Poverty alleviation and the rise of the middle class

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- Poverty alleviation and the rise of the middle class.
- From the field: Thai NGOs, Aboriginal landscape design, West Africa.
- Aid update: Australia’s foreign policy, independent Entrea, Canada’s aid to East Europe.
- Books, conferences, development resources.
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Poverty alleviation and the rise of the middle class
This issue of Development Bulletin investigates the social and economic challenges faced in Asia with a special focus on the relationship between an expanding middle class and poverty alleviation. The papers presented provide a variety of opinions about the role of the middle class as a managerial base for industrial growth, a source of local investment and providers of employment. The section "From the Press" also provides a selection of articles on the consumer boom, the middle class in Asia and the relationship between the middle class and the very poor.

If you have any comments or contributions to this specific debate, please contact us.

From the field

George Taylor and Barry Rands provide inside information on running an agroforestry project in the Sahel regions of West Africa and Tony MacDonald explains the process of consultation and empowerment in planning environment and land management programmes. The experience of Thai government organizations in poverty alleviation is explored by Rapin Quinn.

Updates

In this issue Aid Update covers development assistance requirements in the newly independent States. The positive impact of the recent shift in aid away from Third World countries on Eastern Europe and the relationship between aid and political foreign policy! 

The AIDA • introduction marks the 20th anniversary of AIDA and the introduction of a new directory for AIDA members. The Directory of AIDA members, organizations and development practitioners, provides a comprehensive list of individuals and organizations involved in development assistance. The Directory includes contact information, development interests and the types of assistance provided. It is an essential resource for development practitioners, researchers and policy-makers.

Discussion series - Poverty alleviation and the role of the middle class

Thailand's capitalism: Problems for an economic miracle
Kevin Hewison

Over the past 20 years the country has seen an economic miracle: a rapid rise in both per capita income, which has more than doubled since 1970, and the growth of a capitalist class.

The role of the middle class in Malaysia
Michael Hess

The middle class in Malaysia is a driving force for economic growth and development. It is characterized by its high levels of education, professional careers and middle class lifestyles.

Local government environments and development in East Timor
Susan Young

Poverty reduction and the rise of the middle class
Taiwan
David Schak

Middle class and poor women in Asia
Susan Woodburn

Gender equity and development
Report on a seminar by Noelleen Heyzer

Australian government aid policy on poverty alleviation
Irene Wetterhall

Bangladesh's poverty alleviation strategy: A case study
M.H. Hossain

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Development Bulletin 28
Poverty alleviation and the rise of the middle class

Over the last twelve years the world's most rapid and sustained economic growth has occurred in South and Southeast Asia. In Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Japan and Hong Kong the GDP per capita has increased dramatically (Figure 1). The rate of increase, but starting from a lower base, also been matched by Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia and to a lesser extent China (Figure 2). Economic growth has been accompanied by the development and expansion of an affluent Asian 'middle class'.

Figure 1: Comparative growth in GDP per capita in US$1970-1992

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>12500</td>
<td>30000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>10000</td>
<td>25000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.Korea</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>8000</td>
<td>20000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.K.</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>15000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. Aust.</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>10000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>5000</td>
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A revolution in communications technology, especially television, has occurred in the region. Satellite television is now available in over 100 countries, reaching 200 million people. In Asia alone, 10 million people have access to satellite television, and 10 million more are expected to gain access in the next five years. The expansion of television has been accompanied by a variety of political and social changes, including increased media coverage of local and international events, and increased access to information. Satellite television has been particularly important in providing information to people in remote areas, and in promoting cultural diversity. It has also been used to promote economic development, by providing information about changes in the information and entertainment industries. Satellite television has also been used to provide news, and to promote cultural diversity. It has also been used to provide news, and to promote cultural diversity. It has also been used to promote cultural diversity. It has also been used to promote cultural diversity.
To date neither the academic literature nor the press have given much attention to the assumption that the growth of a wealthy middle class will lead to social and economic benefits for the entire population. Nor have they considered some of the more obvious problems that have accompanied this unprecedented growth. The most obvious is the lack of distribution of social and economic benefits and the growing division between the rich and the poor. As governments have been unable or unwilling to formally introduce policies to provide more equitable distribution of economic benefits, this is taking place on an informal basis. In all countries the rise of the middle class has been accompanied by a large and growing informal economy outside government regulation.

In the following papers well known writers in this field review the relationship between the rise of the middle class and the role of the state, the opportunity a wealthy middle class provides for improving women's status and the link between economic growth and poverty alleviation.

Kevin Hewison reviews the economic boom in Thailand and the impact of a growing urban middle class on the social and political systems. Thirty years of uninterrupted economic growth have been accompanied by negligible poverty reduction, most particularly among the rural poor who have been largely exploited or ignored.

William Case reviews the Malaysian New Economic Policy and the way in which state intervention has supported the rise of a new Malay middle class. He then explores the significance of this middle class for democracy. He questions the widely held beliefs that the emergence of a new rich middle class would bring with it political democracy, further opportunities for social improvement and benefits for the whole society.

Michael Hess considers the assumption that economic growth and the rise of a middle class would be accompanied by the evolution of political democracy and argues that not only is there no trickle down of the benefits of economic growth but that the lack of trickle down is by political design. Hess looks at the history of the development of the middle class and suggests that nowhere has this had a positive impact on the poor.

Maila Stivens explores both the media perspective and the reality of the lives of middle class Malaysian women and finds that many Malay women face the same problems of middle class working women everywhere. Susan Blackburn reviews the role of professional Asian women as leaders of often powerful organisations which act on behalf of poor women and provide a lobby group demanding greater rights for women.

Rural economic reform in China has led to the emergence of a class of private and local government entrepreneurs who are able to manipulate government economic regulations to expand entrepreneurial activities. Susan Young discusses how village-based entrepreneurs function and how different local governments apply different criteria for distributing enterprise profits.

David Schak reviews the history of industrialisation in Taiwan and the resulting overall improvements in the standard of living over two generations.

We also include a summary of a seminar given by Noeleen Heyzer which considered the impact of economic growth on women.

The section "From the Press" provides a wide variety of opinions and reports on the middle class.

August 1993
Early each morning, all over Bangkok, Volvos nudge their way out of suburban housing estates and condominiums, to join the Mercedes on the inadequate roads, joining up to five million other vehicles. The occupants might be watching morning television on a small screen, listening to music on the latest car stereo, or getting some business done over the cellular telephone. All around the Mercedes and Volvos are Toyotas and Nissans, with families on board, the children being fed as they are transported to private schools, perhaps only a few kilometres away, but up to two hours travelling time, depending on the traffic. Thousands of motorcycles weave their way between the lines of traffic, all crawling towards the glass towers which signify the success of hundreds of companies in banking, tourism, finance, and industry.

In the evening the flow is reversed as the clerks, technicians and managers of Thailand's capitalist revolution head home, inching their way through the pollution. Thailand's boom could easily be measured by the length of traffic jams, but whatever the index, the country's economic performance has been remarkable. This has been so well reported (cf. Hewison 1993a), that only the major elements of economic change need be summarised here.

**Structural change**

Rapid economic growth has long been fuelled by government incentives to both domestic and foreign investors, and has resulted in marked changes to the productive base. In 1960, agriculture was the most important economic sector, accounting for almost 40 per cent of GDP, employing the bulk of the population, and accounting for most exports; by 1991, while agriculture was still the largest employer, it produced just 12 per cent of GDP, ranking after manufacturing, trade and services. Manufactured exports have expanded from just one per cent of total exports in 1960, to a whopping 75 per cent by 1992. Today, only 60 per cent of the working population engage in agriculture, but even this may underestimate the magnitude of change as many agriculturalists now rely on off-farm income to maintain their farming plots.

These changes indicate the development of an industrially-based economy, with increasing numbers of people relying on waged labour. Every sphere of social life seems to reflect this, and society appears to be increasingly permeated by the consumerist values of the emergent and aggressive middle class. Television, magazines, newspapers and movies all promote consumerism as a way of life, pushing this message to the most remote areas.

**Expanded consumerism**

Consumerism is a measure of new found wealth, marked by a search for new, Westernised lifestyles, and has created a rapidly expanding domestic consumer goods market. It is also a demonstration of status. It is marked by the interconnectedness of suburban housing estates, the increased used of private vehicles, and the development of department stores and convenience and fast food stores, all of which plough under local markets and street stalls.

Department stores and shopping malls have become the parks of modern Thailand, with fast food outlets, mini movie theatres, fashion stores, and discount merchandisers providing much entertainment. As air conditioned pleasure domes, evenings and weekends see them filled to overflowing with family groups and young people, dressed in the latest youth fashions, who meet in the fast food shops. Two decades ago such things were inconceivable. Shopping centres, complete with supermarkets and fast food outlets, are the symbols of modernity, and no provincial city can be considered truly modern until it has its share of these.

Consumerism is seen in a range of areas: the purchase and use of motor vehicles, electrical goods, toys and communications equipment are expanding exponentially, luxury food and beverage sales have ballooned, the use of credit cards has increased six-fold between 1983 and 1990 to about 450,000 cardholders.

All of this builds on increased incomes and spending power. For example, a third of Bangkok income earners are classed as white collar, and 54 per cent of its population are considered middle or higher income and are now purchasers of major consumer goods (Ogilvy and Mather 1991). An official 1988 survey of consumer behaviour found that the 'average' Thai family had a monthly spending power of US$173. In Bangkok and nearby provinces, the figure was US$323 (Nation 1989:56), and this has probably increased by 12-17 per cent a year since then.

In politics too, the middle class is seen to be having an impact. This was most clearly demonstrated in the bloody events of May 1992, where members of this class joined the uprising against a military dominated government. While the middle class is fragmented and stratified, its general interest was in overthrowing a corrupt regime and demanding increased accountability, popular elections and the rule of law.
For the moment they appear to have won a partial victory, with the forces promoting parliamentary politics making substantial gains (Hewison, 1993b).

It is the entrepreneurs and the middle class who have been the political and economic winners from Thailand's capitalist revolution. But there have also been general gains for the population, who are now healthier, living longer, and wealthier than they ever have been. For example, average per capita incomes have increased, from about 18,000 baht in 1983 to 32,000 in 1992, and were projected to be 71,000 baht in 1996 (Board of Investment 1991:3; NESDB 1991:4). However, there have been some significant losers.

Who has lost from rapid growth and industrialisation?

Traditionalist and radical critics alike have been disparaging of the transformations taking place in Thai society. They have pointed to a range of problems including cultural disintegration, the breakdown of the traditional family, drug problems, prostitution, the increased numbers of street urchins, the decline of religious values in the face of materialism, and increased suicide rates (Nation 12 July 1989; 30 August 1989; Bangkok Post 10, 15-16 July 1990; 28 August 1990). All are seen as indicators of social problems associated with rapid industrialisation. In addition, the exploitation of workers is often brutal, as demonstrated by the tragic factory fire resulting in some 200 deaths in May 1993. But one might also look to the slums and brothels to see the evidence of callous exploitation.

Even within the dominant economic discourse of growth at almost any cost, there has been a belated recognition of some of these problems. Perhaps most significant among these has been income and wealth disparities. While there have been increases in per capita incomes and reductions in absolute poverty in recent decades, urban dwellers have done far better than their rural cousins. In addition, the rate of poverty reduction is now negligible, despite more than 30 years of uninterrupted economic growth.

Distributional issues

Income increases have not been matched by substantial wealth distribution. Table 1 shows that the rich are getting richer while the poor are suffering. The government has recently admitted that this is a problem, and official data have shown that income and wealth distribution have become increasingly skewed. They note that, since 1976, while poverty has been marginally reduced, wealth disparities have widened (see Table 1). Economists had expected and repeatedly restated their belief that the benefits of growth would eventually trickle down to all levels of society; few were bold enough to forecast increased inequality over the long-term.

### Table 1: Wealth distribution 1975/6 and 1987/8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wealth</th>
<th>% of wealth to each group</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1975/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top 20%</td>
<td>49.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom 20%</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Government of Thailand (1992-99)

The most inequitable results are seen when rural and urban incomes are compared, as shown in Table 2. In fact, only 4.4 per cent of villagers have incomes in excess of 8,000 baht per month, while almost 57 per cent of persons in Bangkok have incomes in this range.

### Table 2: Distribution of monthly household incomes, 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly household income</th>
<th>Nationwide</th>
<th>Bangkok</th>
<th>Urban upcountry</th>
<th>Rural villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baht</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;4,000</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>78.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4,000-7,999</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,000-12,499</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,500-19,999</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;20,000</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Ogilvy and Mather (1991:4)

This pattern of disparity is further illustrated by comparing the productivity of the regions (see Table 3), where Bangkok again dominates. Most industry is clustered in and around the capital, making the area highly productive. Generally, as distance from the centre increases and agricultural activities become more significant, productivity decreases. This is especially noticeable for the northeast, the most populous region, where incomes are lowest.

These issues came into sharp focus for technocrats during negotiations over the Seventh National Economic and Social Development Plan (1992-96). Advisers, including the World Bank and academics began to paint an increasingly bleak picture of inequality, and suggested that this might become a source of social conflict. This came as a shock to those who had continued to believe that growth would solve all social ills. To address this issue it was eventually agreed that the rural sector's problems had to be a focus of the seventh plan.
The nature of agricultural development itself received some attention in the seventh plan. Long the backbone of the economy for the vast majority of the population, agriculture has been more than an economic activity, it has been life itself from time immemorial. In terms of employment, agriculture remains a significant sector, providing for about 55 per cent of the workforce, but is becoming less attractive. Some indicators of this are: the land frontier has been reached or exceeded in all regions of the country resulting in serious land degradation; and rice prices have barely risen in real terms for about a decade; and most other commodity prices are in the same category.

The sector has been assiduously exploited through government policy aimed at ensuring that agricultural surpluses were used to fuel industrial development. This was achieved through taxation and pricing policies, and through the provision of cheap labour from the provinces to urban areas. Few governments have put much effort into agricultural development, and improvements in output have been through increases in the area of land under cultivation rather than by improved productivity.

Today, many government planners perceive the basic problem of agriculture to be a lack of commercialisation. Hence, policy aims at the promotion of agro-industry, which is seen to have significant advantages over small peasant farming. Agro-industry is seen as innovative, as having capital to invest and as being research and technology oriented. This is in line with a general belief that the small scale farmer is an anachronism as industrialism and urbanism march ever onward.

This may well be an accurate perception, but it demands a different approach to rural development. Without denigrating the good work of many government agencies and the substantial progress made, it is fair to say that development activities have been ad hoc and limited (small water supplies, latrines, small crops and livestock, dirt roads). The motivation for this effort has been, initially, as a counter-insurgency measure, and more recently in the misguided belief that basic facilities will keep potential urban migrants in their country homes.

The seventh plan's recognition of income and wealth distribution problems took these issues beyond basic welfare questions, and resulted in three aims: first, to sustain economic growth while maintaining stability; second, to distribute income and the benefits of growth to provincial areas; and third, to enhance human resources, improve the quality of life, environment and natural resources. In essence, planners felt that unless the benefits of development could be more equitably distributed through this approach, growth could be threatened if social conflict emerged. But the chosen strategy also created a policy dilemma, as redistribution was seen to require a slight reduction in growth rates.

Ironically, to achieve its distributional objectives and to solve the policy dilemma, no major change to development strategy was envisaged. Indeed, the plan continues to promote rapid economic growth based on expanded industrialisation, while recognising that agriculture would continue to stagnate and that income disparities could worsen. The answer, for the technocrats, was to encourage industrial activity in the provinces. Particular emphasis was to be given to improving opportunities for the poor in industrial employment. It was felt that this would enhance the trickle down effect in provincial areas, thus achieving better distribution through further industrialisation. In other words, the approach was more of the same neo-classical growth strategy, but with some tinkering here and there to overcome distributional problems.

Central to this approach is the further expansion of export-oriented industry. The logic is that export industry required higher skill levels, therefore demanding better educated labour. Workers with higher education and better skills would be more productive, thus bringing higher wages to them and their families. The plan thus urged that Thailand move its own out of low wage/low skill production into higher value added production utilising more skilled human resources. As the government was to promote the development of human resources through the expansion of education in rural areas, better educated poor families would, it was hoped, have access to higher incomes.

Some economists took an even more challenging perspective. For example, the Thailand Development Research Institute, a semi-governmental think tank, has proposed a 'negative income tax' which would effectively set a minimum family income for rural dwellers. While this was not taken up, its suggestion by a usually rather conservative institution suggests the potential magnitude of these distributional problems.

The seventh plan also gives far more emphasis to decentralising urban development, and improving rural
infrastructure. While almost all of the major, national infrastructure projects continue to focus on Bangkok, there is increased political pressure to upgrade the quality of life outside Bangkok. The basic reason for this is to make these areas more attractive to industry, in the somewhat belated recognition that employment opportunities may be more attractive to poor people than the opportunity to have a latrine in the backyard.

This highlights the problems facing policy-makers. For decades government has promoted industrialisation while agriculture and rural dwellers have been exploited and ignored. Urban areas and the rising middle class have reaped many of the benefits of these policies. Under authoritarian military regimes, challenges and protests were limited, allowing bureaucratic policy reasonably full reign. However, the rise of electoral politics challenges this.

In a polity increasingly dominated by electoral contestation, distribution becomes a politically significant issue for the simple reason that rural areas return the majority of national MPs. These areas are therefore critical to virtually all political parties and their current pork-barrelling style of electioneering. As electoral politics is strengthened, provincial issues will become increasingly important and will receive increased political and policy attention. This is an ironic situation. Capitalist and middle class politicians - more than half of elected MPs have a business background - who have reaped the benefits of previous development policy, may now find their political interests lie in rural areas.

Concluding remarks

The rise of an aggressive middle class consumerism in Thailand has created an impression that another miracle economy has been produced. However, capitalism is not generally known to produce an equitable distribution of either private or public goods, and there is no reason to believe that Thailand's capitalism will be very different.

Only recently has the underside of capitalism and the march out of agriculture been recognised by policy makers in Thailand. The current mood is that something must be done to move people out of rural areas and into industry and services, but that welfare safety nets need to be in place. Some economists now argue that all must be provided with an adequate income, in order to avoid social and political conflict and maintain the stability required for sustained economic growth. It remains to be seen if a relatively recent capitalism and an immature representative political system can deliver the political and economic goods.

This paper is based on two recent publications by the author: Hewison, 1992 and 1993a. Readers wanting more details are directed to these publications.

Footnote

1. For most of the period under review, A$1 equalled about 17-19 baht, while US$1 was worth 24-25 baht.

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The new rich in Asia: Affluence mobility and power

Special issue of the Pacific Review

Readers interested in the rise of the middle class in Asia and wishing to know more will be interested to know that issue 5(4) 1992, of The Pacific Review, examined the phenomenon of the new rich in East and Southeast Asia. The authors are from the Asia Research Centre at Murdoch University. Articles include 'Thailand: On becoming a NIC', by Kevin Hewison, 'Indonesia: An autonomous domain of social power?', by Richard Robison, and 'China: The state and capitalist revolution', among others.

The papers are not intended to be representative of the region as a whole, or to provide a comprehensive coverage, but they contribute to the analysis of social change. The Asia Research Centre at Murdoch University, was established in 1991 by the Australian Research Council specifically to consider the consequences of wealth in East and Southeast Asia.
As high economic growth rates in some Asian countries have fuelled the rise of a newly affluent section of their populations, the attention of commentators has been drawn to the role and likely impact of this new Asian middle class.

While this interest in the newly affluent is understandable both in policy and economic terms, and especially for those who see this as a new potential market, the real issue in industrialising Asia is not the situation of the new rich, but that of the new and old poor. It is not difficult to design policies which enable some to become rich and there is nothing 'new' about either such policies or their outcomes. It is much more difficult to develop policies which spread the benefits of development more broadly.

The growing debate about the nature of the new middle class is interesting in itself. In its most immature form this discussion was marked by the assumption that rapid economic growth would be accompanied by the evolution of political democracy. Economic and political development were thus seen as two aspects of the same process of modernisation. The crudest convergence theorists told us that this would result in nations becoming increasingly similar until we were all following the same process of modernisation. The crudest convergence theorists told us that this would result in nations becoming increasingly similar until we were all clones of the models which these same theorists could explain, and (for a price), help less successful nations to emulate.

The difficulty for such theorists was, of course, that the models did not work and that they changed. In the 1950s and 60s it was the USA, which having avoided falling back into its pre-war state of depression, was seen as providing the ideal pattern for the so-called developing nations to follow. Subsequently the defeat of US industry in every competitive market by Japanese manufacturing led to a plethora of expert commentaries urging upon the developing nations the efficacy of the Japanese model. More recently of course, the modellers have been attracted by the phenomenal growth rates achieved in economies such as those of Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan.

Implicit in these models of modernisation was the role played by the new middle class, the well-off individuals whose participation in both economic and political life provided a source of initiative which overcame traditional constraints to progress. The problem with such a concentration on the role of a new elite is the moral superiority it implicitly accords this group. While there may be much to admire in the USA of the 1950s and 60s, support for the class whose individualistic, property-owning lifestyle generated support for the hysterical anti-communism of the cold war, is clearly not wholly admirable. The elite status of the American middle class of this period is tarnished by McCarthyism, racism and military adventurism.

Similarly the new rich of Japan emerging from post-war economic reconstruction signify at best a dualism in terms of social progress. So blinded were Western commentators, however, by the sheer weight of production statistics, that problems accompanying the workaholic mentality and the corruption at the heart of Japanese political and economic life are only now becoming clearly evident to non-expert outsiders. What they indicate however, is not an economic model which has some minor blemishes, but a deeply flawed social development, which is in a sense profoundly unmodern.

If we turn to the effect of modernisation on other Asian nations we see similar elements. The assumption that the rise of a newly affluent middle class will bring with it a better society is as faulty as the belief that economic development is universally beneficial. Both betray a simplistic attachment to crude quantitative analysis and an unwillingness to seriously consider qualitative issues as central to both social science and social policy.

Robson and Goodman point out in their introduction to the recent special issue of The Pacific Review on the new rich in Asia that "the middle class represents a new set of special interests that regimes must take into account" (Robison 1992:324). From the perspective of the politics of pragmatism, this is certainly true. The spread of affluence represents a real challenge to regimes which have previously been able to survive with a very narrow power base. How 'new' the forces are, which such a class represents, is more problematic.

What difference does it make that the new industries are owned elsewhere in Asia, rather than in the USA or Europe? What difference does it make that they are increasingly joint ventures with local ownership and management? Well, clearly it makes a great deal of difference if you are one of the local people able to get into the ownership or management areas. It makes you rich. There have always been groups in Asian nations which were rich, relative to their own people. The fact that they are now rich by international comparison may not be as big news at home as it is, apparently, abroad. Occasionally this new wealth has been gained by the
talented, hard working or lucky. More often, as the contributors to *The Pacific Review* special edition show, it is because of nepotism and/or personal connections with political or military power.

It may also make a difference if more of the wealth generated by production stays in the region. This however presumes that it will be spent on locally-owned and made products. At this stage anecdotal evidence of the spending patterns of Asia's new rich does not provide a strong basis for such an assumption (Williams 1993). Indeed it would be unreasonable to expect that it would. Why should Asia's new middle class spend locally when international patterns, including Australia's of course, indicate that spending on foreign made goods has a high priority for the affluent of many nations?

Getting back to the central point, we know that economic growth and a well-off middle class has not produced the liberal democracy in Asian countries with which it was associated in the West. This has disappointed many Western observers but Lee Kuan Yuw's response that democracy is meaningless if you're hungry, was until relatively recently a suitable retort.

What the rise of the new Asian middle class indicates is that some Asian nations are now able to ensure that no-one is hungry. What this class' perceived lack of commitment to political democracy indicates is that other governance arrangements may be equally effective in promoting and maintaining its interests. The question which remains is whether these non-democratic political arrangements have the will and capacity actually to ensure that no-one is hungry.

The evidence of the country studies in *The Pacific Review* is that the substantial interests of Asia's newly affluent lie in the protection of property, the promotion of business opportunities and the standard of living they can enjoy. Of these only the latter has any potentially democratic impact. The argument here would be that if a newly powerful section of the population is demanding better educational, medical and social facilities, this will be of ultimate benefit to everyone. It is a social version of the trickle-down effect argument and has the same difficulties. These are, that there is ample evidence that sections of the population can appropriate wealth to themselves without it being of more general benefit. Indeed the generation of such wealth may itself be at a cost to others, similarly with improved educational and medical facilities.

The development of international standard universities and hospitals in major business and administrative centres does not necessarily improve the standard of living for those who simply cannot afford to use them or who live in areas remote from the modern facilities. The existence of fourth world pockets within nations of some affluence - Australia and South Africa spring immediately to mind - shows well that development may be uneven, not merely by accident or geography, but as a matter of political design.

The point is that it is easy to get enthusiastic about the development of a new Asian middle class - especially as it provides such potential market opportunities. What also needs to be investigated however, is the effect of the development of affluence within the nations. Historically the rise of the middle class has had mixed effects. This is clearly evident in the case of indigenous peoples. The property-owning middle classes of North America, South America, Australia and South Africa provide good examples of the social attitudes commensurate with new wealth - especially where it is gained at the expense of others. Cheap land and cheap labour are great boosts to business enterprise but also great incentives to barbaric social practices.

The phenomenal economic development of Asian economies has certainly given rise to a newly affluent middle class, but at what cost? More research on issues such as conditions of work, general standards of living and the rights of all citizens needs to be undertaken before anyone is in a position to assess the impact of this 'new' class.

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**Poverty reduction a World Bank aim**

The World Bank's main goal this decade will be to fight poverty, and the loans it grants will depend on debtor nations' commitment to the same end, an eight year policy document released said.

A recent World Bank study showed that if current trends persisted there would be 50 million more people living in conditions of extreme poverty by the end of the decade than there were in 1985. A new operational directive in the document seeks to ensure that efforts to reduce poverty are fully reflected in all aspects of the Bank's operations. The directive document, a kind of instruction manual for the Bank's employees, offers examples and outlines of anti-poverty programmes and systems for evaluating results of what is to be a bank wide effort. The document, which sets Bank policy for the next eight years, specified that approval of World Bank loans should be tied directly to countries' efforts to reduce poverty.


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The new middle class in Malaysia: Its origins, character, and significance for democracy

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In an introductory article to an important set of country studies entitled *The New Rich in Asia*, Robison and Goodman advise that "any simple juxtaposition of the new rich and the state is an inadequate basis for analysis". (Robison and Goodman 1992:322). In particular, they pose new questions about the validity of the middle class as an explanatory concept. They ask, for example, whether the middle class is distinguished mostly by its relations to the means of production or its high levels of consumption, whether managerial and professional expertise can be lumped usefully with clerical and sales staff in a single middle class category, and whether the middle class can by itself transform politics or must enter first into trans-class coalitions (Tanter and Young 1990). In short, as study of the middle class has grown more critical, it has encountered new problems over how best to define it, and how to gauge its coherence as a political force.

But after enumerating these difficulties, Robison and Goodman list some shared middle class features - "a greater concern for education as a central mechanism for securing position and wealth...access to information and analysis...a desire for predictability and certainty of laws...and a greater emphasis on leisure" (Robison and Goodman 1992:324-5) - that converge in new demands on the state. They suggest further, that because the state relies increasingly on middle class skills to drive economic growth, the middle class (perhaps riding on the coat tails of an industrialising bourgeoisie) is now able to express its demands forcefully. But while Robison and Goodman then end on a cautionary note, implying that the middle class may abandon lesser strata while seeking its own accommodation through new forms of authoritarianism, analysts have more commonly anticipated new pressures for democracy.

Indeed, as the middle class has emerged throughout East and Southeast Asia, it has generated optimism across academic disciplines. In assessing the impact of the middle class on participation and regime forms, many political analysts have anticipated a liberalisation, even democratisation of politics. Economists, in studying patterns of production and consumption, have expected the middle class to open stodgy markets. And anthropologists, tracking the emergence of new cultural values and identities, foresee middle class defiance of cultural hegemonies. The middle class, in short, has been welcomed by many as an agent of change, quickening the region's progress toward democracy, growth, and modernity.

In surveying some developing countries in the region, such processes of middle class formation and democratisation would seem most advanced in Korea, Taiwan (Chen 1990), and perhaps Thailand, and least in Indonesia, China, and Vietnam. Between these poles lies Malaysia. Its middle class is evident, but not dominant, and the 'halfway' nature of its regime openness can best be described as 'semi-democratic'. At the same time Malaysia contains some peculiarities that set it outside any straightforward, ordinal ranking. In particular, one is struck by the State's unusual commitment to economic redistribution and the society's great ethnic diversity. Malaysia thus presents a useful case with which to address some of Robison and Goodman's queries about the origins and character of the new middle class in Asia, as well as the expectations held by others about its democratising effects.

The Malaysian case

The new middle class is readily observable in Malaysia today. High-rise condominiums and rows of semi-detached housing - styled oftentimes with mock half-timbering or Mediterranean flourishes and fitted with electronics and appliances - have sprung up round the cities and pushed back the old rubber estates. Widened highways and new ringroads pulsate with ever smarter versions of the locally manufactured Proton Saga sedan. And dramatic new shopping malls offer the furnishings, fast foods, raiments, and accessories that are essential for an 'international' lifestyle. But while such displays correspond with middle classes around the region, Malaysia's experience departs in some ways from the observations made by Robison and Goodman. Even less does it match the hopes of democratisers.

The Malay middle class

In most countries in the region, the state has been geared to export-oriented industrialisation, rather than to any explicit promotion of a domestic middle class. The middle class has thus emerged fortuitously through the growth process, however much its skills have helped later to perpetuate that growth. In Malaysia, though, this trajectory has been in many ways reversed. The state was firstly concerned with enlarging the middle class - particularly the ethnic Malay segment of that middle class - thereby consciously sacrificing, or at least greatly delaying, the rapid industrialisation attained elsewhere in the region (Jesudason 1989). To understand why the state ordered its priorities in this way...
way, one must take a long view of the country's socio-economic development.

After independence in 1957, Malaysia was governed principally by the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO), a party representing the 'indigenous' Malays. The economy however, based on the export of rubber and tin, was controlled largely by foreign investors and local Chinese. Thus, while some wealth sifted from these capitalist interests to the small Chinese middle class, little penetrated more deeply to the Malay community. Many Malays grew resentful over this imbalance and the government that sanctioned it, causing them to vote against the UMNO in the 1969 elections. The UMNO won these elections, but was weakened, and in trying later to re-energise Malay support, it triggered fierce ethnic rioting in Kuala Lumpur. New leaders then emerged in the UMNO who sought to alleviate Malay grievances over economic inequities. They thus introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP) which, through corporate restructuring and discounted share offerings, channelled assets from foreign and Chinese-owned companies to a new class of Malay capitalists. Further, by imposing steep hiring quotas across both public and and private sectors, they thrust Malays into white collar positions, effectively building a Malay middle class also.

This kind of state intervention and its societal outcomes - unique in the region to Malaysia - helps shed light on some points raised by Robison and Goodman. For example, it was the state that opened educational pathways to middle class statuses, rather than Malay students pressing for technical training and managerial expertise. Accordingly, upon entering universities through NEP quotas, Malays tended to gather in Malay Studies, Islamic Studies, and the Arts, only recently venturing into business administration or the professions. After graduation, they were then routed into the civil service, state-owned banks and enterprises, or, in the private sector, diverted into personnel and public relations offices. In consequence, the Malay middle class was identified - at least until recently - more closely with consumption than any other stratum, a factor perhaps even as salient in Malaysia as in other regions. Thus, even if middle class Malays and Chinese are apt to eschew violence, thereby seeming to contain it. Thus, even if middle class Malays and Chinese are apt to eschew violence, thereby seeming to contain it, their relations have not grown so consensual that they would offset any new round of destabilising ethnic violence among lower strata.

These activities also had significance for democracy. While Malay beneficiaries of the NEP appreciated the state's claim on strong powers with which to contain it. Thus, even if middle class Malays and Chinese are apt to eschew violence, thereby seeming to make more open democratic competitions possible, their relations have not grown so consensual that they would offset any new round of destabilising ethnic violence among lower strata. On the other hand, Crouch has argued that the Chinese community, fortified by its capitalist and middle classes, is large enough, and economically vital enough, that the state has been discouraged from tightening its authoritarian grip further (Crouch 1993:152). Such contrary imperatives help wedge Malaysia into its semi-democratic posture.

The multi-ethnic middle class

This discussion leads us to make plainer a second way in which the character of Malaysia's middle class is different from that of other countries in the region. Robison and Goodman touch on the variegated quality of the middle class category - its stark occupational differentials and spectrum of political outlooks - but they do not squarely address ethnic allegiances, the source of cleavage that perhaps remains most salient in Malaysia. Of course, even as the Malay segment of the middle class expanded, so too has that of the Chinese, forming a middle class population that by the 1980s drew almost equally from both communities to comprise one-third of the country's workforce (Crouch 1993:142-3). But while it is difficult to imagine middle class Malays and Chinese rioting in the way that street gangs and secret societies did after the election in 1969, observers suggest that deep rivalries persist. Put simply, unfavorable stereotypes still linger about brazen Malay favoritism and relentless Chinese entrepreneurship.

This cleavage has also had a distinct, though complex significance for democracy. On the one hand, the antagonism between ethnic communities helps validate the state's claim on strong powers with which to contain it. Thus, even if middle class Malays and Chinese are apt to eschew violence, thereby seeming to make more open democratic competitions possible, their relations have not grown so consensual that they would offset any new round of destabilising ethnic violence among lower strata. On the other hand, Crouch has argued that the Chinese community, fortified by its capitalist and middle classes, is large enough, and economically vital enough, that the state has been discouraged from tightening its authoritarian grip further (Crouch 1993:152). Such contrary imperatives help wedge Malaysia into its semi-democratic posture.

The middle class and democracy

Overall, the ethnic privileges enjoyed by the Malays and the continuing tensions between them and the Chinese have generally weakened the middle class as a democratising force. But during the mid 1980s, Malaysia slipped into an economic recession that caused the NEP's patronage wave back into the UMNO, using their new status and resources to take posts in the party that brought them nearer to government contracts and licenses. Thus, while the UMNO was portrayed in an earlier era as a party of civil servants and rural schoolteachers, it evolved during the 1980s into a vehicle for fast-tracking, middle class Malays, and the great flexibility in networking and deal-making one associates with their 'money politics', ran counter to impartial legal norms and democratic openness.
class Malays began to tumble from favored positions; they re-evaluated the incumbent UMNO leadership as a conduit to business success. Some then moved outside the UMNO in order to challenge it directly in the 1990 elections, forming a new opposition party and enlivening a wide range of interest groups. Even more unexpectedly, in seeking to bolster their challenge, they began to co-operate across ethnic lines with Chinese oppositionists, reaching understandings and forging electoral agreements. Speculation thus mounted during the campaign about the possibilities of institutionalising in Malaysia, a more genuinely competitive, two-party system.

But by the time the elections were held, it was clear that Malaysia's economy had embarked on a startling recovery. The new Malay opposition party thus performed poorly at the polls, and it afterwards suffered a stream of defections back to the UMNO, indicating that many middle class Malays valued democracy less as a procedure for exposing patronage than renewing their access to it. The Chinese middle class, for its part, seemed also to lapse into customary patterns, either voting reflexively against the government or complacently abstaining. In Malaysia, quite unlike recent experiences in Korea and Taiwan, it was not so much economic growth that awakened any middle class interest in democracy, as it was serious downturn, a sudden threat to the stake that the middle class had acquired.

Conclusions

This article has traced the ways in which the middle class in Malaysia illuminates some uncertainties, or departs from some expectations, that have been recorded in recent important literature.

To sum up, the middle class has been promoted purposively by the state, its main internal cleavage has been ethnic, and it has thus far been more motivated by recession than growth to seek political democracy. Further, the state-led, preferentialist nature of the NEP has shaped the attitudes of middle class recipients, leaving them uninterested in technical education, distracting them with opportunities for consumption, and obscuring their understanding of democracy. However, analysts of capitalist development in Malaysia have begun lately to argue that originating circumstances do not determine all aspects of subsequent progress. In particular, they suggest that some members of the Malay middle class are now showing greater competitiveness and economic viability, enabling the state to scale back its distributive efforts and market interventions.

In this situation, the sharp-edged resentments between the Malays and Chinese may gradually soften, perhaps vindicating the NEP and readying the regime for fuller democratisation.

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Political systems and Asian economic growth

In East Asia economic prosperity has been achieved under the supervision of authoritarian regimes and backed by nationalist sentiments which stress the need of the nation to go forward above the need of the individual to express his or her opinion. The process of industrialisation has frequently involved long working hours and rigid workplace discipline and sometimes the denial of the right to travel overseas.

In Korea the alternative to obedience was to join the wild student protesters in their ritualistic battles on the streets of Seoul, and endure regular dousings with tear gas. In Taiwan similar civil uprisings were also harshly contained.

Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore drew up laws giving governments sweeping powers to detain political dissidents without trial. Lee Kwan Yew, Singapore's founding Prime Minister, led his government into virtually every aspect of his citizens' private lives, including video cameras in public toilets.

The dominant theory behind the need for strong government was that the challenge and potential instability of rapid social and economic transformation could be successfully managed only with discipline, order and individual sacrifice.

Both Korea and Taiwan have recently achieved more democratic forms of government. Singapore, though, has remained a single-party state, although its middle class is as developed as Korea's or Taiwan's.

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The 'new Malay' woman: Gender and modernity in contemporary middle class Malaysia

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Middle class Malay women

One of the more dramatic changes in the last two decades in Malaysia has been the growth of an urban middle class and all its accoutrements: large areas on the outskirts of all the cities have been turned over to middle class housing areas, and the condominium phenomenon has been attracting much attention within popular culture and academia. New post-modern shopping centres incorporating the latest in international ideas about entertainment in such palaces of consumption have been built in all the urban areas. In early research in rural Negeri Sembilan, I had found large numbers of my informants moving to the city, so I decided to follow up the experiences of becoming middle class more generally. During the present investigation, I conducted extensive interviews with over one hundred middle class households in Seremban, Kuala Lumpur and Penang, looking at many dimensions of the middle class experience, including class and political affiliations and behaviours, kin relations, work histories and the conduct of domestic life. The more general issues of popular and middle class cultural productions through the colonial and post-colonial periods have been addressed, particularly the cultural production - and consumption - of the proliferating stories and advertisements gracing the ever-rising numbers of magazines catering to contemporary middle class readers.

Images of women

If we believed the images of urban middle class women, especially of mothers, that are pouring out of these magazines, we could quickly draw a picture of the new urban woman busily following the mass of advice about how to create a home in her expensive, if not large, townhouse, juggling busy work and home lives, and producing happy, clever, industrious and indeed nation-building children. A sub-text to the latter scenario is the dilemmas, or the faults, depending on perspective, of the maids who service some of the higher-flying middle class women. The Malaysian press regularly features such stories at present, but does not usually report the rumours that such women are often illegal immigrants from Indonesia and elsewhere. Images of chaste, modern Muslim wives, keepers of the family and indeed Malay modernity, proliferate in the magazines and in other parts of the media. Malaysian women are clearly being groomed to take a sizeable role in producing modern urban culture. The continual elaboration of fine detail on baju kurong (the modern standard Malay women's tunic and sarong) and local versions of western style fashion paraded in the magazines, the detailed instructions on modern household consumption and decor, much advice about child-rearing and interpersonal relationships, and the re-invention of cuisine, all accord women a key part in the 'domestic' construction of the middle class ethic. Predictably, this domesticity is an explicitly urban phenomenon. The pictures of modern decor all feature townhouses or condominium; the rural house belongs to another cultural set altogether, portrayed only in relation to 'heritage' or 'traditional' village values, which are seen as opposed to everything that the city stands for.

It might be tempting to see the ways that women are represented as a simple reflection of a monolithic state ideology aiming to domesticate women, especially as the press has often been almost totally subservient to government ideologies. The construction of domesticity has been very much to the fore since the introduction of the state's 70 million population by the 21st century policy, with a great deal of rhetoric about a woman's place in the subsequent debates. There have also been increasingly overt calls for women to be part of nation-building as mothers. Yet women are not simply shown as stay-at-homes. Ibu (Mother) magazine, for example, regularly features women whose achievements in juggling a rich professional and personal life are celebrated - these middle class superwomen are always pictured with their brood of attractive children, and numerous stories focus on the dilemmas and concerns of the working woman. In the face of the overt recognition of the high numbers of women working outside the home, it is interesting to speculate on the centrality of domestic images.

Anyone who has consumed Malay cinema and literature both past and present will recognise the common depiction of the long-suffering, self-denying Malay mother and the sentimentalisation of her relationship with her children in present-day media. Contemporary images of mothers also partake of the models of family and mothering constructed in the colonial discourses of Malay parenting. These depicted mothers as indulgent, loving and nurturing, but also in the end as too indulgent, indeed fatalistic and

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ultimately positioned within the dominant colonial discourse about the 'lazy native'. Contemporary cultural production among the middle classes, while developing these themes, sees present-day parenting as an altogether more purposeful activity, often pictured as occurring within a revived spirituality. Thus we get a growing number of books aimed at the middle classes about how to bring up children properly. For example, wh to do if your child is lazy about studying. (Incidentally, all the cartoons in one of these books, *Mengapa Anak Anda Malas Belajar?* (Why Is Your Child Lazy About Studying?) depict boys as the objects of their parents' ambitions, although a girl is pictured on the cover)

**Middle class women and religious practice**

As many would point out, the various degrees of a supposedly purer Islam have great appeal for modern Malay women of both the middle and working classes. It has been suggested that Islamic practice gives working class women a sense of social worth denied by the social order (Ong 1987). For urban middle class Malay women, some of the greatest adherents to the model of modern Muslim womanhood, the veiling and covering of their bodies appears to have become a potent symbol not only of piety but of 'modern' womanhood, class situation and status.

Some of the greatest supporters of so-called fundamentalist (they object strongly to the label) groups are to be found among university students (Nilufer Narli 1986). To wear or not to wear the tudung veil, and what it means, is an issue that my informants very much wanted to discuss with me. As Manderson (1980) notes, there has been a long development of this modelling of women within Malay nationalist thought and education. At present, the veiled woman has become a central site of Malay nationalist symbolism (Ong 1990b), the very embodiment of a highly specific Malay modernity. The meanings deployed around her figure have become caught up in a critique of the ills of western modernity, including individualism and materialism. One version of this narrative sees the ills of 'westoxification' followed in quick order by collapsing family values, child abuse and so on.

This widespread anti-westernism, especially from some Islamic quarters in Malaysia at present, is clearly acting as a radical critique of certain kinds of modernity, but not of modernity per se, although there are strands of romantic 'traditionalism' there as well. My informants have been clearly articulating aspects of these renewed contests in their conversations during the interviews. A significant proportion are living the revived spiritualism of the Islamic resurgence at a very intense level, with many stressing the absolute centrality of Islam in their lives.

**Conclusions**

It will be apparent from this brief account that we cannot simply and authoritatively pronounce about the effects on women's lives of Malaysia's dramatically successful industrialisation. Women have complex relationships to newly emerging patterns of consumption, which are clearly critical for understanding emerging social and cultural patterns in urban Malaysia.

One question that arises is how far scholarly and media agendas are responses to lived experiences of urban middle class Malay women, and how far they represent an imposition of a globalising culture's concerns and agendas. For example, some of the magazine articles read suspiciously like translations of syndicated articles that make few (and sometimes no) concessions to local specificities. A significant point here is that it is middle class Malaysians, journalists, artists, academics, among them many women, who are both producing these images of middle class modern life and simultaneously living versions of this life.

Preliminary results suggest a much more complex reality. Women interviewees do indeed feel tremendously harassed about juggling work and home, and in this respect resemble all the stories about the difficulties of working women. A surprising fact is that the majority of the households interviewed do not employ a servant. Male inputs into domestic work are variable, but generally not great. Problems with inadequate provision of childcare, the demands of the school extra-curricular activities, parental transporting of children and timetabling, loom large in my informants' concerns. These households are mostly very involved in helping kin, both rural and urban: this provides further evidence that the rise of the so-called 'nuclear' family was in some ways mythological (Stivens 1987). Interestingly, large numbers of these supposedly new middle class had well established links to the old middle class, both rural and urban. Some of the women I talked to told me how difficult their situation was if they were living in 'non-standard' households, for example as single parents. One professional woman has even received poison pen letters from colleagues for having divorced her husband and for trying to bring up her child on her own while holding down a responsible position. Some found their Islamic belief a great source of comfort and solace when faced with such difficulties.

The media's reduction of women's images to the dualist opposition between 'bad' and 'good' women - sexualised factory 'girls' v good mothers - is a depressingly familiar one for feminist scholars of representation. Moral panics about the alleged licence of factory women not only recreate an only too familiar cultural denigration of women, but also suppress the diversity
of women's experiences of modernity. But the media are not the only ones to do this. Scholars' concentration on 'workerist' models of the effects of industrialisation on women equally ignores the multiple dimensions of women's lived experiences. As I have suggested, images of 'modern' women have become highly politicised.

A central challenge in looking at this material is the tension between the clearly globalised patterns emerging, of women as central to the state-driven production of a consumer, capitalist culture, and the emerging, of women as central to the state-driven specificities of Malaysian developments (Akbar Ahmed 1992). Such images of Malaysian women are caught within the simultaneous ethnic and cultural fragmentation and the cultural globalisation and homogenity of a world dominated by the logic of (supposedly) late capitalism. One way out of this impasse is, with Jonathan Friedman, to see these not as today, but [as] two constitutive trends of global reality" (1990:311). As Ackerman, S. 1980, Cultural processes in Malay industrialisation: A case study of Malay factory workers, unpublished PhD thesis, University of California.

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Local government, entrepreneurs and development in rural China

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Rural China is undergoing an industrial revolution. At the beginning of China's economic reforms in 1978, rural townships and villages ran 1.5 million industrial enterprises employing 28 million people. By 1991 there were 19 million rural enterprises employing 96 million people. In 1978 agriculture made up 79 per cent of rural GDP; by 1991 this proportion had declined to 46 per cent while industry and services made up 34 and 20 per cent respectively (Wu 1993). While some areas lacking in easily marketable advantages have remained pockets of stark poverty (Unger and Xiong 1991), living standards in most rural areas have significantly improved, and this is partly due to employment in industry, with nearly 35 per cent of rural household incomes now coming from outside agriculture.

An essential feature of China's rural economic reforms has been the emergence and fostering of entrepreneurs. Over 90 per cent of rural enterprises are listed as privately owned, the majority of which are small individual or family businesses whose operators have no intention of expanding them much further. But there are also larger enterprises whose owners can only be described as capitalists, employing paid labour to generate profits which they then use for further expansion and personal incomes of up to 40 times what they pay their workers. Entrepreneurs are also found among the managers of the collective enterprises formally owned by townships and villages. Some collective enterprises are privately managed by individuals who merely pay a percentage of profits to local governments. The salaried managers in other collective enterprises are also under strong pressure to increase profits, and are given extensive powers to do so. Rural enterprises are unequivocally market driven, and the revenue, public works and welfare, and living standards of rural communities, now depend very much on their performance in market competition.

This paper takes a brief look at how China's rural towns have made room for entrepreneurs. The particular examples given are all taken from a brief visit to the township of Linfeng, in Anyue county in the densely populated southwestern province of Sichuan, in early 1992. Hilly, resource poor and difficult of access, Anyue has not found it easy to compete in the market economy generated by the reforms, and the few state-run enterprises started there under Mao, remain important to the county's economy. Nevertheless, since the reforms began Linfeng has relied on private and collective enterprise to build up a number of small industries. Over a third of the township's 8,700 strong labour force is employed in industry, with nearly as many again in transport, commerce or services. Along Linfeng's one dusty street, every doorway shows families hard at work at the main industry, the manufacture of folding chairs and tables. There are also several larger enterprises whose operators have followed the different routes to entrepreneurship described above.

Local governments and market incentives

All levels of government in China remain highly interventionist, but contrary to images of obstructive, conservative bureaucracy, officials at county, township and village level are frequently extremely active in promoting local enterprises. The market system which emerged during the 1980s is far from well developed, and enterprises often need bureaucratic assistance to obtain raw materials, market their output, or raise their technological level.

A successful Party Secretary is now more likely to be one who can use Party contacts to drum up business for local enterprises than one with a sound grasp of communist theory and popular mobilisation techniques. In some cases whole communities are run as a kind of corporation, with cadres actively seeking new market opportunities for local enterprises, fine tuning their management incentives and quality control procedures, and balancing the poor performance of one enterprise with the profits of another (Oi 1990).
This was not always the case. The rural reforms have presented fundamental challenges to the status quo, and initially there was often resistance to the more 'capitalistic' aspects of the reforms, particularly those involving private enterprise, widened income differentials, and enterprise control over labour allocation. Officials interviewed by the author have often attributed support for the reforms to the fact that there was simply not enough land per person for some villages to do more than scrape a living under the old system of collective agriculture; as one put it, "the standard of living here used to be very low. All anyone really asked of a new policy was that we should get enough to eat".

Obvious public benefits are not always enough to elicit bureaucratic change however, and one of the great strengths of the Chinese reforms was the generation, by the mid 1980s, of inbuilt incentives for further support from local cadres. The fiscal system was changed so each level of government right down to the village, contracted to meet a revenue quota and keep any surplus; at the same time each community was made more responsible for meeting its own expenses (Findlay and Watson 1992). A complicated system of performance targets was instituted, so that cadres' careers and personal incomes are tied to economic criteria such as their area's gross output value, gross income, and number of new enterprises; meanwhile they were given a great deal of discretion over exactly how they filled such targets.

In Linfeng, the township government and the township Enterprise Administration Office (EAO), staffed by locals, are closely involved in the development of local enterprises. For collective enterprises the EAO assists with credit, organises management training, conducts inspections and issues fines and awards to improve product quality, and most importantly, develops contacts to help enterprises find raw materials, technical knowledge, and markets. (The socialist emphasis on collective enterprises may seem to discount the potential of private enterprises, but as will be discussed below, they often find ways to be included). The township government has a target of expanding its township and village enterprise sector by 30 per cent by the end of the eighth five year plan in 1999, and hopes to achieve this partly by developing new products. Its cadres are therefore always on the lookout for new opportunities.

Private entrepreneurs

The revival and promotion of private enterprise was important to the success of the reforms, but was naturally controversial and difficult to reconcile with established Communist Party policy. At first only small individual or family businesses were officially allowed, and even then there was a lively debate on whether this would lead to a regeneration of capitalism. Although the private sector grew rapidly, during the early 1980s there were frequent reports of local officials blocking private business by refusing to issue licenses, setting up conditions impossible for private operators to meet, and making it difficult for them to obtain raw materials or energy supplies. By the mid 1980s however, the reform incentives described above had began to cause some local governments to support private entrepreneurs. When they were not actively supportive, they increasingly began at least to see the economic advantages of permitting private businesses to develop, even if only as a source of personal or public income from graft and bribery or via a wide range of local levies and sometimes arbitrary fines and charges. There was also the contradiction inherent in the method used in China to institute reform measures: specific policies and regulations designed to limit the size and scope of private enterprise were counteracted by more general, overarching policy statements urging rural cadres to promote economic development, industrialisation and commercialisation as much as possible.

The result was a large gap between official central government policy and local practice. For example, when private entrepreneurs wanted to employ more than the regulation limit of seven people, they were nearly always allowed to because this was an easy way of developing the economy. But it meant either that the expansion had to be ignored for the time being or that the enterprise had to be listed, on various excuses, as part of the collective sector where larger scale employment was naturally allowed (Young 1993). This also allowed private enterprises to enjoy tax holidays designed to promote collective enterprise and made it easier for them to be protected from the attacks on private business which have tended to occur when there has been a swing to the left in the central leadership (Young 1991). Because of both prejudice and concrete policies designed to discriminate against private enterprise, it was generally easier for a 'collective' enterprise to obtain credit, raw materials, and customers although this is becoming less and less the case as the distinctions between different ownership types are being broken down.

While such unofficial, even illegal, arrangements with local governments have enabled private entrepreneurs to develop their enterprises successfully, this has usually involved some loss of independence, and certainly requires a close relationship with local officials1. Small family businesses are now usually left much to themselves, but it is unusual for an enterprise to grow to any conspicuous size without justifying itself by making substantial cash contributions to the community. This is partly a result of peer pressure within a small community, which is not unique either to China or to communism. Many such contributions,
however, are directly requested by local governments whose continued support will be made conditional upon the payment of numerous local levis, the provision of free goods or services to poor families, or the training of selected nominees so that they too may learn how to become rich (Ogaard 1990; Oi 1990).

In some cases this results in enterprises paying over the equivalent of the ten or fifteen per cent of profits which a genuine collective enterprise pays (Nongmin ribao [Peasants' Daily], 16/12/1988:2; Hu et al. 1988). When I raised this with the owner of Linfeng's largest private enterprise, a folding furniture factory, the accompanying Enterprise Office official stepped in to explain that Linfeng's private entrepreneurs were so public spirited, all cadres had to do was just mention a project, and donations would be forthcoming!

'Capitalists without capital': Collective sector entrepreneurs

Another route for the emergence of individual entrepreneurs has been the contracting out of collective enterprises to individual managers. This was aimed at improving incentives for management and removing or reducing bureaucratic interference. Like private enterprise it provoked controversy, and there was some concern that contract managers would be 'capitalists without capital' and exploit collective assets (and labour) for their personal gain.

Officially, contract managers were supposed to be closely supervised by the collective (the village or township government), with specific targets and stipulations on economic performance and internal management of the enterprise. This was cumbersome and conflicted with the aims of the procedure, so in many cases it was much easier and more efficient simply to hand the enterprise over for rent. For example, another furniture workshop in Linfeng was a former production team enterprise 'contracted' to the manager in 1984 for an annual rent of 5,000 yuan. By 1992 the enterprise had expanded to produce various products in other factories, but the original workshop was in the current manager's private house, and all management personnel were family members. The village had originally invested 300 yuan to set up the enterprise; by 1992 the manager had built up the fixed assets to at least 400,000 yuan. Under his arrangement with the village, all profits apart from the rent were his to use as he wished, so he might reasonably claim to own most of the assets, but the enterprise remained officially village-owned. There was no explicit or legally binding agreement to solve this question; instead both the manager and the village were content to rely on their informal understanding. The manager was involved personally in many village public projects, and fully expected his son to 'inherit' the enterprise when he retired.

Still further along the street in Linfeng is a 'township-run' paint factory, one of Linfeng's largest enterprises with 85 employees and projected 1992 output value of 2 million yuan. It too started as a production team enterprise, simply five people getting together to start up a business with official approval. But as it expanded and required more substantial capital and credit arrangements, it was upgraded from 'village-run' to 'township-run' and became a sort of shareholding enterprise with investors including the township and private individuals such as the manager and some of the technical personnel. The manager, one of the original founders, was in charge of the day to day running of the factory, and enjoyed the privilege of an unusually well appointed apartment on the top floor ('No, we haven't spent much on consumption; we haven't got air-conditioning yet'). However, it was clear that township officials were also fully acquainted with the details of the factory's operation and finances in a way not seen in the contracted furniture factory. This is typical of rural enterprises. As they become larger and need more help with credit, premises, raw materials, and outside links, so local government becomes more closely involved with their operation.

This does not mean that cadres intervene on behalf of workers to any great extent, and there is no marked difference between private and collective enterprises in this respect. Wages are very much market determined, being higher than in agriculture but lower than in urban enterprises, and piece rates are applied whenever practicable. The average working day in the Linfeng enterprises was 10-12 hours. The paint factory would pay medical expenses (not compensation) for anyone injured at work; the two furniture factories 'might'. The lack of any health benefits or pension plan in either private or collective enterprises is often justified by reference to the youth of most of the rural enterprise workforce.

For the time being, both enterprise managers and local governments are interested in using profits mainly for further development, for projects of general benefit like schools, agricultural subsidies, road building and tree planting, for displaying the new found wealth in new housing and other buildings, expensive cars and the like or frequently, in more visible worker benefits like a company disco. Linfeng, still just beginning to industrialise, emphasises further enterprise development for the time being.

Prospects for locally-driven enterprise

The process of rural economic reform in China has been an experimental one, with a wide range of outcomes in different localities. Giving local governments the responsibility and the motivation for implementing market reforms has meant that they are extremely important in determining the impact of
enterprises on the community. Since the late 1980s the central government has increasingly sought to standardise and regulate economic administration, but such measures again rely on local cadres for implementation, who are likely to attempt to maintain the importance of the personal, informal understandings on which much of their power rests. In some localities a combination of popular pressure and communist ideology has caused cadres to use this power to ensure that enterprise profits are redistributed to some extent; in others, cadres and entrepreneurs now run the local economy together, sometimes at the expense of workers and poorer members of the community.

Footnotes
1. In some cases the private entrepreneurs are the officials, either because officials have used their positions to do well in business, or because successful entrepreneurs have been voted into office (Odgaard 1990).
2. Shareholding is now being encouraged in rural enterprises as a way of raising capital and improving incentives. So far, however, the property rights relationships of such enterprises are usually very ill defined and informal understandings remain of paramount importance.

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Poverty reduction and the rise of the middle class in Taiwan

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For the past decade or so the popular perception of Taiwan is of an economic miracle, one of the 'four little Asian dragons'. What is less commonly known is that until this economic miracle began manifesting itself in the 1970s, Taiwan was very poor. Although a solid infrastructure and a productive agricultural sector were built up in the Japanese colonial period, the devastation of World War II and the shock of having to absorb some two million refugees who fled from mainland China with the defeat of the Nationalist government by the Communists, left the economy reeling. In addition Taiwan was a small, densely populated island with high unemployment, few natural resources and a government and people in disarray.

This paper is based in part on secondary sources and in part on anthropological field research on low income groups in the Taibei area. It will demonstrate from both macro and micro perspectives the steps Taiwan has taken over the past four plus decades to alleviate poverty, and that it has subsequently become a society with a mass middle class. 'Middle class', when used by sociologists in Taiwan, usually refers to shop owners (old middle class) and to professionals and managers (new middle class). In this paper it will be extended to include a lower middle class and will be based on home ownership and other indicators of living standards.

In the last half of the 1940s, Taiwan's economy was moribund and its political administration was paralysed. After establishing itself in its 'temporary' Taiwan home, the government's first step to improve conditions was a land reform programme (1949-53) which first reduced rents and then redistributed land from landlords to tenants. Ceilings were placed on land ownership with excess holdings bought by the state and sold to those with holdings below the ceilings, thus establishing a rural sector made up of...
small farmers. Former landlords were paid in rice bonds and shares in public enterprises, thus transferring their interests to the urban sector. This resulted in an increase in agricultural productivity and began the alleviation of rural poverty (Yang 1959).

Following the land reform programme, a programme of industrialisation was begun in 1953. This was initially aimed at primary import substitution and then, in the 1960s, as the domestic market became saturated, toward a drive at building an export sector. The former was accomplished largely by state firms and large private enterprises, the latter overwhelmingly by small entrepreneurial firms (Hsiao 1992). Meanwhile labour intensive industries arose: food processing first, then textiles, followed by electrical assembly, footwear, sporting equipment and tools. The industrialisation strategy was very successful, absorbing not only marginal rural adults and young males, but also large numbers of both housewives and young women who had left school but had not yet married, two groups that traditionally had not been in the labour force.

By the late 1960s surplus labour had been absorbed and full employment reached. From then on, firms had to bid for labour by increasing remuneration (Kuo et al. 1981:19). By the early 1970s, although there were still people officially defined as poor and thus eligible for government relief, poverty, though serious for those affected, was not a serious general problem in Taiwan (Fields 1980:229).

Economic growth did not stop, in fact it accelerated, taking more and more people from lower to middle class levels of income and consumption. Moreover, although Taiwan has experienced slight down-turns (inevitable in an economy so reliant on trade), it has achieved one of the highest growth rates in the world, an accomplishment manifested in its rise in living standards.

Michael Hsiao notes two peculiarities of the class system in post World War II Taiwan:

- First, class development started from a rather 'flat' position, reflecting its colonial past; during the period of Japanese colonisation there was a small elite group consisting of doctors, small businessmen and wholesalers, and landlords, and a large group of labourers and farmers (a high tenancy rate), but the middle levels were almost completely occupied by the Japanese. After the Japanese were repatriated in 1945, their positions in the hierarchy were filled mainly by refugees from the Chinese mainland who fled the Communist takeover.

- Second, the middle class is mainly a 'new' middle class, made up of persons largely from worker-farmer origins; it grew very slowly during the recovery and early industrialisation periods of the 1950s and 1960s but then took off in the 1970s and 1980s (Hsiao 1989).

Hsiao also notes that with industrialisation, there was a reduction in the farm population to only 18 per cent by 1980, nine-tenths of whom were part time farmers. The working class had increased from under 15 to 40 per cent, and the middle class (professionals and managers) from 10 to 50 per cent (1989:157).

There are two sorts of evidence for the alleviation of poverty and the rise of the middle class in Taiwan: government data on income levels and income distribution, and observations of changes in living standards and lifestyles. The government began keeping systematic records of economic indicators in 1964 (data from prior to that time exist but are less reliable). These all show healthy economic growth. Galenson notes a real increase in indexed monthly earnings in manufacturing, between 1953 and 1975, of US$100 to US$228 (Galenson 1979:415). According to Qiu, per capita GNP increased ten-fold between 1966 and 1981 to US$2563 (Qiu 1982:8); this figure is now put at close to US$10,000, and in addition there are estimates of a black economy of between 30 and 50 per cent. Moreover, from the early 1950s to 1980, income distribution moved in the direction of greater equality, Gini coefficients moving from 0.62 to below 0.3 (Bian 1982:260); this trend was reversed in the 1980s.

Many researchers with long term experience in Taiwan have noted the improvement in living standards there. I will cite my own impressions. Since 1959 I have spent close to eight years in Taiwan as student, researcher and teacher. Moreover in 1973 I began longitudinal studies of low income groups in the Taibei area; in a housing project for recipients of government relief; in a beggars' den; and in a squatter area inhabited by a number of skilled and semi-skilled workers and small shop keepers.

There were few in the beggars' den who achieved a middle class level of consumption. However, two households headed by children of the beggars were able to purchase flats, and the younger generation is substantially better off than their parents were, more able to earn income and less reliant on begging, gambling or prostitution (Schak 1988). After the squatter area burned down in the late 1970s, the several families which I was able to trace had also bought homes. On a visit to one family in 1980 the elder daughter proudly showed me around their flat. As she and her boy friend drove me home in his car she asked, "Mr Schak are you Westerners as well off as we are"?

In the welfare housing project over a fifteen year period, more than two thirds of the original sample of 27 households were able to buy their own homes, a
costlier exercise in terms of months of income needed in Taiwan than in Australia. Middle school completion rates were high among children in these households, and standards of daily consumption increased markedly. In recent visits to some homes I saw the same sorts of consumer goods found in middle class homes in Australia. Thus in the three samples there is ample evidence of mobility out of poverty and even into the lower middle class.

Another set of observations is of the overall changes in concerns, lifestyles and consumption. In the late 1970s tea shops suddenly proliferated as the enjoyment of good tea, drunk in the Chinese style, became a symbol of rising incomes and the good life. A few years later tea drinking was supplemented by patronage at coffee shops (where coffee is something like twice the cost as in Australia). Levels of foreign holidays, automobile ownership and the purchase of name brands of clothing, perfumes, German automobiles, and other sorts of high level consumer goods, have all risen. Taiwan now has thriving women's, environmental protection, consumer and anti-smoking movements. Moreover researchers in rural areas have told me of similar changes in their fields of study.

Finally, to what do we attribute the changes described above? Greenhalgh gives credit to life cycle factors, i.e. the maturation of the children of the poor to the age when they can begin to work (Greenhalgh 1985). Other factors cited are Taiwan's economic growth, the expansion of the education system and the strong family system, the major tenet of which is the cross-generational family as the primary economic unit. While agreeing with Greenhalgh that the maturing family cycle is a necessary component of poverty alleviation, I would argue that it is not sufficient. Without the strong economic growth that created jobs and used labour, the maturing children of the poor would have had no jobs to go to, and poverty would have remained a problem. In short, Taiwan's prosperity is based on its social institutions in combination with land reform, industrialisation and the growth of an export sector which directly benefited thousands of small and medium family businesses.

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United Nations Development Programme v International Monetary Fund

The controversial structural adjustment programmes of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have failed to slow the expansion of poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean, according to a report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The programmes imposed on countries in the region in return for IMF assistance have generally required the creation of free market economies, the privatisation of state companies and cutbacks in social spending. In an implicit criticism of such programmes, the UNDP reported that one in three people in the region now live in absolute poverty. The pattern of income distribution had worsened for the poor, with a decline in GDP per capita of 10 per cent in the 1980s.

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Middle class and poor women in Asia
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One of the reasons for the neglect of women in development, for their invisibility to development planners, is that they are not organised to articulate their needs and aspirations. In any organisation leadership tends to come from the better educated and wealthier groups in society, those with the social confidence, skills, political connections and time to devote to organisational matters. Thus the increasing numbers of educated and skilled women in society offer hope for the proliferation and strengthening of women's organisations.

All Asian societies have such organisations, some of which are concerned about the plight of poor women. Patricia Caplan's study of women's organisations in Madras shows that women do most of the fund raising for philanthropic activities among the city's poor (Caplan 1985). Middle class women also provide the bulk of the social welfare workers servicing the poor, especially in a voluntary capacity. Caplan concludes: "The major activity of women's voluntary organisations since independence has become social welfare, and they are largely responsible for running most social welfare programmes in the country" (1985:141).

While charitable and social welfare approaches to the problem of poverty serve to retain and even reinforce class divisions, many Asian countries also have traditions of professional women who have identified more closely with the interests of poor women. India offers examples of Gandhian style leadership by middle class women who have devoted their lives to organising poor women. An outstanding example is Ela Bhatt, director of the Self Employed Women's Association, a trade union exclusively for women which has won better pay and conditions for street sellers and outworkers (Rose 1992). Elsewhere in Asia there are professional women who have chosen to work in organisations devoted to fighting for the rights of the dispossessed. In Indonesia for instance, Nursjahbani Katjasungkana, director of the Jakarta section of the Legal Aid Institute, spends most of her time defending exploited women workers and seeking ways of protecting Indonesian women employed as domestic servants in the Middle East. In Pakistan professional women spearhead the fight against restrictive haddood laws whose impact is felt mainly by poor women.

One result of the spread of higher education has been to increase the pool of Asian women who are prepared to question injustice openly and to take up the cause of women as an oppressed group. Many of them are products of the 'new Asian middle class'. As the first women of their families to gain a higher education, their links with poor communities are often closer than those of more established middle class women.

Around Asia, wherever there is freedom of organisation, one can see emerging innumerable grassroots women's groups involved in a range of activities intended to benefit the poor, from income generation through credit co-operatives and functional literacy programmes to the mobilisation of factory workers and prostitutes. These groups take up issues which more established organisations are reluctant or unable to tackle, either because they challenge middle class interests such as improved pay and conditions for servants and shop assistants, or because they raise matters previously thought unsuitable for public discussion, such as domestic violence and prostitution. They are also responding to new phenomena, such as women factory workers and migrant labour. Examples of these new style women's organisations include Yasanli in Indonesia and Empower in Thailand.

Admittedly there are weaknesses and problems inherent in the alliance of middle class and poor women represented in these newer organisations. They are particularly vulnerable to accusations of importing unsuitable Western feminist ideas when they receive foreign funding. As a result of the United Nations Decade for Women, Asian groups working with poor women have been swamped with offers of aid. Many women leaders are struggling to articulate the nature of their own feminism, particularly when it is challenged by strong traditions such as resurgent Islam. Another problem for middle class women is that they are urban-based and find it difficult to organise poor rural women because of the urban-rural cultural gap and because women's mobility is more restricted than that of men.

The established middle classes of Asia have for decades provided women leaders and workers for organisations acting on behalf of poor women. More recently the rapid increase in higher education among Asian women has generated a new wave of grassroots groups giving voice to the wishes of poor women on issues previously not addressed. In this way the rising Asian middle class offers hope for many women who have been by-passed by economic growth.

References
Gender, poverty and economic growth

A seminar given by Dr Noeleen Heyzer, Asia and Pacific Development Centre

Dr Noeleen Heyzer of the Asia and Pacific Development Centre, presented a seminar at AIDAB, June 30 1993, on the relationship between gender, poverty and economic growth in the Asia-Pacific region. Because the seminar was so timely for this issue, we have included a report by Helen Skeat and Elaine Bliss.

Dr Noeleen Heyzer argued that while high rates of economic growth in parts of the Asia-Pacific region have led to a reduction in overall poverty, women are not benefiting to the same degree as men. In some cases, she argued, economic growth is occurring at the expense of women.

Economic growth in the Asia-Pacific region

Heyzer pointed out that development in the Asia-Pacific region must be looked at in the context of significantly varying rates of economic growth. The region is characterised by great diversity; it comprises countries with some of the highest economic growth rates in the world (the NICs), as well as some of the world’s poorest countries, which also have high population growth rates. Emphasising that economic growth is closely linked to investment in social development, Heyzer divided the region into four categories based on socio-economic development:

(i) The NICs: the high growth economies of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong which have invested heavily in social development: health, education, housing and infrastructure.

(ii) The fluctuating economies attempting to emulate the NICs: Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia which have increased spending on social development, but not to the same degree as the NICs.

(iii) The previously centrally planned, low growth economies of Vietnam, Sri Lanka and China, who have made some investment in social development.

(iv) The low growth economies such as the Philippines, Pakistan and Bangladesh, where debt, ecological crises, and stagnant growth have resulted in little investment in the social sector.

Women’s access to development

While economic growth and concomitant spending on social development have reduced poverty levels in the NICs, gender equity in access to labour markets, social development and equity at the household level have not automatically followed.

Access to labour markets

Although the labour market has expanded tremendously in the high growth economies, to the point where there are sometimes more jobs than people, this has not benefited women and men equally. In Korea, for example, there remains a big difference between the wages of men and women. In the fluctuating economies of Vietnam, Sri Lanka and China, although women are highly represented in the workforce, they are predominantly employed in the low paying textile, electronics and service industry.

Heyzer also pointed out that women’s labour is shifting within the region. Those with low paying jobs have been adversely affected by the trend to relocate factories out of the NICs, to poorer countries where labour costs are lower, which has displaced much of the female labour force in the original country. In addition, recent shifts to move production from centrally located, large factory operations to cottage industry production, in which women in rural areas perform tasks such as component assembly from small factories, or their homes, has meant a loss of jobs in urban areas, and erosion of working conditions. In Malaysia, for instance, women are employed in their home villages to produce small components for larger factories in the city. Local Islamic influences have facilitated the creation of these new policies to develop rural cottage industry as a way of keeping women in their traditional household role and closer to their place of residence. Likewise, in Vietnam, industrial links have developed with the Japanese textile industry, where fabric is cut in Japan and then sent to cottage industries in Vietnam where the sewing is completed, primarily by women. According to Heyzer, this decentralised labour force is disorganised, not unionised, and therefore women are vulnerable to very low wages and poor working conditions.

Access to social development

Although economic growth has led to some increase in women’s access to the labour market, Heyzer says they have missed out on many of the social benefits of development. Even where governments are making strong efforts to improve women’s status, their access to social development often remains limited. For example, one of the consequences of increased female participation in the formal labour force has been a shortage of domestic labour. As a result, even where free education may be provided by government, many girls are having to leave school in order to take over
domestic responsibilities. In parts of South and East Asia, even where free schooling has been instituted, if extra household income is needed, it is usually the female child who is required to leave school and join the labour force or take over the domestic responsibilities to allow women to work.

Household relationships
While the overall level of poverty in some countries has been reduced, men and women usually experience poverty differently. Even as women's role in the formal labour market is changing as they enter the industrialised workforce, their household role often remains static. This is particularly so in the case of long-term poverty, where a gender hierarchy is usually well entrenched and women's access to food, health care and other resources relative to male members of the household may be restricted. For instance, in Bangladesh, even where health care is provided free, the time and transportation costs involved in accessing health clinics is often considered within the household to outweigh women's health concerns, and thus they are deprived of access to health services.

Gender and structural adjustment
The structural adjustment policies of the 1980s and 1990s have also affected men and women differently. Recent trends in the primary commodities sector in Malaysia, for instance, have resulted in a shift from rubber to palm oil production. Traditionally, the plantation estate sector has been dominated by male labour, with women seen as a secondary or reserve labour force. With the shift from rubber to palm oil, there has been an outmigration of men, and women who were formerly working part-time were brought in to work full-time. Other work benefits were offered to women to attract them into the workforce, and they were given wages equal to that of men, as well as being provided with housing.

However, because of the increasing economic disparity among countries in the region, more and more illegal male migrants have entered Malaysia, primarily from Indonesia and Sri Lanka, who are willing to work for lower wages and thus have displaced the Malaysian women workers. Therefore, women have been pushed back into the household, or incorporated into lower paying factory work.

Women, the rising middle class and labour migration
The most evident manifestation of high growth in Asia has been the rise of a highly consumer-oriented middle class. Less visible are those people who have not benefited from the economic boom. In order to understand this, says Heyzer, one must consider the region as a whole, and the inter-country relationships of labour, employment, and low vs high growth economies.

First, rising consumerism has led to the need for two-income families. Despite the fact that there is an educated female workforce available, the support facilities to enable them to work have not been put in place. Government sponsored child care and other family support systems have not kept pace with women's incorporation into the workforce and this has led to a high demand for domestic help in the high growth economies, particularly Hong Kong and Taiwan. Domestic labourers have been drawn from low growth countries such as the Philippines, where the debt crisis has led to cutbacks in social programmes, and the displacement of many skilled workers. Many of the domestic helpers in Asia are professional Filipina women who have found domestic help in middle class households far more financially lucrative than their options in the Philippines.

Behind this active labour migration are the recruitment agencies which arrange with overseas businesses for worker placement. In most cases, this has become highly lucrative for the agency, and very exploitative of the workers. The agencies charge very high initial fees which the worker usually must borrow from relatives, placing her in debt from the start. In some cases, the remitted money goes into sustainable family maintenance. But in other cases, there seems to be an endless need for money and women get into a migration cycle where they must constantly seek overseas work in order to keep up with the demands at home.

High poverty in Bangladesh and ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka are also pushing people out to seek work in the high growth economies of Asia, in turn impacting the female labour force in the receiving countries. Where the Middle East formerly accepted many of these migrants, increasingly, the migration stream is shifting to Singapore, Malaysia, Japan and Hong Kong.

The impact of NGO poverty alleviation projects
ODI Working Paper 68
This Working Paper by Roger Riddell and Mark Robinson summarises the main conclusions of sixteen poverty alleviating projects evaluations executed or funded by some of Britain's leading NGOs. The paper outlines the reasons for the choice of countries and the case study projects, providing a brief description of each. The main findings are summarised, followed by a discussion of a number of specific issues arising from the case study evaluations.

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Australian government aid policy on poverty alleviation
Irene Wettenhall, Australian International Development Assistance Bureau

Background

The Australian Government's policy on poverty alleviation in the development co-operation programme has evolved over a period of time, with considerable community input. A key step was the 1990 World Development Debate, hosted by the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB), which provided the forum for a major public debate on the subject. This was followed in 1991 by publication of a consolidated report on Australia's approach to poverty alleviation in its official aid programme (AIDAB 1991).

The report concluded that economic growth over the long term is essential for sustainable poverty reduction. However, it is widely recognised that the poor are often bypassed by the wider development process and do not automatically benefit from economic growth. The report affirmed the need for aid programmes that directly target the poor in terms of basic needs (food, safe water, primary health care and basic education) and employment/income generation. It also affirmed the ongoing need for emergency humanitarian relief in cases of man made and natural disasters.

The policy framework

The Australian Government's policy on poverty is based on the premise that a range of measures is needed to tackle poverty on a long-term basis. The Australian aid programme promotes poverty alleviation through:

- measures to promote economic growth
  - activities in areas such as infrastructure, agriculture, mining, macro-economic policy, institution strengthening and tertiary education
- activities directly targeting the poor
  - activities in areas such as primary health care, water supply and sanitation, basic education, micro-enterprises and micro-credit, and community based development
- transfers for emergency relief
  - activities include emergency assistance and support for refugees and displaced people.

Poverty alleviation is therefore not a subset of the aid programme but is intrinsic to all activities supported by Australia's development co-operation.

The economic growth category is broadly defined. It includes support for activities which expand the range of employment and income earning opportunities as well as measures which build institutional capacities across all sectors of society, including health and education. This category also includes assistance for macro-economic policy formulation recognising that the larger policy frameworks have a crucial impact on the poor.

While economic growth is fundamental, it may not be enough on its own to meet the immediate needs of the poor. Special measures are needed therefore which directly target the poor. Such assistance can be used to increase their productive potential and expand their employment and income earning opportunities, as well as meeting basic needs. Providing aid through non-government organisations (NGOs) is one way of directly meeting the needs of the poor. NGOs are well placed to work with the poor at grassroots levels, usually encouraging community participation in design and implementation of development activities.

There is also a continuing need for Australia to provide humanitarian assistance for refugees and the victims of famine, war and disasters.

Implementation

Country programmes

Implementation of AIDAB's poverty alleviation policy is country specific. AIDAB does not apply the same poverty alleviation 'formula' to each country. Rather, the poverty alleviation strategy is designed in the context of the specific circumstances of individual recipient countries and takes account of Australia's capacity to assist, and the involvement of other donors. For this reason Australia's development co-operation provided through country programmes usually comprises a mix of activities, some of which are aimed at longer term economic growth, and others which directly target the poor.

Non government organisations

In recognition of the special contribution that NGOs make to development, including directly assisting the poor, Australia has significantly increased aid through these organisations in recent years. In 1992-93 an estimated $75 million will be allocated through them, a 25 per cent increase over the 1991-92 allocation.
**Multilateral development organisations**

An important part of the Government's approach to poverty alleviation is to encourage greater attention to poverty related issues in the activities of the multilateral aid organisations, such as the World Bank and UN development agencies. Through its participation on the governing bodies of these organisations Australia actively supports greater efforts in this area.

The World Bank and many UN development agencies have demonstrated in recent years a renewed commitment to poverty alleviation. Since 1990 the World Bank has been implementing a two part strategy for reducing poverty. The first part involves promoting broad based economic growth that creates employment for the poor. The second part involves providing basic social services for the poor. The Bank's lending and analytical work has also become more poverty oriented, based on poverty assessments prepared by the Bank for each developing country. These assessments also provide a valuable source of data for the design of AIDAB's country programmes.

**Policy dialogue**

Policy dialogue with recipient governments and other donors is another element in the implementation of the Government's poverty alleviation strategy. Policy dialogue takes place at a number of levels including: high level consultations held between AIDAB and recipient governments; in the context of individual project and programme formulation where policy issues may emerge; and with other donors, in the context of aid co-ordination arrangements, such as at World Bank consultative groups and United Nations Development Programme round table meetings.

The nature of the policy dialogue with recipient governments will depend upon the issues arising from the AIDAB country strategy while also taking into account the role of Australian aid in the country concerned. Issues which may require policy dialogue include: population related issues; development implications of HIV/AIDS; environmental issues related to poverty; increased priority for basic education, especially for females.

**Micro-enterprise development**

AIDAB is currently exploring avenues for promoting micro-enterprise development as a means of assisting the poor and encouraging them to become more active in the informal and formal private sectors. It is generally agreed that the poor are eager to participate in micro-enterprises but lack of access to credit often prevents their participation. Small scale credit schemes, or micro-enterprise development schemes, provide credit to those normally excluded from the formal banking system.

AIDAB will be hosting a workshop on micro-enterprise development later in 1993 to bring together micro-enterprise practitioners, AIDAB and non government organisation staff, and academics, to discuss ways in which the aid programme can best promote such development.

**Reference**


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**Growing up in poverty ... in Canada**

In a country with a high standard of living, many children still live in poverty.

What does being poor mean? For a child it means less food, cold environments, over crowded conditions, and exposure to dangerous elements. For parents, it means worrying about providing basic needs such as shelter, food and transportation. Poverty has its price in excess illness, disability, injuries, delinquency, mental stress and even death.

- 1.1 million children in Canada under 18 years of age were growing up in poverty in 1986.
- Between 1979 and 1986, the number of children living in poverty increased by 44,000.
- There are regional disparities in poverty: child poverty is highest in Newfoundland and lowest in Ottawa.
- Poverty is concentrated in lone parent families, primarily in those headed by females.
- Babies born into poverty are more likely to be low birth weight.
- Infant mortality was twice as high in poor families as in rich families in 1986.
- Death rates for all causes for poor children were 50 per cent higher than that of higher income children in 1986.
- Chronic illness is higher in poor children.
- Young children from poor families have a greater chance of being killed by a motor vehicle, by accidental drowning or in fires.
- Poor children 6-16 years of age do substantially worse on a number of measures of mental health and school performance.
- Key factors affecting health status of poor children are complex and interrelated, including dangerous or unhealthy environments, few playplaces and less food.

Agenda 21, Chapter 3: 'Combating poverty'

Enabling the poor to achieve sustainable livelihoods

One of the four major documents to come out of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) was Agenda 21. We have reprinted below Chapter 3 of Agenda 21, which deals with poverty alleviation.

**Basis for action**

3.1. Poverty is a complex, multi-dimensional problem with origins in both the national and international domains. No uniform solution can be found for global application. Rather, country specific programmes to tackle poverty and international efforts supporting national efforts, as well as the parallel process of creating a supportive international environment, are crucial for a solution to this problem. The eradication of poverty and hunger, greater equity in income distribution and human resource development, remain major challenges everywhere. The struggle against poverty is the shared responsibility of all countries.

3.2. While managing resources sustainably, an environmental policy that focuses mainly on the conservation and protection of resources must take due account of those who depend on the resources for their livelihoods. Otherwise it could have an adverse impact both on poverty and on chances for long-term success in resource and environmental conservation. Equally, a development policy that focuses mainly on increasing the production of goods without addressing the sustainability of the resources on which production is based, will sooner or later run into declining productivity, which could also have an adverse impact on poverty. A specific anti-poverty strategy is therefore one of the basic conditions for ensuring sustainable development. An effective strategy for tackling the problems of poverty, development and environment simultaneously, should begin by focusing on resources, production and people and should cover demographic issues, enhanced health care and education, the rights of women, the role of youth and of indigenous people and local communities and a democratic participation process in association with improved governance.

3.3. Integral to such action is, together with international support, the promotion of economic growth in developing countries that is both sustained and sustainable and direct action in eradicating poverty by strengthening employment and income generating programmes.

**Objectives**

3.4. The long term objective of enabling all people to achieve sustainable livelihoods should provide an integrating factor that allows policies to address issues of development, sustainable resource management and poverty eradication simultaneously. The objectives of this programme area are:

(a) to provide all persons urgently with the opportunity to earn a sustainable livelihood;

(b) to implement policies and strategies that promote adequate levels of funding and which focus on integrated human development policies, including income generation, increased local control of resources, local institution strengthening and capacity building and greater involvement of non governmental organisations and local levels of government as delivery mechanisms;

(c) to develop for all poverty stricken areas integrated strategies and programmes of sound and sustainable management of the environment, resource mobilisation, poverty eradication and alleviation, employment and income generation;

(d) to create a focus in national development plans and budgets on investment in human capital, with special policies and programmes directed at rural areas, the urban poor, women and children.

**Activities**

3.5. Activities that will contribute to the integrated promotion of sustainable livelihoods and environmental protection cover a variety of sectoral interventions involving a range of actors, from local to global, and are essential at every level, especially the community and local levels. Enabling actions will be necessary at the national and international levels, taking full account of regional and sub-regional conditions to support a locally driven and country specific approach. In general design, the programmes should:

(a) focus on the empowerment of local and community groups through the principle of delegating authority, accountability and resources to the most appropriate level to ensure that the programme will be geographically and ecologically specific;

(b) contain immediate measures to enable those groups to alleviate poverty and to develop sustainability;

(c) contain a long term strategy aimed at establishing the best possible conditions for sustainable local, regional and national development that would eliminate poverty and reduce the inequalities.
between various population groups. It should assist the most disadvantaged groups - in particular, women, children and youth within those groups - and refugees. The groups will include poor smallholders, pastoralists, artisans, fishing communities, landless people, indigenous communities, migrants and the urban informal sector.

3.6. The focus here is on specific cross-cutting measures - in particular, in the areas of basic education, primary/maternal health care, and the advancement of women.

(a) Empowering communities

3.7. Sustainable development must be achieved at every level of society. People's organisations, women's groups and non governmental organisations are important sources of innovation and action at the local level and have a strong interest and proven ability to promote sustainable livelihoods. Governments, in cooperation with appropriate international and non governmental organisations, should support a community driven approach to sustainability, which would include, inter alia:

(a) empowering women through full participation in decision making;
(b) respecting the cultural integrity and the rights of indigenous people and their communities;
(c) promoting or establishing grassroots mechanisms to allow for the sharing of experience and knowledge between communities;
(d) giving communities a large measure of participation in the sustainable management and protection of the local natural resources in order to enhance their productive capacity;
(e) establishing a network of community based learning centres for capacity building and sustainable development.

(b) Management related activities

3.8. Governments, with the assistance of, and in cooperation with, appropriate international, non governmental and local community organisations, should establish measures that will directly or indirectly:

(a) generate remunerative employment and productive occupational opportunities compatible with country specific factor endowments. on a scale sufficient to take care of prospective increases in the labour force and to cover backlogs;
(b) with international support, where necessary, develop adequate infrastructure, marketing systems, technology systems, credit systems and the like and the human resources needed to support the above actions and to achieve a widening of options for resource poor people. High priority should be given to basic education and professional training;
(c) provide substantial increases in economically efficient resource productivity and measures to ensure that the local population benefits in adequate measure from resource use;
(d) empower community organisations and people to enable them to achieve sustainable livelihoods;
(e) set up an effective primary health care and maternal health care system accessible to all;
(f) consider strengthening/developing legal frameworks for land management, access to land resources and land ownership - in particular, for women - and for the protection of tenants;
(g) rehabilitate degraded resources to the extent practicable, and introduce policy measures to promote sustainable use of resources for basic human needs;
(h) establish new community based mechanisms and strengthen existing mechanisms to enable communities to gain sustained access to resources needed by the poor to overcome their poverty;
(i) implement mechanisms for popular participation - particularly by poor people, especially women - in local community groups, to promote sustainable development;
(j) implement, as a matter of urgency, in accordance with country specific conditions and legal systems, measures to ensure that women and men have the same right to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and have access to the information, education and means, as appropriate, to enable them to exercise this right in keeping with their freedom, dignity and personally held values, taking into account ethical and cultural considerations. Governments should take active steps to implement programmes to establish and strengthen preventative and curative health facilities, which include women-centred, women-managed, safe and effective reproductive health care and affordable, accessible services, as appropriate, for the responsible planning of family size, in keeping with freedom, dignity and personally held values, taking into account ethical and cultural considerations. Programmes should focus on providing comprehensive health care, including pre-natal care, education and information on health and responsible parenthood and should provide the opportunity for all women to breastfeed fully, at least during the first four months post-partum. Programmes should fully
support women's productive and reproductive roles and well-being, with special attention to the need for providing equal and improved health care for all children and the need to reduce the risk of maternal and child mortality and sickness;

(k) adopt integrated policies aiming at sustainability in the management of urban centres;

(l) undertake activities aimed at the promotion of food security and, where appropriate, food self-sufficiency within the context of sustainable agriculture;

(m) support research on and integration of traditional methods of production that have been shown to be environmentally sustainable;

(n) actively seek to recognise and integrate informal sector activities into the economy by removing regulations and hindrances that discriminate against activities in those sectors;

(o) consider making available lines of credit and other facilities for the informal sector and improved access to land for the landless poor so that they can acquire the means of production and reliable access to natural resources. In many instances special considerations for women are required. Strict feasibility appraisals are needed for borrowers to avoid debt crises;

(p) provide the poor with access to fresh water and sanitation;

(q) provide the poor with access to primary education.

(c) Data, information and evaluation

3.9. Governments should improve the collection of information on target groups and target areas in order to facilitate the design of focused programmes and activities, consistent with the target group needs and aspirations. Evaluation of such programmes should be gender specific, since women are a particularly disadvantaged group.

(d) International and regional co-operation and co-ordination

3.10. The United Nations system, through its relevant organs, organisations and bodies, in co-operation with Member States and with appropriate international and non governmental organisations, should make poverty alleviation a major priority and should:

(a) assist governments, when requested, in the formulation and implementation of national action programmes on poverty alleviation and sustainable development. Action oriented activities of relevance to the above objectives, such as poverty eradication, projects and programmes supplemented where relevant by food aid, and support and special emphasis on employment and income generation, should be given particular attention in this regard;

(b) promote technical co-operation among developing countries for poverty eradication activities;

(c) strengthen existing structures in the United Nations system for co-ordination of action relating to poverty eradication, including the establishment of a focal point for information exchange and the formulation and implementation of replicable pilot projects to combat poverty;

(d) in the follow up of the implementation of Agenda 21, give high priority to the review of the progress made in eradicating poverty;

(e) examine the international economic framework, including resource flows and structural adjustment programmes, to ensure that social and environmental concerns are addressed, and in this connection, conduct a review of the policies of international organisations, bodies and agencies, including financial institutions, to ensure the continued provision of basic services to the poor and needy;

(f) promote international co-operation to address the root causes of poverty. The development process will not gather momentum if developing countries are weighed down by external indebtedness, if development finance is inadequate, if barriers restrict access to markets and if commodity prices and the terms of trade in developing countries remain depressed.

Means of implementation

(a) Financing and cost evaluation

3.11. The Conference secretariat has estimated the average total annual cost (1993-2000) of implementing the activities of this programme to be about $30 billion including about $15 billion from the international community on grant or concessional terms. These are indicative and order-of-magnitude estimates only and have not been reviewed by governments. This estimate overlaps estimates in other parts of Agenda 21. Actual costs and financial terms, including any that are non concessional, will depend upon, inter alia, the specific strategies and programmes which governments decide upon for implementation.

(b) Capacity building

3.12. National capacity building for implementation of the above activities is crucial and should be given high priority. It is particularly important to focus capacity building at the local community level in order to support a community driven approach to sustainability and to establish and strengthen
mechanisms to allow sharing of experience and knowledge between community groups at national and international levels. Requirements for such activities are considerable and are related to the various relevant sectors of Agenda 21 calling for requisite international, financial and technological support.

Bangladesh's poverty alleviation strategy: A case study

M.M. Hossain, Asian and International Studies, Griffith University

Introduction

In the last two decades Bangladesh has laid emphasis on the alleviation of rural poverty through agricultural and rural development. This policy continues, and to a certain extent the goal has been achieved by a self-sufficiency strategy in agriculture, particularly in the production of rice and wheat through the introduction of a seed-fertiliser-irrigation strategy. This has contributed to a tripling of the annual wheat production between 1979 and 1990. Total rice production also increased by almost 50 per cent during this period. However this increase was unable to keep pace with the population growth and as a result the country could not attain food self-sufficiency.

The average food grain production during the last five years has fluctuated but there was some steady overall growth. In 1985 total food grain production was 15.9 million tonnes. It reached 16.5 million tonnes in 1988 and 17.5 million tonnes in 1989 (Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) 1990). However it cannot be said that the food deficit had disappeared by 1989. The majority of the population had insufficient purchasing power to meet their daily requirements although sufficient food grains were available for purchase.

A study was conducted between 1979 and 1989 in a village located in one of the two deep-water rice zones in Bangladesh. These zones include those areas which flood in most years to more than one metre. The entire village had expanded and contained 168 households (Hossain 1992).

Table 1: Attributes of farm households and their land ownership patterns in two periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farmer group</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1989</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Landowners</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharecroppers</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenants</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In this and subsequent tables, farmer groups are classified as farmers owning:
  - Big = More than 5 acres
  - Medium = More than 2 but less than 5 acres
  - Small = More than 0.5 but less than 2 acres
  - Marginal = Less than 0.5 acres

The village economy

The village economy as described below examines first, the distribution, ownership and control over the means of production, and second, the cultivators' patterns of disposable income, food expenditure and savings after spending on food.

Principal values for per capita income, expenditure, and savings implied by the income and expenditure distributions are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Patterns of disposable income, expenditure and savings in the reference village, 1979-1989 (individual current prices 1989)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farmer group</th>
<th>Population (%)</th>
<th>Average per capita income (Tk)</th>
<th>Share in income</th>
<th>Average per capita required expenditure for food (Tk)</th>
<th>Average per capita savings after spending for food (Tk)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Big</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>2,191</td>
<td>38.24</td>
<td>1,130</td>
<td>1,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>1,607</td>
<td>28.22</td>
<td>1,018</td>
<td>1,079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>1,018</td>
<td>1,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>7.44</td>
<td>1,018</td>
<td>1,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landless</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>7.44</td>
<td>1,018</td>
<td>1,018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
- Figures are in parentheses
- Tk (Taka) is Bangladesh currency (100) 0.50
- Development Bulletin 28
The average level of per capita disposable income in 1979 for the highest 12 per cent of people is 38 per cent, and for the lowest 23 per cent is seven per cent. The corresponding figures for 1989 are given in Table 2. In this study the estimates of the Gini coefficient of the distribution of income are 0.53 and 0.49 for 1979 and 1989 respectively.

Poverty alleviation strategy and the implications for middle income earners

Although the strategy of food self-sufficiency has had a principally national focus, this study focuses on the implications of a seed-feriliser-irrigation strategy implemented at the individual household level, in terms of incidence of food poverty. The food poverty line is considered in terms of the nutritional value of food (Greer and Thorbecke 1986, Hassan and Babu 1991). A recent government document produced in Bangladesh recommended new measures for defining the food poverty line (Planning Commission 1989). On the basis of a joint World Health Organisation/Food and Agriculture Organisation recommendation, the food poverty line is defined as a daily per capita calorie intake of 2,122 Cals. Also, the 'absolute' food poverty line is measured as per capita daily expenditure of only 85 per cent (not less than 1,805 Cals) of the minimum recommended calorie intake. Those consuming less than that are termed 'hard core' poor.

Based on the recommendations of the World Bank (1990a) and of the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), 2,122 Cals is considered the food poverty line per adult equivalent. The minimum base income required to satisfy this is Taka 4,608 per capita. For increased accuracy this analysis has taken into account two further issues.

1. It is assumed that minors (children under 13 years of age) require half the calories consumed by adults. Therefore expenditure on food for minors was half. According to the Second Five Year Plan (Bangladesh Government 1980), these children constitute around 27 per cent of the total population. It is therefore necessary to convert the base recommended calories into per adult equivalent terms for the whole population.

2. The minimum income required to consume the recommended calories has been disaggregated by farmer group. It is assumed that to attain the recommended calories, big farmers spend 10 per cent more income than the rest of the households, because of the quality difference of food items.

The estimates are shown in Table 3 which also presents group-wise per capita income and savings, after allowing for the income required to meet the recommended food poverty line. It appears that the total income for all but medium farmers has increased substantially between 1979 and 1989. The increase is due to extra income from both agricultural and non-agricultural sources. In particular, the landless group earned a substantial amount of their income from off-farm activities supported by the non government organisations (Hossain 1993). In terms of shortfall or income gap over 1979-89, Table 3 suggests that a substantial recovery has been made by small, marginal and landless groups, although food poverty still exists among the marginal and landless groups. The small farmers’ income gap had disappeared by 1989, whereas in 1979 the gap was more than a quarter of their total income. The marginal farmers’ shortfall is estimated at five per cent in 1989, whereas this was almost 50 per cent in 1979. The shortfall in income for landless labourers was at an alarming level (starvation conditions) in 1979, but had been reduced to only 10 per cent in 1989. The only group which performed badly during the study period was medium farmers who had lost their 1979 surplus status and in 1989 had an income shortfall of almost 13 per cent.

<p>| Table 2: Food poverty prevalence, 1979-1989 (1990 prices) |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Farmer group</th>
<th>Average per capita income</th>
<th>Average per capita required expenditure</th>
<th>Average per capita savings</th>
<th>Average per capita food income total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Big</td>
<td>2,219 2,090 2,122</td>
<td>4,047 4,047 4,047</td>
<td>2,122 2,122 2,122</td>
<td>Surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>1,805 1,805 1,805</td>
<td>3,858 3,858 3,858</td>
<td>1,858 1,858 1,858</td>
<td>Surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td>975 975 975</td>
<td>3,205 3,205 3,205</td>
<td>1,330 1,330 1,330</td>
<td>Surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal</td>
<td>625 625 625</td>
<td>3,090 3,090 3,090</td>
<td>1,900 1,900 1,900</td>
<td>Surplus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landless</td>
<td>425 425 425</td>
<td>2,122 2,122 2,122</td>
<td>2,122 2,122 2,122</td>
<td>Surplus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that the village has come out of a severe incidence of food poverty in absolute terms, and that the dimensions of food poverty have changed considerably in ten years.

'State' of food poverty

In this study, the dimensions of poverty have been investigated from a 'state' (static) point of view.

Table 4 compares by farmer group, the 1989 per capita consumption of calories with that of 1979.

| Table 3: Income and calorie intake by farmer group, 1979-1989 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Farmer group    | # of population | Average income per ca | Average income per cap as | Surplus, Absolute Consumption |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Big             | 50             | 2,090 2,090 2,090 | 4,047 4,047 4,047 | Surplus | Surplus | Surplus |
| Medium          | 25             | 1,805 1,805 1,805 | 3,858 3,858 3,858 | Surplus | Surplus | Surplus |
| Small           | 25             | 975 975 975    | 3,205 3,205 3,205 | Surplus | Surplus | Surplus |
| Marginal        | 25             | 625 625 625    | 3,090 3,090 3,090 | Surplus | Surplus | Surplus |
| Landless        | 25             | 425 425 425    | 2,122 2,122 2,122 | Surplus | Surplus | Surplus |

Calorie consumption has improved for all groups except medium farmers, who consumed the requisite amount of calories in 1979, but became deficient by 12 per cent to 1,873 Cals in 1989. Between 1979 and 1989, small farmers recovered fully from a shortfall of 21 per cent (1,668 Cals), marginal farmers made a recovery from a shortfall of 32 per cent (1,436 Cals) and landless labourers recovered substantially from a shortfall of 58 per cent (890 Cals) to a shortfall of nine per cent (1,927 Cals). Big farmers’ status remained unchanged.
Conclusions

This analysis suggests that by 1989 the village had no cases of 'hard core' poverty, an overwhelming achievement by the villagers themselves. In terms of overall estimates of food poverty, the most vulnerable groups (marginal and landless) made strong progress. In 1979 about 65 per cent of the population was 'hard core' poor; in 1989, excluding medium farmers, only 53 per cent were suffering from 'absolute' food poverty and there were no 'hard core' poor. The national estimate for 'absolute' poverty is about 45 per cent (World Bank 1990b). Medium farmers falling below the food poverty line in 1989 is not considered to be an intractable problem, but it does open up a new dimension on the state of poverty in the village.

References


## Approaches to ensuring the survival of different groups of the absolute poor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups of the absolute poor</th>
<th>Causes of destitution</th>
<th>Indigenous forms of support to ensure survival</th>
<th>Interventions to ensure survival requiring contributions from the poor</th>
<th>Interventions to ensure survival not requiring contributions from the poor</th>
<th>Assessment of instruments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Short term absolute poor with high self help capacity (catastrophes, natural disasters)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Populations in disaster areas</td>
<td>Sudden destruction of possibilities of satisfying basic needs</td>
<td>Migration, reconstruction</td>
<td>Employment programmes, reconstruction loans</td>
<td>Emergency relief (goods, cash) for direct satisfaction of basic needs</td>
<td>Numerous national and international organisations committed with large funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small holders and agricultural workers in times of crisis</td>
<td>Temporary loss of income due to external factors</td>
<td>Consumption of assets, accumulation of debt</td>
<td>Employment programmes</td>
<td>Large scale subsidies or distribution of food</td>
<td>In Asia, employment programmes are increasingly important for survival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Long term absolute poor with high self help capacity (chronically poor)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginal farmers and unemployed agricultural workers</td>
<td>Production and employment possibilities insufficient to ensure year round survival security</td>
<td>Traditional family and communal redistribution mechanisms (in dissolution); ecological over-exploitation, debt, rural exodus</td>
<td>Land reform; creation or improvement of production resources (irrigation) and their utilization (credit, training); employment programme</td>
<td>Temporary transfers until the interventions listed have reduced the endangerment of survival</td>
<td>Employment programmes are effective; other instruments hardly reach the absolute poor unless combined with stop gap transfers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees and displaced persons</td>
<td>Permanent loss of traditional production and income possibilities</td>
<td>Settlement in marginal locations, casual work, begging</td>
<td>Promotion of repatriation and reintegration; all measures listed above</td>
<td>Care in refugee camps and assistance centres</td>
<td>International refugees are usually better provided for than internal ones; great danger of self help capabilities atrophying in the camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Short term absolute poor with low self help capacity (individual emergencies)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families with sick or otherwise temporarily disabled income earner</td>
<td>Only member of the family with earning capacity is unable to work because of accident or sickness</td>
<td>Intra and inter family support on a reciprocal basis, consumption of assets, debt</td>
<td>Promotion of mutual insurance schemes, basic health services</td>
<td>Community administered emergency funds</td>
<td>Interventions so far are usually limited to health services and sickness costs; they neglect food security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Long term absolute poor with low self help capacity (not gainfully employable)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female headed households with small children without members having access to gainful employment</td>
<td>Loss of member of family capable of gainful employment and limitation of income generation due to family burdens and/or social norms</td>
<td>As under 2; in addition begging, prostitution</td>
<td>Programmes for expanding self help potential (child care, income earning training, access to credit and markets); special employment programmes</td>
<td>Regular transfers in cash or kind</td>
<td>Most of these women have no access to self help or employment programmes; there are hardly any targeted transfer programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orphans, elderly people, disabled people living alone</td>
<td>Long term physical incapacity for gainful employment</td>
<td>Assistance provided by kin, clan or community, begging</td>
<td>Creation/increasing capacity for gainful employment by training and rehabilitation</td>
<td>Transfers in the form of welfare payments, feeding programmes, special homes</td>
<td>Programmes focus on rehabilitation and homes; few targeted transfer programmes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The rising middle class: Excerpts from the press

Malls, Merces and McDonalds: The rise of Asia's middle class

Louise Williams

Extracted from The Sydney Morning Herald, 8 May 1993

When all the major economic forecasts came in for Asia this year it was all good news: growth and more growth. Growth is vital in many Asian countries since almost any population can be kept happy - and any political crisis overcome - if people, including the many living in relative poverty, can see that things are getting better.

In most of Asia the opportunities are firmly focused on the individual, rather than on pushing demands for society-wide improvements. There was little concern expressed by some of the region's most respected economists over the stark contrast between private affluence and public poverty in some of Asia's most successful economies.

Consumerism provides a link between Australians and the urban middle class of Asia since it is an experience both groups to some extent share. But while the evolution of industrialisation in the West created equalising systems such as public education, public health systems, social welfare, and public parks and recreation facilities, such support services are very poorly developed in Asia.

Much has been achieved in the alleviation of absolute poverty, but a major question remains as to how Asian governments will deal with the potential social and political tensions created by their economic success. The rapidly-growing economies have seen little recent 'social envy' like the Jakarta concert riot partly because political organisation is restricted in many Asian nations. The media, too, are government controlled or guided in some countries, cutting off the losers of industrialisation from information and debate over social justice.

There are many convenient excuses offered for tolerating the spectacle of excess and deprivation on the same streets. But, says the Thai Economist, Dr Medhi Krongkaew: "The people with money will dominate the poor and the disparities will become greater in the future. The gap won't be destabilising as long as the country [Thailand] keeps growing, but as soon as an economic snag is hit there will be social problems". The other factor which must eventually temper Asia's economic boom is the horrific environmental damage rapid industrialisation has caused.

The tolerance of the traffic jam may be limited by the novelty of car ownership. As soon as it wears off and the reality of foul air sinks in, together with polluted water and denuded forests, the apolitical consumer may become an environmental activist. There is already evidence that some members of the new middle class are becoming socially active outside traditional political structures.

Meanwhile, the political game of Government remains to a large extent the arena of the elite. Public participation in the political process has been openly restricted by what, in effect, are single party Governments, such as in China and Indonesia.

And in the quasi-democratic systems of Malaysia and Singapore, for example, power struggles behind the scenes select the winner even before the people go to the polls. The modified democracies of Asia are backed by press censorship and sweeping security legislation which can be invoked at any time to deny individual political rights.

The Asian political culture of consensus, which resists the kind of rowdy parliamentary Opposition which Australia sees as essential, is frequently traced back to cultural traditions of respect for hierarchies and negotiation and deep seated fear of political chaos. But these traditions are being challenged. In Taiwan for example, social groups are being formed around the specific interests of anti-nuclear campaigners, feminists, the homeless and minority ethnic groups.

The biggest challenge, however, may prove to be one of ideology. Many Asian Governments have successfully harnessed the energy of a generation which responds to calls for collective sacrifice for the national good but the children of those who have succeeded are, in the main, yuppies.

"You need to have people in agreement about the ideological cement. The previous generation was brought up in a highly ideological post-colonial atmosphere. Yuppies are not ideologues", says Professor Jamie Mackie of the ANU. "The fundamental problem that will now have to be solved is how to ensure that the pursuit of self-interest is conducive to the national interest. The answers in Asia will not follow any Western formulas".

Development Bulletin 28
Toilers of the East
Louise do Rosario and Gordon Fairclough

Reprinted from Far Eastern Economic Review, 2 April 1992

When world oil prices rose in the early 1970s, sparking a dramatic increase in the demand for foreign workers in the Middle East, many Asian countries responded by aggressively promoting temporary labour migration to the region.

The 1990s could see the same thing happening on a larger scale, but this time the targets are the newly rich Asian countries. Given the decline in labour demand in the Middle East, Europe and North America, some experts see the only significant ray of hope for the labour rich countries of South and Southeast Asia as being within the region.

It remains unclear in what way two decades of large-scale labour migration has contributed to the economic advancement of labour exporting countries. Yet governments continue to look to such outflows of workers as an important safety valve, which helps to relieve pressure for political and economic change.

For recipient countries the message is equally compelling. Labour shortages, ageing populations and an increasing unwillingness of the local workforce to do dirty or dangerous jobs point to ever increasing numbers of migrant workers to the wealthier parts of the region.

The process may not be straightforward. So new is the phenomenon of imported labour to some host countries, notably Japan, that basic issues such as the benefits and penalties of foreign labour are still being discussed. Supporting infrastructure such as housing, social security and legal protection for migrant workers has lagged behind in most importing countries. As the number of migrants rise, these issues - if not properly handled - could lead to social and international tensions.

Overall, East Asia still accounts for a relatively small proportion of the millions of workers in the region who work abroad, particularly those from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. But the Middle East, which attracted over 90 per cent of Pakistani migrant workers until the late 1980s, appears to have passed its peak as a market for unskilled labour.

Although many of the one-half million Asian workers temporarily displaced by the Gulf War have since gone back, the Middle Eastern job market has permanently tightened. With the fall in oil prices and the completion of large-scale construction projects, the demand for unskilled jobs is drying up as the Middle Eastern market shifts towards semi-skilled workers and female domestic servants.

Official statistics, while grossly under-estimating the scale in the movement of migrant labour, do at least show that markets nearer to home are being tapped as replacements. The number of contract Filipino labourers working legally in other East Asian countries, for example, rose from 38,800 in 1984 (12.9 per cent of total overseas contract workers) to 86,200 (24.3 per cent) in 1989, according to the International Labour Organisation. In Thailand, despite a booming local economy, the number of migrants to East Asian countries rose from 7,937 (11 per cent of the total) in 1985 to 21,600 (18 per cent) in 1988.

These numbers are the thin end of a wedge that will get much thicker in the next decade, thanks to demographic and economic changes. Japan and South Korea are likely to see annual population growth ease to 0.4 per cent and 1.8 per cent respectively during the decade from 1990 to 2000, according to Charles Stahl, an associate professor at the University of Newcastle in Australia.

During the same period, Bangladesh and Pakistan, with estimated annual labour force growth rates of 3.6 per cent and 3.7 per cent respectively, will need to create 10-12 million new jobs each year. Without a wave of foreign investment that would have to be larger than that experienced by ASEAN in the 1980s, these countries face either rapidly growing unemployment or the need to place far more workers overseas.

China, whose 1.2 billion population remains largely immobile due to government controls over foreign travel, could easily throw the supply-demand picture into total confusion. Peking has already started to export some contract workers, and it has been suggested that China may have sounded out Japan on plans involving millions of Chinese workers.

Vietnam, faced with the return of tens of thousands of workers who had been employed in the former communist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, is a recent convert to the labour export business. Unemployment pressures are acute, with 1.2 million young people entering the job market each year. At a meeting of Asian labour exporting countries last year, Vietnam is said to have made it clear that it would sign almost any labour contract, regardless of its terms.

The huge wage gap between Asia's developed and developing countries means that even employed workers in many South and Southeast Asian nations are ready to join the flow of migrants. Monthly wages in Bangladesh and Pakistan average US$22 and US$64 respectively, while the corresponding figures for Japan and South Korea (not cost-of-living adjusted) are US$2,966 and US$868. In Vietnam a school teacher
earns less than one-twentieth as much as a foundry worker in Tokyo, while Chinese factory workers face a 30- to 40-fold wage differential compared with their Japanese counterparts.

Remittance flows to Asian labour exporters are the main reason why the governments of countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh have been keen to promote labour migration. According to official estimates, Bangladeshi workers overseas sent home US$771 million in 1989, a sum equal to 59.1 per cent of the country's merchandise exports that year. India's US$2.7 billion in remittances in 1989 was 23.1 per cent of its merchandise exports.

The same year, more than US$1 billion flowed into Thailand through official channels from the country's overseas workers. In all cases, the real value of remittances probably far outstripped that recorded in government statistics.

Some economists and development specialists say the large amounts of money flowing into labour exporting countries do not contribute much to their economic development.

The problem is that little of the remitted money is channelled directly into productive investment. Studies have found that this money is mostly spent paying off debts, purchasing food and clothing and paying for medical care and education. Those with money left over tend to buy land and housing or use it to start small-scale entrepreneurial enterprises. Not much is invested in ways that directly increase the country's capital stock as the vast majority of migrants leave home with the goal of raising their family's standard of living. Another problem contributing to this 'fundamental disconnect' between migration and development, is that there are seldom profitable investment opportunities open to returning workers.

Others argue that this view is too pessimistic and does not adequately take into account the 'trickle up' effect of personal consumption.

While some of the money does leak out of the economy to finance imports, spending also stimulates domestic industries and will eventually end up in the pockets of people more likely to invest it. This infusion of overseas earnings into the domestic economy does have a 'multiplier effect'. The question is how much? No one is really sure.

Almost everyone agrees that the benefits of labour migration vary widely from country to country. Labour exports are most useful in fostering development at home when they are tied to other exports. South Korea has been particularly successful at this. Most of the workers it has sent overseas have been employees of construction firms that won contracts in the Middle East.

Such an arrangement provides skill and earnings benefits to individual workers and domestic companies. This type of package deal also ensures that more of the workers' foreign exchange earnings are sent home, where - in the case of South Korea at least - high savings rates and ample investment opportunities have helped fuel development. Other Asian countries such as the Philippines are now following this lead. Many Filipino workers in the Middle East are now employed by Philippine-based companies contracted to manage such services as hospitals.

Labour specialists also debate the extent to which temporary migration can raise the skill levels of workers sent abroad and thereby increase the home country's stock of human capital. In recent years, recruiters in Asia have increasingly selected only the best skilled and semi-skilled workers for overseas positions. Further, any new skills they pick up through on-the-job training are likely to be specific to a technology that may not be available in the home country. While the economic benefits of temporary labour migration for the state may be open to question, the benefits for individual migrants are clear. A whole generation of Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Filipinos have lived better because of international labour migration.

Once seen as a simple mechanism for absorbing employment pressures, labour migration is now starting to look like a force that could re-shape social patterns in much of Asia - not least in the recipient countries.

The concerns in countries like Japan about how the arrival of hundreds of thousands - if not eventually millions - of foreign workers may affect social stability could act as a brake on the free flow of migrants, though most specialists now see the process as permanent. What remains to be seen is whether Asian countries can do better than earlier labour importers, notably in Europe and North America, in how they cope with the inevitable?

The middle class bulge

V.G. Kulkarni

Reprinted from Far Eastern Economic Review, 14 January 1993

It is Monday morning and Rita Puri is in a hurry. Her maid has not shown up for work, so the lady is busy fixing breakfast for her husband Raj, a business executive in Delhi, and school-going son Ravi. As the electric milkshake maker prepares a drink, she takes eggs from her fridge and puts slices of bread in the pop-up toaster.
Amid the commotion, Ravi is screaming that he cannot find his new go-go watch he wants to show off to his friends. But schoolteacher mum wants to catch the latest BBC news on STAR TV before the Paris set out for the working day on their motor-scooter. Welcome to the joys of the Indian middle class; they've never had it so good.

Rita remembers her own school days 25 years ago when her mother had no automatic kitchen gadgets, except for a rudimentary food mixer, and there was no TV set. Rita and her father went to school and work by bus while her mother stayed home doing household chores as did grandma 50 years ago.

In her time, Rita's grandmother was one among 10 million of India's middle class, three per cent of the population. The bourgeoisie has now swollen to more than 100 million, or 12 per cent of the population.

"This is one population bulge Indians can be truly proud of" remarks Karthik Kumar, a director of MARG, a market research company.

Talk of a burgeoning and self-satisfied middle class in India might seem unreal in a country where the average annual income is estimated to be barely US$275 per person. More than 200 million people live below the country's poverty line.

Destitution is not the only image that comes to mind when outsiders think of India. Recent political upheavals have shown the country's convulsiveness, hardly a very middle class trait. In December 1992, Hindu militants demolished a mosque in the northern city of Ayodhya, sparking communal riots that killed more than 1,200 people. The disturbances threatened to destabilise the government of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

A few days before the riots, half a million farmers demonstrated in New Delhi, demanding the withdrawal of proposed cuts in fertiliser subsidies. At around the same time, similar numbers of well paid unionised workers were protesting in the capital against new measures allowing firms to lay off people.

Some observers fear that political pressures might derail the prime minister's economic reforms, but many veteran analysts have taken the recent events in their stride. They maintain that the tide of economic reform is irreversible. India cannot immunise itself from the world if it is to compete for foreign investment, they say. At home, many members of the middle class form a powerful vested interest in favour of reform.

Nor are the economic changes that have taken place since mid 1991 a mere flash in the pan. They have come about over decades and in a way that has helped to develop a huge middle class predisposed towards economic liberalisation.

Although India's economy was strait jacketed for years by state planning and a myriad of government controls, it can be argued that the foundations - food self-sufficiency and basic infrastructure - had been laid for an economic take off that occurred in the 1980s. This took the form of a rapidly developing consumer market, which can be charted in a variety of ways:

- annual sales of packaged consumer goods (excluding such items as unpacked food and garments) jumped 220 per cent to Rs 57 billion (US$2.2 billion) in 1984-89. Until the mid 1980s, consumerism increased fastest in the cities, but thereafter, rising farm income meant that rural markets grew twice as fast as urban ones;

- the number of TV sets soared from two million to 23.4 million in 1981-90. Sales since then are running at about six million sets a year;

- annual sales of new cars shot up by about five times in the 1980s. Refrigerator purchases jumped by almost four times, and motor scooters and mopeds by more than 11 times;

- the number of telephone lines doubled between 1983 and 1992. The number of lines is expected to triple in the next eight years;

- huge hoardings showing domestic and foreign brands of consumer products have become a common sight in Indian cities. Sony, National, Panasonic, Benetton, Colgate, Pepsi-Cola and Old Spice are among the scores of brands that are bombarding Indian consumers with advertisements in the press and on TV.

Before the consumer boom began, New Delhi's economic policies were largely aimed at alleviating mass poverty. 'Unnecessary' consumption was discouraged in order to develop the national economy.

From 1950-75, the heyday of India's state planning, economic growth averaged 3.5 per cent a year, a poor performance in a country whose population was rising by more than two per cent annually. In the mid 1970s, the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, began hesitantly loosening state controls, to some effect. Economic growth picked up speed to five per cent a year in 1975-79.

When further measures to de-control the economy were taken by Rajiv Gandhi, who succeeded his mother, the economy developed a little faster, growing by 5.3 per cent a year from 1981-90. In addition, salaries in the civil service were more than doubled in 1986 and workers in private industry followed suit.

Since then, India's economy has suffered from the Gulf War, the loss of markets in the former Soviet Union and a balance of payments crisis. Economic growth...
averaged less than three per cent a year in the past two years.

Whether by design or default, a series of government economic policies has helped to give birth to a generation of Indians who have money to spend. Their growing numbers and affluence have endowed them with a political voice that has become increasingly difficult for politicians to ignore.

The growth of the middle class is a cultural as well as an economic and political phenomenon. Colour television came to India in 1982, when New Delhi hosted the Asian Games. The increasing reach of television, and with advertisements too, made the consumer aware of the range of goods he or she could buy.

This earn and spend trend has its critics. Some economists believe the country cannot afford to encourage the unabashed greed of the middle class. They maintain that the number of Indians living on the margins of society has grown from 200 million in the late 1960s to 210 million today.

Left wingers say that growing disparities between the haves and the have nots will strain the social fabric of India. But proponents of free markets counter that this is an inevitable process of prosperity 'trickling down' the economic ladder.

New Delhi is pressing on with economic liberalisation in the midst of this debate, if for no other reason than realpolitik. As one leader of the ruling Congress party says: "Indians with disposable incomes outnumber the destitute, anyway".

It is no wonder then, that the world's top makers of consumer goods are vying to penetrate the market. "There is hardly an international brand name of consumer goods which is not trying to get into India" says Bhaskara Rao of Organisation Research Group Society.

Table 1: Production of consumer durables in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year to March (OOO's)</th>
<th>'80</th>
<th>'84</th>
<th>'88</th>
<th>'90</th>
<th>'91</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B&amp;W TVs</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>1,280</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>3,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colour TVs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refrigerators</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>1,256</td>
<td>1,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air conditioners</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger cars</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorcycles</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>426</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scooters</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>770</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Industry associations; government institutions

As elsewhere, branding is crucial to success. In the past couple of decades, the Indian consumer has shown a marked preference for branded products over unbranded and unpackaged commodities.

According to L. S. Rao, Director-General of the National Council, the top three brands in 17 categories of consumer products hold a market share of more than 50 per cent. The number of brand names has proliferated, but a large number of them disappeared, too, due to fierce competition.

Advertising expenditure has grown along with the number of brands. Total ad spending more than tripled to Rs 15 billion from 1984-90, and it is expected to grow by 10-15 per cent a year for the remainder of the decade. "But a well known brand name and a big advertising budget are not a guarantee of success; price, quality and market niche are equally important" cautions Titu Alhuwalia, managing director of a major market research company.

No single formula is likely to work for all consumer products firms in India. A local detergent brand such as Nirma has become the market leader mainly because of clever pricing and mass marketing. Some Indo-Japanese joint ventures in electronics have succeeded on the back of reputed Japanese technology while Western brands have failed to dent the market.

PepsiCo is finding it hard to succeed against Indian soft drink companies. And an international line of cosmetics, Max Factor, which was popular when it was being smuggled into the country, failed to take off after it started manufacturing in India. Not all Indian consumers may be so vain as to prefer foreign over local goods, but they are as choosy as their counterparts anywhere else in fast-developing Asia.

Mayans had powerful middle class, not just elite and masses

Reprinted from Development Hotline, 2 January 1993

The Mayan civilisation of present-day southern Mexico and Central America had a far greater social complexity than previously believed, according to US scholars and archaeologists.

New finds at several excavation sites have overturned past notions that the Mayan society was starkly divided between a noble elite and masses of working peasants and slaves.

Instead, excavations in Belize, the Yucatan and Guatemala have found evidence of a growing and thriving urban middle class, especially during the late classical period of Mayan civilisation from about 500
to 900 AD, according to archaeologists cited January 5 in the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times.

The evidence of a strong middle class is also destroying long-held beliefs among archaeologists that Mayan civilisation may have collapsed as a result of an insurrection by lower class workers and peasants against the ruling elite.

Instead, many scholars now believe the Mayaans were undone during the 1000s as a result of increasingly frequent and widespread wars, according to the New York Times.

Much of the new evidence stems from the work of Arlen and Diane Chase, a husband and wife anthropology team, which has been working for eight years at a site of a great Mayan city, Caracol, in Belize.

At its height, following its defeat of two nearby Mayan cities in the sixth and seventh centuries, Caracol, with a population of about 180,000, controlled an area the size of modern day Belize, according to the Chases.

Its victories over the cities of Tikal and Naranjo gave it access to a variety of products that had previously not been available, such as polychrome pots, jade and seashell ornaments, and helped spur the growth and prosperity of the middle classes.

The Chases found such objects, previously reserved for rulers and the nobility, in the graves and tombs of middle class families at the Caracol site after the conquests.

Much evidence for a strong middle class has been found at the Caracol grave sites which showed unexpected similarities in the way both rulers and their subjects were interred.

Moreover, graves found over a 600-year period show a trend towards simpler and less ornate tombs for rulers at the same time as commoners' graves became more elaborate, according to the Chases.

These and similar findings at other Mayan sites "indicate a lot more social complexity in Maya society than we had previously believed existed", according to Jeremy Sabloff of the University of Pittsburgh.

He also said it makes the Mayans far more comparable to other pre-Colombian civilisations in the region, including the Aztecs and Tuletecs. At the same time, other recent discoveries have shown their technology was more advanced than assumed before.

To support large urban population centres such as Caracol, the Mayans must have used intensive farming techniques, according to the Chases and other experts.

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**From the Field**

**Thai NGOs and poverty alleviation in a northern lowland agricultural village**

Rapin Quinn, Human Geography, Australian National University

Local development oriented non government organisations (NGOs) are widely recognised by many scholars, overseas funding agency representatives and the public for their achievements in the 1980s (ESCAP 1988; Brodhead et al. 1988). Today NGOs are also generally expected to be able to cope with complicated issues of poverty alleviation (Korten 1987). This article examines how a particular NGO in a Thai village in the 1980s responded to this task.

In a northern lowland agricultural village an NGO initiated by local Buddhist monks has been working since the early 1980s. During the period described the approaches adopted by the NGO differed over time. The relationships between local people, NGOs, the military, investors of capital and bureaucrats, also fluctuated in the context of a land dispute between the military and villagers, in which NGOs became involved.

Village situation

The village of Baan Muu 6 (literally the sixth village cluster) is officially recognised as a single administrative unit in Mae Rim District. It is composed of three independent village communities: Nong Wa, Pa Thong and Thong Pong which are located about 20 kilometres from Chiang Mai City. An elected village headman is responsible for the welfare of the cluster with the help of three assistants from each village.

The three villages of Baan Muu 6 are situated in a relatively low fertile plain surrounded by a range of mountains which are the source of three streams running through the villages all year round. Almost all villagers are engaged in agriculture including wet rice farming, mainly for household consumption, and cash crops such as chinese radish, spinach and soya bean.
Some local people work in the city as government officials, technicians, private school teachers, maids and construction workers, but still reside in the villages and in their spare time engage in agriculture.

Since 1940 the three villages have had a prolonged land dispute with the local military establishment. As a result, the government's annual budgetary and infrastructure development projects for the cluster have been consistently thwarted by the military which has intimidated the district administration. For example, a weir construction project for irrigation and electricity generation was banned in 1973. Villagers have also prevented from obtaining land ownership certificates and due to the lack of guaranteed assets have been unable to borrow money from any established financial institutions. Few government officials visit these villages which have been regarded by them as situated in the military area.

- In the mid 1980s, with the help of a former village headman, some pieces of village land used for housing and rice cultivation were taken by the military; no compensation was paid.
- In the same period, and as a consequence of government policies for regional development, there was a land boom especially in Mae Rim District.
- Central government planners had the idea of preventing Chiang Mai City from becoming a primate city like Bangkok by turning the districts near Chiang Mai into dormitory towns (Suree 1986).
- Government tourist policy has also been strongly promoted in the north since the late 1980s with an enormous expansion of resorts, golf courses and housing estates in the district.

As a result, land resources of many villages have come under pressure due to the attractive landscape, closeness to the city and easy access to transportation and communication.

The Fifth Special Warfare Division, which had been given responsibility for the land in the disputed area, was afraid that the villagers would sell the land to investors and that they would then encounter more complicated issues of a land dispute with business investors. They therefore claimed back the land from villagers by citing a 1940 land claim document for building of residences and use of areas for military exercises.

To cope with the original constraints on their productive resources, especially land and capital, the villagers tried various alternatives including a community culture approach. They organised themselves not only to contribute their labour for public work, such as the construction of roads and bridges but also to exchange their labour for rice cultivation (taking turns at growing rice). When the land was taken by the military in the mid 1980s, the community culture approach was again used by the villagers. This time they re-allocated their remaining land among themselves giving two rai (1.2 ha) for each family.

Some villagers also went to find work outside the village in order to save money for agricultural investment in their land. Resources from outside were occasionally tapped by village leaders to sustain the village community, in one instance through a member of parliament who was responsible in that area for allocating government funds to villages which then offered him their support. Resources were also drawn from a local NGO working in the District. The constraints of land and capital became the basis for the NGO involvement in these villages.

The approach of Thai NGOs to poverty alleviation

In the Thai development context, an NGO is defined as an independent, non-profit organisation which has been established outside the bureaucratic and commercial system. Most NGOs are composed of educated and concerned people whose vision of development includes not only economic growth but also the growth of a representative political system which will ensure to the population a fair share of national wealth allocation. NGO activities are addressed to the disadvantaged and unprivileged who have been affected by national economic development over the past three decades.

NGO approaches to development have changed over time. In the early to mid 1960s, NGOs were mainly engaged in social welfare types of activity which were recognised and endorsed by the state. In the late 1960s, community development with a peoples' participation approach was introduced by Dr. Y.C. Yen, a Chinese-American scholar. The new approach was based on the people making their own decisions for the betterment of their communities and addressing the people's problems at the grassroots level.

The Thai Rural Reconstruction Movement (TRRM) played a leading role in implementing this approach through agricultural innovation activities, while the Catholic Council for Thai Development (CCTD) worked through economic activities such as rice banks, buffalo banks, and social discourse. The Foundation for Education and Development of Rural Areas (FEDRA), established in 1974 by the monk Phra Dhammadilok, also used a people's participation approach. The main characteristics of NGOs working in rural Thailand in the late 1960s and early 1970s were community-based, participatory approaches. Political issues were not yet addressed.

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After 1973 when students, with the nation-wide support of urban and rural populations, broke up the strengthening unity of the military regime, a political approach was added to community development. Non-bureaucratic and non-profit groups such as the human rights NGO, Union for Civil Liberty (UCL), emerged and sought to represent people's political interest. They used a political approach which not only encouraged the people to participate in government activities but to influence decisions and policies to the benefit of the people. This approach was ignored by many community development NGOs due to political suppression of social movements by the government in the late 1970s.

During the late 1980s when competition and conflicts over land resources (such as the land dispute case mentioned above), appeared widely in every region of rural Thailand, some NGO workers realised that they could not solve the people's problems only at the village level. They sought therefore to broaden the local structural approach by networking

Village - NGO relations

In 1981 the chairperson of FEDRA was asked by the abbot of Baan Muu 6 Temple, to support the villagers who were being economically squeezed by the land dispute between themselves and the military. After discussion, FEDRA and the villagers agreed to form a project which emphasised additional income-activities to counter the problem of capital shortage. Villagers related that an NGO worker often visited them to discuss how to increase their living and brought resource persons and useful information to upgrade village production. He organised a youth group to grow vegetables. The group was active and successful and led to the formation of farmer and housewife groups. Other FEDRA economic development activities included a rice bank, a buffalo bank and handicraft production (Vanpen 1989:84-85). About six village committee members were selected by villagers to be responsible for each activity.

In the mid 1980s FEDRA work expanded rapidly. However, in the late 1980s amid the agrarian changes (Anan 1989; Ritchie 1992), increasing economic hardship meant that villagers had little time to organise FEDRA activities. Some thought that FEDRA no longer responded to their needs quickly enough.

Villagers and NGO workers came back together in 1991 when the Fifth Special Warfare Division declared it would move 16 families from Nong Wa and re-locate them on the paddy fields of Pa Thong. One of the FEDRA workers who had worked in these villages for over five years, decided to go against the organisational mainstream of avoiding being involved in political issues. He took the initiative of discussing with the local people how to solve the land problem. Together they planned a strategy. Various forms of resistance were tried by the villagers. One form was to make 'pha pa' with the villagers' identification cards and household registered certificates, and then take them to the district office to demonstrate that since the villagers were not being cared for by the state they would not act as its subjects.

Political support was then sought through networking involving NGOs, a worker's association, a rural development organisation, an ex-judge of the Supreme Court, human rights lawyers and religious groups. The media was asked to do some fact finding on the land taken over by the military. A meeting was requested between the military Commander-in-Chief and village representatives.

In 1991 a military representative informed villagers that the military would not take over more land but would wait for the verdict of the provincial court handling the dispute.

Conclusion

Since district officials rarely came to these village communities, FEDRA was able to provide considerable assistance to local people in a period when their main concerns were economic. They could help with capital formation and with loans and by setting up women's groups to make handicrafts for sale. However the impact of regional development pushed villagers to find other responses to economic hardship in addition to FEDRA activities.

Changes which brought the city and village economically closer in the late 1980s, meant that the implementation of development activities by FEDRA was more difficult (Ritchie 1992). In its role as a religious, community-development NGO, FEDRA responded by moving further out to areas where the changes had not yet reached in order to address the increasing problems of production among villagers without confronting officials and business interests. Certain individuals within the organisation took a more politically oriented approach.

In the land dispute in Baan Muu 6, the NGO's political and networking approaches were successful to the extent of halting the military land takeover. For the villagers, a small piece of land was a question of survival. The NGO intervention was based on humanitarian grounds and legitimately sought support from the public and mass media.

FEDRA recognises both its richness of experience in community participation in development and its limitation in dealing with political issues. Being a Buddhist-oriented NGO should not prevent FEDRA from understanding the changes occasioned by new relationships between officials, local people and investors.
In the future NGOs may not play a major role in development. It may be that their function is to work out co-operative approaches with other development counterparts to cope with the complexity of poverty alleviation.

Footnotes

1. In 1940, the Ministry of Defence issued two decrees stating that 27,000 rai of farmland in Mae Rim District would be expropriated for military use. After the announcement of the decrees, the District Head ordered village headmen to gather all land ownership certificates and hand them over to him. Land owners who handed in the certificates were paid 15 baht per rai compensation ($A1.00 is equivalent to between 17 and 20 baht). However, villagers were allowed to use the land by paying rent.

Concerned lawyers and NGOs are sceptical of the interpretation of the decrees by the military, and try to settle the land dispute cases through legal procedures.

2. This approach is based on the preparedness of community members to share their difficulties.

3. Networking in this context is the building of contacts among groups of people and NGOs to cooperate in bringing issues of common concern to the notice of the government.

4. In a Buddhist community of rural Thailand, 'pha pa' is a religious activity of making merit by offering daily material needs to the monk in the temple. The material needs include the monk's robe, groceries and money. In this case, villagers adapted the form of 'pha pa' by offering the District Head their legal entitlements showing that they were becoming excluded from the benefits and protection of the law by his negligence.

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Environmental planning with Aboriginal communities: A process of consultation, empowerment and implementation

Tony MacDonald, Landscape Architect, Alice Springs

Introduction

Circling Alice Springs and strategically positioned like a compass point to the land from where they came, a large number of Aboriginal people (approx 1,200), live in what have long been referred to as 'fringe' or 'town' camps. The need for, and formalisation of, these camps primarily grew out of the effects of the equal pay decision and the bestowal of citizenship in 1967. Aboriginal people drifted with their families to centres like Alice Springs, to missions and government settlements, where welfare benefits, prospects of casual work, health care, alcohol and schools could be found.

The Tangentyere Council, which was formed by town camp elders in 1977 in response to the need for firm land tenure amidst the abysmal living conditions, is the service provider for the 18 camp communities found around Alice. The Council provides employment, training, housing, community development, home care, financial and camp support services. It still represents the interests of Aboriginal town camp residents, most of whom eventually won the right to occupy residential leases. The town camps constitute various size land holdings with 170 houses and communal areas built to the needs and wishes of the Aboriginal people. Not all the camps are legal, not all have running water, and
certainly not all have sewerage. A number of camps are situated upon land prone to flash floods which is inappropriate for housing development. On the other hand, some houses are situated on sites which leave the newcomer stunned with their innate beauty.

Consultation work with the town camp residents, to assist in the identification of landscape issues, was scheduled to be conducted by the Tangentyere Council which is one of the most dynamic non government organisations in the country. The council contracted a landscape architect for this work.

Consulting

Successful cross-cultural consultation is considered an irrefutable test of communication with clients' needs and wishes. Greater importance is placed on the methods used to complete the work, than the end goal of that work.

In terms of nourishing ownership of proposals, the seeking of input and consensus is certainly commonly accepted as a valuable aspect of plan development. In the case of many situations amongst Aboriginal people in central Australia, where sub-Third World conditions often prevail and people have limited control over their lives, the empowerment stemming from such decision making processes is often difficult, but very valuable. Assistance from the Council helped to identify the following needs:

- an appreciation of the different language groups found on the camps;
- the social and developmental history behind the camp's composition and the effects which that had upon the landscape;
- an understanding of the social and cultural dynamics within the camps - who to seek out for thoughts and discussions on particular matters;
- the need to seek out and verify sectional inputs and requests amongst all residents.

Women usually play the senior role in identifying environmental problems and how best to solve them. For consultative work it is sometimes inappropriate for a male to be seeking input from women clients. The resources of the Council could be of assistance in such situations.

Achieving a synthesis - people and place

The people

Before development of successful planning documents can be accomplished, a shared understanding of client needs, site qualities and limitations as well as budget, is required.

Citizenship has not bestowed immediate access to the support and education necessary for community development in the bureaucratic, welfare-saturated context in which Aboriginal town camp residents now find themselves. The conservation ethic and pride of person in place has been diminished through cross-cultural collision. The process of planning, of empowerment and determining how things can be in a community, can greatly assist in the search for purpose.

This is not to say that over a number of decades many well meaning people and political dollars have not directed energy to solving problems, sometimes successfully. The difficulty is that when one travels through remote communities in particular, time and time again the monumental dreams of the visiting white person wanting to help and leave his or her mark are obvious. The true participation and ownership of these monuments has not necessarily been shared by Aboriginal people.

The place

The Alice Springs town camps exist in arid-zone soil and vegetation regimes which are extremely fragile. Tree, shrub and herb layer cover can rapidly deteriorate after limited disturbance. Such disturbance can feed dust storms of legendary proportions. Ground salinisation can limit growth potential, as can clay pans, rocky ground and availability or quality of water.

On the town camps people often want to be able to sit and observe a 360 degree horizon. This can limit the chances of establishing tangible windbreaks. All central Australians are understandably concerned about snakes. On the camps this commonly rules out any ready acceptance for understory planting or heavily mulched areas.

Incremental services installation has been shoddily constructed. In some bush communities a common minimalist approach to building solutions has left a legacy of many inappropriate, unliveable and unwanted 'houses'. Houses and community layout may not offer people the family group privacy they require.

Land management and conservation ethic

Much is written and implied about Aboriginal association with the land. 'Caring for country' is the cumbersome translation of those activities and thoughts culturally woven into a spiritual and pragmatic kinship with place and physical elements. As land managers, Aboriginal people have been celebrated with having an intimate understanding of their world.

The positive link that people have with land is manifest when visiting 'outstation' communities miles away from Alice. Such people may have been through long political and legal battles and are now living on various portions of their traditional land.

The practical niceties of planning do not overcome an understandable belief system where change and
technology may be accepted yet not highly valued or understood. A conservation ethic is firmly aligned with social and physical health. Traditional cultural tendencies and social values remain, amidst a healthy contempt for many 'possessions' which European ethics have us 'conserve'.

By the same token, leadership amongst Aborigines is concerned with providing shelter and food for people, principally for family, maintaining traditional law, and relationships with the land and within the community. Strong leadership and understanding of traditional law often leads to strong social cohesion which manifests itself in concern and caring for the country.

**Plans and implementation**

The design and development of landscaping plans incorporated constant feedback from the camps. Small groups gathered and meetings were held to discuss the plans. The work addressed immediately identifiable and solvable environmental problems which town camp residents experience day to day. The following needs were identified:

- windbreaks to ameliorate the cold south-easterly winds which cross Alice during the winter months and regularly bring the day time temperature down low and the night well below 0 degrees;
- introduction of shade trees to provide a greater number of 'sit-down' areas during the hot summer months;
- building shade structures with sand-filled floors for groups to sit and meet in;
- planting a range of fruit bearing vines (grapes) and trees (fig, mulberry, citrus);
- rock, steel and timber restraints for 'roaming' vehicles. Control of cars is of great concern to old people and mothers of young children;
- dust suppression around tin sheds and preferred sitting places;
- woodlots for long term firewood, using both tube stock and direct seeding techniques;
- additions and repairs to recreational areas including existing play equipment and introducing outdoor basketball courts;
- soakaways - earthworks to direct and harvest stormwater;
- installation of rock traps under water taps to improve sanitation around water sources well used by people and dogs alike.

With the exception of fruit trees and woodlots it was intended that all planting would receive irrigation support for a minimum of two years. Predominantly indigenous material was used.

**The result**

The value of this exercise from the point of view of the Tangentyere Council executive was:

1. to continue assisting town camp residents in overcoming the impacts which permanent communities have upon their environment;
2. to create work opportunities by implementing the plans; and
3. to ensure that people were making decisions about their world and that they had ownership of any proposals.

**The need for plans**

Projects were flexible and appropriately planned. They were aimed at addressing the needs for site planning while at the same time taking into account social factors such as family groupings as well as physical needs such as energy efficient orientation, control of vehicular movement and the high premium placed on provision of shade.

Currently, environmental planning is about building leaders and creating jobs through a shared understanding that our world is based upon the land and how we interact with it. As Aboriginal people see much of their world through their relationship with land, landscape architects are well placed to assist in this range of environmental planning work.

**Conclusion**

Consultation requires numerous working operatives including:

- proceeding in an open way that gives weight to cultural, economic and other circumstances;
- provision of resources including interpreters, cross-cultural workshops, and negotiation sessions;
- positive mechanisms to identify and nurture ownership of proposals;
- understanding the dynamics of a community and the power relationships within it;
- an understanding of the importance of both genders in community decision making and development work; and
- an understanding that community decision making processes take time.

There is much to be positive about in central Australia. Many fine achievements are visible amongst Aboriginal people in Alice Springs and in bush communities. Individuals and organisations are working to support their cultural integrity and all that it implies. What is important from a professional perspective is that the slow process of building leadership and promoting physical and social health in Aboriginal communities is
being most successfully driven in circumstances where Aboriginal people are in control. Planning a successful synthesis of people with place, is only possible where Aboriginal people initiate and direct the programme and the professional input works with an understanding of the broad range of problems.

Trees and forests in the management of rural areas in the West African Sahel: Farmer managed regeneration

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Summary

Farmer managed natural regeneration (FMNR) is an agroforestry practice involving the managed natural regeneration of ligneous plant species by farmers in their fields (Rands and Rinaudo 1990). FMNR has been included in several recent projects in south-central Niger. The experience of one such project is described here. A range of management options are noted and reasons for acceptance of FMNR outlined. These reasons include the fact that it is simple, inexpensive, produces relatively short-term benefits, and requires only a minimum of community organisation and appropriate government support.

FMNR requires no nurseries, no vehicles and no special tools. The basic techniques are easily understood and are based on indigenous knowledge of agricultural and practical skills; these can be learned by experience and through traditional channels of information exchange, such as from farmer to farmer. Because costly inputs are not required, the projects can easily be replicated and their sustainability is virtually assured.

FMNR must be supported by efforts to remove disincentives and to build the preconditions necessary for successful private initiative in local-level natural resources management. The authors conclude that FMNR is a viable, local-level natural resources management technique with significant potential in Niger, and more broadly, across the West African Sahel.

Local-level forestry and natural resources management

Over the last few years a lot of attention has been focused on local-level forestry and natural resource management initiatives in the West African Sahel in an effort to understand why certain initiatives have been successful and others have not (Shaikh et al. 1988; Rochette 1989; Kerkhof 1990). Several of these reviews served as background material for the CILSS/Club du Sahel Segou regional encounter on local-level natural resource management in May 1989 which outlined important general guiding principles and future directions for natural resource management in the Sahel (CILSS/Club 1990; Shaikh 1989). One type of initiative not included in these studies is FMNR.

Farmer managed natural regeneration (FMNR)

FMNR has been included as a central component of several recent projects in south-central Niger and the protection and management of natural regeneration is an increasingly important theme in rural forestry extension (CARE/Niger 1989). Key species which farmers are choosing to regenerate include *Acacia albida*, *Bauhinia reticulata*, *Pilostigma reticulatum*, *Guiera senegalenesis*, *Combretum glutinosum*, *Albizzia chevalieri*, *Annona senegalensis*, *Prosopis africana*, *Ziziphus mauratania* and *Balanites aegyptiaca*.

But is FMNR something new? Farmed parkland is an important traditional production system across considerable areas of West Africa (Pelissier 1966; Pullan 1974; Pelissier 1980). Efforts to create, or recreate, farmed parkland have been undertaken in various parts of the Sahel. In Niger these efforts have included important tree planting elements in addition to the protection of natural regeneration. Where these efforts include the active participation of farmers in the selection and management of the natural regeneration they constitute a specialised and important example of FMNR. Cursory examination reveals significant areas of regeneration in several areas of Niger, including the area south of Zinder that had been extensively cleared for groundnut production during the colonial and early post-colonial periods.

The significance of the cases of FMNR reported here is that they are using species that are not traditionally considered farmed parkland species and the natural regeneration is being protected and managed in drier and more marginal areas than those in which farmed parkland is generally found. Moreover, although tree planting was tried in the early stages of the joint Evangelical Church of Niger (EERN/Sudan Interior Mission (SIM)) project described below, it was deemed to be slow and impractical. Now natural regeneration is the preferred technique. These cases also provide
clear evidence of the failure of an earlier generation of agricultural development, 'productivity projects', which insisted that farmers remove ligneous vegetation from fields so as to eliminate competition and allow for ploughing and the other elements of so-called 'improved' agricultural production packages which proved unsuited to local conditions (Koehn et al 1988; Poulin 1968). Rather than 'clean fields' farmers are now choosing 'dirty fields' as a preferred method of vegetation management.

Management options

A detailed survey of the species being regenerated and the management techniques being used in the EERN/SIM project has not yet been carried out. However, striking features of initial visits to farmers' fields are the range of species being allowed to regenerate and the variety of management options being pursued. For example one farmer has foregone the traditional cultivation of millet and devoted an entire field to wood production with sesame as a secondary crop. His trees are well cared for and densely spaced. Most farmers are eager to prune as early as possible so as to have the benefits of firewood or construction materials. Others leave the pruning until well into the growing season so that the trees and bushes will have the greatest positive impact in protecting young millet plants. Some farmers only prune trees, others have harvested whole trees and then coppiced sprouts.

One important potential constraint to FMNR is government regulations that require formal approval by government foresters before trees can be cut. Although these regulations have not yet been changed, an understanding has been reached between farmers and local forestry agents which allows farmers to prune trees that they have managed while permission is sought before whole trees are harvested.

As a result of the EERN/SIM project it is estimated that over a million trees are now growing where previously they would have been destroyed by farmers 'cleaning' their fields.

Reasons for acceptance

There are a variety of reasons why the practice of allowing natural regeneration of trees in farmers' fields has gained such widespread acceptance in the project zone:

- FMNR provides relatively quick short-term benefits; tree planting programmes are hampered by the fact that returns are often five to ten or more years down the road. Most of the farmers practising FMNR in the EERN/SIM project zone are reaping significant benefits after only two to three years. Many farmers claim that the wood they get from pruning is sufficient for household needs for fuel and construction wood. They also recognise the potential benefits for increasing sustainable crop yields. Farmers cite the lowering of wind velocities, increased organic matter through leaf fall, and decreased soil temperatures as a few of the positive impacts of this practice. Recent research at the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics Sahelian Center, confirms the fundamental importance of decreased soil temperature for plant establishment (Williams 1990). The rapid realisation of these benefits is the chief selling point for FMNR.

- Getting started in FMNR is simple; the basic techniques are based on indigenous knowledge of agricultural and silvicultural practices. Consequently they are easily understood and information about FMNR can be passed from farmer to farmer. The intuitive and practical skills required can be learned by experience and through traditional channels of information exchange.

- FMNR is cheap; it does not require the nurseries, vehicles, special tools or supplementary watering methods needed in many other tree planting programmes. It can therefore easily be copied and introduced elsewhere and sustainability is virtually assured.

- FMNR requires only a minimum of community organisation; because it is practised by farmers on their own fields, success does not depend to any large extent on cooperation with others, unlike natural forest management or other local land use management initiatives. However, the entire community must agree to respect the right of individual farmers to gain the benefit of their FMNR efforts.

- Effective extension and appropriate Government support; in both the EERN/SIM and CARE projects, extension agents have been hired from the local population and so relate to farmers as their peers rather than as experts. Key individuals in EERN and SIM have been particularly important in first defining project objectives and then getting the message across to the people they work with. At the same time, local authorities and technical agents have provided important back-up support by not enforcing archaic forestry regulations and by prosecuting outsiders who 'poach' wood from private fields. In addition, FMNR has been supported through radio broadcasts and a system of prizes. One farmer who allowed over 2000 trees to regenerate on his farmland received a prize from the local agriculture department in the early stages of the programme, which both raised the profile of and the esteem for, FMNR.
The significance of farmer managed natural regeneration

The rapid spread and acceptance of FMNR described above represents a new type of viable, local-level, natural resources management initiative with significant potential both in Niger and more broadly across the West African Sahel.

FMNR addresses several of the basic issues noted earlier (Taylor and Soumare 1984). These include:
- harnessing natural processes, particularly natural regeneration, as well as social processes;
- developing programmes that move beyond tree planting to active management and utilisation towards developing long-term expansion and replication strategies with minimal recurrent costs; and
- tying rural forestry closely to broader patterns of agricultural and rural development.

These examples of FMNR validate the fundamental importance of work currently underway in Niger and elsewhere in the Sahel both to remove disincentives, and to provide incentives in local-level natural resource management. This work includes:
- securing land, tree and broader natural resources tenure;
- re-examining forestry policy and legislation;
- formalising the transformation of forestry services from a police corps into an extension service;
- insisting that management of natural resources is decentralised; and
- based on these elements, developing coherent national plans and local-level programmes for natural resources management (USAID 1990 and Republique du Niger/USAID 1990).

FMNR in the 'dirty fields' north of Maradi reveals a production system beginning to adjust in several important ways to constraints such as the increasing scarcity of wood and, at the same time, to new opportunities brought about by the non-enforcement of archaic regulations which gives farmers possibilities for more active and effective management of the trees on their farmland.

Is there a message for the rest of the Sahel in the 'dirty fields' north of Maradi? Several messages have been sketched above. More will be forthcoming once the biological and social parameters of FMNR have been more closely examined and understood. The challenge ahead is to take these and other successes in local-level natural resources management and multiply them many times across the Sahel so that fields become green and the people have hope once again for their own futures.

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The issue of aid cannot be separated from foreign policy. Aid is, in a basic sense, an instrument of foreign policy. It is part of the way that Australia defines its role in relation to the rest of the world, both the developed and the developing. The question is how this instrumentality is given meaning - whether aid is used primarily to promote narrow national interests or whether it becomes one of the linking mechanisms that lay emphasis on global issues and concerns.

In the period prior to the federal election of March 1993, Mark Baker (The Age, 18 and 19 February) suggested that there was little difference between the foreign policy approaches of Senator Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, and his Opposition counterpart, Senator Robert Hill. This view was wrong. At the heart of many apparent similarities there was a central and profound difference - the difference between seeing Australia in relation to the world, and seeing the world in relation to Australia.

Gareth Evans certainly emphasises national and regional interests, but he also defines Australia very much in terms of our role as a 'good international citizen'. A concern for issues such as human rights, environment, development, flows naturally from this. Robert Hill, invoking fundamental Liberal principles, took his stand on 'enlightened self-interest'. What this actually means, as he himself made clear in a pre-election policy paper, 'Blue-print for Development', is Australia's economic interests. He did not discount other concerns - human rights, environment, development, poverty alleviation. On the contrary. But, in terms of foreign policy concerns, he made them subordinate to the national economic interests. In his model, these broader concerns are not integral, they are an add-on, and often an uncomfortable one.

For both the Coalition and the ALP in the pre-election battle for hearts and minds (and pockets), Asia emerged as a major focus. One of the emphases of Senator Hill's paper was the importance of Australia's relations with Asia. Paul Keating, too, has made very plain that a focus on the region will be central to the new government's foreign policy. The issue will be how much foreign policy becomes defined in narrow economic and trade terms.

On February 12 this year, Senator Hill delivered a Hewson Government's Foreign Affairs statement. In it, he committed a Coalition government to put "economic and trade issues at the top of our foreign policy priorities". This would have meant a considerable restructuring of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in order to give trade issues priority. Despite what the Shadow Minister had said elsewhere about the Opposition's policy on aid and the importance of a focus on poverty alleviation, Australia's overseas aid would have come a very poor third. In this scheme of things, AIDAB would have been integrated into a Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade whose concerns would be: first, trade and economic issues; second, bilateral and particularly regional relations; and, only thirdly, the aid programme.

In the event, this appears to be little different from the present position of the Department where, since the amalgamation of the two separate departments of Foreign Affairs and of Trade, economic and trade issues have increasingly dominated the agenda of Australia's foreign relations. Nevertheless, Labor's saving grace has been the appointment of two Foreign Ministers, Bill Hayden and Gareth Evans, with a

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Mary Edmunds, Community Aid Abroad

The Asia factor

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genuine belief in, and commitment to, the concept of Australia as part of a global community where relations with Asia are crucial but not exclusive. In such a global community, international responsibilities as well as national interests carry significant weight.

Why we have a foreign policy

There are a number of different answers to the question about why we have a foreign policy at all - and certainly why we have an overseas aid programme. Historically, foreign policies were about a narrow promotion of national and regional interests. The gunboat diplomacy of Commodore Matthew Perry forced the opening of Japanese markets to US and other Western trade in 1853-54. In the late 20th century, the interdependency of global issues makes this kind of approach limited and out-of-date. The butterfly effect of chaos theory is a reality also in foreign relations. What happens in Moscow, what happens in Rangoon, what happens at Narmada, what happens in Sarajevo, what happens at the World Bank, affects us all. When our foreign policy encompasses the possibility of World Bank structural adjustment programmes in African countries, for example, we are accepting a process of external pressures on African land-use that contributes to the increase of desertification and the associated phenomena of marginalisation, poverty and, often, malnutrition or starvation among many African peoples.

Australia's responsibilities as an international citizen need to underlie our foreign policy, as well as our aid programme. In the restricted view of trade and economic advantage, there is little possibility of taking a position on human rights abuses in Burma or elsewhere. Apartheid in South Africa could not have come to a formal end. China would not have felt the need to respond, however minimally, to world pressure after Tian'anmen Square. Indonesia would not have been prepared to accept a Chairman's Statement from the UN Commission on Human Rights in relation to East Timor.

These positions are not finally divorced from trade and economic relations. Sometimes they are in conflict with them. In Burma, despite our active role in achieving UN condemnation of the Special Law and Order Restoration Committee (SLORC) regime, we maintain an Austrade office. The Timor Gap agreement is seen by many to undermine the possibility of any strong stand on human rights abuses in East Timor and other regions under Indonesian control. Sometimes, Australia's ability to take an independent stand in establishing non-trading relations has resulted in a favourable economic outcome - we are now reaping the economic benefits of having made early overtures to Vietnam by providing aid programmes in the immediate post-war period.

A foreign policy has to provide a framework that allows appropriate decisions to be made in cases of such conflict. Trade and economic advantage are not the basis from which to do this. The proper basis is a recognition of international interdependence and of the priority of human rights and humanitarian concerns.

Trade and poverty

Trade and economic issues are certainly crucial to the practice of foreign relations. It is for this reason that they require a government policy that defines them in a broader context of national and international concerns. Among such concerns are peace and security, human rights, environmental considerations, equity and social justice - the whole range of issues related to civil, political, social and cultural as well as economic rights. Without this broader context and the restraints that it imposes, trade and economic issues become divisive competition over limited resources. The examples of the regional hot wars that have broken out since the end of the Cold War are grim demonstrations of that.

At the global level, the commitment by both Labor and Opposition to the liberalisation of trade, and to the withdrawal of many forms of regulation and protection, ignores the gross inequalities that currently exist between the developed and developing countries, between the North and the South. This position also ignores the extent to which such deregulation acts in favour of already over-privileged countries of the North. Commitment to a prioritised and generally deregulated trade undermines a serious commitment to the alleviation of poverty as this has been expressed by both major political parties. The impact of such trade practices in fact is to increase poverty in significant parts of the populations of the countries of the South - leading to an increase in the need for emergency aid and poverty alleviation. Good development policies and practices, on the contrary, bring about a redefinition of what constitutes poverty. Such practices emphasise a process of community development that actively recognises the interaction of local and regional communities with the State, on the basis of popular participation and due institutional process.

When economic growth is privileged, as is happening in mainstream ideologies of development, the impact is negative on many groups. To take one example: economic growth underlies programmes of structural adjustment that the World Bank is increasingly imposing as a condition of its loans to developing countries. Many of the people in these countries experience this 'growth' as displacement and removal from their means of subsistence - as a denial of their human rights.

An unbridled emphasis on exports is also an emphasis on consumerism. The Prime Minister's view of Australia's role in the Asia-Pacific region, while
welcome in many ways, too often tends to become a question of Australia's 'Asian opportunity'. We have to beware of a cargo cult approach to Asia (Canberra Times editorial 19 February 1993). Now that Campbell's has been successful in gaining a major shareholding in Arnott's biscuits for example, we may no doubt soon be gratified by the sight of millions of Indonesians, Malaysians, Thais, even Chinese, munching Sao biscuits and iced Vo-vos - and our foreign debt reducing by an equivalent amount of fool's gold.

The scope of foreign policy

The role of a foreign policy is to maintain a balance between economic and trade issues and the other concerns that make up Australia's national and international interests. Trade relations and economic issues are just one aspect of a broader range of programmes: bilateral and multilateral relations, aid, public affairs, security. An emphasis on Australia's role as a good international citizen has meant that we have played an active role in relation to United Nations and Economic and Social Commission of Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) concerns: human rights and humanitarian legal issues; refugees, immigration and asylum; environmental law issues; the Law of the Sea Convention and other associated issues such as protection of living marine resources through negotiations to ban commercial whaling and driftnet fishing. Australia has had representatives on the UN Commission on Human Rights and the Committee for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Australian representatives were deeply involved in the drafting of conventions and protocols in the lead up to United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), in achieving a 50-year mining ban in the Antarctic, and in bringing negotiations on a Chemical Weapons Convention to a conclusion.

Unfortunately, such a focus appears to be under pressure from the government's emphasis on trade and economic issues, especially as Australia further develops its role in the Asia-Pacific region. Self-interest, enlightened or otherwise, does not provide a coherent and consistent framework for a responsible foreign policy. Nor, despite Senator Evans' active involvement on the international stage, does the increasingly commercial focus of the Labor government. This framework is only possible in a policy based on a recognition that our well-being as Australians is fundamentally, not accidentally, linked with our role as a good international citizen - to our interdependence that is, with the well-being of other peoples.

Overwhelming yes vote for Eritrean independence

Russell Rollason, Australian Council for Overseas Aid

Eritrea is free. After 30 years of war, drought destruction and suffering, the small Red Sea State of Eritrea has again become a nation. In a nationwide referendum on 23-25 April, Eritreans voted a resounding yes to the question "Do you approve Eritrea to become an independent sovereign state?" - 99.805 per cent of the votes cast were yes.

Thirty-five year old Eritrean Dawit Debassai, who has grown up with the war, summed up the result saying "To taste what is war, to taste what is peace, that is why it was 99.8 per cent".

For the teams of 120 international observers present under the United Nations Observer Mission to Verify the Eritrean Referendum (UNOVER), and more than 100 invited by the Eritrean Referendum Commission, the result was clear long before the ballot papers were counted. Each night in the capital city Asmara, the infectious joy of the people dancing in the streets was overwhelming. Even in isolated centres like the Apollo Polling Booth north of Nacla in the remote Sahel region of northern Eritrea, people sat patiently in the hot sun waiting to vote as men and women danced and sang the day away. After waiting for about an hour to vote, each woman emerged from the polling booth ululating - that unique high pitched yodel of African women - to show their joy and excitement. One man emerged from the booth leaping in the air as he returned to his dancing friends under a nearby tree.

The war began in 1962 after Emperor Haile Selassie reneged on an agreement to give the former Italian colony autonomy within the Ethiopian federation. The conflict - much of it trench warfare - left 60,000 Eritreans dead out of a population of three million. Without international assistance, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front held their ground, capturing weapons from the army of the Dergue, and eventually joining forces with the Tigray People's Liberation Front to topple the military regime of Haile Mariam Mengistu.

Democracy in Africa

The Eritrean Referendum has been a remarkable event for Africa, and clear evidence of a new commitment to democracy in Africa. Following the announcement of the result, Secretary-General of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, Issaias Afwerki, addressed the nation saying "It is with boundless pleasure that I
express, on this momentous juncture, and on behalf of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, my congratulations to the Eritrean people for their historic achievement."

Minister for Information, Dr Negasso Gidada, for the Transitional Government of Ethiopia said his Government had observed the referendum from 21 April and concluded that it "took place in free, fair and impartial manner...the Transitional Government of Ethiopia happily respects and accepts the decision of the Eritrean people to have an independent Eritrea. We will stand by the Eritrean people in times of happiness and difficulties in the future", he said.

Independence for Eritrea has made Ethiopia a land-locked country, with its two former ports of Massawa and Assab now in Eritrea. An open and easy relationship between Eritrea and Ethiopia is critical to future peace and stability in the region.

Reconstruction task immense

With independence comes the challenge of rehabilitation and development for Eritrea. The 30-year war has destroyed the once substantial infrastructure in Eritrea. The extensive railway system has been destroyed, roads are in bad repair, the water and sanitation systems in the towns are near collapse, and the once extensive power system has suffered extensive damage. Eritrea currently produces only 40 per cent of its food needs, depending on international food aid to feed the population. Before the war Eritrea exported oranges and mangos to Italy, and many areas were once irrigated. The Provisional Government has set the target of food self-sufficiency within five years, but this will depend on regular and good rainfall over that period.

Eritrea has expectations that Australia will help its reconstruction programme. "During the struggle we enjoyed a lot of humanitarian help from Australia and this has laid a good foundation for future relations between Eritrea and Australia", said Semere Russom, Head of the Americas and Asia Section of the Ministry of External Relations.

Australian help wanted

Australian help is especially sought for two of the top four priorities in agriculture - food security and ecological restoration. "Two countries are best placed to help Eritrea: Australia and Israel", says Secretary for Agriculture, Tesfai Ghermazien. "Ecological restoration is critical, especially re-afforestation. Without it we can't have sustainable agriculture", he said.

In 1992, 42,000 kms of terracing were completed on the steep mountain slopes of Eritrea; 27.8 million tree seedlings were planted, 17 micro-dams and 20 ponds built and 34 wells dug. Much of this work has been undertaken in food-for-work programmes. Eritrea is aware of the value of Australian trees in arid areas; eucalypts were introduced to the region over 100 years ago during the reign of Emperor Menelick.

Several Australian NGOs, including the Fred Hollows Foundation, have on-going programmes in Eritrea in blindness prevention, health, re-afforestation, and refugee repatriation/re-integration.

The task ahead for Eritrea is immense but it has peace and unity of purpose. Italy, USA, France, Egypt, Sudan and Yemen moved quickly to recognise the newly independent state. Australia recognised Eritrea on the fourth of May, one of the first acts of the new Parliament, and expectations are high that the assistance so valued in the past will continue to cement the peace and assist development.

For the people of Eritrea, there is renewed hope. Yemane Ghebremariam of the finance office for Sahel Province based in Nacfa explained, "The Ethiopians are gone and freedom has come. So too has the rain. Eritrea will be prosperous".

Warning on urbanisation in Indonesia

Indonesia's State minister of Public Housing, HE Mr Siswono Yudohusodo, appealed to the Government recently to take effective efforts to curb urbanisation.

If no action is taken to anticipate population growth, then by the year 2020 Java, the most densely populated island in the country, will become an island of cities, he was quoted as saying at a recent exhibition on housing trends.

He predicted that by the end of 2019, Jakarta would have a population of around 20 million people, becoming one of the 10 most populated cities in the world.

Mr Siswono expressed concern that other Indonesian cities, such as Bandung in West Java and Surabaya in East Java, would reach the size of a metropolis, while the Tangerang Industrial Area in West Java, with its seven per cent population growth rate per year, could be expected to develop into "the most chaotic and dirtiest city in the world".

The island of Java covers only seven per cent of Indonesia's 1.9 million square kilometres, but contains around 60 per cent of its 180 million people. The population density in Java is 814 people per square kilometre. According to the latest census taken in 1990, Jakarta's population was 7.1 million and growing at the rate of 2.41 per cent per year.

Reprinted from Population Headliners, April 1993, p. 3.
Canada to shift aid focus from Third World to East Europe

Reprinted from Development Hotline, 4(3), February 1993

The Canadian government is considering radical changes to its foreign aid programme, including redirecting 'vast amounts' of development assistance away from the Third World towards Eastern Europe, according to reports in several reputable Canadian newspapers.

Citing leaked Cabinet documents, the 'Southam News Agency' reported that the plan, which could come into effect as early as April, "would all but eliminate a decades-old primary emphasis on traditional, long-term development priorities in Asia, Africa and Latin America". Other elements of the proposed plan include tying development assistance for 'middle income' developing countries - countries with GNP per person between 611 and 7,619 dollars - more closely to Canadian commercial interests.

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) would also focus its work on a fewer number of 'core countries', while government support for NGOs would be cut in half, according to the news agency. These proposed cuts to Third World development assistance come on the heels of reductions in aid spending announced in December. The government will slash its development assistance budget by 10 per cent in each of the next three years. Over a five year period, projected foreign aid spending has been cut by 4.4 billion dollars.

The net result of the new plan would be a move away from long-term development work in the Third World to a renewed emphasis on famine and disaster relief, and on trade promotion, particularly in the former socialist countries.

"This would fundamentally alter the policy direction of Canada's aid programme over the last 25 years", said Betty Plewes, executive director of the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC), an umbrella organisation for Canadian NGOs.

Plewes said that the NGOs have not seen documents detailing the new proposals, and that in recent meetings with both the minister responsible for CIDA and the minister of external affairs, CCIC was not informed that the government was contemplating such a dramatic change of policy.

Canada's existing foreign aid policy - the core of which is to provide support for the poorest people and nations of the world - was affirmed in 1986 and 1987 after widespread public consultation across the country. Plewes says it is 'incomprehensible' that the government could now reverse that policy without any public consultation, especially in what is now the last year of its electoral mandate. "There is general agreement in Canada that changing the foreign aid programme in this way would dramatically alter Canada's role in the world, and hurt its humanitarian image.

Speaking on a national radio programme, Stephen Lewis, the former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations, said the proposed changes were 'ideologically driven'. He said the government would be 'stealing' funds from the foreign aid programme in order to seed new commercial relationships with the countries of the former Eastern bloc. Aid to Eastern European states would reportedly require those countries to spend the money on Canadian goods and services.

Clyde Sanger, communications director of the North-South Institute, an independent development think tank in Ottawa, told IPS that any new aid for Eastern Europe should be redirected from the defence or trade promotion budgets, not from development assistance. "Canada has security interests and commercial interests in Eastern Europe," he said, "but serving those interests should not be considered foreign aid". Nevertheless, Sanger is sceptical that the proposed changes will be approved by Cabinet. He believes that the plan may have more to do with election year posturing than with any real plans for change. With unemployment in Canada running at over 11 per cent, he says it is good public relations for the government to speak of a foreign aid programme that enhances international trade and has the potential to create Canadian jobs. He also says the plan may have been pushed by External Affairs Minister, Barbara McDougall, in order to raise her profile as a candidate for the leadership of the Progressive Conservative party.

The end of the Cold War appears to have made relations with former Eastern bloc countries more important to Canada than relations with the Third World. The Canadian government has repeatedly spoken of the need to provide support for Eastern European nations as they make the transition to market economies.

In 1989, a task force was set up to devise economic and technical assistance programmes for those countries. Former Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has said such assistance is necessary to prevent hardliners from taking control in those countries, which he has said could lead to a new Cold War.
AIDAB women in development markers

The Australian International Development Assistance Bureau's (AIDAB) women in development (WID) policy maintains a firm commitment to the integration of women's needs, perspectives and participation into the development process, to ensure that development will be sustainable and equitable. The 1991 WID Review makes a number of recommendations for improving the integration of WID into Australia's aid programme. One of the recommendations is that the systematic application of WID markers as a bottomline checklist on integration of WID into AIDAB activities be continued.

Office Procedure Circular No. 15 of 30 September 1992 states that the completion of the two sets of WID markers - Parliamentary and International (Development Advisory Committee (DAC)), WID markers, is mandatory, and is to be applied to all AIDAB activities. These two sets of markers are designed to assess the extent of integration of WID concerns into all phases of AIDAB activities. More specifically, these markers should:

- facilitate internal reviews and external reviews and reporting on WID performance in AIDAB activities;
- act as prompts for country desk officers and contractors to consider WID issues before the commencement of activities, and when monitoring and guiding the progress of ongoing activities.

The Parliamentary WID markers are largely designed for meeting external reporting requirements. These markers assess primarily the WID weighting in the outcomes of AIDAB activities. More specifically the markers assess the proportion of the activity's budget which will benefit the potential impact on women, and the proportion of Australian staff employed in the activity who are female.

The six International WID markers focus on assessing the integration of gender analysis into the process of project/programme design and implementation. In brief, these markers indicate whether women's needs and perspectives have been integrated into the design of the activity either through being targeted as beneficiaries, or as active participants. These markers also identify the use of gender analytical expertise throughout the project cycle.

**Parliamentary WID markers**

1. What percentage of the activity budget benefits women?
2. Which category does this fit into with respect to potential impact on women?
3. When was the Activity WID Assessment Record last updated?
4. What proportion of project staff will be/are Australian?

**International WID markers**

1. Are women the main and primary target group (agents and beneficiaries) of the project?
2. If not, are women identified explicitly as part of the target group (agents and/or beneficiaries) of the main components of the project?
3. Were women from the recipient country included in the design?
4. Will women from the recipient country be active participants during implementation?
5. Have barriers to female participation been identified in the project design document and measures designed to overcome these barriers?
6. Does the project provide for expertise in gender aspects of development to be utilised throughout the project cycle and does the document make it clear how the expertise will be used to address gender issues?

Complete WID Guidelines are available from the Health and Population Section, AIDAB, GPO Box 887, Canberra, ACT, 2601.

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**Women and migration**

There are an estimated 1.4 million women working as domestics in Asia and the Middle East. The numbers could be even higher if other countries were included such as Taiwan, Greece, Germany, Italy, Britain and some forty others. The trade in maids is thus a major world phenomenon, involving the migration of massive numbers of people.

At the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992, the world community adopted Agenda 21, the blueprint for action. Chapter 24 of this action plan provides policies for global action for women towards sustainable and equitable development. While the objectives and actions listed in Chapter 24 can have a direct and meaningful impact on women and the environment, it is not exactly clear how they are to be implemented. It is therefore very important to analyse this Chapter from the perspective of how it may be translated into action. In this article, Waafas Olos-Amaah, WorldWIDE's Managing Director, analyses the objectives and actions in Chapter 24 relating specifically to the women, environment and development nexus, and poses suggestions as to necessary guidelines to measure the effectiveness of actions designed to implement the recommendations.

The need to integrate gender, environment and development is not just another popular theory in the often theory-prone and ever-evolving development field. This connection is of fundamental importance because it brings into sharp focus the nexus between equity and sustainability in the context of development. The equity issue has always been an underlying factor in traditional women in development (WID) concerns. Women's unequal status and limited access to education and resources have effects that often extend beyond the conditions of their own lives to affect the lives of their families and communities. While almost all of society benefits from women's (especially poor women's) work, and while women produce a large percentage of the developing world's food (80% in some parts of Africa), their work is undervalued and/or undercounted. Further, a large majority of women face many obstacles, including lack of access to education, services and resources that can help to alleviate poverty. Consequently, there is no doubt as to why Chapter 24 of Agenda 21 echoed previous UN resolutions by calling for the "full, equal and beneficial integration of women in all development activities".

In recent years, the debate over sustainable development has revealed another facet of the equity issue; women have considerable knowledge and experience, and play active roles in combating serious environmental problems in a variety of settings, at home, in agriculture, commerce and industry. Yet at the policy level, this potential remains untapped because women's crucial roles are not recognised, and disproportionately few women gain a chance to contribute to sustainable development policy- and decision-making. Chapter 24 of Agenda 21 provides an opportunity to raise public awareness and generate political commitment for the gender and environment connection, and re-orient development strategies and actions to reflect these connections.

Tackling the pervasive gender inequality and lack of sustainability in development activities will not be easy. The broad objectives and actions listed in Chapter 24 can be grouped into five major categories, all of which clearly make the link between women, environment and development:

- policy
- environmental management
- research and information dissemination
- education, training and extension, and
- institution and capacity building.

I. Policy

Objective - to increase the proportion of women decision-makers, planners, technical advisors, managers and extension workers in environment and development fields.

Technically, all the actions suggested in this Chapter are necessary to achieve this overall policy goal. However, the most important is the proposal for action to "formulate clear government policies and national guidelines, strategies and plans" that will ensure a more equitable, gender-based distribution of resources and opportunities. After the formulation of such policies and strategies, another required action must be to "develop and include environmental, social and gender-impact analyses as an essential step in the development and monitoring of programmes and policies". By doing so, the gender-disaggregated impacts of policies can be measured and new policies and programmes can be designed to provide remedial or preventative action. And in implementing these actions, "women should be fully involved in decision-making and in the implementation of sustainable development activities at all levels".

II. Environmental management

Objective - to implement the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, particularly
with regard to women's participation in national ecosystem management and control of environmental degradation.

The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies were adopted by the Third World Conference to Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women in 1985. To meet this far reaching objective, many programmes would have to be designed, including programmes to:

a. "promote the provision of environmentally sound technologies which have been designed, developed and improved in consultation with women, accessible and clean water, an efficient fuel supply, and adequate sanitation facilities"; and

b. "to develop consumer awareness and the active participation of women, emphasising their crucial role in achieving changes necessary to reduce or eliminate unsustainable patterns of consumption and production, particularly in industrialised countries, in order to encourage investment in environmentally sound, productive activities and induce environmentally and socially friendly industrial development".

Another important set of environment-related actions proposed in Chapter 24 is the call on governments to "take urgent measures to avert the ongoing rapid environmental and economic degradation in developing countries that generally affects the lives of women and children in rural areas suffering drought, desertification and deforestation, armed conflicts, natural disasters, toxic waste and the aftermath of the use of unsuitable agro-chemical products". Finally, at the international level, governments are asked to "review and suggest amendments to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women by the year 2000, with a view to strengthening those elements of the Convention related to environment and development". A necessary and desired action in this regard will be one which ensures that special attention is given to the issue of access and entitlements to natural resources, technology, alternative banking and credit facilities and the control of pollution and toxicity in the home and workplace.

III. Research and information dissemination

Objective - to generate gender-sensitive data bases, information systems and participatory, action oriented research and policy analyses with the collaboration of academic institutions and local women researchers.

This objective highlights the importance of the flow of, and access to, information. Where there is a dearth of information (or lack of dissemination of information), responsive action cannot be taken, and where there is abundant information that is widely disseminated, information can be used for advocacy, to feed into policies, and to implement programmes. Therefore Chapter 24 provides for action that will encourage the generation of information on:

a. the "knowledge and experience on the part of women of the management and conservation of natural resources"; and

b. "the impact on women of environmental degradation, particularly drought, desertification, toxic chemicals, and armed conflicts".

The availability of the types of information listed above will enable the "analysis of the structural linkages between gender relations, environment and development". They will also help to develop programmes to "create rural and urban training, research and resource centres in developing countries that will serve to disseminate environmentally sound technologies to women".

IV. Education, training and provision of extension services

Objective - to assess, review, revise and implement, where appropriate, curricula and other educational material, with a view to promoting the dissemination to both men and women of gender-relevant knowledge and valuation of women's roles through formal and non-formal education, as well as through training institutions, in collaboration with non-governmental organisations.

The most important action to ensure improved access to education is the one that calls for measures to "increase educational and training opportunities for women and girls in sciences and technology", particularly at the post-secondary level. This is significant because policies and programmes in science and technology have traditionally been male dominated. Women are often not trained in the sciences and rarely practice in these fields. It is therefore difficult for them to assume roles where they can help to design environmentally and technologically sound systems and products or to provide extension services to those who cannot. It can be argued that programmes, projects, technologies and systems that are designed by women for use by women will be likely to have the most beneficial result on improving women's lives. Therefore, providing women with access to training will ensure their full participation in the design and development of such policies, programmes and technologies.

V. Institution and capacity building

Objective - system-wide review of the adequacy of the United Nations institutions, but especially the ones dealing specifically with women's issues - the UN Division for the Advancement of Women, the United Nations institutions, but especially the ones dealing specifically with women's issues - the UN Division for the Advancement of Women, the United
Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and women's programmes of regional commissions.

Specific requests are made to two agencies; UNIFEM and UNDP (the United Nations Development Programme). UNIFEM is asked to "establish regular consultations with donors in collaboration with UNICEF, with a view to promoting operational programmes and projects on sustainable development that will strengthen the participation of women, especially low-income women, in sustainable development and in decision-making". UNDP is asked to "establish a women's focal point on development and environment in each of its resident representative offices to provide information and promote exchange of experience and information in these fields". The desired impact of these proposed actions is to strengthen those UN agencies with mandates to oversee WID activities in particular. However, the most significant aspect is the mandate to "strengthen each agency's ability to incorporate gender roles and issues in programmes and decisions related to sustainable development".

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is clear that Chapter 24 provides a framework for policy and institutional modification on the environment and gender connection. However, this framework is not enough. The Earth Summit and Agenda 21 have demonstrated many points: a heightened awareness about the linkages and the interconnections between many sectoral issues; recognition of the need for a fundamental shift in perspective and action if real progress is to occur; endorsement of the need for innovative strategies and action to promote wider and fuller participation by women in all aspects of environmental management; and acknowledgement of the vital importance of incorporating sectoral and inter-sectoral dimensions and linkages into the framework for action.

Each of the points demonstrated provides an opportunity for integrated approaches i.e., approaches that will encourage a convergence of ideas, goals and objectives that will help individuals and organisations to incorporate the linkages and the interconnections at all levels and in each of the five major categories listed above. An integrated approach will help the adoption or implementation of policies, programmes and projects that are gender-sensitive, environmentally sound and at the same time based on ecosystem realities, opportunities and considerations. The hope that through such integrated approaches, women can be empowered by their inclusion in environment, science and technology is an inspiring one.

Each institution and each country needs to explore concrete ways to implement such approaches as they begin to develop policies, programmes and actions based on Chapter 24 of Agenda 21. To be able to measure the success of their efforts, countries, institutions and individuals need some achievement indicators. None exist so far. As a first step in developing such achievement indicators, we [WorldWIDE News] pose the following important questions. In what specific way does the policy, programme, project or activity:

- encourage and promote environmentally responsible action?
- promote the generation of gender-disaggregated data?
- provide for the monitoring and measurement of the activity’s impact based on gender?
- foster community and women’s active involvement and participation and at what levels?
- develop and/or strengthen local women’s capacity and in which sectors?
- build and strengthen institutional capacities of women’s organisations?

The answers to these questions might be an early guide to the efficacy of proposed policies or programmes based on Chapter 24. If concrete examples can be given to each of these questions, then it is likely that Chapter 24 of Agenda 21 will begin to live up to its name of providing for women in particular, "global action for sustainable and equitable development".

'Agenda 21: An easy reference to the specific recommendations on women', is available on request from the Australian Development Studies Network, ANU, ACT 0200.

Development Bulletin Volume 29

1994 is the International Year of the Family, and Volume 29 of Development Bulletin will focus on family issues. What will families look like in the coming century? How will development accommodate changing family structure? These and other issues will be covered in Development Bulletin 29, as well as notices of upcoming events focusing on the family.

All our regular sections including conference reports, book reviews, WID update and news from the field will be included. If you are not a subscriber to Development Bulletin, subscribe NOW.
Women in development forum: Recommendations

Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Canberra, 2 July 1993.

This forum was one of a series of WID forums being hosted by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid. The forum developed recommendations for work in three different areas: local government, Federal government and within NGOs.

Local government

NGOs need to be active in carrying Agenda 21 into the local community. This involves tackling issues of power between:
- local government and community relations;
- local government and State/Federal government.

To address these different levels of decision-making, NGOs can assist the implementation of Agenda 21 on a local level through:
- lobbying for a flow of information up from local government to State/Federal governments;
- lobbying for the flow of information from local governments to the women's policy arena;
- link women and environment issues to other contemporary issues to mainstream them.

NGO community

NGO strategies were suggested by forum participants:

Agenda 21 implementation
- information on women and Agenda 21 needs to be disseminated to NGOs;
- grassroots activity should be increased by lobbying the government and the United Nations to take action;
- individuals and groups need to challenge agencies to support and implement Agenda 21.

Agency WID work
- we need to evaluate our own NGO attitudes, policies and actions;
- attention needs to be given to challenging and changing thinking, assumptions and language;
- account needs to be taken of the differences between NGOs;
- discussion and debate within and among NGOs needs to increase on women's issues and the environment and other global issues;
- NGOs should appoint a WID officer within their agencies;
- a sharing of experiences and resources is necessary to strengthen the national network of NGOs;
- Australian NGOs need to increase international networking, particularly with NGOs from the South (electronic networking needs to be increased).

ACFOA role
- ACFOA needs to educate its member agencies to include women and development recommendations from Agenda 21;
- more WID forums of this type should be held to feed into internal agency evaluation and action;
- a contact point for the dissemination and distribution of material is essential. Suzette Mitchell (ACFOA WID Advisor) has agreed to conduct this role.

Federal government

The following strategies are considered for NGOs lobbying for the inclusion of women's issues onto Federal government agendas:
- although government is willing to use NGOs in consultation, there are often not the financial resources to support this process (i.e. travel costs). Lack of financial commitment needs to be addressed;
- January 1994 sets a Platform for Action in New York. There is a need for consultation to disseminate information on this;
- NGOs need to write to the Minister Assisting the Prime Minister on the Status of Women stressing the importance of international work (i.e., preparations for the UN Conference for Women);
- NGOs need to lobby the government to ensure the UN Conference for Women is prioritised;
- information on the planning of the November 1993 Manila NGO Forum on the Conference for Women needs to be accessed;
- consolidated lobbying for resources and grants for international work needs to be increased;
- government grants should prioritise programmes highlighting the 1995 UN Conference for Women (eg, CAPOW);
The following resources are useful for obtaining information on women and Agenda 21 and the links between women and the environment:

Brown, V., Orr, L. and Smith, D. I. 1992, Acting locally: Meeting the environmental information needs of local government, Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

National Women's Consultative Council 1991, A question of balance: Australian women's priorities for environmental action, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Canberra.

National Women's Consultative Council 1992, What on earth can a woman do?, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Canberra.


Turbayne, D. 1993, To the summit and beyond: A community guide to the earth summit and its outcomes, Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Canberra.


These and other resources are available from ACFOA.

The WID section of ACFOA also produced a background paper on the women's component of Agenda 21 for the WID Forum. This paper is available on request.

For more information about this forum, or other forums in the series, contact: Suzette Mitchell, ACFOA, Private Bag 3, Deakin, ACT 2600, Australia, Tel (06) 285 1816, Fax (06) 285 1720

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**Conferences: Reports and calendar**

**Burma: The silent emergency**

*Sydney, 28 May 1992*

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid and the Burma NGO Forum recently convened a one-day conference titled 'Burma: the silent emergency'. Papers were presented by:

- Saw Ba Thin, Secretary-General of the Karen National Union and Executive Committee member of the Democratic Alliance of Burma;
- Mr Jack Dunford, Chairperson of the Burma Subcommittee of the Committee to Co-ordinate Services to the Displaced Persons in Thailand (CCSDPT) and the Burma Border Consortium;
- Mr Russell Rollason, Executive Director of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid and Chairperson of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies;
- Mr Roger Walker, Policy Adviser to the Chief Executive for World Vision Australia.

The conference was attended by about 90 people from NGOs, government departments, (Immigration, Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australian International Development Assistance Bureau), Ethnic Communities Councils, the Burmese community, as well as many interested individuals.

The following is a brief summary of some of the discussion points:

**Saw Ba Thin** spoke on the struggles of the ethnic nationalities in Burma against the military dictatorship of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), the refusal of the SLORC to hand over power to the elected members of the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma, the continued attacks on and oppression and exploitation of the people and the plight of the thousands who have fled the country. He stressed the impact of sanctions against the SLORC and the need to continue to maintain international pressure. On foreign aid he said that "it is counter-productive to give development aid to a regime which is devoted to destruction rather than development...the SLORC has always refused to change except under direct pressure, so if aid is to have any benefit at all it must be attached to strict conditions for humanitarian and political change. Otherwise the aid will only worsen and prolong the suffering. The SLORC cannot be convinced to change by giving them exactly what they want without conditions".

He also stressed the need for assistance to those in the border areas - "there are hundreds and thousands of displaced and suffering people who have fled SLORC's
brutality, who can be reached by outside aid and where that aid can be monitored”.

Saw Ba Thin made a plea for foreign aid for those people whose situation is growing more desperate daily.

Jack Dunford also called for continuing support for refugees in Thailand and indeed enhanced support if the Thai authorities allow it - “There is an urgent need for material assistance in the border areas of Burma but there is a need for caution in providing any assistance through the Rangoon authorities”.

He emphasised caution in consideration of the provision of aid through Rangoon, stating unequivocally that the timing was not right and that we must watch the progress on the new constitution through the national convention process now underway. Pressure must be maintained on the SLORC to genuinely involve all segments of the opposition in the constitutional process, including the ethnic leaders, Aung San Suu Kyi and the political opposition. The needs and legitimacy of the ethnic nationalities along the Thai/Burmese borders must be carefully weighed against any intervention inside Burma. “Every precaution must be taken to avoid any action which might strengthen SLORC’s position at this pivotal point in Burma’s history”.

Russell Rollason argued the case for Australian NGOs to provide humanitarian assistance to Burma (along with continuing assistance for the refugees along the Thai border and the Rohingya refugees on the border in Bangladesh). He focused attention on humanitarian assistance, the desperate need of the people for health services, education, water supply and sanitation. He put the case for assistance through NGO channels, not for assistance to the SLORC, and for NGO personnel to be involved in monitoring the assistance provided.

“I know of no other situation in the world - apart from Burma - where NGOs have accepted, or perhaps more accurately, turned a blind eye to an embargo on humanitarian assistance on political or human rights grounds” he said. “When faced with an oppressive government, our choice is one of two - boycott it, make it an international pariah and hope this brings change; or get involved, offer solidarity to the people, increase the information flow, seek to nurture increased understanding and hope that international interaction will bring change”. He argued for the increase of the arms and trade embargo, but for lifting the de facto embargo on humanitarian aid, given the appropriate safeguards. If the latter proves impossible to monitor effectively then NGOs should withdraw and state their reasons for doing so.

Roger Walker outlined World Vision’s experience of working in Burma; the kinds of assistance that was initially provided, the slow negotiation process with the SLORC to allow World Vision to carry out relief and humanitarian assistance with all assurances of non-interference, and no compromises to the integrity of their programme.

“The overriding question we faced was whether we tried to assist further those in need, especially the vulnerable, the women and children - now - in an imperfect situation, or whether we waited until democratic and human rights principles were respected”. World Vision remained committed to providing assistance to refugees on the borders at the same time. World Vision has worked closely with UNICEF and the United Nations Development Fund.

Great concern was expressed over the worsening situation inside Burma and on the borders. It was agreed that assistance to the borders should be increased and there was agreement that any assistance inside Burma shouldn’t in any way lend credibility to the SLORC, and that expatriate personnel should be utilised for project implementation and monitoring.

There was wide agreement that information dissemination on development in Burma was critical, that international lobbying of Governments and the United Nations was necessary and that international networking on these issues should begin immediately.

A full report on the conference including the speaker’s papers, is available from the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Private Bag 3, ACT 2600.

Report by Penelope Let, Australian Council for Overseas Aid

Are women benefiting from development?

Canberra, 14 July 1993

This seminar given by Frances Perkins of the National Centre for Development Studies addressed the question of whether or not the status and well-being of women improves as economies grow. The impact on women of five areas of national economic policy - trade, macro-economic, structural adjustment, financial and taxation - was considered. Frances drew on data from countries of the Asia-Pacific region in developing her conclusions that women play an important role in the growth process and realise improved well-being. Indicators of benefits derived by women included increases in participation rates, life expectancy, schooling and earnings ratios.

Trade and macro-economic policy

Primarily these policies influence women’s well-being indirectly through their impact on economic growth. Data presented indicated a direct link between economic growth and increased female workforce participation which is associated with improved status, earnings and self-esteem for women. Higher national income permits more comprehensive education, health and social
welfare programmes which can significantly improve the standard of living experienced by women.

Countries which pursue outward oriented free trade and stable macro-economic policies tend to grow more rapidly than countries with inward oriented protectionist trade regimes and high inflation and debt.

Direct relationships also exist. Labour intensive light manufactures tend to be high employers of women and also major players in export activities. Outward oriented trade regimes, through promotion of such industries, encourage female workforce participation. Inflation is especially damaging for many low income groups and tends to lead to increased inequality of income and wealth distribution. Case study evidence from countries in the region (the newly industrialised economies (NIEs), ASEAN, South Asia and China) indicates that, broadly speaking, higher levels of growth have occurred simultaneously with rising levels of female life expectancy, education, workforce participation and earnings.

Structural adjustment policies

In relation to structural adjustment, Frances posed the question of whether or not the position of women, the poor and disadvantaged groups could be protected and enhanced during policy implementation. The experiences of the Republic of Korea and the Philippines were contrasted. Beset by similar economic problems the two countries embarked on major structural adjustment programmes. Whereas disadvantaged groups benefited in the Republic of Korea they bore the brunt of restructuring in the Philippines.

On the basis of these two different experiences the following were identified as necessary for a programme to achieve its goals whilst protecting the position of less advantaged groups:

- liberalisation of trade to enhance growth;
- macro-economic stability to enable growth;
- financial sector liberalisation for increased economic efficiency and equity;
- incorporation of policies to ease the burden of adjustment on the poor and to increase social equity.

Financial sector policies

Financial markets are typically regulated through controlled interest rates and rationing of credit to preferred groups. Credit rationing usually restricts small enterprises’ access to formal credit markets, either precluding entrepreneurs from borrowing or forcing them into the informal sector and high cost credit. As women often operate small-scale businesses they tend to gain from financial market liberalisation.

Additionally, policies which favour credit allocation to heavy manufacturing over light industry, services and agriculture discriminate against women’s workforce participation.

Taxation policies

Questions of indirect versus direct systems of taxation, ease of evasion, tax burdens on different sectors, use of the family as opposed to individuals as the basic unit for taxation and rebates are all important for women. In many developing countries small numbers of income earners render direct taxation inadequate.

In addition, the more wealthy groups in society are sometimes more able to influence taxation policy and avoid tax responsibilities. Indirect taxation, the frequently used alternative, impacts more heavily on groups that spend a higher proportion of their income, such as low income groups. A progressive tax system with high levels of compliance will therefore advantage women.

In many developing economies agriculture has been taxed to support other areas of the economy. To the extent that women are intensively employed in agriculture they are disadvantaged by this type of tax regime.

Taxation of family units may act as a disincentive to female workforce participation. Average rates of tax paid tend to be higher under this system if more than one family member works, particularly as the value of services produced at home are frequently not taken into account. Rebates for dependent spouses tend to act as a disincentive to women seeking paid employment, whilst childcare rebates work in the opposite direction.

The seminar provided useful and interesting insights into the application of traditional economic analysis to the relationship between development and women’s position within economies. Issues relating to development and women’s changing position within society, and subjective considerations of women’s welfare were raised during the post-seminar discussion. Some discussants felt that such issues should have been given more attention.

The seminar was based on work published initially in an ESCAP volume Integration of Women’s Concerns into Development Planning in Asia and the Pacific and recently re-released in the National Centre for Development Studies reprint series (Reprint Series no. 8, Integration of women’s concerns into development planning: market interventions) available from: Karen Haines, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT, 0200.

Report by Louise Will
The new rich in Asia

Australian National University, 31 March 1993

'The new rich in Asia: Mobile phones, Macdonald's and middle class revolution' was the topic of a half day seminar at the Australian National University. The speakers were David Goodman, Richard Robison and Kevin Hewison. They are all members of a project at the Asian Research Centre, Murdoch University, studying the rapid expansion of the middle class and business people in several Asian countries. Goodman spoke about China, Robison about Indonesia, and Hewison about Thailand. Malaysia and Singapore are among the other countries also included in the project, which were not discussed at the seminar.

Their presentations stimulated considerable discussion among the more than 70 people who attended. Among the issues raised were: what constitutes the middle class; what are the social implications of the expansion of capitalism; what are the political implications; and what explains the rapid economic changes in these countries?

One theme that emerged from the presentations and discussion is that the category 'middle class' encapsulates a wide range of people including intellectuals, educators, journalists, petty bourgeois and white collar workers among others. Besides representing a diversity of occupations, middle class people have a wide range of views and beliefs. They do not necessarily share many interests nor political stances.

A second theme is that middle class people in the countries being studied do seem to share a desire for rule of law (as opposed to the rule of particular leaders) and a political system that is not arbitrary. This does not necessarily mean that they favour democratic systems of government and associated institutions. But they do want predictability and accountability from government officials. This is one reason why corruption, especially when rampant, has aroused the anger of middle class people in various countries of the region.

Review by Ben Kerkvliet

Sexualities and culture: Regimes of sexuality

Australian National University, 5-8 July 1993

'Regimes of sexuality' was the second in a series of conferences on sexualities being hosted by the Humanities Research Centre in 1993. The Centre's theme for this year is 'sexualities and culture', and the aim is 'to stimulate consideration of dominant models of sexuality and their social significance, how they are sustained, what they exclude, and how they are transformed'. The 'sexualities and culture' theme emphasises the interplay between knowledges and the productions of sexualities within specific cultures over time and between cultures in interaction.

The papers presented at the conference included several which specifically addressed sexuality issues in developing countries. Martha MacIntyre, Department of Sociology at La Trobe University, presented a paper entitled 'Virtuous women and violent men: Salvadoran women and the sexual politics of machismo in the time of civil war'. This paper looked at the Salvadoran women's experiences of sexuality, the gendered construction of sexuality in their culture and the sexualisation of politics during the civil war. Anne-Marie Cass, Department of Social Science at Queensland University of Technology, gave a paper entitled 'Sexuality, violence and religion in the Philippines'. Her presentation explored Christian martyrdom, its embodiment in Philippine society, how martyrdom has been sexualised, and the implications of this for arrest, torture, rape and 'salvaging' in society torn by post colonial civil war. The conference also looked at western sexual imperialism as exemplified by the connection between HIV/AIDS in Western developed countries and the expanding sexual commodification of children in Southeast Asia as Western men seek safe and unprotected sex.

A third conference will be held this year on 13-15 August on the theme of the 'forces of desire'. The speakers include Trinh Minh-Ha from the University of California at Berkeley. Minh-Ha has written extensively on sexuality, the oppression of women and colonialism/post colonialism.

She will be giving a public lecture titled 'Gender and the poetry of desire' at 8.00 pm on 14 August 1993 at the Australian National University.

For more information about the conferences and conference papers contact:

Humanities Research Centre
Australian National University
Canberra
ACT 0200
Australia

Review by Tikka Wilson

Second geographical symposium on Southern Africa

Oxford University, 10 December 1992

This symposium was the second in what is intended to be a regular biennial meeting of geographers researching in Southern Africa, the first being held in Keele in 1990. The programme began with a broad overview by David Smith of social justice and its relationship to the redistribution process that appears to be commencing in South Africa. He pointed out that in order for an effective redistribution process to occur,
there had to be a change in the moral starting point for reforms, and that institutionally-based reforms were likely to leave persistent inequalities, citing worsening rural/urban disparities as illustrative of an undesirable consequence of current reforms.

This approach was also well illustrated by Tony Buckle who reported on the difficulties of achieving social justice through land redistribution. His research noted that the acquisition of individual property rights, granted in his study area by the church, had become an accepted and desirable way of achieving upward social mobility. Rather than supporting broad-based land reform, individuals felt that their major goal was to cross the divide into property ownership. Thus societal cleavages are not only maintained but widened.

The two opening papers illustrated one of the important dilemmas of the 'top down' versus 'bottom up' approach to development, i.e., that social justice is not always a consequence of following grassroots objectives. New moral starting points may be needed throughout society before social justice begins to occur.

The second two papers both focused on meeting basic needs in South Africa. Garret Nagle reviewed recent trends in health care and noted that the small proportion of GDP which is spent on the delivery system heavily favours the white population and those in urban areas. Overall, 20 per cent of South Africa's population absorbs 80 per cent of the total expenditure on health. Strong influence from drug companies has also maintained a bias towards curative rather than preventative medicine. The loosening of apartheid has yet to have any real impact on the system and many see privatisation of health care as an indirect means of ensuring continued discrimination in access to health care facilities.

Tony Lemon reported similar trends in his review of recent changes in the education system in South Africa. Many former white schools have been virtually forced into partial privatisation by the government, partly in response to reduced funding in the wake of equalisation of budgets, but also as a means of permitting schools to control their own admission procedures. At present the overall budget is low but still favours whites over non-whites by a factor of four to one. Future redistribution across ethnic groups will not help reduce the largest disparity in the education system which currently is between rural and urban areas. The possible shift in funding to a federal system in South Africa is not envisaged as a way to resolve these problems.

Political change itself formed the principal theme in the third session. Roddy Fox outlined proposals for future regional divisions in South Africa put forward by the African National Congress (ANC) and by the National Party (NP). In particular he speculated on the impact that each system might have on future voting patterns and the consequent structure of political power. The evidence clearly illustrated that there are major political forces other than the ANC and NP with strong regional power bases. Any new political structure in South Africa is going to have to take this into account.

Anthony Christopher discussed the current debate in South Africa on the reintegration of the homelands (and possibly Lesotho) into the central state. He reviewed the emergence of the present situation and pointed out the importance of land ownership patterns rather than ethnic history in its creation. He speculated as to whether one way out of the current political impasse in South Africa might be for a Natal/KwaZulu secession since both ethno-political units have a history of awkwardness and independence from central government controls. Not surprisingly this speculative proposal caused considerable discussion.

The final session saw discussions shift out of South Africa and into the broader Southern African region. James Sidaway examined urbanism, image and state, in post colonial Mozambique, a period which has impressed a considerable change in the political climate of the country. Frelimo had, like many other socialist governments in Africa, a strong anti-urban bias, seeing the cities as, literally, concrete representations on foreign capitalism. Despite its pro-rural development policies, the lengthy war with Renamo forced many into urban and peri-urban areas, a trend currently being underpinned by the emphases implicit within structural adjustment. The cities in Mozambique are therefore, James Sidaway suggests, returning to their old economic and political pre-eminence.

Overall this was a very successful meeting. The quality of the papers was excellent, all were available in printed form, and was matched by the vigour and level of discussion. The organiser, Tony Lemon, must be warmly congratulated for putting together and excellent symposium, both academically and socially. Hopefully the next meeting in Keele in two years' time will be equally rewarding.

Report by David Drakakis-Smith, Keele University.

Reprinted from Developing Areas Research Group of the Institute of British Geographers (DARG) Newsletter, 19, Spring 1993, p. 11.

The food time-bomb in Asia

Canberra, 16 April 1993

This conference, sponsored by the Crawford Fund for International Agricultural Research, was held in recognition of Australia-International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) Day. The conference attracted 174 participants, mostly Australians from a wide range of professions including government, private industry, academia and non government organisations.
The Honourable Gordon Bilney, Minister for Overseas Co-operation and Pacific Island Affairs presented the opening address. Mr Bilney highlighted the importance of continued support for rice research to ensure future food security in the Asia-Pacific region, emphasising Australia's important position in the region. Mr Bilney commended IRRI's success in developing high yielding varieties of rice, and increasingly focusing their programmes on sustainable technologies and the social aspects of agricultural development. Mr Bilney pledged continuing support for international agricultural research, allotting just over $1m of Australia's $30m 1993 aid budget for agricultural research to IRRI.

Mr Russell Rollason, Executive Director, Australian Council for Overseas Aid, opened his address with an emphasis on the need for Australia to balance its exploitation of economic opportunities in the Asian region with the genuine interests of the poor, citing the fact that the region contains the greatest number of people living in absolute poverty in the world. Although world agricultural output has increased dramatically over the last 25 years, that rate of growth is now declining. Though yields have increased, the benefits of Green Revolution technologies have not been equally distributed, and have bypassed the poorest farmers. Mr Rollason outlined the need for deliberate policies to assist those farmers, most of whom farm marginal land not conducive to the cultivation of modern varieties. The 1990s, he said, must be the decade of equity in which the gap between rich and poor shrinks. To attain this, three major areas of agricultural research must be addressed: 1) sustainability; emphasising the importance of biodiversity, 2) farmer participation; taking into account local knowledge of women and direct participation of farmers in research, and 3) extension; without adequate extension, research results are neither widely nor understandable disseminated. Mr Rollason praised the work of Dr Klaus Lampe, Director-General of IRRI, and welcomed recent moves by IRRI and the Crawford Fund for International Agricultural Research to include NGOs in co-operative development efforts.

Dr Ken Fischer, IRRI's Deputy-Director for research, chaired the second session which looked at what agricultural research offers, emphasising that research begins with farmers. He introduced four researchers who gave technical presentations about their area of speciality within IRRI; Ms Thelma Romero Paris, Professor Liu Zhong Zhu, Dr Mahabub Hossain, and Dr Gurdev S. Khush. All of these speakers highlighted the agricultural achievements of IRRI.

Dr Hossain, head of the Social Sciences Division (IRRI), commented on the positive social side-effects of agricultural research such as the widening of the economy and provision of more jobs, improving the life of rural women and raising rural incomes. Ms Paris co-ordinates the Women in Rice Farming Systems (WIRFS) Programme which seeks to raise the status of women and address gender issues in rice farming systems. She discussed her work in gender analysis, nutrition and socio-economics of farming systems and concluded with a slide display of 'women friendly' rice cultivation and harvesting technologies.

Dr Khush, a plant breeder at IRRI since 1967, focused his discussion on environmentally-sensitive rice production through the more efficient use of chemical inputs. Increased production from a static land base will be required as the rice area of Asia has stagnated at 146 million hectares since 1980. IRRI's goal is a 5 tonne per hectare increase in yields from current levels of 10 tonnes per hectare through the breeding of higher ratio grain to straw rice culitgens.

Dr Liu, Director of the National Azolla Research Centre located in China's Fujian Province, noted the benefits of North - South co-operation in azolla breeding programs. His research on azolla use in rice and fish production in China has shown the productive advantages to be gained from such a system both in crude output and environmental sustainability.

Dr Geoff Miller, Australia's candidate for Director-General of the FAO, summarised the session, highlighting the challenges which now face global agricultural research initiatives. Institutions such as IRRI face severe constraints, particularly on financing, just as their research is becoming most crucial.

Research objectives are widening to include women and sustainability without a corresponding increase in funding. In conclusion, Dr Miller stated that IRRI must adapt to, rather than resist, the new world environment. They must liaise more closely with NGOs, farmer organisations and other support institutions while tailoring their research objectives to governments which are striving to become competitive in the global economic system.

Review by Elaine Bliss and Peter B. Urich

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**World Bank definition of food security**

"Access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life. Its essential elements are the availability of food and the ability to acquire it. Food insecurity, in turn, is the lack of access to enough food. There are two kinds of food insecurity: chronic and transitory. Chronic food insecurity is a continuously inadequate diet caused by the inability to acquire food...transitory food insecurity is a temporary decline in a household's access to enough food".

Reprinted from *Community Nutrition News* 2, March 1993
Conference Calendar

15th international congress of nutrition - nutrition in a sustainable environment

Adelaide, 26 September - 1 October 1993

This congress will include the themes: nutrition and the environment; nutrition policies and programmes; prevention of chronic disease by nutritional means; and nutrition and performance. Eight satellite meetings are attached to this congress. Details of three of them are as follows:

Nutrition among South Pacific populations in a changing political and economic climate

Auckland, New Zealand, 23-24 September 1993

Diabetes, obesity and the thrifty gene

Lorne, Victoria, 4-5 October 1993

Nutrition surveillance

Gold Coast, Queensland, 4-6 October 1993

For more information contact:
Dr R.M. Smith
CSIRO Division of Human Nutrition
PO Box 10041
Adelaide, SA 5000
Australia
Tel (08) 224 1800
Fax (08) 224 1641

Environment Institute of Australia 1993 national conference

Sydney, 22-24 September 1993

This conference aims to canvass environmental management needs in Australia and the Asia-Pacific region in the 1990s, investigate partnerships demonstrating an ecologically sustainable development approach, focus on the 1990s, and give practical examples of partnerships in action through site visits.

The programme has been designed for leaders in industry and government, environmental managers and practitioners, allied professionals, community interest groups, decision, policy and law makers in the area of environmental management, and those pursuing a career in environmental management.

For more information contact:
EIA Conference Secretariat
PO Box 787
Potts Point
NSW 2011
Australia
Tel (02) 357 2600
Fax (02) 357 2950

The Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (ANZAAS) annual conference

Perth, 28-30 September 1993

The theme of the 1993 ANZAAS congress is 'making a difference', and topics include: efficiency in the use and production of energy, environment and resources development, topical issues on health, and the quality of our coastal and near shore environment.

For more information contact:
The Secretariat
ANZAAS Congress
Curtin University of Technology
GPO Box U 1967
Perth
WA 6001
Australia
Tel (09) 351 2408
Fax (09) 351 2300

Australian tropical health and nutrition conference

Brisbane, 21-23 October 1993

The main themes of this conference will be diarrhoeal and vector-borne diseases. Special interest group sessions will be held in environmental health, HIV/AIDS, indigenous primary health care, and nutrition. Workshops addressing acute respiratory infections, malaria, Pacific Islander health and family issues, and strategic project design will be held before or after the conference.

For more information contact:
Wendy Gardiner or Gail Cohen
The University of Queensland, Medical School
Herston Road, Herston
Qld 4006
Australia
Tel (07) 365 5408
Fax (07) 365 5599

29th annual scientific and general meeting of the Australian Society for Parasitology

Heron Island, Queensland, 28 September-1 October 1993

The main feature of the meeting will be two symposia: molecular genetics and the parasite genome, and ecology of parasites in the tropical environment.

For further information contact:
Mrs Nola Quirk
Queensland Institute of Medical Research
The Bancroft Centre
300 Herston Road
Brisbane
Qld 4029
Australia
Tel (07) 362 0241
Australia-Pacific extension conference

Surfers Paradise, Queensland, 12-14 October 1993

Sponsored by the Standing Committee on Agriculture, the theme of this conference is 'Extension: Securing the future'. It is geared towards meeting the needs of government departments on issues of agriculture, resources, rural problems and health, development planning and funding bodies, rural industry and producer groups, agribusiness, consultants and companies providing goods and information; community, landcare, and integrated catchment management groups; universities, TAFE colleges, and rural training colleges.

Dr Michael Quinn Patton, a leading authority on strategic planning, policy analysis and communications, will be attending the conference as a keynote speaker.

For more information contact:
Mr J Coutts
Queensland Department of Primary Industry
PO Box 2282, Toowoomba
Qld 4350
Australia
Tel (076) 346 644
Fax (076) 331 943

Visit by AIDS expert

International AIDS authority, Dr Remi Sugunro, is to visit Australia from October 18-31, to report world, and to present a new AIDS video. Dr Sugunro consulted to the 1990 committee drafting the World Health Organisation's strategy for world AIDS prevention. He is the Health Adviser to PLAN international, and is responsible for developing PLAN's AIDS management and prevention strategies for Third World countries.

During his visit Dr Sugunro will launch the PLAN International video 'AIDS: A race against time', which examines the impact of the AIDS pandemic in the developing world. The video provides specific footage of the extent of the AIDS pandemic, and examples of PLAN's involvement in global AIDS prevention, the video also offers a positive message.

The theme of the video is that with education, counselling, awareness, understanding and cultural change, there is hope that AIDS can be defeated.

Dr Sugunro will be available to meet with AIDS strategists and the media from 18 to 31 October, 1993.

For more information please contact:
Jackie Van Vugt, Marketing manager,
PLAN International,
12 Highbury Grove, Kew,
Victoria, 3101,
Fax 03 863 1390

Vietnam update

Canberra, 3 December 1993

Vietnam update 1993 continues the series begun in 1990, bringing together academics, business people, public servants, NGOs and others interested in Vietnam. This update will focus on rural and agrarian issues, particularly the impact of national economic and political changes on rural people. These changes have important policy implications for development assistance for research and technical exchange policy, as well as for agencies investing in or assisting the development of rural Vietnam.

For more information contact:
Mrs Bev Fraser
Research School of Pacific Studies
ANU
Canberra
0200, ACT
Australia
Tel (06) 249 5915
Fax (06) 249 5523

African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific 1993 annual conference

Canberra, 1-3 October 1993

The theme of the 1993 annual conference will be 'Australia's relations with Africa'. The aim of the conference will be to focus attention on Australia's record with respect to formulating policy and responding to opportunity and need in Africa.

The organisers want to broaden the base from which papers are called in order to generate wide-ranging discussion. It is hoped that these will be concerned with the major regions of the Horn of Africa, West Africa, East Africa and Southern Africa, and cover political and economic issues, military involvement and aid, food production and health (including the HIV epidemic).

For more information contact:
Carolyn Sweeney
ACFOA, Private Bag 3
Deakin
ACT 2600
Australia
Tel (06) 285 1957

Colonial inheritance: The Pacific islands since independence

Canberra, 1-3 December 1993

This conference aims to look at the colonial records of the departing powers in the Pacific islands and assess the value and utility of what was left to the new states. It will scrutinise states at the point of transition to assess the material and non-material assets of the going concerns. It will focus on a number of key processes, institutions and issues. These will include the structure
and function of the state and of parliamentary politics in the post-colonial Pacific, education, gender, health care, economic development and the exploitation of natural resources, media, literature and the creative arts.

For further information contact:
Brij Lal or Hank Nelson
Division of Pacific and Asian History
Research School of Pacific Studies
ANU
ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 4169

Sustainable village-based development
Colorado, USA, 25 September - 1 October 1993

The purpose of this conference is to help to improve the lives of three billion people living in the Third World who now live in poverty, through sustainable village-based development. The product of the conference will be a design manual which outlines the process of sustainable village-based development. This will then be used to initiate a long-range pilot project that will serve over one million people.

The conference objectives are: to identify common attributes of successful development projects, discuss and establish basic principles for sustainable development and to consolidate the principles in a single cohesive document. Concentration will be on organisational structures, human interactive processes, motivational techniques, and village involvement. Every effort will be made to encourage participation of indigenous development workers from less developed countries.

For more information contact:
Dr Maurice Alberston
Room 203, Weber Building
Civil Engineering Dept.
Colorado State University
Fort Collins CO 80523
USA
Tel (303) 491 5753
Fax (303) 491 6787

1993 Parliament of the world's religions
Chicago, USA, 28 August - 3 September 1993

The 1993 Parliament is a centennial celebration of the 1893 Parliament and a chance for spiritual leaders and religious experts to share their wisdom on the critical issues that face women, men, and more importantly children.

For more information contact:
Programme Committee
Council for a Parliament of the world's religions
PO Box 1630
Chicago IL 60690-1630
USA

Seventh international meeting of women and health
Uganda, 17-23 October, 1993

The theme of this conference is 'united we stand to solve the global concerns of women's health and reproductive rights'.

For more information contact:
The Co-ordinator, 7th IWHM
PO Box 1191, Kampala
Uganda

The state of education and development: New directions
Cairo, Egypt, 21-25 November 1993

Research topics for this conference include health and medicine, the world food agenda, environment and shelter.

For more information contact:
Mekki Mtewa
AAPRD
PO Box 70257
Washington DC 20024-0257
USA
Fax (202) 723 7010

Waigani Seminar: Environment and sustainable development
Papua New Guinea, August 23-27 1993

The University of Papua New Guinea will host its 20th session of the Waigani Seminar, focusing on environment and sustainable development. International, regional and national level participants are expected to attend.

For more information contact:
Joseph Sukwianomb
The University of PNG
University PO NCDF
Papua New Guinea

The Association for Women in Development, sixth international forum
Washington, USA, 20-24 October, 1993

The theme of this conference is 'joining forces to further shared visions'.

For more information contact:
The Conference Office
261 College Court
KSU
Manhattan, Kansas 66506-6009
USA
Tel (913) 532 5575
Fax (913) 532 5673
Pacific Islands Political Studies Association conference
Rarotonga, Cook Islands, 5-10 December 1993

This conference aims to cater for a wide range of interests: national politics, regional and international politics and local government. The keynote address will be given by Sir Geoffrey Henry, Prime Minister, Cook Islands.

For further information contact:
Ron Crocombe
Box 130, Rarotonga
Cook Islands
Tel 682 28100
Fax 682 21351

Global conference on the sustainable development of small island developing states
April 1994

This conference aims to adopt plans and programmes which support the sustainable development of small island developing states, as well as utilisation of marine and coastal resources. The organisational session of the conference recently concluded its work in New York. The Preparatory Committee met in New York at United Nations Headquarters from 2 to 13 August 1993. Relevant non government organisations from developed and developing countries, particularly from small island states, are invited to contribute to the conference.

All communications from NGOs should be mailed to:
United Nations Secretariat
ECOSOC/NGO Unit
Room DC-2 2340
New York NY 10017
USA

International development, children and women: Second United Nations' decade
Washington, USA, 17-19 November 1994

This conference is being convened by the Association for the Advancement of Policy Research and Development in the Third World. The Association is currently calling for proposals of papers, panels and workshops on any of the following themes: roundtable topics on Africa, Asia and the South Pacific, Caribbean and Latin America, Middle East and the Gulf, and Europe, Canada and the United States.

Research topics will include biotechnology and agriculture, children and women in development, computers and automation, culture and human values, economic planning and policies with women in mind, education for women in development, financing projects for women in development, health and medicine for women in development, human rights and justice of

abused, displaced and marginalised women, indigenous women, networks for women in development, social development and welfare for women and children, training women for development, women in diplomacy, policy and public relations, women in the professions and the United Nations decade for women.

For more information contact:
Mekki Mleta
AAPRD
PO Box 70257
Washington, DC 20024-0257
USA

International conference on population and development
Cairo, Egypt, 5-13 September 1993

For information contact:
Population 94, ICPD Secretariat
c/o United Nations Population Fund
220 E. 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017
USA
Tel (212) 297 5222
Fax (212) 297 4915

Pacific Islands Political Studies Association (PIPSA) - 5th conference
Rarotonga, Cook Islands, 5-10 December 1993

For more information contact:
The Convenor
PIPSA Conference
Box 130, Rarotonga
Cook Islands
Fax 682 12 315

Moscow conference on the rights of indigenous people
Moscow, Russia, September 13-24 1993

For more information contact:
Foundation for International Co-operation and Development
2911 Second Avenue
Suite 1000
Seattle
WA 98121
USA
Tel (206) 728 1902
Fax (206) 728 1563

Inter-governmental negotiating committee for a convention to combat desertification
Geneva, Switzerland, 13-24 September 1993

For more information contact:
INCD Secretariat
PO Box 80
1231 Conches, Geneva
Switzerland
Tel 41 22 789 1676
Fax 44 71 276 8861
International conference on future groundwater resources at risk
Helsinki, Finland, 13 June 1994

This conference will deal with the specific needs of developing countries: risks for groundwater monitoring, physical and chemical processes, rehabilitation of polluted aquifers, regulatory issues and case studies.

For more information contact:
Ms Tuulikki Soukko
FGR 94
National Board of Waters and the Environment
PO Box 250
Helsinki SF 00101
Finland
Tel 358 0 4028 258

Global forum on environmental and development education
New Delhi, India, 24-28 September 1993

This conference is being hosted by the Indian Environmental Society.

For more information contact:
Dr Desh Bandu
President, Indian Environmental Society
U-112 Vikas Marg
Delhi 11002
India

Book reviews and new books

The dangers of export pessimism: Developing countries and industrial markets

This book, edited by one of Australia's most prominent economists, is a valuable contribution to the literature on international trade policy and economic development, especially because of its case study chapters on nine successful developing countries: China, South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, India, Colombia, and Mexico, with chapters also on the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, and Argentina. Agricultural commodity exporting African countries are conspicuous by their absence. However, the editor's own contribution is limited to a brief introduction which mainly summarises the contents of the other chapters. The book is divided into two parts, six chapters on export pessimism and export growth, and the 12 country case studies.

The book's main theme is given by Hughes, "Export pessimism - the belief that exports from developing countries cannot successfully penetrate the industrial market economies of the developed nations - has undermined the export performance of many developing countries. It has been proved wrong in practice by rapidly growing developing countries. Yet many developing countries continue to take a pessimistic view of their export potential, only half-heartedly liberalising their trade policies. Export pessimism thus becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy"(1).

Most of the chapters which illuminate the main theme also support it, although some focus on other matters. The converse argument to the main theme is made by Jayati Ghosh in chapter 6, 'Can world markets continue to absorb export-led strategies of developing countries: The export pessimist's case'. Chapters 15 and 17 on India and Colombia provide little support to the main theme. Ajit Prasad in chapter 15 concludes that his Indian findings clearly dispel export pessimism because through econometric analysis he obtained a relative price elasticity of world demand for Indian exports to be -1.27, which he says does not justify export pessimism because it is well above unity. We disagree with this conclusion, because optimum tariff argument grounds such as a low price elasticity of demand would justify a high level of export taxes and would not warrant a free trade policy, assuming there was no trade restriction retaliation by importing countries. Although the growth rate of Colombia's minor exports in the mid 1980s was rapid, M. D. P. Esguerra concluded that "The implications of future world trade for Colombian minor exports are not promising"(366).

The book's arguments in favour of its main theme are limited because they hardly discuss two contrary themes. These contrary themes are 1) even though developing country inefficient import substitution policies have generally been failures, efficient mild import substitution policies based on infant industry and terms of trade arguments, may facilitate economic development especially during the early phases of development; and 2) even though export pessimism might not be justified for individual countries, it is justified especially for primary commodities and labour intensive manufacturing industries for developing countries as a whole. It has been argued that manufacturing industries got their initial start and base because of import substitution policies in countries such as Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, India, China, and Mexico.

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Then from this base, supported by more export oriented policies, they further developed into export industries.

Chapter 2, 'The growth of exports from developing countries: Export pessimism and reality in developing countries' by V. Panoutsopoulous is the main chapter, theoretically supporting the book's main theme. He mentions W. Cline's influential article 'Can the East Asian model of development be generalised?' (World Development, 10(2) 1982), on the second contrary theme. He then cites and points out two weaknesses in Cline's argument that "while the [export led growth] model may work well if pursued by a limited number of countries, it may break down if a large majority of developing countries seek to pursue it at the same time, because the resulting outpouring of manufactured exports might be more than Western markets could absorb". However, in spite of his two alleged weaknesses, he finds that the argument that industrial countries cannot adjust rapidly enough to the export potential of manufacturers from developing countries, appears to have considerable strength. "Direct evidence to substantiate it is not available, but the growing number of non-tariff measures introduced by industrial countries has been used as evidence for its validity" according to Winters, Nogues, and Olechowski as quoted by Panoutsopoulous (15). However, later he writes that "market penetration data suggest, and the analysis of the determinants of protection shows, market penetration is not the principal, or even an important, determinant of protectionism. Nor has protectionism become a prohibitive deterrent to import growth" (34). This is asserted without supporting evidence, and many would question its validity.

Panoutsopoulous seems to be of two minds about Prebisch's hypotheses. On page 13 he writes "over time the underlying assumptions of Prebisch's hypotheses were proved erroneous". He then tries to refute Prebisch's hypothesis by arguing that income and single factoral terms of trade often have improved offsetting declining net barter terms of trade, but of course Prebisch's thesis was about declining net barter/commodity terms of trade, not these others. Panoutsopoulous concludes that a final judgement on the trend in barter terms of trade between primary products and manufactures is impossible (14).

Chapter 7, 'China's exports: Performance and issues' by S. Lin and Y. Yang, could elucidate the validity of the book's main theme because China, like India, is so large that adverse commodity terms of trade effects could result from rapidly increasing exports, if not immediately, then in the medium term after China's market penetration in developed country markets has increased dramatically. Page 163 briefly discusses some Chinese 'optimum tariff' opportunities in the export of traditional goods. However, the authors concluded that except for textile yarn, fabrics, clothing, and furniture in Japan, clothing and footwear in Australia, and travel goods and handbags in the USA, there was a great potential for an increase in China's labour intensive manufactured exports to these countries (153). They also found that all the shares of the newly industrialising economies (NIEs) of these labour intensive goods in the markets of their major trading partners, decreased from 1977 to 1985, which widened the scope for China's labour intensive manufactured exports. However, there is no further analysis in the chapter about the potential medium and long-term markets for China's exports and their implications for China's foreign trade policies. The chapter presents interesting information about China's export growth, composition and direction in relation to the NIEs, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and developing countries (DGCs), but only up until the mid 1980s.

I now conclude this review with a few comments about selected chapters and some general statements. Chapter 3, 'Intra-industry trade in manufactures in East Asian newly industrializing economies' by H. D. B. H. Gunasekera, which, after a review of international trade theories, analyses the growth of intra-industry trade in manufactures for the four Asian tigers. Chapter 4, 'Intra-industry trade theory and export-oriented strategies, by R. E. Falvey, after briefly discussing strategic trade theory and the theory of international trade in differentiated goods produced under economies of scale, argues that as DGCs become more sophisticated and developed in their manufacturing, intra-industry trade in differentiated products will become more important, and resistance by developed countries (DCs) to DGCs will be less than in homogeneous Heckscher-Ohlin goods, because the trade in the product will be both ways. DGC policies with respect to multinational corporations will significantly influence their ability to compete in this trade (69). Unlike other chapters in the book, except Chapter 1, this chapter contains no empirical analysis, but is more of a literature review.

Chapter 5, 'The Uruguay round, developing countries, and India' by A. V. Desai, discusses competitively, existing restrictions on international trade and issues in the Uruguay Round - including what is likely to be able to be achieved. However, this chapter is now dated, having been prepared for a conference in 1989. Chapter 8, 'Limits to growth in the Republic of Korea' by Eui-Tae Chang, is a realistic discussion of South Korea's development strategy, makes good use of economic theory, and shows how its policy was export oriented but not free trade. He concludes by recommending that the discriminatory incentive system that favors target industries be replaced with a neutral incentive system supported by trade liberalisation (180-1). Finally, chapter 12, 'Indonesia: Toward non-oil exports' by M. Pangestu, nicely lists and reviews policy instruments in
the 1980s affecting the protection of domestic industries against imports, and describes and evaluates non-oil performance from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s. She has very little discussion of world market conditions as a possible constraint on export growth, but concludes that "the government has to support a more active export promotion policy" (276).

In conclusion, this book contains analyses of, and a wealth of information about, the international trade policies and developments from the mid 1970s to mid 1980s of 12 mainly Asian countries. It reviews and discusses the main international trade theories and the pros and cons of export oriented policies, with an emphasis on the pros, but with there being little or no new contributions to theory. The book is a valuable reference for persons interested in trade policies and development and includes some materials suitable for use in economic development courses. The book's worth is impaired by there being insufficient similarity in approach and methodology used in the country chapters to enable comparisons to be made among them, by its information being rather out of date, and by lack of an index.

Review by Robert C. Rice, Monash University

Sustaining rapid development in East Asia and the Pacific
The World Bank 1993, Washington DC, US$7.95

This report, prepared by the Office of the Vice President, East Asia and Pacific Region World Bank, is an up to date analysis of economic development in our region. It is clearly written, covers the major issues and has a substantial statistical appendix (derived from the World Development Report 1992). It will be of great use to both teachers and students of development.

It highlights the considerable success of the region in achieving rapid economic growth and sharp reductions in poverty. This success has been achieved both during periods of substantial government intervention and during the recent period of market-based reforms.

Pragmatic economic management which avoids both market and interventionist extremes, underlies this impressive performance. This approach characterises both socialist countries such as Vietnam and China and market economies such as Thailand and Malaysia. The success is fuelled by:

- outward orientation, increased integration into the international economy through rapid expansion of foreign trade and investment;
- investment in people and social progress, particularly education and health;
- conservative fiscal and monetary policy;
- government support to market process rather than supplanting markets.

The report suggests that future economic growth is not assured. It identifies infrastructure bottlenecks and environmental degradation as major constraints on future growth.

It suggests that substantial investment is required in infrastructure, particularly in power, railways, ports, roads, telecommunication, water and waste disposal. It recommends further public enterprise reform, both pricing and privatisation to improve productivity, and continued financial reform in both pricing and privatisation. Continued financial reform is recommended. It is also recognised that financial liberalisation of interest rates must be balanced by improved prudential regulation and improved institutional systems.

The report suggests that funding the infrastructure needs of the region will require a substantial increase in capital inflows. This will be needed most in the public sector where most of the bottlenecks are occurring. Large aid flows to the region will be difficult to obtain when Eastern Europe and Russia are also in desperate need of foreign capital.

This report represents for the World Bank a further step away from its mid 1980s, narrow, free market ideology which is exemplified by its much criticised World Development Report 1987. The Bank's move to supporting 'market friendly' policies is a world away from the free market. This is shown in the report by its emphasis on poverty, income distribution, gender gaps, environmental degradation and institutional development which have equal place with its more traditional concerns of market pricing, privatisation, foreign investment and free trade.

Review by Greg Barrett, Faculty of Management, University of Canberra

Global economic prospects and the developing countries 1993

This report reviews the state of the developing world's economy and its immediate and long-term prospects. It will be useful to business, government and academic readers seeking an up to date analysis of the global economy.

The report is optimistic about both long-term and immediate prospects for growth. The 1990s should see developing country economic growth at about 4.7 per cent up from 2.7 per cent in the 1980s.

This optimistic forecast is justified by reference to the substantial reforms undertaken by developing countries.
in the 1980s. The reforms included trade liberalisation, competitive exchange rates, austere public finances, reduced inflation, privatisation, and reduced foreign debt problems. The forecast is also underpinned by expected improvements in real commodity prices and developing country exports over the 1990s.

The report identifies uncertainties for its optimistic forecast as the pace of industrial country recovery, success in the Uruguay round, the achievement of real commodity price increases and the sustainability of private capital flows.

At the regional level the report notes the growing gulf between countries which can attract foreign private capital and those that depend on aid flows. If managed well in the national interest, private foreign capital with its associated technology transfer, management know­how and access to export marketing can provide a significant boost to national investment.

East Asia has used foreign investment well over the 1980s and is expected to continue to attract foreign investment. Latin American and South Asian economic growth is expected to improve in the 1990s, particularly if they are successful in attracting increased foreign investment as they open up their economies to international competition. In sub-Saharan Africa which is heavily dependent on foreign aid, economic growth is unlikely to significantly exceed population growth. This poor result will be far worse if commodity prices, particularly for coffee and cocoa, decline.

A final word of warning about some of the graphics in the report is required, as there is an unwarranted tendency to use presentations which favour the report's conclusions. Examples include selective use of nominal values and selection of time periods. Overall the report is useful and professionally produced.

Review by Greg Barrett, Faculty of Management, University of Canberra

Learning for a fairer future

World Development Tea Co-operative, 1988

Learning for a fairer future was first published in 1988 by the World Development Tea Co-operative, yet its content remains very relevant to 1993. The book is a manual for teaching about development issues from a trade justice perspective. It is suitable for teachers of secondary geography, economics and history.

The book is clearly divided into seven study units which, although following sequentially from each other, can be studied in isolation. Unit A starts by looking at the global crisis and then links it to what is happening to people's lives. Subsequent units then look at world trade injustices, colonialism and multinational companies. Australia's role in global affairs is then analysed and the book concludes with a strong futures unit which seeks to empower students by challenging them to consider the role they can play in creating a fairer future.

Learning for a fairer future is popular with teachers because of its well laid out format and pertinent subject matter. Teachers find its in-depth information, particularly on multinationals, invaluable, both in the clear way the learning activities are arranged and because such information is hard to come by.

It is no surprise that the World Development Tea Co-operative should sponsor such a book. The Co-operative is an ethical trade organisation which imports teas and coffee from Sri Lanka and Papua New Guinea which have been processed and packed in those countries, thereby returning almost double the income compared with the money they earn from selling tea unprocessed to multinationals. The aim of the World Development Tea Co-operative is to use these products sold from Third World countries to highlight global trading injustices.

Learning for a fairer future is a wonderful resource and a must for every secondary school.

Review by Cath Blunt, One World Learning Centre, Canberra

A cause for our times: Oxfam, the first 50 years

Maggie Black, 1992, Oxford University Press, A$27.95

This book is a valuable contribution to what is quite a sparse literature on the contribution of non government organisations to the provision of relief and development assistance. Maggie Black's study provides both a valuable chronology of Oxfam's experience over the past fifty years and an account of the evolution of the concept of development during that period. As such it provides an opportunity to reflect on what has happened to the doctrines of internationalism and human rights since World War II.

Oxfam's name is associated with the provision of food and humanitarian assistance to starving people. However, too often the causes of these disasters arise not from natural causes but the policies and actions of government. Such disasters create fund-raising dilemmas and a political minefield for voluntary organisations. All these elements were contained in the issue that brought Oxfam into existence during World War II.

Famine relief

In August 1940 the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had announced that it was his government's intention "to maintain and enforce a strict blockade not
only of Germany but of all the countries that have fallen in German power”. By 1941 the blockade was having its effect, particularly on those countries which had been net food importers. Greece, which had previously imported sixty percent of its food, was most seriously effected. By January 1942 there was famine in Greece, and 200,000 Greeks died from starvation in the winter of 1941/42.

Famine relief committees were established throughout England and the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief was convened on 5 October, 1942. Over the next two years significant funds were raised in England for famine relief but the British Government remained adamant in its support for the total blockade. Despite this the Committee was able to fund some relief supplies through the Greek Red Cross. At the end of the war the focus shifted from Greece to starvation in Germany and the need to overcome opposition to feeding the ex-enemy. In early 1946, when civilian rations in the British Zone were reduced to one third of the British rations, famine broke out in Germany. Again Oxfam championed the cause of ‘one humanity’ against government policy that banned the dispatch of food parcels from Britain and rejected proposals for people to voluntarily surrender food ration points to provide supplies for those most in need.

Refugees
During the late 1940s and 50s the notion of overseas charity was virtually synonymous with relief for refugees. Initially these refugees had been created in the aftermath of World War II. Oxfam’s early response to this situation had been the provision of clothing and in the early years clothing appeals were a key component of the Oxfam programme. The Hungarian uprising in October 1956 and its crushing by the Russian tanks in November, created a flood of political refugees which highlighted the need for a more concerted international approach to the problem of displaced persons. Oxfam was a strong supporter of World Refugee Year in 1958 which as well as raising 75 million dollars, highlighted the problems of long-term refugees.

Development and aid delivery
Parallel with Oxfam’s increasing income was a concern for increased effectiveness in aid delivery. By the mid 60s a passion for longer term development had replaced emergency relief and response to ad hoc requests as the focus of Oxfam’s development programme. In 1966 a Gramdan Action Programme in India created a collaboration between Oxfam and a Gandhian agency that was ‘authentically and inspirationally Indian’. This programme was also Oxfam’s first attempt to be developmentally operational. This operational approach was supported by the appointment of field officers, the first in 1961 in East and Southern Africa. By the end of the decade there were eleven field directors around the world and Oxfam was supporting 800 projects. Oxfam’s hands-on approach to development was its distinctive contribution to voluntary aid. Whilst it undoubtedly assisted both fund-raising and accountability, its main contribution was to enable the agency to speak from first hand experience, with the increased credibility that this gave to its campaigning activities.

Initially Oxfam’s field directors were exclusively British expatriates, based on the belief that this would ensure greater objectivity in assessing grant applications. However, criticisms of this as paternalistic led to the appointment of field directors from the local population as well as the establishment of local advisory committees. The most recent steps in this process of devolution of power have been proposals for an Oxfam India. But as the agency drew closer to its beneficiaries it began to question the prevailing theories and practice of development.

Aid partnerships
By 1970 the expectations created in the sixties that world poverty could be quickly overcome were beginning to dim. The success of the Marshall Plan in post-war reconstruction in Western Europe was now seen as not transferable to the far more complex problems of the developing countries. The Pearson Report of 1970 recognised the widening gap between rich and poor countries and recommended a substantial increase in aid allocation. Robert MacNamara at the World Bank, recognising the political realities of the time, proposed to move away from growth oriented strategies to attack poverty directly. Oxfam, learning from its experience in both South Asia and Latin America became committed to programmes of ‘walking with’ partner agencies committed to conscientisation of the poor. Programmes in North-East Brazil and Bangladesh pursued the aim of an integrated, people centred attack on poverty.

These programmes were to feed back into Oxfam’s institutional structures, and in 1975 led to a new Statement of Purpose which began, “Oxfam believes in the essential dignity of people and in their capacity to overcome the problems and pressures which can crush and exploit them...Oxfam is a partnership of people who share this belief”.

Complementary to these new programmes of partnership was the recognition of the need to campaign at home for fundamental changes in Government policy on aid, trade and development. In 1985 Oxfam placed its research and national support network behind a campaign for a fairer world that saw over 20,000 people attend the House of Commons on one day to lobby their representatives for a change in British Government policy on aid and development.
The evolution of Oxfam's philosophy on development was not without controversy. In 1962 the Charity Commissioners challenged whether Oxfam's provision of development aid rather than direct relief was within the scope of charitable activity. They similarly questioned calls for greater international concern to be given to the problems of world hunger. The Charity Commissioners in their 1962 Report stated: "Propaganda and advocacy for legislation whether in this country or overseas has been described by the courts as political and not charitable, so too has the promotion of international friendship".

Projects objected to by the Charity Commissions included 'public works' and 'general economic improvement' projects as well as projects supporting people who were not British subjects. This latter proposition would have placed in jeopardy Oxfam's Latin American programme. By 1965 a programme of political campaigning and education together with a rewording of Oxfam's objectives had overcome these difficulties, however the restrictive definition of charity was to continue to be a cause of concern, and in 1990 the Charity Commissioners were again to question Oxfam's right to "advocate and campaign for political change whether in this country or abroad".

Matthew Arnold in the nineteenth century had described Oxford as "the home of lost causes and forsaken beliefs". Oxfam in its first fifty years has laid to rest that criticism and shown that there is an important place for organisations in our society that provide an opportunity for concerned people to support international understanding and humanitarian assistance.

Review by John Birch

New Books

**Poverty alleviation through Australian development co-operation**


This report examines current international thinking on poverty alleviation and how Australia's aid programme assists in the reduction of poverty in developing countries. It is a final version of the working paper on poverty released at the World Development Debate in 1990.

For more information contact:

AIDAB Public Affairs

PO BOX 887

Canberra

ACT 2601

Australia

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**The role of health centres in the development of urban health systems: Report of a WHO study group on primary health care in urban areas**


This report considers what can be done to improve the quality of urban health services and make them more accessible to residents in low income areas and slums. Noting that a shortage of resources for urban health is a problem everywhere, the report concentrates on organisational and administrative changes that can upgrade the quality of health centres, extend coverage to underserved populations, and reduce the inefficiencies that occur when hospitals are overburdened by patients suffering from minor complaints. The objective is to help health administrators and municipal authorities analyse the weaknesses in urban health systems, appraise options for strengthening primary health care, and introduce interventions that help obtain the maximum health gains from restricted budgets. Throughout the report, experiences in different cities around the world are used to illustrate both the shortcomings of many urban health systems and the specific changes that have brought improvements.

Noting that almost half the residents of cities in developing countries live in conditions of extreme poverty and squalor, the report sites evidence of an impending health crisis as urban populations continue to grow and incidence of chronic diseases rises alongside traditional health problems and the added burdens of HIV infection and AIDS, alcohol and drug abuse, and injuries caused by violence and road accident. The report also identifies weaknesses in urban health centres and health posts, which frequently suffer from a low standard of services and lack of credibility, and are often bypassed, resulting in an overloading of hospital services.

**Structural adjustment and the environment**

*David Reed (ed) 1993, Earthscan and WWF, 230 pp., £15.00*.

This book is the first to examine the environmental effects of structural adjustment programmes in detailed case studies and global analysis prepared through the London Environmental Economics Centre. The results are far from encouraging and understanding why, is an urgent priority as structural adjustment programmes remain the principal vehicle for restructuring struggling economies.

"Agenda 21: An easy reference to the specific recommendations on women", is available on request from the Australian Development Studies Network, ANU, ACT 0200.

August 1993
**Structural adjustment and the African farmer**
Alex Duncan and John Howell (eds), Overseas Development Institute, 244pp., £12.95 paper, £35.00 cased

This book traces the impact of structural adjustment policies upon the incomes and welfare of Africa's peanut farmers who currently operate at very low levels of productivity of both land and labour and are confronted with low household income and inadequate food security.

The book provides firm evidence of the impact, both positive and negative, of structural adjustment. The editors argue for a more targeted, project specific approach to small farmer development. This complements the current donor interest in policy related aid support.

For more information contact:
ODI Publications
Overseas Development Institute
Regents' College
Inner Circle
Regent's Park
London NW1 4NS
UK

**Third World guide '93-94**
Ideas Centre Publication 1993, A$60.00

This is an updated edition which contains 640 pages of feature articles and country profiles, including information about all the new states in Eastern Europe and the former USSR. Now widely recognised as a unique compendium it includes a full colour map of the world, plus historical and statistical material which make it indispensable.

For more information contact:
Ideas Centre Publications
PO Box A100
Sydney South
NSW 2000
Australia
Tel (02) 281 80 99
Fax (02) 281 9639

**Refugee women**

This book looks at the harsh reality of life for refugees, and the implications for their host countries. It examines women's experience of repatriation and resettlement and looks at their key role in social welfare and rebuilding communities.

For more information contact:
Ideas Centre Publications
PO Box A100
Sydney South
NSW 2000
Australia
Tel (02) 281 8099
Fax (02) 281 9639

**Dictionary of environment and development: People, places, ideas and organisations**

This book pulls together hundreds of relevant entries ranging from Aborigines to Zinc. More than a desk-top encyclopedia, it offers a common vocabulary of practical use to lawmakers, concerned citizens and members of international organisations. In the dictionary the author aims to clarify and redefine many ambiguous terms relating to issues of environment and development.

**Taking stock: Aboriginal autonomy through enterprise**
Samantha Wells 1993, North Australian Research Unit, Australian National University, A$20.00

The Arnhem Land Progress Association (ALPA) has operated stores for over twenty years in many Arnhem Land and other north Australian communities. Since its inception ALPA has seen itself as both a commercial operation and an alternative development agency catering for the needs of Aboriginal communities. This book is a record of ALPA's achievements, activities and problems.

For more information contact:
The Publications Officer
NARU
PO Box 41321
Casuarina
NT 0811
Australia
Tel (089) 275 588

**Children of immigrants: Issues of poverty and disadvantage**

The high level of child poverty in Australia has become a major issue of concern, especially as we sink deeper into recession. A group of Australia's poor children largely ignored by recent research are the children of immigrants.

Examining the major issues of poverty and disadvantage among this group, the report considers various factors related to the increase of child poverty: rate and duration of employment, sole-parent families, inadequacy of income support payments, housing costs and low wages.

**To the Summit and beyond: A community guide to the Earth Summit and its outcomes**
David Turbayne 1993, Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Development Dossier No. 321993, 91pp., A$5.00

To the Summit and beyond analyses the outcomes from the Earth Summit and discusses the role of community
organisations in the UNCED process. It also looks at those issues which "UNCED left unsaid" and how proposals from the Earth Summit can be implemented.  

For more information contact:  
ACFOA  
Private Bag 3  
Deakin  
ACT 2600  
Australia  
Tel (06) 285 1816

**Knowing and doing: Literacy for women**  
Krystyna Chlebowska 1993, Hunter Publicallons, US$13.75

How can literacy help women to become aware of their condition and know their rights and their responsibilities in society - in a word, empower them? 

This book strives to clarify the question by sketching out the lines of a new form of literacy work, better adapted to women's aspirations.

**Issues in human resource development planning: A reader's guide**  

The Reader's guide has been compiled to serve as basic reference material for readers on standard and up to date literature on human resource development (HRD) planning. This project, supported by the UNDP, aims at strengthening the institutional machinery engaged in the formulation, co-ordination, monitoring and implementation of empysment and manpower planning in the Asian region.

**Women in developing economies: Making visible the invisible**  

This book is a selection of studies and articles aimed to sensitise planners and decision makers to the invisible socioeconomic and cultural contribution of women in developing countries. The authors address such questions as: how can we make the contribution of women visible and more productive? How can we better utilise human resources that are often illiterate? How can we build on traditional wisdom in order to modernise? How can we prevent women from being excluded from the more lucrative activities of the informal sector?

**Imagining the city**  
Centre for Design at RMIT, A$12.00

This book contains the documents from the "Imagining the city" forum held in April 1991. "The ideas presented in the forum will sketch a city which weaves its social and moral ideas about itself through mythologies. Of particular importance, 'another' city will emerge. The clandestine city of women. A city fixated on its 19th century agenda. A city perpetually placing itself at the centre and the edge simultaneously".

For more information contact:  
Centre for Design at RMIT  
GPO Box 2478V  
Melbourne  
Vic 3001  
Australia  
Tel (03) 660 2362  
Fax (03) 663 2891

**The impact of labour migration on households: A comparative study in seven Asian countries**  
Godfrey Gunatilleke (ed), United Nations University, US$57.00

The questions of how many migrants leave their own countries to find work, the repercussions on receiving societies, and the good or bad done by money sent back home have all been exhaustively studied. But one area left largely unexplored may prove to be the true puzzler: what happens to the family back home when workers return? The arrival back home of the temporary worker, usually a male, can set off jarring culture shocks all around. This book explores this issue. It is the third and final volume in a comprehensive United Nations University study of Asian labour migration to the oil rich countries of the Arab region.

For more information contact:  
lnPRESSions The United Nations University  
53-70 Jingumae 5-chome  
Shibuya-ku  
Tokyo 150  
Japan  
Fax 3 34056 7345

**Environmental change and international law: New challenges and dimensions**  

Much heat and controversy has been generated in the international arena over what should or should not be done about preserving the environment. The present volume attempts to cast some sorely needed dispassionate and reasoned light from leading legal scholars on a subject of infinite importance to the earth's tomorrows.

For more information contact:  
lnPRESSions The United Nations University  
53-70 Jingumae 5-chome  
Shibuya-ku  
Tokyo 150  
Japan  
Fax 3 34056 7345

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*August 1993*
Courses

Poverty alleviation: micro-enterprise development for income and employment generation

Centre for Applied Social Research, Deakin University, 24 January - 11 February 1994

This intensive training course will be presented at graduate level. It is designed for aid professionals with a practical interest/involvement in income-generating activities (IGAs) for poverty alleviation from both the private and the public sectors.

The course will explore the theory and practice of IGAs for successful and sustained poverty alleviation. In the process, participants will be offered lectures, tutorials, seminars and case work sessions covering the economics of poverty and IGAs, the theory and practice of IGAs, and case studies of successful IGAs.

For more information contact:
Dr Joe Remenyi
CASR
Deakin University, Geelong
Vic 3217
Australia
Tel (052) 272511
Fax (052) 272155
e-mail jvr@deakin.OZ.AU

Bibliographic and information services in Asia and the Pacific (BISA)

University of New South Wales, January - March 1994

The following courses will be offered in 1994 through the School of Information, Library and Archive Studies, at the University of New South Wales:

Computer-based cataloguing for stand-alone network systems (10 January - 18 February 1994)


CDS/ISIS information storage and retrieval software training (17 - 21 January 1994)

For more information contact:
Co-ordinator of Continuing Education
School of Information, Library & Archive Studies
University of NSW
PO Box 1, Kensington
NSW 2033
Australia
Tel (02) 697 9589
Fax (02) 313 7092

Development Studies Centre

Monash University

The Development Studies Centre at Monash University is located in the Monash Asia Institute, and offers a Master of Arts in Development Studies. The course consists of some courses which are interdisciplinary, while others are centred in particular disciplines. Associated staff are drawn from a wide range of disciplines including: anthropology and sociology, economics, education, geography and environmental sciences, law, medicine and politics.

For more information contact:
Monash Asia Institute
Development Studies Centre
Monash University
Wellington Road
Clayton 3150
Australia
Tel (03) 565 5280

Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies

University of Goteborg, Sweden

The Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies is a multi-disciplinary forum within the University of Goteborg in Sweden whose aim is to encourage and further develop research, education and the dissemination of information on East and Southeast Asia. The centre currently involves people working within the subject areas of history, linguistics, Chinese, Japanese, philosophy, peace and development research, social anthropology, and economic geography.

Since 1989 the Centre has been developing cross-cultural research and educational activities dealing with East and Southeast Asia. The Centre's activities at present include undergraduate education, research, seminar series, and a working papers series.

For more information contact:
Associate Professor Claes Alvstam
University of Goteborg
Brogatan 4
Goteborg, S-413 01
Sweden

Postgraduate diploma in population studies

Geography Department, James Cook University, Queensland

The geography department at James Cook University in Townsville is offering a new one year course for people working or interested in fields such as geography, sociology, tropical health and medicine, mathematics and statistics. After the completion of the core subjects, participants can elect subjects from other disciplines which reflect their interests and needs. It is anticipated
that this course will lead on to a Masters degree in population studies taken by coursework and minor thesis. This course is expected to be offered in 1995.

For further information contact:
Postgraduate Admissions
James Cook University
Townsville
Qld 4811
Australia

Working Papers

Economics Division, Research School of Pacific Studies

Australian National University, A$8.00 per paper

South Pacific


93/3 Richard P.C. Brown and John Connell, Entrepreneurs in the emergent economy: Migration, remittances and informal markets in the Kingdom of Tonga, 32 pp.


South East Asia


93/2 Pierre van der Eng, The 'colonial drain' from Indonesia, 1823-1990, 48 pp.

93/1 Pierre van der Eng, Food consumption and the standard of living in Indonesia, 1880-1990, 57 pp.

Development Issues


East Asia

93/4 Helen Hughes, Is there an East Asian model?, 25 pp.

93/3 Yiping Huang, Production interactions in China's semi-marketized farming sector, 17 pp.

93/2 Cao Yong, Taxation and industrial financing of China's state-owned enterprises, 18 pp.

93/1 Meng Xin, Determination and discrimination: Female wages in China's rural TVP industries, 25 pp.

For more information contact:
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ANU
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia

Monash Asia Institute

A. B. Shamsul, 1992, Malaysia's Vision 2020: Old ideas in a new package, 31pp., A$5.00

Michael Webber, 1992, Enter the dragon: Lessons of Australia from Northeast Asia, 37pp., A$5.00

Geoff Missen, 1991, Industrialisation and restructuring in Northeast Asia: The state and small firms, 27pp., A$5.00

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Tel (03) 565 4991
Fax (03) 565 2210

ILO: Asian Regional Team for Employment Promotion


For more information contact:
ARTEP
International Labour Organisation
PO Box 643
New Delhi 110 001
India

World Development Report 1993

The Network has copies of the executive summary of the World Bank's World Development Report, 1993, which this year focused on health. For copies, contact the Australian Development Studies Network, ANU ACT, 0200, Australia.
Monographs

Development planning for women in the Indonesian transmigration programme
Gaynor Dawson 1992, Monash Development Studies Centre, 207 pp., A$18.00
This study adds a significant new dimension to the understanding of the transmigration programme. It also makes a strong contribution to the debate on strategies for overcoming the inequities experienced by women in development schemes.

David Wright Neville 1991, Monash Development Studies Centre, 100 pp., A$12.00
This monograph analyses the cultural, bureaucratic and international forces which drive the Japanese aid programme, and assesses the role of foreign aid in Japan's international economic policy.

Development and social change in Asia: Introductory essays
David Goldsworthy (ed) 1991, Monash Development Studies Centre, 100 pp., A$12.00
The five essays in this volume focus on a range of themes including industrialisation, democratisation, and the evolution of class and communal relations, with the shared aim of providing points of entry into the broader study of change in East and Southeast Asia.

Charlotte's Story
This 20 minute film is designed to help parents come to terms with issues and problems which arise when one of their children is diagnosed HIV positive. Charlotte Frankovich is a Samoan woman whose son died of AIDS at age 35. She describes her reactions and those of her family on learning in 1983 that her youngest son was HIV positive. She tells of the naive hopes of the family and community that he would overcome it with positive thinking. Later, they came to the realisation in that it was 'simply a matter of time'. Charlotte describes the anger that her other children felt, but how they overcame it and took turns helping care for their stricken brother at an AIDS centre in Australia. The film is available to Australians, and is in English.

Children and AIDS: An impending calamity
This booklet was published by UNICEF in 1990, and investigates the growing impact of HIV infection on women, children and family life in the developing world.

Other Development Resource Materials

Making government more effective: Public reform in the South Pacific
This is a report on a four day seminar for Government ministers with their Permanent Secretaries held in March 1993.

Development education resources
Four teaching packs are available for borrowing from the One World Centre in Canberra. Topics of the packs
Information for women and children in crisis

The Women's Crisis Centre in Suva, Fiji have produced a set of information booklets for women and children in crisis situations such as domestic violence, sexual harassment, child sexual abuse and rape. The booklets include information on the law, common myths, coping and making changes to prevent further abuse.

For more information contact:
Women's Crisis Centre
PO Box 12882, Suva
Fiji
Tel 679 382 411

Civil service reform: Its role in the South Pacific

This is a report of the seventh conference of heads of public service in the South Pacific held in March 1992 in the Marshall Islands.

For more information contact:
The Director
Institute of Social and Administrative Studies
University of the South Pacific
GPO Box 1168, Suva
Fiji
Tel 679 302 583
Fax 679 303 229

Gender sensitivity in development planning, implementation and evaluation


This publication is a compilation of proceedings of three Asian and Pacific Development Centre (APDC) sub-regional workshops. These workshops examined macro-development and development strategies to make it more gender sensitive and responsive to the needs of women as it was realised that although governments increasingly are recognising that women are integral to society, women's interests and needs are still generally ignored in developing planning processes. This publication is a summary of the workshops examination of assumptions and stereotypes, relating planning and implementation to women's needs and perspectives and presenting gender-responsive tools and techniques which may be adopted as interventions in sectors like employment, education and basic services.

For more information contact:
Asian and Pacific Development Centre
Pesiaran Duta
PO Box 12224
50770, Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia

Review of the effectiveness of non government organisations in Africa

In May 1992 the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) commissioned a team to assess the effectiveness of Australian non government organisations as a means of delivering official development assistance for small scale projects in southern Africa. This booklet is the team's report.

For more information contact:
AIDAB Shop
AIDAB Public Affairs
PO Box 887
Canberra
ACT 2601
Australia
Tel (06) 276 4703

AIDS booklets

The South Pacific Commission is using volunteer translators to get its booklet on the AIDS virus published in as many local languages as possible. It has produced 21 translations to date. The booklet is called Understanding AIDS. It tells all about AIDS - what causes it, how it is spread and how to prevent it. The Commission has taken this approach as the most effective way to spread the word about AIDS to the many peoples of the Pacific. Local translators are sensitive to ways to talk about a sexually transmitted disease, the use of condoms, etc., without offending local taboos or making funny mistakes that distract from the important message.

If you are interested in translating Understanding AIDS into your language, or would like a copy, contact:
PIASPP
South Pacific Commission
BP D5, Noumea Cedex
New Caledonia

Children and poverty

"With 20 per cent of its children living below the national poverty line, the United States has more than double the child poverty rate of any other industrialised country."

Reprinted from UNICEF, The progress of nations, 1993, p. 45
Organisation Profiles

African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific

Among the aims of the Association are:

- to facilitate contact between people in the field of African Studies
- to assist in developing African Studies programmes
- to co-ordinate the acquisition of African materials by libraries

Current activities of the Association include:

- annual conferences
- a newsletter, published twice yearly
- contributing to official committees and public inquiries, such as on Australian aid programmes.

For more information contact:
African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific
c/o African Research Institute
La Trobe University
Bundoora
Vic 3083
Australia

Forum for Street Children
Ethiopia

The establishment of a Forum for Street Children under the auspices of the government agency, Children, Youth and Family Welfare Organisation (CYFWO) has been initiated by a group of social workers from various voluntary agencies, and CYFWO, with the objectives of exchanging information and mapping out innovative programmes to address the problem of street children in Ethiopia.

A number of NGOs have organised drop-in centres and a pilot night shelter scheme for street children in Addis Ababa. Many also support services in counselling, feeding, health care, basic education and vocational training for groups of street children in various locations around the city.

The concerned agencies brought together within the Forum are working towards preventative and community actions required to assist the situation of an estimated 50,000 children who are believed to be on the verge of becoming street children in Addis Ababa.

For more information contact:
Chairman Ato Tsegaye Cherinet
Forum for Street Children
Radda Barnen (Swedish Save the Children)
Addis Ababa
c/o CRDA
PO Box 5674, Addis Ababa
Ethiopia

Centre for Appropriate Technology

The Centre for Appropriate Technology is based in Alice Springs and is part of the Community College of Central Australia. In consultation with individuals and community groups, it attempts to provide appropriate technological solutions to a wide range of problems. The Centre always welcomes both new ideas and inquiries about its products and training programmes.

For further information contact:
Centre for Appropriate Technology
32 Priest St
PO Box 8044, Alice Springs
NT 0871
Australia

Youth Information Network

Over the past two years, a number of Canadian youth organisations have worked together to facilitate youth participation in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. The primary mechanism for this co-operation was the Canadian Youth Working Group on Environment and Development (CYWGED) which established the Youth '92 project.

In October 1992, CYWGED members and several other youth organisations came together to explore ways of continuing co-operation in the framework of follow-up to UNCED. It was decided to set up an ongoing cooperative structure to serve this function. To date the project is called the Youth Information Network/Reseau Information Jeunesse.

The Network will a clearing house and referral service, provide a resource base of information and contacts, help facilitate capacity building (training) and maintain a channel for international liaison for member youth groups involved in environment, development and social justice issues.

For more information contact:
Youth Information Network
55 Parkdale Avenue
3rd Floor
Ottawa
Ontario K1Y 1E5
Canada
Tel (613) 761 9206
Fax (613) 761 1441

Pan Pacifica

Supplies statistical, social and scientific information from the Pacific Islands including government and private press publications. Their work encompasses Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. They provide a comprehensive current publications list which is regularly updated.

For more information contact:
Pan Pacifica
1511 Nuuanu Ave
PT 194
Gender Studies Research Unit

The Gender Studies Research Unit is housed in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Melbourne. The Unit co-operates with other centres concerned with gender issues, including the Key Centre for Women’s Health in Society and the Gender in Education Unit. Their activities have a specific focus on gender issues in the Asia-Pacific region as part of a critical feminist engagement with critiques of Eurocentrism.

For more information contact:
Gender Studies Research Unit, History
University of Melbourne
Parkville
Vic 3052
Australia
Tel (03) 344 5965
Fax (03) 344 7894

Conservation International

Conservation International is a private, non-profit organisation based in Washington, DC with programmes in ecosystem conservation in over 20 countries. They have a very active programme covering Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and Newelle Caledonia.

For more information contact:
Tim Werner
Co-ordinator
Melanesian Programme Conservation International
1015 18th Street, NW, #1000
Washington DC 20036
USA
Tel (202) 429 5660
Fax (202) 887 5188

Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies

University of Goteberg, Sweden

A Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies was established recently at the University of Goteberg in Sweden. The Centre is a multi-disciplinary forum within the University of Goteborg whose aim is to encourage and further develop research, education and the dissemination of information on East and Southeast Asia.

Since opening in 1989, the Centre has been developing cross cultural research and educational activities dealing with East and Southeast Asia. Current activities include undergraduate education, research, seminar series, and a working papers series.

The Centre currently involves people working within the subject areas of History, Linguistics, Chinese, Japanese, Philosophy, Peace and Development Research, Social Anthropology, and Economic Geography. The goal is to interest teachers and researchers at other institutions to take part in our activities in the future. Activity at the Centre has rapidly grown in scope, and is expected to expand further during the coming years.

For further information contact:
Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies
Brogatan 4, S-413 01
Goteborg
Sweden

Women's Education for Advancement and Empowerment (WEAVE)

This is a Thailand-based women’s development organisation which is working to empower women and strengthen global ties between women’s organisations. The focus at present is on training for community organisations and development for health education, developing training materials in indigenous languages and linking women’s global struggles towards peace.

For more information contact:
WEAVE
PO Box 58
Chiang Mai University
Chiang Mai 50002
Thailand

Less than ten percent of aid spent on basics

"Less than ten percent of aid is allocated directly to meeting the most obvious needs of the poorest people - primary health care, primary education, clean water, safe sanitation, and family planning.

The funding of such programmes is not the only way to meet basic needs. Aid that creates jobs and incomes allows people to meet their own and their families’ needs by their own efforts.

Nonetheless, there is a clear case for restructuring aid programmes so that at least 20 percent of the total goes directly to basics. Low-cost solutions are available for many of the major problems facing the children of the developing world; aid could help ensure that the resources are available to put those solutions into effect on the required scale.

Many countries devote the bulk of educational aid to universities or advanced studies for relatively few individuals rather than to the improvement of primary education for the majority of children.

Similarly, aid for health is often directed towards hospitals and high-cost medical equipment serving the needs of an urban minority rather than primary health care for the poor majority.

Reprinted from UNICEF, The progress of nations, 1993, p. 44
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Manuscripts

Manuscripts are normally accepted on the understanding that they are unpublished and not on offer to another publication. However, they may subsequently be republished with acknowledgement of the source (see ‘Copyright’ above). Manuscripts should be double-spaced with ample margins. They should be submitted both in hard copy (2 copies) and, if possible on disk specifying the program used to enter the text. No responsibility can be taken for any damage or loss of manuscripts, and contributors should retain a complete copy of their work.

Style

Quotation marks should be double; single within double. Spelling: English (OED with ‘-ise’ endings).

Notes

(a) Simple references without accompanying comments to be inserted in brackets at appropriate place in text, eg. (Yung 1989).

(b) References with comments should be kept to a minimum and appear as endnotes, indicated consecutively through the article by numerals in superscript.

Reference list

If references are used, a reference list should appear at the end of the text. It should contain all the works referred to, listed alphabetically by author’s surname (or name of sponsoring body where there is not identifiable author). Authors should make sure that there is a strict correspondence between the names and years in the text and those on the reference list. Book titles and names of journals should be italicised or underlined; titles of articles should be in single inverted commas. Style should follow: author’s surname, forename and or initials, date, title of publication, publisher and place of publication. Journal references should include volume, number (in brackets), date and page numbers. Examples:


Publication/resource listings

An important task of the Network is to keep members up-to-date with the latest literature and other resources dealing with development-related topics. To make it as easy as possible for readers to obtain the publications listed, please include price information (including postage) and the source from which materials can be obtained.