artisans gained professional control through the mastery of their trade, which they could then translate into a form of social control. Hernes (2004) stated that in Europe, guilds were the results of such re-organization. They also provide the modes for academic institutions – schools and later university. In this process, training for work became increasingly separated from work and often took place in institutions specialized in vocational and technical education. The instruction began to take the form of preparation rather than of participation.

## **Current trends on Vocational Education**

Today, the innovative system of the current time is shifting towards skill acquisition courses, which are capable of making the youths and adults self-dependent. The major educational reforms according to Daniel (2001) have, however, been on vocationalization. It is in line with this, that different countries have come up with different framework towards repositioning their VTE programs. Michael (2002) outlined some of efforts of European Union member states in reforming and repositioning VTE in their countries.

According to Michael (2002) the French National Assembly approved the law on social modernization which contains important measures concerning vocational education and the right to employment. The French Minister for Vocational Education officially launched the “craft high school” program, which is aimed at reinforcing the synergy between different vocationally oriented education pathways, particularly the vocational and technological ones.

In Denmark, efforts are made by the government to increase the number of training places and strengthening their practical element (Michael, 2002). The reform implies substantial changes in structure and content such as emphasis on social and personal (Khan & Ghouri, 2012) skills.

In Germany, a report according to Michael (2002) showed that one of the objectives of the German program is to promote the vocational education of gifted young people and to raise the standard of vocational education and training. In Kenya, the 8-4-4 system was introduced with emphasis on technical and vocational education which ensured that the graduate students at every level have some scientific and practical knowledge that can be utilized for self employments, salaried employment or further training. (Republic of Kenya, 1984)

Israel generates a lot of money and creates a lot of employment opportunities for her citizens through agriculture and tourism. Nigeria, as a nation is far better blessed in agriculture, tourism and other vocational jobs and has a lot of places where she can habilitate, make money and create employment opportunities. What Nigeria requires are technical and managerial skills which can be achieved through vocational Education. Nigeria therefore has joined her world counterparts in revamping and repositioning VTE program geared towards ensuring a national system of vocational education. A system that ensures that, young people see vocational education as challenging and worthwhile. To achieve the objective of revamping of repositioning VTE in Nigeria, the Federal Government according to Olakunri (2006) came up with the strategy of using the Education Trust Fund (ETF) which was set up by law in 1993 to fund and upgrade the quality of VTE in Nigeria. The federal government recently mapped out a three-year action plan to revamp TVE through ETF. The sum of N5 billion annual allocations (Olakunri, 2006) was mapped out for three-year action plan as follows:

2005 - N1.5 billion

2006 - N 2.0 billion

2007 - N2.5 billion

In line with this, the ETF chairman in a press conference organized in Lagos on February 15, 2006 stated that the funding of VTE in previous years has been at the level of general interventions. The renewed interest in VTE, according to the ETF chairman, is aimed at encouraging Nigerian youths to take to vocational technical education (VTE) which is the direction the whole world is going now. The sum of N1.5 billion had already been distributed to the nation's polytechnics and colleges of technology in 2005.

In 2011, President Goodluck Jonathans in conjunction with the Dr. Ikonje Iweala (Minister of Finance), launched the YouWin 1 program. This program is geared towards empowering Nigerian youths between the ages of 18-40. Its major aim is to create jobs through Vocational/Technical endeavors. Youths from various parts of the country are given a time frame to present a prospective viable Business plan in areas of agriculture, Crop farming Food & Restaurant, Building and Construction materials, Chemicals, industrial materials, Clothing, shoes and other personal items, Equipment, Machinery, Metal Food and Drinks, Furniture, Wood Products, Retail, Accounting, Finance and Management, Auto, electronics, Cleaning, Education, Engineering, Building and Construction, IT and Telecommunication, Legal, Media and Entertainment, Medical, Other Professional, Personal/Beauty, Transport. The Winners are awarded the sum of N10m to start or expand their businesses. The Nigerian government has realized the importance of Vocational skills in job creation and youth empowerment, and seeks to encourage this through the YOUwin program.

This shows that Nigeria recognizes the importance of the VTE in the world economic order. Despite the importance of the VTE in Nigeria, the program still seems to be far from receiving massive acceptance, and full implementation. There are however, a lot of other challenges.

### **Challenges to Vocational and technical Education program (VTE) in Nigerian**

Vocational technical education has been seen as a key element in the changing economic world but VTE in Nigeria like in many other countries still face a lot of challenges (Manfred and Jennifer; 2004). For VTE in Nigeria to compete with their world counterparts in the changing economic order, the following key challenges must be addressed:

#### **a) The society's perception towards Vocational and Technical Education**

The society does not accord respect or recognition to the graduates of Vocational and Technical Education. The impression is that this type of education is meant for the unintelligent and under-achievers. According to Amoor (2009), most parents do not encourage or guide their wards to take a course in Vocational and Technical Education program in Nigerian universities; this is because the society does not place any significant value or dignity on the program. This subsequently affects the enrolment of candidates into vocational and technical education program in Nigerian universities. Advocating vocational technical education as a key element in the education industry

#### **b) Federal Government lukewarm attitudes towards Vocational and Technical Education program in Nigeria**

Federal Government of Nigerian is yet to fully appreciate the contribution of Vocational and Technical Education program to national economic development even though it is a tool to combat unemployment and poverty in our societies. This is because successful governments have not found it necessary to adequately finance both the planning and

implementation of standard and sustainable vocational and technical education program in Nigerian universities. In support of this statement, Okorie (2001) said that insufficient finance is a realistic and practical factor inhibiting the implementation of vocational and technical education program in Nigeria. The priority of the Federal Government of Nigerian in education sector is holistically on science education. A lot of fuss is made on the pages of papers and television about vocational and technical education, but little is done to improve the teaching/learning of vocational and technical education program in Nigerian universities. Putting in place workable policies and strategies

**c) Candidate's lack of interest**

Many candidates aspiring to acquire university education do not have interest in vocational and technical education program. An interaction with prospective universities' candidates revealed that the nomenclature of the degree (B.Ed) in most of the Nigerian universities that offer vocational and technical education program accounts for their indifference since most of them do not want to end up in the class-room as teachers. Putting in place coherent guidance and counseling system which will help to put students in proper career path.

**d) Non-uniformity of Course Content**

Most of the Nigerian universities that offer Vocational and Technical Education program do not have uniform course content. The course content for Business Education, Home Economics, Agriculture, for instance in the department of Vocational and Technical Education, in University of Nigeria, Nsukka is not similar to other Universities that offer the same program. This disparity in course content of vocational and technical education program in Nigerian universities poses a great challenge for the standardization of the program. Adopting uniform standard and certification in vocational technical education at all levels is crucial for the success of the program. Amoor (2009).

The method of vocational training in Nigeria is classroom oriented. The UNESCO mission to Nigeria discovered that vocational training in Nigeria lacks practical orientation and questioned the structure and content of vocational training in Nigeria. While Okorie (2001) attributed the poor vocational training in Nigeria to the lack of industrial base; hence much of the vocational training is theoretical. In the areas of tool and machines, it is a different ball game entirely. The tools in the school workshops are at variance with the tools in the industries where the graduates will work. Tools and machines in school workshop are short in supply, obsolesces and non functional and cannot meet the facility requirements of the schools and colleges. The impact of inadequate educational facilities is that training of the students becomes impeded and they end up not acquiring skills to go into labour market. The minimum level of preparation for vocational education is not satisfactory that is why vocational education could not benefit the trainee or the Nigerian society. This is the reason why the country is backward in technology breakthrough and emancipation. Amoor (2009).

A similar picture can be observed at the tertiary level. There are approximately four times as many students enrolled at universities as at polytechnics and monotechnics (725,000 against 160,000; National Bureau of Statistics 2005).

**Table 1. Enrollment in Senior Secondary Education**

<i>Type of education</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>Data year</i>	<i>Data sources</i>
Enrollment, senior secondary education	2,773,418	2005	Federal Ministry of Education
Total enrollment, technical colleges	72,978	2004-05	NBTE
Total annual output, technical colleges	15,144	2004-05	NBTE
Total enrollment polytechnics	139,070	2004-05	NBTE
Total enrollment monotchnics	20,853	2004-05	NBTE
Total enrollment at universities	724,856	2005	National Universities Commission

*Sources:* Federal Ministry of Education; National Board of Technical Education; National Universities Commission.

Table 1 shows the strong preference for University degrees to Vocational and Technical training amongst Nigerians. This is further confirmation of the strong preference for academic education and the low esteem in which Nigerian youth hold blue collar occupations—resulting in the mismatch between the output of the education system and the employment opportunities of the labor market.

### **Vocational Education/Training and Enterprise Development in Job Creation**

The observable difference in income and wealth between developed and under- developed countries reflects essentially disparities in the level and degree of technological progress and enrolments in vocational education and level of economic development are related.

Demand for vocational education seemed to exist in industrially developing societies, with growth and diversification of industrial structure. As Nuru (2007) observed, the lower the overall level of a country’s development, the weaker is the case for introducing vocational curriculum and diversify it. But it is in these countries the need for vocational education is felt. Emphasis on diversified industrial production emphasizes the need for labour force with vocational skills.

Much growth in vocational education took place in countries like Korea during early industrialization processes, when employment opportunities could increase. So vocational education becomes more popular in regions where jobs can be guaranteed. The other way can also be augured: unemployment rates may diminish, if people have vocational skills.

Technical and vocational education provides students with “life skills” to become productive entrepreneurs as it engenders creative and innovative ideas, expands the economic pie, and increases personal freedom and Independence. Most of the so-called “expatriate engineers” who are being paid millions of dollars to build Nigeria’s roads and bridges are graduates of technical and vocational colleges from their various countries.

## **Prospects of Vocational and Technical Education**

There is a positive linkage between economic growth and investment in human capital. The establishment of National Business and Technical Education Board and a resultant coherent national policy for technical education and vocational training is expected to be a key driver of Nigeria's economic growth. Nigeria's global competitiveness depends on ability of our VTE system to adapt and innovate. The acceptance/equivalence of national qualifications to international ones will assist in improving the employment prospects of Nigeria's labour force abroad, which is an important source of foreign exchange for the country. Through industrial linkages, employment generation and growth supporting interventions for skill development, the VTE will contribute towards poverty alleviation in the country. It aims to provide adequate access to VTE facilities and cater for deficient areas and target groups such as women, workers of the informal sector and the destitute sections of society. It has an important role to play for economic development, industrial growth, employment generation and poverty alleviation. Okafor, (2011).

According to Okafor, Vocational Education is needed to direct those in the sector towards making the farmer an intelligent user of our natural resources. Vocational and technical education (VTE ) is also needed to prevent waste of human resources. So far, Nigeria has given very little attention to conservation of human resources. It is obvious that the waste of labour by improper employment can be largely avoided through vocational and technical training. Such training is the most potent remedy for unemployment.

Since both general and specific human capital contribute to economic growth, a balance has to be struck between size of general education and vocational education. Further, vocational education need not necessarily be purely vocational and technical. It should also include, like in Japan and Korea, general skills and attributes that are useful across a wide variety of occupations. This is particularly important in the rapidly changing economic systems. Okafor, (2011).

### **Legsapparel Nigeria Limited: A vocational centre for women empowerment in Design and Fashion Skills.**

One prominent social crisis starring every Nigerian in the face today is poverty. Graduates are churned out of various higher institutions yearly without any provision of employment either by the private or public sector. The resultant crisis, which includes increase in crime rate, prostitution, among others is too glaring.

It is no gainsaying that the level of poverty in Nigeria today with its concomitants social crisis is quite disturbing, as it has assumed an alarming rate. Hundreds of thousands of graduates are churned out on yearly basis from tertiary institutions in the country without any assurance that the economy has corresponding expansion to accommodate these youths who search in vain for elusive jobs. That is why Legsapparel Vocational Training centre was incorporated, to retrain the trained and encourage skills development in Nigeria, especially amongst our numerous unemployed graduates. The programs are tailored towards making trainees become self-sufficient and then move on to become employers of labour themselves.

Founded in 2004, Legsapparel Academy offers the best alternative to vocational education and is one, among few, of the only design school in Nigeria to close the full circle from design conceptualization through readymade product to marketing. The students are provided with the necessary knowledge to develop and master their skills in learning, understanding and practicing design as a profession and as a business. All learners graduate as properly trained professional designers ready to build a career in the creative industry or launch labels. The academy is focused on one-on-one training service following each student's characteristics and skills. Students develop specified skills depending on the program chosen. At the end of the course, students will prepare materials for their own portfolio.

Legsapparel Academy is also a Corporate Member of Nigerian Institute of training and Development (NITAD), accredited to teach Vocational courses. This is the guarantee that the programs have been assessed to ensure quality sound educational standards and that the school maintains ethical business practices. Legsapparel Academy has trained mainly University graduate students since its inception.

### **Company's Comprehensive Profile**

Legsapparel Nigeria limited is a limited liability company. It is a subsidiary of Legacy integrations Nigeria limited which owns a 70% majority share of the company. Legsapparel is a family owned company with its CEO, Dr. Ifeyinwa Oloto at the helm of affairs.

Legsapparel runs a garment factory and a Fashion School at its Abuja head office.

Established in 2004, Legsapparel managed an operational workspace of over 6,000 ft, in two buildings with 30 machines and 10 employees, the factory's monthly production capacity of 30,000 pieces (December,2013) with annual sales in 2013 of N4m.

The Academy which was a necessity to the need for quality Vocational education training in Design in Nigeria was established in 2012.

Over two years, 75 students have been successfully trained and an annual sales of N4.5m (December, 2013). Although the academy trains mainly females, 4 males have been successfully trained since inception.

Approximately N5m has been invested in both the Factory and Academy since its establishment to purchase the workspace, machine and expand the plant.

Legsapparel Academy offers training in a diverse range of apparel including knitting and basic woven fabrics. Products include shirts, trousers, skirts, trousers, skirts, pinafore and shorts. Children garments, men's and female wear etc.

Legsapparel focuses on its Nigerian market and buyers that require execution of large quantity orders. Legsapparel is an Awardee of the Nigerians Government YOUWin Program and a corporate member of NITAD.

Legsapparel Academy offers students training for the professional world of Design and Fashion. From beginner level students to Advanced level students. The academy is focused on one-on-one training service following each student's characteristics and skills. Students will develop specified skills depending on the program chosen. At the end of the course, students will prepare materials for their own portfolio. Also students will receive the



certificate of study issued by the private school of Legsapparel Academy after completion of the course.

### **Vocational training and Legsapparel**

The need for more Vocational schools in Nigeria cannot be overemphasized. The rate of unemployment in Nigeria is alarming. According to National Bureau of Statistics, Unemployment Rate in Nigeria increased to 23.90 percent in 2011 from 21.10 percent in 2010. From 2006 until 2011, Nigeria Unemployment Rate averaged 14.6 Percent reaching an all time high of 23.9 Percent in December of 2011 and a record low of 5.3 Percent in December of 2006. In Nigeria, the unemployment rate measures the number of people actively looking for a job as a percentage of the labour force.

Graduates roam the streets in search of elusive white collar jobs that don't exist. Nigeria is a consuming nation that focuses on trading and sale of crude oil, whilst ignoring the manufacturing sector. The establishment of Legsapparel Fashion School is to bring about a synergy amongst Nigerian University Graduates and Vocational Education, and to encourage the educated in Nigeria to acquire and develop empowerment skills. The Academy is growing and has graduated 75 students since its inception. About 99% of Legsapparel students are University graduates. There is a gradual realization amongst Nigerian Youths that skill development is vital for economic empowerment.

Most Legsapparel students have had the passion for Design from childhood, but have been discouraged from pursuing their dreams by their parents who would rather prefer they go to the University and study to be Professionals in other popular fields, such as Engineering and Medicine. Others have searched in vain for elusive jobs and finally decided to try out a skill. While most have been passionate about building a skill from youth, but have not been encouraged by their parents, so they go to the University to acquire a degree to please their parents. After graduation, they file away their certificate and pursue their original passion to acquire a design skill. There are even extreme cases where some students are practically disowned by their parents because they chose to pursue a dream in Design. Most Nigerian parents do not see the skill as lucrative or prestigious enough and seldom encourage their wards to pursue a Vocational skill. In the interim, their wards roam the streets and stay longer than usual at home as overgrown dependants hoping, praying and searching earnestly for elusive white collar jobs.

Formal and Non formal schools in Nigeria are extremely few in contrast to the number of idle youths, which need to be engaged, in the country.

The government owned vocational centre's are either ill equipped or poorly managed with inexperienced tutors. Even the Polytechnics, where these vocational skills are to be taught, are nothing but glorified monkey traps where basically only theoretical courses are taught.

Legsapparel provides a short-term (6 months) vocational training in Basic and Advanced programs. The Basic program is for Beginners in Design and Fashion, while the Advanced program offers Entrepreneurial courses, where the students are taught the Business side of

Fashion. They are made to realize that acquiring a skill is not an end to itself, but a means to an end. In the long run, the students must commercialize the skills acquired, thereby creating economic activities through creativity, selling, advertising, HR, Marketing etc. Legsapparel's potential target groups include school leavers, persons who want to upgrade their skills, university graduates seeking employable skills and adults seeking an opportunity to re-skill themselves.

The programs are tailored towards making trainees become self-sufficient and then move on to become employers of labour themselves. They are provided with kits and a sewing machine as they complete their program.

Graduating students are employed for Industrial Training (IT) in the Factory. The core objective of the training program that is run in the academy is to empower trainees with the skills that they require to be self-sufficient, start their own fashion-related businesses, generate income and then move on to become employers of labour. In this capacity, not only will they work in producing garments of all kinds, but they can also develop multiple streams of income in fashion business. Other revenue streams that trainees can generate include working as consultants in the industry (both within and outside Nigeria), pattern making, clothing design, and even fashion software development. The possibilities are endless. Each graduate is presented with a sewing kit and two sewing machines to start them off in their fashion businesses.

Legsapparel Nigeria Limited also retains the best two graduates of the training program as Instructors/ facilitators in the fashion academy, imparting knowledge to regular students and getting compensated for it.

Legsapparel Training Curriculum include; Basic Program in Fashion Design, Costume History, Textile History, Garment Construction etc.

Advanced Program in Couture and Avant-Garde, Fashion Computer aided design: Design, Pattern Making Grade, detail, Layout, Fashion branding, Fashion Styling, Fashion Business, and Product Design etc. Certificates are awarded after each program.

The success of the centre cannot be overemphasized, 70% of Legsapparel graduates have been able to kick start their own Fashion Businesses and are now employers of labour.

### **Nanny Nigeria Integrated Limited: A vocational centre for women empowerment in Domestic Skills.**

Research has proven that the best environment for young children is their own home, and the best substitute care provider is a trained and knowledgeable professional. For this reason, Nanny Nigeria was created. Nannies trained at Nanny Nigeria Academy are employed nationwide in some of the most sought after and prestigious positions in the early childhood field. At the Academy, Nannies are trained after which they are placed with Families, Embassies and Diplomats, Corporate offices and Institutions, Hotels, Day care centers, nursery schools, The elderly homes etc.

The Academy/ Vocational centre was established to; Remove the general fears associated with service rendering businesses ,Change the Concept and wrong ideology of how help workers, popularly known as "house maids" are seen. Through the academy, Care givers are seen as

professionals in pursuit of a career that is worth encouraging. Students who have a ministry towards children are empowered and encouraged, giving them self-esteem and self-worth. The Academy sets out to encourage the growth and development of children in a morally sound and stable environment through the training of Professional Caregivers and Domestic workers.

### **Company's Comprehensive Profile**

Founded in 2013, Nanny Nigeria is a prestige private training Academy that offers the best alternative to vocational education in domestic skills. The students are provided with the necessary knowledge to develop and master their skills in learning, understanding and practicing domestication as a profession. All learners graduate as properly trained professional nannies ready to serve in the care givers industry. At the Academy, the finest in the education and placement of professional Nannies are ensured. Nannies are trained to sharpen their skills, turning a love for children into a professional career. The academy is focused on one-on-one training service following each student's characteristics and skills. Students are taught how to care for Children and the home. They are also taught the use of the first aid. At the end of the course, each student is assigned to a Nigerian home as a Professional nanny/caregiver.

Nanny Nigeria limited is a limited liability company. It is a subsidiary of Legacy integrations Nigeria limited which owns a 70% majority share of the company. Nanny Nigeria is a family owned company with its CEO, Dr. Ifeyinwa Oloto at the helm of affairs.

Nanny Nigeria runs its' training centre in Lagos, Nigeria.

Established in 2013, Nanny Nigeria managed an operational workspace of over 2,000 ft, in one building with office equipments, training machineries and 5 employees. The Academy's monthly training capacity is 5 students (Dec,2013) with an annual sales in 2013 of N1.7m.

The Academy which was a necessity to the need for qualified Caregivers in Nigeria has successfully trained 52 students in the past one year.

Approximately N5m has been invested in both the Training centre since its establishment to purchase the workspace and Office equipments. Nanny Nigeria offers a diverse range of training courses and Trained Nannies are placed in various institutions that have need for them.

Nanny Nigeria Academy is also a Corporate Member of Nigerian Institute of training and Development (NITAD), accredited to teach Vocational courses. This is the guarantee that the programs have been assessed to ensure quality sound educational standards and that the school maintains ethical business practices. Nanny Nigeria Academy has trained 52 students since its inception, and 90% of these students are unskilled O' level graduates.

### **Vocational Training and Nanny Nigeria**

Nanny Nigeria Training offers childcare courses for nannies and child minders. The primary focus is on empowering Domestic Workers working in family homes as nannies and housekeepers with all the essential knowledge, practical skills and real confidence they need

to take care of children and babies from birth upwards. Nanny training course has been running for a while and the Agency's goal is to train over 5,000 nannies before the end of 2015.

Nannies are given the confidence and essential tools to take care of and stimulate the babies and young children they love and are responsible for them, both at work and in their communities. Nanny Nigeria's course content includes but are not limited to: Routines and time management, First Aid; including CPR and Mouth to Mouth, Childproofing ( home and safety indoors and outdoors), Hygiene best practices, Training in Avoiding the transmission of HIV and TB, Nutrition and Menu Planning, Developmental Milestones and age appropriate games and activities, Basic Baby Massage. In addition to the training course, Nanny Nigeria offers four supporting short courses. First Aid: Teaching nannies how to deal with emergencies in order to stabilize the child and get help, Kids play workshops giving nannies new and creative ideas for play and fun time with the children they care for, Cooking Courses teaching domestic workers, housekeepers and nannies how to prepare food that is easy, nutritious and delicious for the whole family, Housekeeping; teaching effective house cleaning techniques, which also address the need for reducing the use of resources from human time.

Nanny Nigeria Ltd. trains different categories of Care givers and Domestic workers for clients; such as Live-in and Live-out Nannies (Full or part-time), House Managers - Full time, Temporary Nannies, Latch Key Nannies , Summer Nannies, Housekeepers, Sitter Service - Day, evening, or overnight service on as-needed basis, Overnight Newborn Specialists , Chefs, Estate Mangers, Household helpers etc.

Normally, a background Investigations which is a professional pre-employment screening service will run a check on each nanny and help the provider at the time of hire, which includes: Criminal background search, Driving record checks, Psychological testing-a clinical tool requiring a licensed professional and Identity verification etc.

The Minimum requirement and standard for applicants is Age 18 with no experience and basic Education of Secondary School Certificate, or Primary school qualifications.

Interviews are conducted for one or several persons and Reference checks are conducted as letters or by telephone.

The Management is made up of dedicated and professional staffs who are experienced in teaching and child caring. Also, Placement officers, Child psychologist, First Aid trainers, Retired matrons and nurses tracking officers are employed by the Academy.

Within just one year of training, the success rate of Nanny Nigeria Academy is overwhelming. Nigerian Women are being empowered and are taught lifelong skills in Domestic affairs and Care giving. Certificates are awarded after training.

## **Recommendations**

- a) There should be the creation and sensitizing of the Nigerian populace on the need and vision of vocational technical education

- b) Vocational Education should encourage learning in authentic and real-world environments
- c) The Nigerian government should encourage the development and usage of qualified trainers.
- d) There should be the creating of awareness through image building, vocational attractiveness and participation in vocational technical education in Nigeria
- e) There should be the Maintenance of approved school age and exit in order to pave way for physical and mental maturity required for the acquisition of vocational skills.
- f) There should be the encouragement of investment in quality vocational technical education system.
- g) The issues of insufficient and lack of up-to-date data for assessment of progress in vocational technical education should be tackled.
- h) Nigerian government should set up ambitious and realistic goals that will enable Nigeria to be the most competitive and knowledge based economy by the year 2020

## **Conclusion**

Vocational technical education should strive to adopt strategies to produce graduates who are innovative and adaptable to changes in the world of work. Vocational technical education graduates should strive to be job creators rather than job seekers who roam around the street of Nigeria with dozens of certificate in endless search for jobs. This implies the production of competent vocational graduates who can adapt to changing economic situation in Nigeria. Vocational technical education should keep its gate open, flexible and learner oriented since one of the factors contributing to poverty in Nigeria is lack of equal access to education, and lack of employment/vocational skills. The Nigeria government should also devise a viable strategy of making its policies on VTE programs a very continuous exercise from the planning, implementation and evaluation stages. Continuity and full implementation of the programs lead to better success while disjointed programs lead to disjointed success and perpetual exit of the programs.

The federal government should create more awareness of the existence of Vocational Education in Nigeria on the television, newspapers, conferences, workshops and seminars to educate the public of the significance and potential role it plays toward national development and provide adequate funds for planning, implementing and coordinating Vocational Education Program in Nigerian institutions.

The paper's conclusions emphasize that neither markets nor governments are enough to eradicate poverty, especially in the Nigerian context. Instead, a trisectoral approach recognizing the complementarities between the government, private, and citizens' sector may be the solution to successful capacity building among Nigerian Women. The private sector including Nongovernmental Organizations (NGO), and Private Proprietors should be involved in Private Public partnership (PPP) with the government in building standardized and well equipped Vocational Training centers that can cater for the Entrepreneurial needs of Nigerian Citizens especially women.

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Mojisola is also a Member of the Global Race against Poverty and HIV/AIDS, (GRAPH), Abuja, FCT, Nigeria (Non Governmental Organization) and a member of the Board of Trustee of Unique Initiative for Development, an NGO in the Federal Capital territory FCT, Abuja, Nigeria.

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Enitan is also the president of Informal Workers Association of Nigerians in Training, 'I WANT', an NGO who's aim is to improve the lives of informal workers especially women in the society, through training and capacity building delivery methods.

She has received several grants from the Lagos state government for the Rehabilitation of Housing projects and cheaper housing alternatives for the Poor in Lagos state, Nigeria.

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# **Who is to Blame? Making Sense of Women's Poverty in Africa**

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This study takes a fresh look at the place of women in African societies. By reviewing some of the most pertinent and updated literature on women's stances in Africa as they relate to customary practices that subjugate them, this paper argues that regardless of laws, policies, and declarations that are in existence, such as those put in place by the United Nations, and respective countries to grant women equal rights, women will remain impoverished because of customary practices that still deny them opportunities for upward mobility.

Reports indicate that half of the world's population comprises women, but grimly approximately 70% of the poor are women. As it relates to human rights, poverty is the deprivation of capabilities and opportunities that may thrust women in competitive positions in the global economy. Why African women are less competitive in both the domestic and the global economy is less of the doing of globalization than it is of the prevailing attitudes and customs in Africa. Customary practices that restrict rights of women to property, those that limit women's contribution to "reproductive and volunteer" activities (social class and gender role stratification), their participation in non-market and low productivity activities, and time poverty, increase women's poverty. Such time poverty activities like farming for subsistence and petty sales of crops, fetching firewood for cooking, helping neighbors and catering to children and in-laws, take valuable time away from women that should be devoted to activities that may help bolster their educational, economic, social, and political power.

Having lived in Cameroon, and following several visits over the years, including a couple of visits to the country in 2013, personal observation and narratives from women in various works of life inform this study. This paper argues that unless impunity by men is countered by serious and consistent enforcement claws, as well as credible and robust programs that enhance and promote women's education, property and inheritance rights, participation in political decision making, and sense of self, and eradication of customs that are antiquated, the majority of women will continue to be disenfranchised. The wealth and health of a society is not measured by how well an opportune few fare, but by how well as an aggregate the majority of society fares.

This abstract is extracted from writings in a book in progress by the author due to be submitted for publication sometime this year. While the author relies heavily on archival data, observational and informal focused group conversations provide a wealth of ideas and information.

## Introduction:

Poverty is relative in that those who are deemed to be poor in one country as for instance in the United States may not experience the same kind of poverty as those in many sub Saharan countries. This makes sense because poverty is measured and analyzed differently using several variables that include but may not be limited to education, income, health, social exclusion/lack of opportunity, health care. In the United States for instance, a family with health care services, but without cable, or internet services, or air conditioning system may consider itself poor even though they live in a modestly built house. Many African families even some of those that are considered affluent do not have such 'luxuries'. The World Bank Organization explains poverty as:

Poverty is hunger. Poverty is lack of shelter. Poverty is being sick and not being able to see a doctor. Poverty is not having access to school and not knowing how to read. Poverty is not having a job, is fear for the future, living one day at a time. Poverty has many faces, changing from place to place and across time, and has been described in many ways. Most often, poverty is a situation people want to escape. So poverty is a call to action – for the poor and the wealthy alike. --- a call to change the world so that many more may have enough to eat, adequate shelter, access to education and health, protection from violence, and a voice in what happens in their communities ([www2.gnb.ca](http://www2.gnb.ca))

Of the world's poor, 70% are women (McFerson, 2010; Moghdam, 2005). The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank state that "the poorest person on earth lives somewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa and is probably a woman." Women's poverty, particularly that of African women has been blamed on: restricted property rights, famine, wars and diseases, lack of formal education, health and other physical problems. Poverty has deep consequences for individuals and society. For the individual it limits one's chances of fully enjoying life, it is depressive, it brings with it health issues, persistent suffering, and is the root of much insecurities in women. Poverty among African women is manifested in many ways, including but not limited to lack of a roof over their heads, starvation, inability to provide food medicine for themselves and for their children, lack of access to basic necessities such as clean water, clothes, items for personal hygiene. For the society, the wealth of a nation is not measured by how much the wealthy few have, but what as an aggregate the entire populace has. A poor society remains stagnant in development, the country remains reliant on other countries for monetary, food and medical relief, and the life expectancy of its people is severely truncated.

This paper is organized as follows: the first section discusses factors that contribute to women's poverty in Africa; the second section discusses policies that may help alleviate poverty among African women.

## SECTION ONE: Factors that contribute to women's poverty in Africa:

### (1) Restricted Property Rights:

Article 17 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that “everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.” As well, Article 16 (h) of the 1982 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, advocates equal rights to property between men and women. While the intent of these proclamations can be lauded, the reality is that in many African societies these proclamations remain utopic. Many African women engage in activities from which they cannot amass wealth. McFerson (2010), explains that because African women spend much of their time in domestic and subsidiary activities, these functions deprive them from accumulating wealth. Abdourahman (2010) is even more precise in his assessment. He makes the point that those women who spend much of their time working at home, performing subsistence farming, and volunteer work are classified “as not working.” According to the World Bank, “work” relates to “formal and informal market work and non-market subsistence work for the production of goods, and is the basis for calculating the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)” (Kes & Swaminathan, 2006, p. 14).

Women's roles in Africa have been shaped by long lasting cultural practices. These cultural practices and statutory provisions that promote men's rights and suppress those of women play an integral role in limiting women's rights to property. Take Cameroon for instance, women's rights to land are stalled by laws and long lasting cultural practices. According to [secretariat.the.commonwealth.org](http://secretariat.the.commonwealth.org) (2013), in Cameroon, men own 86.6 of land while women own just 9.6. Since men in the society have always assumed the role of bread winners, and women that of stay at home moms (these women as should be noted spend just about every minute of their time working, fetching wood, cooking, working in the farm, cleaning the house, taking care of children, in-laws and neighbors, and performing a myriad of other activities), men have thus laid claim to land and other property acquired. Compounding on this, laws relating to property rights do not take in to consideration those customary impediments that limit women's rights to land.

As Fon & Edokat (2012, p. 501) state “... in Cameroon as in Zimbabwe and Burkina Faso, women have the legal right to own land and trees, but in practice, men control nearly all property.” Africa for Women's Rights: Cameroon (2009) is more blatant in explaining women's plight. They explain, “The husband has the right to administer communal marital property, thereby giving him the right to sell or mortgage the couple's property without his wife's consent.” A significant part of this problem is festered by what Time, C. (2012) refers to a “custodians of customs.” These are traditional rulers whose roles are those of counselors and customary judges. In Cameroon for instance, as Time, C. notes these custodians of customs are men, and they by and large perpetuate customary practices that are repugnant,

and unconscionable towards women, and because customary practices prevent women from challenging these rulers, their plight persist.

Other laws that may at first glance seem favorable to women have clauses that subjugate them. Article 74(1) of the 1981 Civil Status Registration Ordinance, for instance grants a woman liberty to engage in any profession of her choosing, yet section 74(2) gives a man right “to object to the exercise of such a trade in the interest of the marriage and children.” How this is not constraining, contradictory, and unconscionable is puzzling.

It follows that while men have better chances of upward mobility, social conditions have been stagnant or painfully slowly getting better for women in many areas. These practices have far-reaching implications for women trapped in this web of subjugation.

The UN Human Rights Committee (2012, paragraph 8) reports:

Notwithstanding the prohibition of discrimination enshrined in the Constitution of Cameroon, the committee is concerned that women are discriminated against under articles 1421 and 1428 of the Civil Code concerning the right of spouses to administer communal property, article 229 of the Civil Code regulating divorce, and article 361 of the Penal Code that defines the crime of adultery in terms more favourable to men than women.”

Time poverty, that is those activities that many African women engage in that are not counted in the GDP elevates income poverty in numerous ways. According to Kes & Swaminathan (2006, p. 17):

- (1) Low-productivity in many non-market tasks renders them [women] time-and labor-intensive, thus reducing the availability of time to participate in more economically productive activities.
- (2) Due to the gendered division of labor that causes poor substitutability of labor allocation in non-market work, individuals, particularly women, are unable to take full advantage of economic opportunities and participate in income-generating activities.
- (3) Time poverty also impedes individuals’ ability to expand capabilities through education and skills development, thereby enhancing economic returns in the market place.

## 2: INADEQUATE EDUCATION:

Riddell (2004) discusses two broad benefits of education: private and social. The private benefit is experienced directly by the person that acquires the requisite education. The benefits include better prospects of getting a job, better pay, better sense of self, better standard of living which leads to longer life expectancy. Social benefits on the other hand relate to the betterment of life among those in the society. In this regard, one spreads wealth to others, opens up opportunities for others, and generally society's GDP is elevated. How educated citizens of a country are determines the country's growth, and deprivations of education for girls and women significantly impact the economy.

Unfortunately, Brookings.edu (2013) reveals that school enrolments and attendance in most Sub-Saharan countries is on the decline. This is the case in all levels of schooling. There are 61 million children in primary school throughout Africa, but one out of two of these children are likely not going to be able to read, write, or do basic computations when they get to be adolescents (Brookings.edu). Of the 6% of children in sub-Saharan countries who will obtain some tertiary education, most of them will be boys. While the picture looks bad, it is worse for females who usually have to drop out of school to work and supplement family income, or are forced to marry for bride price, or because of customary practices that place no premium on female education, or because early marriage shifts the burden of taking care of a girl from her parents to her husband. Approximations by Monekosso (2001) reveal that 41% of girls/women in Cameroon are forced into early marriages; indeed they are commoditized. The statistics is even worse for Mali 72%, Niger 57%, Uganda 47%, and Burkina Faso 44%. In order to be competitive in society, a reasonable level of education is vital. Unfortunately, women/girls forced to marry early miss out on education, because "society still clings to the education of the boy, and sees the girl as the trading tool. In the north [Malawi], girls as early as 10 are being traded off for the family gain. After that, the women become owned and powerless in their husbands' villages" (LaFraniere, 2005). These women resign to their fate, and a learned sense of helplessness prevails, and they extend it to their children, or at the least act it out based on their responses to their children. Sultana (2010, p. 123) surmises "patriarchal norms has an influence on women's attitudes regarding their privilege, rights and responsibilities towards educating children." Not only do women look at themselves as helpless, also as Valian (1998) explains, society forms "gender schemas" stereotypes of women, and these schemas direct perceptions of either gender and the roles they play. This "cultural oppression" as Kennedy (1972) opines paves way for society to minimize or shun the contributions of women. For women to excel in society particularly in the realm of politics, Ademiluyi and Ademola (2010) explain that the woman has to be quite educated, earn high, and be well connected with those in power in society. This, they contend is at least true in Nigeria.

### 3: FAMINE, WARS, and DISEASE.

Famine, floods, droughts, pests, are natural disasters that now and then plague certain parts of Africa, and as well, wars and conflicts. Between 2010-2012, as the United Nations states, about 260,000 people died in Somalia half of them were children. As victims of famine themselves, women are disproportionately victimized in that the burden of helping their starving children rests on them as many have to trek for miles with children on their backs in search of food, medical attention and shelter for themselves and for the children. Effects of draught, famine, and other natural disasters, lead to malnutrition, maternal and fetal health. While longitudinal studies of the effects of famine have not been done in Africa, one can draw parallels from findings by Roseboom et al (2006) in The Netherlands. Roseboom et al conclude that a series of illnesses both short term and long term affect women and their offspring. Poor health as it is known reduces one's ability to perform optimally. The occurrences of domestic abuse and violence multiply during times of hardships (Marquis and Butler, 2001).

The effects of war on everyone are immeasurable. UNICEF.org (n.d.) explains that in Somalia as a consequence of safety reasons girls drop out of school because some get way laid on their way to school, and at times, there are no funds to pay for their schooling. Further because men are killed during war, or they had to graze cattle in far away place, girls drop out of school to assist their mothers in running the home. Caryl Stern, President and Chief Executive of U.S. Fund for UNICEF explains the plight of mothers ravaged by war or famine:

Pregnant and breastfeeding women often can't get the nutrition and health care they need, and women in general shoulder an especially high burden in the care of their families, sometimes at the expense of their own wellbeing.... Half a million children are at imminent risk of death and require immediate lifesaving attention to survive. That's half a million children whose mothers, famished themselves, are now watching their children suffer, wither, and beg for food that is not there (Huffingtonpost.com., 2011).

Women who lose their husbands because of war or famine at times marry to polygamous husbands, or resort to prostitution for sustenance. Life in some African societies is extremely difficult for widows as they are neither shielded by their parents, nor by their in-laws. Rackley (2005, p. 35) states:

Widows suffer particular discrimination under Burundian law, as they cannot inherit property from their dead husbands. With no inheritance rights, widows lose all belongings and property to their late husband's family. Poverty and desperation are the direct result of widowhood. Under the weight of shame and destitution, widows flee with their children and turn to prostitution for survival. This descent is accelerated when the threat of armed attack and rape keeps rural women from working in their fields.... The daughters of widowed women tend to drop out of school or do not attend school at all. They marry prematurely, often as a second or third wife because there is too much poverty at home.

## SECTION TWO: How can poverty be curbed among African Women?

Many African countries are signatories to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women, the Convention against Torture and Inhumane Treatment, the African Charter on Human Rights among others. As well most countries have laws that forbid female subjugation, even if poorly worded. The point is, most governments, and indeed law enforcers are knowledgeable about the mandates of these conventions, yet enforcing them, or eliminating repression seems almost like they are handicapped by the metaphoric albatross around their necks. The entanglement between formal laws and repressive customary practices is a manipulation that breeds impunity. Unless credible efforts at revising or eliminating repressive laws are put in place, and unless impunity is countered by proper punitive measures, women subjugation and victimization will persist. UNICEF.org (n.d.) lists several factors that contribute to high rates of deaths and diseases among women during times of conflict. Listed among others is “hunger and exploitation in camps for refugees and internally displaced persons, when men take control of food distribution.” Practices like this go unchecked. As Samaha (2011, p. 9) surmises, “if the threat [of punishment] isn’t carried out when a crime is committed, condemnation is meaningless, or worse it sends a message that the victim’s suffering is worthless.” Africa for Women’s Rights Protection in Cameroon (2009) makes the following recommendations among others,

reform or repeal all discriminatory measures in statutory law...take all necessary measures to improve women’s access to public and political life...criminalize sexual harassment, ... strengthen laws and policies to combat violence against women...ensure women’s access to justice, ...improve access to education for women and girls.

Women and Literacy, a group that advocates women’s literacy, notes that in a single African country, literacy data shows that 26% of men are literate as opposed to 11% of women. It is a well known fact that the easiest path to a better livelihood is education. This organization maintains that with an education, women can better direct their destinies; they can when to get married, how many children they will have, issues relating to their health, among others (see Sil International. It is true that because of their already impoverished circumstances, women can neither afford an education nor that of their children, this where the state has to step in with programs that can absorb the cost of education, or at least provide means by which women can get funding towards their education, get jobs, and repay any funds they owe.

Riddell (2004) makes a case for why government should invest resources in education. The first argument he puts forth is that both the individual and society benefit. The individual benefits in that those with an education “earn more over their lifetimes, achieve higher levels of employment, enjoy more satisfying careers, ... fully enjoy life, ... [are] more informed and socially involved citizens” (Riddell, 2004, p. 2). The benefits to society include the fact that educating one person helps improve the welfare of others through the promotion of a stable society. Besides such justifications that relate to human capital investments, Riddell further justifies the necessity of governmental involvement in education on equity grounds. These



equity grounds include “promotion of equal opportunity, social mobility, and a more equal distribution of economic rewards” (2004, p.4).

Drawing from research by Berhman and Stacey (1997), McMahon (1997), Wolfe and Zuvekis (1997), and Wolfe and Haveman (2001), Riddell (2004, p. 12) puts together the benefits of education:

Effect of wife’s schooling on husband’s earnings

Effect of parents’ education on child outcomes (intergenerational effects): education, cognitive ability, health, and fertility choices.

Effect of education on consumer choice efficiency, labour market search efficiency, adaptability to new jobs, marital choice, savings, and attainment of desired family size.

Effect of education on charitable giving and volunteer activity.

Effect of schooling on social cohesion: voting behaviour, reduced alienation and smaller social inequalities.

Effect of education on reducing reliance on welfare and other social programs.

Effect of schooling on reduced criminal activity.

Government’s investment on education goes no way close to causing a dent in a country’s coffers. Some may question how government can invest in education and still remain viable. This was the case in Cameroon until the middle 1980s. Education was free in public institutions up until university. As Time V. (2012, p. 285) notes, “many African countries are not as destitute as some may think. Corruption and mismanagement of public funds is the real problem in these countries (Salih, 2010).

Even though formal education is vital, the effects of informal education cannot be ignored. In this regard, the help of activist groups like Tomorrow People, Women and Literacy, and other NGOs, community leaders, activists groups, should penetrate African societies particularly those in rural settings to spread word on the virtues of education, and the need to set aside customary practices that stagnate progress. Town hall meetings, focus group meetings, radio and television programs, and even flyers that promote the need for education, and the need to end customary practices that stall women’s education and progress should be held frequently.

Many wars in Africa stem from tribal cravings to assert power, nepotism, greed, and poor governance. Whether or not war can be completely averted is another issues, but for this paper, the focus is on how suffering can be reduced during conflict. Humanitarian groups that provide aid during war time, the military that are designated to protect civilians during war time should be trained to understand even the most intricate dynamics of wartime atrocities, like men keeping much of the ration of food in camps where displaced people are. Health services for women and girls are needed in higher levels at this time. Fear of going to school during war time has been an impediment especially since girls and women get waylaid. Having possibilities of distance learning, or make shift schools are possibilities that

should be explored. Here, the relevance of technology comes to play. Education should be diversified to include vocational and technical training.

The importance of technology cannot be overemphasized. Time poverty can be reduced with the introduction of technology. Simple technological gadgets that facilitate tilling and fertilizing soil, harvesting, and processing crops will go a long way to help women, reduce time spent in manually accomplishing these tasks. Not only will such technological advancements help increase crop productivity, they will also free women to now use time to take adult classes, or enjoy some leisurely activity. In recent visits to Cameroon, it was evident that low cost firewood stoves produced much energy to enable women cook meals with less firewood. As well, solar dryers that help preserve food were found to be more efficacious than customary methods of drying them on mats where they were open to the elements and preys. Mulokozi (2000) applauds the benefits of this technology in Tanzania.

Many organizations including the World Bank have provided aid money to African countries to help in preventing diseases, fight HIV/AIDS and poverty. Much of the times, these funds have not been accounted for by the recipient countries. Take Cameroon for instance, \$133m allocated to fight HIV/AIDS, was not accounted for. After investigations as to what had become of the money, BBC concluded that “tracking AIDS cannot happen until a cure is found for Cameroon’s second deadly virus – corruption” (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6198337.stm;internet>. Retrieved, 1/6/2007. If money stays in the hands of the few, it is unperceivable how poverty can be eradicated. Since many of these “needy” countries have proved to be unreliable, a country or organization that lends money should put a watch group to monitor how the money is used, or no loans should be made at all. After all, the poor hardly benefit from the loans. Those who embezzle money or perpetuate graft should be prosecuted and be forced to make restitution.

Better trade policies within the country and among African countries have to be put in place. Recent travels to Cameroon were eye openers in the amount of food, cash crops exported by women by boat and trucks to Nigeria, Equatorial Guinea and other countries. More efficient trade policies, and lower trade tariffs among African countries may somehow ameliorate poverty.

In some countries, remuneration for work done is not guaranteed. Salaries or wages should be guaranteed and made for work done. This is especially necessary for women who traditionally run the home even when they have little money to go by.

## CONCLUSION:

How poverty can be eradicated is daunting, yet it remains a much needed course. This study has a much narrow focus in that it discusses poverty from a theoretical viewpoint. However, the points made can easily be put into practice if a state is intent on curbing poverty. Some may argue that customs define a people and thus should not be blotted out, and that is true, but at the same time, customs that are repugnant that are backwards looking have no place in a modern society. Such customs as those that marginalize women, and that deprive segments of society of healthy pathways in life should be discarded.

Education, as empirical studies demonstrate is correlated with a better life style. In societies that are progressive, both the social and private benefits of education are connected with higher earning power, a better standard of living for much of its citizens, and these are just some of the reasons why it is incumbent on government to subsidize education.

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