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Africa and Development in the 21st Century
Discussion Series

Africa and development in the 21st century
David Dorward

New issues in African population
David Lucas

Nutrition and food security in Africa
Chris McMurray

Rural development in Kenya
Nyambura Mwaniki

Confronting Eve's destruction: African women and AIDS
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Briefing paper
Towards a better understanding of the causes of poverty in Africa in the late twentieth century
Cherry Gertzel
Editors' notes

This is the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty, although from the development literature, the international debate and national aid programmes, there is little to remind us of the fact. Poverty alleviation appears on the international agenda for discussion, but poverty eradication remains conspicuous by its absence - in the literature, in the debate and in reality. Nowhere is the need for poverty eradication more pressing than in the countries of Africa. This issue of Development Bulletin considers the reality of development in the African continent and looks to future possibilities for improved well-being and the eradication of poverty. Contributors include David Dorward, David Lucas, Tamara Aboagye-Kwarteng and Nyambura Mwaniki.

Briefing paper

Cherry Gertzel provides an insight into the relationship between current development ideology and the opportunities for eradication of poverty in African states.

Viewpoint

In his paper 'Towards a new cold war?', Erik Paul puts forward his view that Australia's recent security treaty with Indonesia exemplifies a growing emphasis on business and military interests over human rights.

Updates

Gerard Ward adds to the discussion in Information Technology and Development with a paper on the differential costs and impacts of telephones in the Pacific and the inconsistencies of international markets.

From the field

Agricultural extension services in Vietnam are reviewed by Jim Monan and Doug Porter in light of recent economic liberalisation. Gary Simpson considers the design and implementation of the Kandrian Gloucester Integrated Development Project. This section also includes case studies on the successes and failures of technical assistance in Ghana and Uganda.

AusAID

The members of the Australian Development Studies Network gratefully acknowledge the on-going assistance of AusAID in publishing the Development Bulletin. The Network now has members in 120 different countries.

The back half

The back half of the Bulletin includes the latest information on new books and new courses, a conference calendar, conferences reports and an up-to-date listing of development studies resources.

Next issue

The next issue will provide a variety of perspectives on the topic of the private sector and development. If you have any queries or would like to contribute please call, fax or e-mail us.

Pamela Thomas and Rafat Hussain
Africa and development in the 21st century

Development strategies of the last 30 years have failed to halt the impoverishment of Africa. According to the World Bank, Africa has been the greatest, sustained development failure of the century. It is widely acknowledged, including by the Australian Government, that by 2010, the majority of those living in absolute poverty will be living on the African continent. Clearly, the major issue facing most African countries in the 21st century will be finding ways to eradicate poverty.

In this International Year of Poverty Eradication the situation of Africa needs to be given priority attention and the underlying causes of African poverty and how they might be addressed thoroughly reviewed.

The following papers, and the briefing paper which accompanies this issue of Development Bulletin, consider the African situation and attempt to explain the growing inequalities and increasing impoverishment of African countries. Recurrent themes throughout this issue are the negative and widespread impacts of structural adjustment policies, the crippling burden of debt repayment, misdirected development assistance and the impact of global trade liberalisation policies on formal and informal economies.

The more obvious factors contributing to the impoverishment of Africa include violence, internal conflicts, natural disasters, droughts, food shortages, population growth, population movement, AIDS, environmental degradation and changes in access to land, most particularly the rights of women to land and participation in the formal economic sector. However, changes in political processes have also had an impact on opportunities for development.

Democracy in African states has seldom led to greater participation in political processes or to a reduction in inequalities or poverty. Cherry Gertzel states that by the end of the 1980s African governments had lost control of their policy-making processes. Conditionality of international loans and assistance mean that policy dialogue is now conducted between governments and bureaucrats, not between politicians, parties and people. Accountability in this environment is not to the electorate but to the donor community.

David Dorward provides a more positive note and outlines the increasing international trade with Africa and states that despite the gloom, there are some hopeful signs.

Nyambura Mwaniki provides a case study from Kenya of the ways in which political processes have weakened opportunities for effective community participation and stifled community involvement in rural development programmes.

David Lucas reviews African population and Helen Avong discusses the impact of structural adjustment policies on fertility. Tamara Aboagye-Kwarteng outlines the extent of the HIV epidemic on African women and the possible scenario in the 21st century. Food security and possibilities for improving the nutritional status of African peoples are discussed by Chris McMurray.

The situation of women in Africa is covered by Deborah Kasente and Macia Kenig-Witkowska.
Africa is continually written off by the Australian media as an arena for relief agencies, a continent of famine, political corruption and economic decay. In large measure this is crisis journalism, fed by international aid agencies pushing their own agendas and compounded by the economic statistics emanating from institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). There is another reality.

In 1994, United States trade with sub-Saharan Africa was larger than that for all of Eastern Europe, including the former Soviet Union. At US$23.4 billion, sub-Saharan Africa accounted for approximately two per cent of total US trade (Browne 1995). Direct US investment in sub-Saharan Africa is close to US$3.5 billion (Moose 1995a). The US State Department projects a positive, if at times qualified, prognosis for investment and trade opportunities in Africa (US State Department 1995). An oft-repeated observation is that Africa is where Asia was 20 or 30 years ago (Hicks 1995).

In 1994, Africa produced 10.3 per cent of the world's crude oil output, rising from 518,500 barrels per day in 1984 to 6,860,000 in 1994, and 3.5 per cent of the world's natural gas production. Proven crude oil reserves are estimated at 62,200 million barrels (6.2 per cent of world reserves), with natural gas reserves at 9.6 trillion cubic metres (6.8 per cent). In addition to the five current sub-Saharan African oil producers - Nigeria, Angola, Gabon, Congo, and Cameroon - there has been significant oil exploration and development in Chad, Sudan, Equatorial Guinea, Zaire, Namibia and South Africa, with gas production coming on-line in Mozambique and Tanzania. The southern Chad oil fields in the Doba Basin are proving much larger than originally estimated (Mbendi Information Services 1996).

Africa supplies much of the world's supply of chromium, cobalt, vanadium, manganese bauxite and phosphate. Specialist publications, such as The Northern Miner, are replete with articles on new mining ventures in Africa. The recent political crisis in Sierra Leone has brought home dependence on that seemingly insignificant nation with the world's largest rutile mine, supplying strategic titanium dioxide used in the aerospace and paint industries (Moose 1995a).

Sub-Saharan Africa remains a major source of tropical agricultural commodities. Besides well-established African produce such as cocoa, coffee, and vegetable oils, exports of more exotic agricultural products into niche markets are growing. African countries now supply over 30 per cent of the mangoes sold in the European Union (EU). In 1992, Kenya became the fifth largest supplier of avocados to the EU, with six per cent of the market, worth US$ 6.8 million (Rakotoarison 1995a). It is the second largest non EU supplier of cut flowers, the largest non EU supplier of fresh beans and a major exporter of Asian vegetables into the UK market (Graef 1995). During 1994-95, USAID sponsored a series of workshops in Africa, promoting the market potential of herb production (Starkey 1995). Uganda has a rapidly developing vanilla industry, utilising a revolutionary new quick-curing technique that reputedly results in twice the vanilla content as that of the traditional method - a new agribusiness based on state-of-the-art technology (Rakotoarison 1995b).

Despite persistent weak producer prices and increasing costs of agricultural inputs, mainly as a result of IMF-imposed structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), there are signs of longer-term optimism for African agriculture (Gardener and Reintme 1994). There is a growing appreciation of the significance of the hitherto unenumerated informal markets and unrecorded trade. Recent studies indicate that the growth and contribution of African agriculture have been systematically underestimated and underreported in analyses of national accounts (Block 1994; Block and Timmer 1994; Goldman 1993).

In the past, African economic growth has often been outstripped by the population explosion, resulting in a decline in per capita GDP. However, there are signs that the high
fertility rates, which threatened to undermine development, are coming down. In Zimbabwe, the number of children a woman would expect to bear has fallen from 6.5 in 1984 to 5.5 in 1988, then to 4.6 in 1994. Even in burgeoning Kenya, the fertility rate has declined (USAID 1995).

The prospects for Africa in the 21st century are further clouded by the AIDS pandemic, the full ramifications of which are yet to become manifest. An estimated 1.2 million Kenyan adults, or five per cent of the population, are HIV positive, projected to rise to nine per cent by the year 2000 (USAID 1996). Research has shown that it is the most sexually active who are most at risk, the affluent and better educated elites. The manner in which governments address the AIDS problem varies enormously. The potential drain on skilled human resources is incalculable.

As such examples illustrate, the focus on sub-Saharan Africa obscures national and regional variations. While the economy of Zaire is in free fall, and resource-rich Angola is torn by civil strife, neighbouring Namibia and Zimbabwe have achieved impressive growth rates. The modest successes of regional endeavours, such as the Inter Governmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD) in the otherwise troubled Horn of Africa or South African Development Community (SADC), tend to be overlooked.

Such positive analyses seem at odds with the obvious plight of the majority. Economic growth has not been reflected in the general living standards of the population. For all its natural resources, the wealth of Africa continues to be siphoned off. The focus tends to be on local inefficiencies, corruption and natural catastrophes. One rarely reads of the estimated 37 per cent failure rate of World Bank projects, or analyses of loans based on incorrect projections and assumptions. Even more fundamental are the structural inequalities in the global economy.

The Bretton Woods institutions (the IMF, World Bank and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—GATT) are implausible vehicles for change. Their function has been to consolidate and universalise liberal capitalist market principles, increasingly monetarist in their assumptions and prognoses (Brett 1985). The principle achievement of SAPs has been the perpetuation of the Bretton Woods institutions themselves, more deeply entrenched their leverage over debtor nations. They have served to maintain western hegemony over what King Leopold of the Belgians once called 'this African cake'. Wealthier nations have demonstrated a reluctance to address inequalities within the global system for fear of lessening their own power and that of 'their' transnational corporations.

The recent GATT Uruguay Round of Agreements served to maintain, rather than reform, the system. The reduction in tariffs on commodities and intermediate agricultural products has not been matched by reductions in finished products, thus excluding African industries from the more profitable value-added sectors of the market. The resulting reduction of Most Favoured Nation rates and other preferential schemes will disadvantage African producers (FAO 1995). The much vaunted micro-enterprise development programmes merely create more competitive small businesses feeding the corporate economies.

The weakness of African economies derives from dependence on primary exports. In seeking to address their balance of payments through increased production, African countries simply force down commodity prices through oversupply in relatively inelastic markets. African producers compete on a global market that advantages buyers. Indonesia recently overtook Côte d'Ivoire as the major supplier of cocoa to the United States market (Kristiani and Astuti 1995). The success of Ugandan vanilla production threatens the export market of Madagascar.

The obvious recourse of value-added production is persistently blocked by tariffs and regulations designed to protect industries in developed countries. At the same time, the EU has sought to use the World Trade Organisation to impose rules on foreign investment that would limit the capacity of African governments' to protect local firms (Mwangi 1996).

In the name of free trade, the United States continually advocates the reduction of tariffs and 'liberalisation' of markets to benefit the American corporate sector, eg, the US embassies' demands for tariff reductions on breakfast cereals in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Malawi to facilitate sales by the Kellogg Company. US fruit companies are seeking to overturn EU provisions which favour African banana exports. While the move toward democracy in Africa is to be welcomed, it has made it easier for developed nations to pressure weaker African governments into investment and trade liberalisation at the expense of local industries. The linkage between democracy in Africa and western investment opportunities is a recurrent theme in US State Department communiqués (Moose 1995b; USAID 1995).

As if the terms of trade were not bad enough, there is also the mounting burden of the debt crisis, the repayment of debts for sometimes dubious past 'development' initiatives. Sub-Saharan African countries paid over US$28 billion in debt servicing to the IMF and the World Bank during 1983-1994, over US$9 billion more than they received in new loans from those institutions. During the same period, it paid out over US$149 billion in debt servicing, US$15 billion more than it received in new loans from all sources (Canadian Coalition for Global Economic Democracy 1996). International development assistance (IDA) has increasingly been absorbed in debt servicing at a time when global aid to sub-Saharan Africa has been shrinking dramatically.

The rolling over of indebtedness is now accompanied by structural adjustment programmesExternally driven, top-down, short-term and inflexible global prescriptions that ignore local variables. SAPs have targeted government
Debt repayments and new loans from the IMF and World Bank's IBRD during 1983-1994

Expenditures, particularly in non-income-generating areas such as schools and hospitals. As a result, infant mortality and illiteracy are beginning to creep back up. In many countries the costs of debt servicing are twice that spent on health and education combined. SAPs have eaten into the very roots of the economic development. In Tanzania, the phasing out of fertiliser subsidies under the SAP, combined with devaluation of the Tanzanian shilling, has led to a dramatic decline in the use of fertiliser and agricultural productivity. Costs of farm inputs have increased by between 275 and 716 per cent in the past two years (Kilimwiko 1995a). Combined with drought, it has led to a fall of 41 per cent in the production of maize, the staple crop (Kilimwiko 1995b). At the same time, wage employees have seen their real income collapse. Wages equivalent to US$200 in 1986 are worth US$10 today, in an African nation not riven by war or the collapse of the civil society.

Confronted with lower producer prices and poorer access to increasingly costly health and education facilities, the peasantry continues to drift toward the urban areas, where they join the ranks of the unemployed. The majority of professional and bureaucratic middle class are trapped in low-paid employment with few alternative opportunities. Only those in the transnational corporate sector, often through links with the ruling elite, are prospering from the New Wealth of Africa.

Despite the gloom, there are hopeful signs for Africa. The cold war has been superseded by a mounting three-way economic struggle between the United States, the EU and Japan, within an increasingly fluid global economy. The US Secretary of Commerce, Ron Brown, and other members of the American administration have repeatedly stated that the United States is prepared to challenge what it regards as the EU's disproportionate share of the African market (Brown 1995a, 1995b; Sarr 1996).

Just as the end of colonialism opened up new opportunities, so the erosion of the neo-colonial carve-up provides a window of opportunity. As J. Brian Atwood, USAID Administrator, so disarmingly remarked, 'foreign assistance helps create the stable and transparent business standards that US companies must have to operate in a country. It is US technical assistance and expertise that has traditionally been the first marines on the beach in developing markets' (Atwood 1995). African nations may be able to play off one block against the other for a greater share of their own wealth.

The largest transnational oligopolies, such as the oil companies, are unlikely to feel the constraints of national policies. However, more vulnerable interest groups in the developed world may find their influence sacrificed in the name of larger 'national interests' and global competitiveness. A measure of leverage may be restored to African suppliers.

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New issues in African population

David Lucas, Demography, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University

In the 1980s, population growth in Africa was around 3.0 per cent per annum, compared with 1.7 per cent for the world as a whole. In spite of signs of fertility declines in some parts of the continent, population factors in Africa will remain crucial in the 21st century. This paper looks briefly at selected aspects: data, population change, mortality decline, family planning programmes, marriage, and migration.

Data

Overall, the demographic data situation in Africa has improved, thanks in part to the Demographic and Health (DHS) Series, which resulted in the ready dissemination of survey results. For example, fieldwork for the Zimbabwe DHS was completed in November, 1994, and the report was published in September, 1995. African countries quite often have several censuses and surveys so that trends can be assessed. The report on the 1994 Zimbabwe DHS indicated that the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) had fallen to 4.3 per woman, compared with 5.5 shown by the 1988 DHS, yet child survival prospects had not improved since the late 1980s.

A number of African countries have a series of censuses and surveys from which trends can be assessed, but the tendency to regard countries with good data as being typical of the continent must be avoided. Angola and Mozambique, where destabilisation has meant that little data are available, are probably behaving differently in demographic terms to their Angophone neighbours. Political and ethnic suspicions can still make governments reluctant to publish census results, and may explain the delays in issuing the results from the most recent Kenya census.

South Africa probably has inferior data to its neighbours, since apartheid led to lower quality data being collected in the black areas and analysis based on the spatial units of apartheid. A census in 1996 should resolve some of the major queries, which include the size of African townships such as Soweto and the numbers of foreign-born.

Population change

Demographers often make projections and claim that these are not predictions. In Africa they are wise to impose this waiver, since their predictive capability is not very good. Demographers only noticed the fertility decline in Africa after it had happened. Having done so, they then tend to follow the notion of 'convergence' by assuming that the fertility decline will continue until low levels are achieved.

The tendency to focus on the nation state when considering demographic change is perhaps unfortunate in the African context, where national boundaries are often extremely arbitrary and where colonial veneers of different types (eg, British, French and Portuguese) were imposed on different groups of countries. It might be more appropriate to look not only at demographic differences within and between countries, but also to compare the experiences of urban areas in, say, Angophone Africa.

The concentration of the social and economic infrastructure under the colonial regimes has contributed to the earlier fertility and mortality declines in urban areas, as well as to rural-urban migration. In Kenya and Zambia, fertility and mortality have also declined in areas of 'urban influence', where rural populations near to major urban centres such as Nairobi and Harare have access not only to the services, but also to the ideas of the urban centres about family size, health treatment and so on.

Outlying provinces have often achieved little in terms of fertility and mortality declines; examples are the North East of Namibia and the West Nile in Uganda. It takes a truly national programme for them to catch up. The example of Kenya shows that the fertility decline in the capital was followed by declines in all provinces, but that by the 1990s Western Province had a TFR of six births per woman, a level achieved by Nairobi almost 20 years earlier.

Mortality decline

Once again, conventional demographic theory would indicate that mortality would continue to fall, but the HIV/AIDS virus has confused this situation. In Africa AIDS deaths are mostly from heterosexual contact, so that the majority of deaths are of adults. Their deaths may leave many children orphaned and family incomes reduced as young adult family members die.

If the prevalence of HIV is below one per cent, it will have little effect on population growth, but in 1994, 15 sub-Saharan countries were above that level. United Nations projections for an aggregate of these 15 countries estimates that with AIDS their growth rates would be 2.7 per cent per annum in the period 2000-2005. If AIDS was not a factor, the rates would be 3.0 per cent. Thus AIDS is only slowing down very high rates of population growth.

On the positive side, immunisation and oral rehydration therapy programmes have had a beneficial effect on mortality,
but there is controversy about the effect of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) on social services, and hence on morbidity and mortality. At a meeting on 'Improving child survival' held at the Australian National University in March, 1995, Jacob Oni described the deterioration of health services in Nigeria (see also Avong, this volume). Health services used to be free, but after the imposition of the SAP, the user-pays principle has predominated to the extent that hospital users have to pay cash for cotton wool, bandages and even glasses of water when they visit. Associated with this is a re-emergence of measles and other childhood diseases. Because of a trend towards home treatment, Oni suggested a partnership between medical staff and traditional health care providers, and the training of the latter in hygiene. At the same meeting, Tapiwa Jharaba commented on the higher mortality of children living on commercial farms, which are largely white-owned, compared with children living on the communal lands - a finding which may have implications for other parts of southern Africa.

Family planning programmes

In the 1980s and 1990s, work has progressed on the study of the health transition which linked mortality studies with the social sciences. Work in West Africa by researchers such as Caroline Bledsloe and Oni has shown that child fosterage was associated with higher mortality.

In the 1980s, demographers conceded that family planning programmes could have an independent effect in lower fertility. By the 1990s they recognised that this could even be true for Africa.

The costs of funding family planning programmes in Africa and other developing countries are expected to put a heavy burden on donors in the 21st century. Problems of family planning activities in Africa include shortages of contraceptive supplies and political and social upheavals. In Liberia, for example, family planning services have virtually ceased.

Successful family planning programmes exist in Africa, but are not numerous. Measures of the strength of family planning programmes in 1989 by Mauldin and Ross (1991) rated only one African programme as 'strong', five as 'moderate', and 23 as 'weak'. However, even in some of the weak countries, knowledge of family planning is widespread.

Kenya improved its programme in the 1980s by putting more emphasis on maternal and child health and on rural services. Zimbabwe's rural effort is underpinned by exceptional coverage of its community-based distribution of contraceptives (Lucas et al. 1995). Contraceptive use by married women rose from 36 per cent in 1988 to 42 per cent in 1994, whereas the corresponding figure for Zambia in 1992 was only nine per cent. Zambia illustrates the difficulties of building up a strong national programme where health facilities, even after independence, were concentrated along the line of rail, and where low population densities, poor transport, and a lack of nursing staff made it difficult to deliver services in the rural areas.

Marriage

Marriage is no longer early and universal in Africa, and in Botswana, South Africa and Namibia, half the women aged 15-49 report that they have never married. Many women who have never married are mothers, but survey results show that even never-married women have fewer children on average than ever-married women. Thus increases in the proportions of women who never marry can depress fertility levels. Polygynous unions are still prevalent in some areas, but the impact of polygyny on fertility is still the subject of debate.

The mean age at marriage is increasing, but this may hide the tendency for some women never to marry. Furthermore, if marriage is seen as a process, then women may report themselves as unmarried because the process is still incomplete. Ongoing research by Joseph Pisto in the village of Thamaga has shown that bride price (bogadi or lobata) is disappearing, but also that many young men still feel that they will never have the means to marry. In other parts of Africa, less conventional unions are becoming more common: in Abidjan, for example, some couples do not marry, but have children and continue to live at their parents' homes.

Migration

According to Toure (1992:ii), a typical feature of colonial development policies was that schools, health centres, factories and services were first concentrated in urban or mining areas, which then became the destinations for migrants. Surprisingly, many countries (with Tanzania as one of the few exceptions) continued these policies even after independence, thus accentuating internal and international migration. The exodus from rural areas led to an ageing of the rural population and falling agricultural productivity. Drought and political instability have also contributed to massive internal and international movements within Africa.

The urban employment situation 'which is terrible everywhere' (Toure 1992:iii) indicates that high unemployment of unskilled labourers can coexist with shortages of skilled workers, and that the informal sector cannot provide enough jobs in the future. Statistics on unemployment are often 'gender blind', failing to distinguish between male and female unemployment, but data from the 1990-1 Tanzania census show that educated women are more likely to be unemployed than men (Mwashka and Lucas 1996).

The unemployment situation in Africa must be having an impact on the urban marriage market. In general, boys and girls are staying at school longer, which in itself tends to raise the age at marriage. This could mean that in some circumstances women will find it difficult to find a job and a
husband. But on leaving school unemployment rates are high, thus making the maintenance of an independent household difficult.

Conclusion

Two factors appear to have a depressing affect on African population growth. One is the impact of family planning programmes on fertility in a few countries in southern Africa and elsewhere. The other is the impact of AIDS on mortality. Yet population growth rates can be expected to remain high, putting more pressure on the school systems and urban job markets, while AIDS deaths and the rural exodus will have an adverse effect on agricultural production. Africa's problems of the late 20th century can therefore be expected to carry over into the 21st.

Note

Several of these topics are documented in:

References

Nutrition and food security in Africa

Christine McMurray, Demography, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University

The objective of eradicating hunger and malnutrition and its consequent human suffering is within the reach of humanity. However, reaching this goal remains as great a challenge today as in the past. To meet this global challenge full commitment and concerted action are needed on the part of all concerned - governments, non-governmental organizations, local communities, the private sector and the international community, including international organizations. (FAO/WHO 1992: v).

Good nutrition is a basic human need. It is composed not only of sufficient total daily dietary energy intake but also a correct balance of proteins and other micronutrients, especially in the case of growing children. It is also essential that the food is safe and free from pathogens. Many developing countries now enjoy an abundance of good food, and the attention of nutritionists has tended to shift towards overnutrition, or malnutrition arising from excessive consumption of fat-laden foods. However in many developing countries today, particularly in the African continent, large proportions of the population still cannot obtain enough food to meet their daily requirement for good health.

Except in extreme crises, this food deficit is usually not so severe that large numbers die in childhood from lack of food. Rather, throughout their lives individuals consume less than their estimated daily requirement to maintain good health.

In such situations human metabolisms adjust to a lower food intake, and when the deficit is substantial, individuals survive in a thin and weakened state with a reduced capacity for exertion. For children it also means that their full growth potential is not realised.

Figures 1 and 2 compare the height-for-age and weight-for-age of samples of children from Uganda with the internationally recognised WHO/NCHS/CDC standard for normal child growth. The standard is depicted as a straight line, and the growth attainment of the samples of children is measured in terms of standard deviations from the mean for their age in months. It can be seen that whereas children in all three countries are close to the reference standard at birth, they deteriorate progressively over the succeeding months, and by age 18 months or so they are substantially below the standard for their age.

Similar patterns are found in most data sets relating to child growth in Africa. Between 30% and 40% of children may be considered 'stunted', because they are substantially below the international growth standard for height-for-age. Whereas weight-for-age can be increased in the short term, it is more difficult to make up low height-for-age. This means that not only will these children fail to achieve their genetic growth potential, but they will probably also have a reduced capacity for work. They might even suffer from other forms of growth impairment which would only be recognised by clinical assessment.
The cause of this disparity between the growth attainment of large percentages of African children and the international reference standard is due primarily to a combination of malnutrition and infection. Breastmilk alone is the recommended food for all children up to age four to six months. Growth failure before age six months usually signifies either early supplementation with foods or fluids containing pathogens, or a mother who is too poorly nourished herself to provide sufficient breastmilk for her infant. After age six months, growth failure is largely due to insufficient nutritious weaning foods and intermittent episodes of infection, especially diarrhoea.

Why are so many African children and adults affected by malnutrition? Is it mainly because poverty restricts the purchasing power of individuals? Or is it because of an absolute shortage of food? In fact there has been a considerable general improvement in the world food situation in the past 25 years. Overall world food supplies, as measured by dietary energy, rose by 12 per cent between the periods 1961-63 and 1979-81. In developing countries, this represented an increase from 64 per cent of the dietary energy of developed countries to 70 per cent. As a consequence, the overall prevalence of undernutrition in developing countries declined substantially, from 36 per cent in 1969-71 to 20 per cent in 1988-90.

This improvement was not uniform across all regions, however, and the prevalence of chronic undernutrition in the African continent has remained almost the same. Figure 3 plots the relative change in population size and the percentage undernourished, using 1969-71 as the index period. It can be seen that although the total population of Asia increased by one-third, the proportion chronically undernourished declined from 40 to 19 per cent. The comparable figures for Africa, where the increase in population was greater, were 35 and 33 per cent. There are also substantial differences within the African region. The United Nations Second Report on the World Nutrition Situation separates the African continent into two regions: North Africa is included with the Near East, where substantial increases in kilocalories per capita have occurred, from around 2,600 in 1975 to around 3,100 in 1990. In contrast, in sub-Saharan Africa in the same period, the level remained almost constant at around 2,100.

The FAO has reported on world food production at approximately ten-year intervals since 1946, with the fifth report in 1985. The 1985 report indicates that although the per capita dietary energy supply (DES) was higher in Africa in 1961-63 than in the Far East, the African annual rate of improvement up to 1981 was less than half that of the Far East. The FAO report for 1995 had not been released when this paper was prepared, but it is not expected to show any great improvement since 1985. According to FAO's annual production statistics, there were increases of a few percentage points in the total output for Africa of pulses, vegetables, fruit and animal products between 1989 and 1994. Production of cereals increased by some eight per cent, and root crops increased by 18 per cent. However, these increases in food production have been offset by annual rates of population increase of from two to three per cent per annum in most sub-Saharan African countries.

The 1980s and early 1990s saw extensive intermittent droughts in central and southern Africa, and some countries were obliged to implement emergency procedures to prevent serious malnutrition. In 1992, some 800,000 young children were receiving regular supplements of corn meal, ground nuts and oil from the Zimbabwe Child Supplementary
Feeding Programme. Most of the food distributed was donated by overseas aid agencies. Since then there have been only intermittent rains, and the drought may even have worsened. Late in 1995, Zambia was said to be suffering ‘the worst drought in living memory’, and World Vision estimated that more than half of the population of Zimbabwe were affected by food shortages because of drought conditions.

Aside from unfavourable climatic conditions, political and social conditions are underlying causes of food deficits in Africa. At various times political instability has added to severe food shortages in drier countries in the north, such as Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea. Political instability and inefficient distribution of land also has led to food shortages in some agriculturally rich countries, such as Angola, Uganda and Mozambique, which could otherwise easily meet their own food requirements. There also has been only limited improvement of agricultural and crop management techniques. Whereas commercial agricultural enterprises have adopted new technologies and become increasingly efficient, the productivity of the subsistence sector in most of Africa has stagnated. Extreme poverty has limited the adoption of improvements such as better seed types, irrigation and soil conservation. Poverty also has contributed to high rates of rural population growth, which in turn lead to further fragmentation of land, deforestation and soil depletion. Thus political instability, poverty and high levels of population growth have become components of a vicious circle which prevents substantial improvements in agricultural yields and sustains the widespread prevalence of malnutrition.

The seemingly endless nature of the problems of poverty and malnutrition in Africa have led some western observers to relegate them to the ‘too hard’ basket. But the long-term solution of these problems must become a priority of aid agencies, because they are a major factor inhibiting economic development and self-sufficiency. Poorly nourished populations do not achieve their physical growth potential. For example, there are substantial differences in the typical adult height of well-nourished Afro-American populations living in the United States and poorly nourished people of the same ethnic group living in Africa. Poorly nourished people also tend to have lowered resistance to infection and to be lethargic and tire easily. They are therefore unable to realise their potential contribution to the economy of their countries. Countries unable to feed their populations adequately thus fail to develop their human resources and prevent the realisation of their economic growth potential.

The elimination of malnutrition in Africa depends primarily on breaking the politics/poverty/population nexus and creating conditions in which substantial agricultural improvements can take place. This must be accompanied by the development of non agricultural employment opportunities to reduce population pressure in the agricultural sector. It also means improving education and employment opportunities for African women so that their status becomes less dependent on their childbearing performance. If these changes were made and the human resource potential of Africa were fully realised, the continent could achieve comparable improvements in nutrition, food security and economic growth to those achieved in Asia in the past three decades.

April 1996
Note

1. The standards were developed by the World Health Organization (WHO), Geneva, the National Centre for Health Statistics (NCHS), Washington, and the Centre for Disease Control (CDC), Atlanta.

References


Introduction

The ‘do to’, ‘do for’ and ‘do with’ phases of rural development are viewed as extending from the mid-1950s to the early 1990s, with the first phase extending for about 15 years and the last two for about ten years. These phases are not distinct, but involve significant overlap in terms of policy implementation and theory.

During the ‘do to’ phase, the dominant development theme was economic growth through industrialisation and modernisation. Employment creation, equitable distribution of real income and basic needs were the focus of development during the second ‘do for’ phase. During the third ‘do with’ phase, macroeconomic reform, food security, income generation and sustainable development dominated the development policy agenda. Economic growth was emphasised in the development policies of both the ‘do to’ and ‘do with’ phases, while social concerns, including the redistribution of income, were the focus of policies during the ‘do for’ phase.

Agriculture, which has formed the mainstay of many developing country economies, including Kenya, played a key role during all three phases. During the ‘do to’ phase, this role was seen within the context of a production-centred framework of development. It involved the application of strategies and policies aimed at modernising traditional agriculture on the basis of the historical experience of the western industrial countries. During the following ‘do for’ phase, the stimulation of domestic demand for manufactured goods and the diversification and expansion of industry to meet this demand required higher rural incomes. In this context, the role of agricultural development policy was that of enabling the rural poor to earn higher incomes from agriculture.

In the final ‘do with’ phase of rural development, the price of food and agricultural products was the key policy instrument used to try and provide food at prices that were both affordable and that would give farmers the incentive to increase production. Food policy analysis was applied as the main policy tool for advancing rural development objectives through agriculture. In reality, greater emphasis was placed on export-oriented production rather than on production for domestic consumption. The main reason for this is attributed to globalisation and the conditionalities of aid. Developing countries needed foreign exchange primarily to repay foreign debts; export-led primary production was the most immediate means of earning foreign exchange.

The rural development process in Kenya

Five significant issues which may be identified as affecting the rural development process in developing countries have similarly affected rural development in Kenya. These include community participation, equity in the distribution of resources and the benefits of development, environmental sustainability in development, local food self-sufficiency and rural development.

Community participation

In all three phases, community participation was not envisioned in terms of providing opportunities for endogenous inputs - such as community-based social and cultural organisational structures, and traditional knowledge and skills - to play a major role in the process of rural development. Endogenous inputs which are latent within rural communities were acknowledged to exist in theory, especially during the ‘do for’ phase, but efforts to incorporate them into development planning and implementation processes remained at the level of rhetoric, both within government and among external aid and international agencies. These efforts therefore failed to translate the theory of community participation into practice.

The key objective of community participation, considered here to be empowerment, was not achieved during any of the three phases, and rural communities were not involved in decision-making to the extent that they were envisioned to be in theory. The effect of this was to reduce rural people to passive recipients during the ‘do for’ phase. During the ‘do with’ phase, community participation was couched in the economic language of cost sharing and was emphasised through the structural adjustment programmes of the World Bank. In practice, neither empowerment of the rural poor to play an active part in development, nor the contribution of rural communities in the decision-making processes of rural development were attained to the extent envisaged in theory.

In terms of the Kenyan situation, during the ‘do to’ phase, the term ‘participation’ had taken on a meaning which both recognised and encouraged the use of the potential (endogenous) inputs available within communities. Rural communities were empowered to make decisions about their
needs for infrastructure such as schools, health facilities and water supplies and to implement their decisions through the harambee (pulling/pooling together) process. They therefore contributed to rural development through harambee as espoused in rural development planning policy documents. The ideal of mutual social responsibility, which was a key tenet in the first sessional paper on planning in Kenya, was thus realised (Republic of Kenya 1966).

The non interference of government in the harambee movement during the 'do to' phase contributed significantly to the process of attaining moderate degrees of self-reliance in many parts of the country. However, increasing intervention by the central government at the national level and by its representatives at the local (district) during the following 'do for' phase, served to reduce the effectiveness of the harambee decision-making process. This intervention culminated in the control of the harambee movement through licensing by the central government during the 'do with' phase, which extended from the early 1980s to the early 1990s. This control was endorsed and executed by the political arm of government. Harambee activities were thus recognised in policy, in terms of their cash contribution to the development process, rather than as a means of encouraging the empowerment of rural communities and the achievement of self-reliant development at the local level. The lack of clear separation of the political and executive arms of government contributed significantly to this problem.

Equity in the distribution of resources and the benefits of development

A top-down approach to rural development planning policy formulation and implementation was adopted during the 'do for' phase. It failed to have a positive impact in terms of enhancing equity despite the formulation and implementation of equity-oriented policies such as the basic needs and employment generation strategies in developing countries.

With respect to Kenya, the post-independence land distribution process, though successful in raising small-scale farm sector output, did not lead to equity in the distribution of resources, especially land. The implementation of agricultural development policies was affected by the denial of legitimate access rights to land for women. The policy rejection of community social and cultural organisational structures that still govern land use in parts of Kenya most probably contributed to the ineffectiveness of the land tenure system to address the rights of women to land.

The redistribution with growth policies of the 'do for' phase did not achieve the targets set in the policies, and disparities in income widened. By the 'do with' phase, inequity had increased, and poverty was focused in the rural population, especially in marginal (arid and semi-arid) areas. The people most severely affected by implementation of macroeconomic reform policies were those facing the highest degree of money poverty (George 1990).

Environmental sustainability in development

Environmental sustainability was given only minor consideration in developing countries during the 'do to' phase of rural development. The loss of gene material, soil and water pollution, and the fragile nature of tropical soils and agro-ecological zones did not constitute major issues in the formulation of rural development policies. Sensitivity to environmental sustainability issues was heightened during the 'do for' phase of rural development, when strategies were introduced in order to combat soil erosion and land degradation. However, in general there was little effort to make use of traditional knowledge and skills, nor were community-based social and organisational structures considered as viable frameworks on which to build sound environmental policies.

Sustainability in development was stressed during the 'do with' phase of rural development, but this was largely based on rhetoric rather than on genuine concern. The emphasis on sustainable development in developing countries was partly linked to global environmental concerns in Western industrialised countries, for example about the consequences of the greenhouse effect on their economies.

Environmental sustainability became an issue in Kenya during the 'do for' phase of rural development, when problems of land degradation - especially soil erosion and deforestation - were recognised as reaching critical levels. Where community (endogenous) inputs were utilised, interventions aimed at arresting land degradation, especially soil erosion, were found to be more successful (Mutoiso 1978). However, exogenous inputs by way of policies did not go far enough in examining indigenous systems of maintaining land productivity, neither did they adopt or incorporate traditional knowledge into the policy formulation process.

Local food self-sufficiency

The efforts to raise agricultural productivity during the 'do to' phase led to marginal gains in self-sufficiency in some food products in some developing countries, particularly in Asia, where self-sufficiency in rice was attained (Staatz and Eicher 1990). However, rapid population growth meant that improvements in food production were largely eroded. By the 'do for' and 'do with' phases of rural development, many developing countries, especially in Africa, were importing food from Western industrial countries.

In Kenya, significant achievements were made in raising food production during the early years of independence, which coincided with the latter part of the 'do to' phase. The restoration of land rights following independence and the policy emphasis on self-reliance and the importance of agriculture as the primary source of 'wealth', contributed to higher productivity. However, productivity in food crops declined during the next two phases. This is attributable in large measure to the implementation of policies which favoured export-oriented production and converted the most
productive areas from food to cash crops. By the end of the 'do with' phase, the export-oriented production orientation of the World Bank's structural adjustment programmes led to a worsening of rural impoverishment. The situation was further aggravated by the fact that agricultural export commodity prices were determined largely by global markets.

Rural development

Rural development was hindered to a large degree by structural barriers, particularly the concentration of political power and property ownership throughout the three phases. The attempts by governments to devolve power to local levels in rural areas continued to amount to little more than rhetoric in many developing countries, especially in Africa. Some degree of decentralisation of government administration was achieved, but this was not sufficient to allow rural communities to actively engage in decision-making processes. Decentralisation generally did not include control over financial resources or decision-making. Within such a framework, attempts to implement bottom-up approaches to rural development could only be token, since local self-sufficiency and self-reliance in the development process were not encouraged.

In Kenya, rural development peaked during the 'do to' phase of rural development and the first half of the 'do for' phase. However, the central government's resistance to devolution and strict control of development resources during the 'do with' phase decelerated the pace of self-reliant development in the rural areas. Ironically, the decentralisation process in one sense strengthened central control, because national agencies still retained the power to veto development proposals made at the local (district) level. They also controlled the allocation and disbursement of financial resources (Republic of Kenya 1984). The shift to a decentralised framework for rural development in Kenya presented an opportunity for reconsidering the role that community-based social and cultural organisational structures could play in a redesigned framework. In this context, local communities could be involved in decision-making processes and policy implementation. However, the strengthening of central control during the decentralisation process meant that the opportunity to modify the rural development framework to make room for a more 'genuine' bottom-up, people-centred development framework was missed. The District Focus for Rural Development Strategy in Kenya, which was an attempt at decentralisation and people-centred planning, was crippled by its failure to capitalise on the potential complementarity between the top-down sectoral approach at the central (government) level, and the grassroots-oriented, bottom-up and integrated approach at the local (district) level.

The three phases of rural development saw an increase in the problem of poverty, despite the policy focus on economic growth and modernisation during the 'do to' phase, social considerations and welfare during the 'do with' phase, and a return to economic growth concerns during the 'do for' phase. It also saw a distancing of the notion that endogenous inputs are critical to policy formulation and implementation processes for rural development, and that community-based social and cultural organisational structures can form a basis for rural development in developing countries.

Institutional organisation for rural development

As in other countries such as Nigeria, Peru, Poland, Pakistan (UN 1989), the institutional organisation for rural development in Kenya has suffered from a number of deficiencies relating to structural and human resources. One major deficiency relates to the structure and organisation of multi-level institutional systems and the difficulties in rationalising institutional arrangements for rural development activities. This is particularly evident because the institutional arrangements have involved a devolution or 'deconcentration' of staff from headquarters to regional and local (district) levels. In essence, the central authority of the government has been transferred to the local level. Decentralisation, or the handing over of political power and decision-making, has not been included, however.

A second deficiency relates to the inadequacy of the processes implemented by the different organisations involved in development, either to translate national goals for socio-economic development into local-level development plans, or to incorporate local-level plans through sub-national institutions into the national mainstream. The setting of guiding principles for project selection, as well as the vetoing of self-help or non-governmental efforts in the development process by the local representatives of the central authority, have effectively discouraged the identification of innovative projects relevant to local problems and conditions in rural Kenya. National goals have not been translated into appropriate local strategies.

A third deficiency relates to the insufficient skills, knowledge and sensitivity amongst politicians, government officials and the people to operate a truly participatory, multi-level system for managing the development process. The interference by politicians in local self-help efforts, as well as the biased selection of persons onto local development committees, has tended to exclude the vast majority of the rural population from decision making processes. It has also contributed to the lack of recognition and utilisation of local knowledge and traditional skills. In summary, what little has been attained through policy recognition of the importance of self-help and mutual social responsibility, especially during the 'do to' phase and the early part of the 'do for' phase, has been lost due to the hijacking of *harambee* by the political arm of government.

Effective institutional mechanisms to link both the top-down (centralised) and bottom-up (decentralised) strategies in development are essential if the policy and implementation aspects of development are to be properly coordinated. The realisation of self-reliance within local communities must
be regarded as the point from which any introduced institutional structure(s) develops. This self-reliance is achieved by encouraging people-centred development in which people are recognised as central not peripheral to the decision-making process.

Any introduced institutional structure(s) must therefore restore the rights of the local (rural) people to influence development decisions that affect their lives. One means of achieving this is providing an institutional environment conducive to their active participation in decision-making.

**Improving the institutional and policy contexts for rural development**

Two significant areas clearly emerge which require the attention of the central government in Kenya. The first relates to the institutional organisation of rural development. The second concerns weaknesses in rural development policy and their potential implications for attaining national development goals. In particular, attention needs to be given to finding ways in which rural development policies can encourage community participation, enhance equity and ensure environmental sustainability.

**Reform of the institutional organisation**

There is an urgent need for institutional reform within the Kenyan rural development planning framework if the goals and objectives of rural development are to be achieved, particularly within the arid and semi-arid areas. This should include the introduction of an institutional system which acts as a conduit or channel between the national and local level frameworks. It should be a system which operates to enable local communities to identify their needs and to determine the steps they intend to take to meet these needs. Community knowledge (expertise) and skills would be adapted, adopted and coopted into the policy formulation and implementation process. Such a system would serve as a kind of forum in which local communities participate and provide advice both the local and national levels. The system would open up opportunities for negotiation and would draw on community/ traditional mediation skills and knowledge in the discussion of developmental issues.

With respect to decentralisation, the local level should be restructured to allow increased power and decision-making for resource utilisation, including financial resources, by local people. It is suggested that the key players at the proposed intermediate level should be community representatives from all the relevant sectors, especially members of women's groups. Representatives of community organisations and members of the government should also be involved.

**The equity feature**

As women's roles become more diversified, for example to include cash cropping and non-farm employment, their input must be considered central and vital to any attempts to bring about the alleviation of poverty in rural areas. The traditional basis for informal women's groups should therefore be either reintegrated into the formal institutional structures, or the operation of informal groups should be encouraged to continue in order to enhance participation and empowerment. The involvement of representatives from women's groups at the intermediate institutional level is essential if development at the local level is to progress and self-reliance be advanced. The Kenyan rural population is increasingly comprised of households headed by women (mainly de facto). The World Bank (1989) suggests that two-fifths of families are headed by women for practical purposes, and many others rely on women much of the time. The underlying cause for this change is economic, whereby increased pressure on land, coupled with increasing employment opportunities in urban areas, has encouraged rural-urban migration of men, who are the most mobile members of the population.

**Implications for policy**

Control over local resources and the vetoing of local initiatives (e.g. in the form of harambee) by central authorities appear to stifle the process of self-reliance, lower community morale and disempower communities by denying them the right to identify their needs and to decide the use to which local resources will be put.

The government has argued that its vetoing process is necessary to avoid wastage of government resources and possible duplication of projects (Republic of Kenya 1974). However, in the current era of cost-sharing and cutbacks in social welfare spending brought about by the implementation of World Bank policies, it seems sensible that local communities should be recognised as being best suited to determine their own needs and identify the projects for which they wish to raise resources in order to meet these needs. In the theoretical debate, self-financing was envisaged by Friedmann and Weaver (1979) as essential to self-reliance. Self-reliance also occurred in rural communities wherever the benefit to them was evident (Johnstone and Whitelaw 1974; Griffin and Khan 1972).

The top-down approach to financing local development has been presented as unworkable because it denies the local community a say in how local resources should be used. To some extent this argument appears to hold true in Kenya, where local communities have been increasingly denied opportunities to have a direct say in the use of locally collected resources, let alone resources allocated by the government from the public purse. The long-term evidence from Kenya's harambee efforts indicates that where local communities have had a say in the use of locally collected resources, advances in self-reliance have been made. Current vetoing processes have thus tended to aggravate poverty in many rural areas because of the negative effect the vetoing process has had on encouraging self-reliance.

The guiding principles forwarded at the national level (Ministry of Planning and National Development) in a top-
down manner to the local level therefore need to be subjected to community scrutiny and adapted to local conditions. No two districts are the same, and the needs and aspirations of local communities are bound to differ depending on local circumstances. It is therefore inappropriate to apply generalised policy guidelines and expect them to be effective throughout a country as diverse as Kenya.

There is a dire need to improve the clarity of policy documents in terms of their goals and scope for implementation. This requires that policy goals and targets be more realistic in terms of the resources available and in light of existing constraints in implementing programmes and projects. National development plans and sessional papers also tend to lack specificity on the means of achieving national development goals, which currently include attaining high incomes, food security and employment.

This lack of clear strategies for achieving national development goals has resulted in a situation where the latest development theories are tested on the basis of 'trial and error'. Kenyan policy makers have tended to rely on untested theories has for the last 20 to 30 years, leading to the wastage of scarce resources and a declining level of self-reliance.

The restoration of women's traditional rights to access and use of land, which are currently not assured under the registered tenure system, would also effectively empower women and provide them with the incentive to be more productive, innovative and, ultimately, self-reliant. Current rural-urban development policy rests on improvements in production, and women's rights to land are therefore central to the successful achievement of the goals of this policy.

Future directions in research

In conclusion, three possible areas for further research are evident.

The first is concerned with land holding and ownership. Land is crucial for agricultural development, which is likely to remain the main sector for Kenya's economic growth in the immediate future. The system of land tenure in rural areas, and the structures that could be adopted to reinstate women's usufructuary rights in land, are particularly significant in the light of women's role in agricultural and rural development. While land issues in Kenya are politically sensitive, the restoration of land rights to women should be possible through the amendment of statements to title holders.

The second area of research concerns the possible linkages between the different agro-ecological rural areas and the potential for complementarity between these areas. Linkages between rural and urban areas should also be explored in terms of their effects on rural households and the local level economy.

Finally, research into the institutional framework and proposals for the implementation of an intermediate institutional system is required if participation, equity and environmental sustainability goals are to be achieved in Kenya's rural development process. The development of an innovative institutional system at the intermediate level, in which women are adequately represented, is vital if a balance in rural-urban economic development is to be achieved in Kenya and self-reliance re-established nationally.

References

Confronting Eve’s destruction: African women and AIDS

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Introduction

The Society for Women and AIDS in Africa has described the dangers confronted by women in the face of the HIV epidemic as a ‘triple jeopardy’. This is because the epidemic threatens a woman in three ways:

(i) she may become infected herself;
(ii) if she is HIV positive, she may pass the infection to her baby in the womb or after birth; and
(iii) because women are the main carers for the sick, she will carry the burden of looking after a child, husband or some other close relation who develops AIDS (Panos 1991).

The strategies developed in response to the epidemic have been conspicuously lacking in a grounding in the realities of women’s life. The costs of the failure to respond to women’s needs have been high. Worldwide, approximately 7.6 million women have been infected with HIV in the last 15 years. This represents approximately 40 per cent of the total 19 million cumulative adult HIV infections (WHO 1995).

This paper examines the HIV epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa from women’s perspective in order to understand the factors underlying the extreme vulnerability of women to infection. The paper also takes a critical look at the responses to the epidemic and determines their relevance and effectiveness for women. Finally, the paper takes a critical look at the responses to the epidemic and determines their relevance and effectiveness for women. The labelling of HIV as a prostitute’s disease has had disastrous consequences for many women. For a variety of reasons, many women discover that they are infected with HIV when their newborn baby is diagnosed with AIDS. At this stage, if the husband has not been diagnosed to have contracted HIV, the women are often unfairly blamed by the husband for bringing AIDS into the family and accused of infidelity, as illustrated by the following excerpt:

The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that worldwide 50 per cent of all new infections are in women, but in sub-Saharan Africa the share is 60 per cent. Of the estimated 7.6 million women who have been infected with HIV worldwide, over six million (80 per cent) are from sub-Saharan Africa (Reid 1992). One African woman in 40 is infected with HIV (UNICEF 1990) compared with 1:12,000 in Australia, for example.

An important indication of the level of HIV infection in women is the seroprevalence in pregnant women. As Table 1 shows, HIV seroprevalence among urban pregnant women from all countries except Zaire, increased dramatically between 1985 and 1993. In some countries, the proportion of pregnant women infected with HIV increased more than ten-fold in eight years. Since 1993, between one-fifth and one-third of pregnant women in most urban centres in the sample were shown to be infected with the virus.

Who is infected and how?

The majority of women infected with HIV are of childbearing age. This is not surprising since they are also the most sexually active. What is disturbing is that the highest prevalence of HIV infections in women occur in the 15 to 25 year age group. The peak prevalence for men occurs ten years later in the 25 to 35 year age group.

On average, adults develop AIDS after a latent period of eight years from infection. This means that most women with AIDS become infected with HIV in their teens, almost as soon as they become sexually active. Contrary to popular notions which have tended to label women infected with HIV as prostitutes, the majority of women (60 to 80 per cent) with HIV infection are married or in a regular relationship with only one sexual partner. For example, a study in Kigali, Rwanda showed that among women who had only one lifetime partner - their husband - 21 per cent were infected with HIV (Allen et al. 1991).

The labelling of HIV as a prostitute’s disease has had disastrous consequences for many women. For a variety of reasons, many women discover that they are infected with HIV when their newborn baby is diagnosed with AIDS. At this stage, if the husband has not been diagnosed to have contracted HIV, the women are often unfairly blamed by the husband for bringing AIDS into the family and accused of infidelity, as illustrated by the following excerpt:
When I broke the news to my husband, he left me that very same night, after calling me names and accusing me of being unfaithful and a prostitute. I later learned that he had already been tested and was HIV-positive but didn’t have the courage to tell me (UNAIDS Update 1995).

The vast majority of women (90 per cent) are infected through unprotected sexual intercourse; however, African women are also at higher risk of blood-to-blood transmission of HIV. Most of the blood transfused in sub-Saharan African countries is for the treatment of anaemia in children and women, particularly pregnant women, and haemorrhaging in women (anaemia and haemorrhages are a major cause of half million maternal deaths worldwide each year). In 1988, for example, three-quarters of all adult blood transfusions in Uganda were given to women, in most cases because of complications in childbirth (Mariasy and Radlett 1990). Studies in Guinea Bissau and Rwanda have provided proof that blood transfusions are a significant risk for women with regards to HIV infection (Sion et al. 1990; Allen 1991).

Table 1: HIV seroprevalence for urban pregnant women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Urban Area HIV seroprevalence for pregnant women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>Francistown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cote d'Ivoire</td>
<td>Abidjan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Nairobi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>Blantyre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Dar es Salaam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaire</td>
<td>Kinshasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>Lusaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: US Bureau of Census 1995

Why are women vulnerable to HIV infection?

There are a number of biological, social and cultural factors which influence the susceptibility of women to infection with HIV.

(i) Biological and health-related factors

An important biological factor is that the genital area of young women in their early to mid-teens is not fully developed, and hence is more fragile and susceptible to infection with HIV. It is now well established that the risk of transmitting and acquiring HIV infection is significantly increased in the presence of other sexually transmissible diseases (STDs), particularly syphilis, genital herpes and chancroid. In women, as the ulcers and inflammations caused by some STDs are often initially internal, they remain unaware of the infection for some time and do not seek early treatment. This co-factor for transmission could therefore be of greater significance among women than men. Pregnancy leading to either birth or abortion can also damage the genital area, and thus increase vulnerability to HIV infection.

(ii) Social, cultural and economic factors

Besides the issues of genital biology, there are social and cultural factors which influence the vulnerability of women to infection with HIV. The social and cultural determinants of HIV infection in women are closely linked to the status of women in relationships, families and communities.

In nearly all societies, women are disadvantaged both economically and socially. Women typically lack equal access to education, health, training, independent incomes, property and legal rights. This affects their access both to knowledge about AIDS and to measures that may be taken to prevent transmission of HIV infection. The epidemic has revealed and amplified the inferior status of women, as well as emphasising the large gaps within social service systems (Reid 1990).

Economic need can increase women’s risk of infection with HIV in other ways. The global business of prostitution graphically illustrates the ways in which economic and social circumstances influence women’s exposure to risk. Many women are driven to and remain in the sex industry due to lack of viable employment alternatives. The HIV seroprevalence rates among female sex workers shown in Table 2 illustrate the very high risk these women face. The interaction between female anatomy and the social, sexual and economic subordination makes African women (as well women in similar circumstances) extremely vulnerable to HIV infection.

Critique of some mainstream HIV prevention strategies

Four main prevention strategies have been advocated to prevent the spread of HIV through sex:

- reducing the number of sexual partners;
- using condoms;
- abstaining from sex, remaining faithful to one partner; and
- the treatment of STDs.

A close examination of these strategies shows that for a majority of women they are largely irrelevant. Firstly, the majority of infected women (60 to 80 per cent) have only one sexual partner, so this strategy is of no relevance to them. For those women who are forced to sell or exchange sexual intercourse for economic reasons, the strategy is also irrelevant.

The second strategy of condom usage is a strategy for men. Men use condoms. A number of studies of sex workers have clearly shown that some women can successfully negotiate condom use. However, this remains a rare skill. Most men
do not use condoms and most women do not have the ability or the power to protect themselves in this way. To demand the use of a condom can be assumed to be a denial of mutual trust. If a woman suggests the use of a condom, she risks suspicions of infidelity or disease. ‘Women have little choice. To ask is to risk conflict; not to ask is to risk infection and death’ (Mann 1990).

As regards the third point, celibacy and faithfulness are rarely a female prerogative. Women do not have the power to insist either on faithfulness of their partners or on abstinence. The helplessness of women trapped in such situations is illustrated by the following excerpt from a 1991 Ugandan study:

My husband has not yet learnt the bitterness of AIDS, so there is a likelihood that I will [get AIDS] because he loves other women.

Table 2: HIV seroprevalence for female commercial sex workers (CSW)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>HIV seroprevalence for female CSW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cote d'Ivoire</td>
<td>1992/3</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>85%</td>
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In this regard, identification of the role that other STDs and genital conditions play in the transmission of HIV is important. Providing STD treatment as part of HIV prevention programmes gives women some measure of protection. However, there are problems even with this strategy. The same diseases that generally cause burning and itching in men are often asymptomatic in women, leaving them unaware that they are in need of treatment. Others with pelvic pain or vaginal discharge may accept this discomfort as a woman’s ‘lot in life’, not recognising that they can and deserve to be treated. Even those who would welcome treatment often feel too embarrassed or ashamed to seek care at STD clinics, whose clients are primarily men or female sex workers. As with health care in general, women are often too busy, too modest or too poor to seek treatment for STDs.

Back to the future: Woman-centred HIV prevention strategies

The purpose of this section of the paper is not to prescribe or describe an exhaustive list of HIV prevention strategies for women. The intention is to examine current information about potential technologies as well as existing strategies which can contribute significantly to HIV prevention for women.

New technologies

The availability of a ‘chemical condom’ which could prevent HIV infection while still allowing contraception, which women can use without the permission or indeed the knowledge of their sexual partner, and above all which African women could afford and have ready access to, would save the lives of millions of women and their children. Many scientists have been trying to identify such compounds (virucides) since the 1980s. A recent report in the New Scientist suggests that there are hopeful signs for the identification of one such compound (Berger 1996).

A ‘healthy’ health care system

A recent study in rural Tanzania has demonstrated very clearly that by improving the provision of STD treatment, the incidence of HIV infection was reduced by more than 40 per cent (Grosskurth et al. 1995). Moreover, improvement of STD treatment was achieved through low-key interventions (including training of health care workers in STD syndrome management, making available effective antibiotics for STDs, and encouraging people to seek treatment for symptomatic STDs) within the existing primary health care delivery services. What this research shows is that very significant reduction in HIV infections can be achieved with relatively modest investments in improving existing primary health care services. This is important because many African countries are undergoing structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. In most countries, SAPs have lead to a deterioration of health services, at a time of increased demand. It can be argued that an effective HIV prevention strategy would include a commitment to keep the health care system ‘healthy’ and functioning. This is by no means a radical suggestion; however, under conditions dictated by SAPs, a strong political will and commitment is needed to ensure a functioning health care system.

Healthy mothers, healthy babies

The state of a woman’s health is important for her own well-being and for the health of her children. A 1994 study suggested that maternal Vitamin A deficiency increases the likelihood of mother-to-child transmission of HIV. The significance of this finding is that it points to the importance of good nutrition for both the health of a woman and her babies. Again, this is not radical or new; addressing the nutritional status of women can contribute significantly to effective HIV prevention for women and their babies.
Strategies which address underlying social and economic factors of women's vulnerability

Schemes which offer women opportunities to earn an income or obtain low interest credit are needed to provide alternatives to sex work and reduce their economic dependence on men. This is particularly important in areas where migration of young women to become commercial sex workers has become common, and in areas where sex workers operate. These should not be seen as rehabilitation programmes for female sex workers, but as broader development initiatives designed to increase the range of options available to low income women.

Policy making and legislation

A major priority in developing effective preventative strategies for women should be ensuring that women are represented on decision-making bodies of national AIDS programmes. HIV policy in relation to women must include consideration of legal issues and population policy. The school-leaving age, age of marriage and family planning policy are particularly important issues.

There are a number of ways in which the law could be involved in the policy-making process to protect women.

Laws which deny women the right to independent ownership of property or access to financial credit reinforce the economic dependency of women. The removal of such legal barriers could provide women with access to the cash economy other than through commercial sex work. Within the marital relationship, measures that reduce the economic dependence of the wife on her husband may also assist in increasing her power to negotiate matters such as the use of condoms and faithfulness on the part of her husband or partner.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the lives of millions of women depend on the implementation of strategies that permit women to exercise control over factors that place them at risk of HIV infection. A fundamental reorientation of the values, beliefs and laws that shape the perception and role of women within relationships, families and societies is required. New technologies for HIV prevention may hold some promise for women. However, support for the principles of equal access to education, health, training, independent incomes, property and legal rights for women, which has been the subject of intense public debate for the past two decades, is needed immediately. The principles and strategies are well known; the challenge is to make them happen.

References


Nigeria possesses great wealth in terms of natural and human resources as well as other economic factors that can potentially enhance national growth and development. The federal government, in recognition of the great importance of the health sector to the country's economic growth and development, has often formulated sound - although overambitious - education, health and population policies (Woo 1995: 1483-4). Improvements in health care services partly account for the rapid decline in infant mortality rate and, consequently, a reduction in the preferred number of live births considered necessary for achieving desired family size (UNICEF 1990:25).

The goal of national health policies in Nigeria has been to:

- establish a comprehensive health care system based on primary health care that is promotive, protective, restorative, and rehabilitative to every citizen of the country within available resources so that individuals and communities are assured of productivity, social well-being and enjoyment of living (UNICEF 1990:16).

The strategies devised for accomplishing this goal include giving priority to maternal and child health activities and increasing the availability of all family planning methods. To achieve this goal, family planning has been incorporated into the maternal and child health programme, and contraceptives have been made widely available and readily accessible.

However, the 'delivery of social services ... lags far behind many other countries in the developing world and belies what might be expected from a nation so rich in resources' (Woo 1995:1483). Public educational and health institutions, due to reduced government spending in the social sector, are manned by demoralised, insufficiently trained personnel; are grossly ill-equipped for effective utilisation; and the meagre materials and equipment are poorly maintained (Woo 1995:1484). Public educational and health services have deteriorated, both in quantity and quality, especially since the adoption of the structural adjustment programme in 1986. While real income and consumption per capita levels have remained virtually stagnant since 1971, educational and health institutions have been forced to introduce fees and are regularly forced to hike their fees as the economy continues its downward plunge (see Ogbu and Gallagher 1992).

The increasing economic hardship experienced by households has forced them to reduce their expenditures on health and education (Okafor and Rizzuto 1995). However, analysis at national levels often masks regional or ethnic differences in fertility behaviour and the distribution of social services. As in other developing countries, Nigerian rural areas have been underprivileged as regards social services (Woo 1995; UNICEF 1990). There is evidence that behaviour favouring fertility decline already exists in certain rural communities. Therefore there is a need for immediate improvement in social services, particularly health services.

To illustrate the above, this paper draws on survey data collected amongst members of one of Nigeria's numerous ethnic groups, the Atyap of Kaduna State. The survey was carried out between July and December, 1995, to examine the fertility behaviour of the Atyap. Data were collected from 600 women aged 15-49 from a total of 687 households in four villages. The Atyap were officially referred to as 'Kataf' by the Hausa, the larger ethnic group living in the northern part of the State. The name 'Atyap' was officially recognised after the group gained their independence from Hausa Muslim rule in October, 1995.

Background information on the Atyap

The Atyap live in the southern part of Kaduna State and in Zongon-Kataf local government area. Predominantly Christian rural dwellers, the Atyap are settled agriculturalists living in patrilineal family compounds with no electricity or piped water. Besides farming, many Atyap men and women are employed in the modern sector, for example as teachers, nurses, clerks and administrators. Due to economic hardship, many are now also engaged in commercial farming, as well as buying and selling on a larger scale.

Health and educational services

The Atyap are now served by several government secondary schools and numerous primary schools built by missionaries. 72 per cent of the population (3,810) had some formal education, with almost half of those educated being female. This means the Atyap have the highest rate of female education amongst the six major ethnic groups in Nigeria - the Tiv, Ijaw, Yoruba, Hausa and Kanuri. The Ibo's have the highest educational levels compared with the other major ethnic groups, but a higher percentage of the Atyap have secondary education.
In addition to church-run clinics and dispensaries, the Atyap are served by only one general hospital, built in 1984 and upgraded from a comprehensive health centre in 1992.

Fertility behaviour

The Atyap, like other communities in Nigeria, are pronatalist. The total fertility rate of Atyap women was seven in 1986 (Avong 1988:94) and about six in 1995, corresponding with national fertility rates for rural Nigeria based on the 1990 DHS (Federal Office of Statistics 1992). In common with other ethnic groups in Nigeria, marriage among the Atyap is universal (Avong 1988), but Atyap women are less likely than the Hausa and the Yoruba to be in polygynous unions. The mean age at first union among the Atyap is 18.4 years, which is much higher than among the Hausa (13.9 years) (Kritz and Makinwa-Adebusoye 1994:4).

Knowledge of modern methods of contraception is almost universal, and 96 per cent of married women have used at least one birth control method. The current rate of contraceptive usage is higher than the national average in 1992 (17 per cent versus 11 per cent respectively) (Robey et al. 1993:34; Woo 1995:1483). 87 per cent of the women state that they wanted a mean number of five children. Of those surveyed, the percentage of Atyap women who want no more children (37 per cent) is considerably higher than was found in 1991 among the Hausa (six per cent) (Kritz and Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1994:13b).

Utilisation of health and family planning services

Ability to use family planning services is determined both by their availability and ease of access. The latter may be determined by transportation to service points, as well as the economic capacity of clients in cases where family planning services need to be paid for. Although contraceptives are already widely available and readily accessible in Nigeria, rural areas have always been under-served by government services, especially in the areas of health and family planning. Only about 20 per cent of public health facilities in rural areas offer family planning services. The Zongon-Kataf General Hospital, for instance, was found to be grossly under-resourced. Drugs for common ailments and contraceptives (pills, condoms, foaming tablets and the loop) are purchased privately by the hospital staff for resale and distribution. Since the contraceptives are not supplied by the government, their prices are determined by the hospital staff.

Although Caldwell and Caldwell (1987) report strong opposition to sterilisation as a method of contraception, this study found that opposition had dropped in recent years. Four per cent of women surveyed had undergone sterilisation. This study indicated, however, that cost is a significant factor in deterring women from undergoing sterilisation. The Zongon-Kataf General Hospital was unable to offer sterilisation services because of the lack of basic facilities. Women wanting to be sterilised were obliged to go either to other government hospitals, or to their nearest mission hospital, where they were charged N5,000 (US$227 approximately). While government hospitals do not charge fees, they require patients to buy almost everything needed for the operation. Some women reported that they did not undergo sterilisation because they could not afford the cost.

The desire of Atyap women to limit the number of their children, together with difficulties in accessing family planning services through government channels, have led to an increase in the private supply of contraceptives by both trained and untrained hospital staff. These staff either serve the women at home themselves, or give the supplies to one of the villagers to sell to clients. This may have resulted in many users being provided with inappropriate methods that can potentially cause serious health problems.

Although it has been observed that lack of access is a primary reason for non use of contraceptives (Robey et al. 1993), health concerns and side effects have been found to play a predominant role in several developing countries (Bongaarts and Bruce 1995:57-69). This study confirms these findings among the Atyap. For example, 38 per cent of women surveyed stated they would not use contraceptives in future; of these, 19 per cent cited side effects as the reason for discontinuing use, while 12 per cent cited difficulties in getting pregnant. About half of those experiencing difficulties in getting pregnant reported that their problem started after using contraceptives, particularly injectable methods.

Caldwell and Caldwell (1987) report a 'general apprehension of contraceptives rather than the specific case against any individual method'. Reports by users, discussions with family planning personnel, and other research findings indicate that certain modern contraceptive methods may cause unpleasant or harmful side effects (Bongaarts and Bruce 1995:63).

In the course of individual interviews and focus group discussions, three women expressed their views of what may be happening in rural areas. A mother of six said, 'The money I thought I would save for catering for my children, through the use of family planning to avoid another birth, is now being spent in combating contraceptive side effects.' The second, a mother of three and a university graduate, lamented, 'Now I am thoroughly confused. I am afraid of the side effects many women have been experiencing without getting adequate help, and yet I don't want any more children. What do I do?' The third, a diploma holder and mother of four, angrily stated, 'Contraceptives almost killed me. If I were not educated, I'm sure I would have died. Now I tell all that will listen my experiences with modern contraceptives, and advise them to avoid using them.'

Regarding the Yoruba, Kritz and Makinwa-Adebusoye (1994:6) observed that 'deteriorating economic conditions (minimal or negative economic growth, high inflation, currency devaluation) make it more difficult for them to satisfy their basic needs and meet expanding desires for education and health care.' This observation probably holds
for all groups in the country and particularly for the Atyap who, in addition, have a growing desire to control births that is not being met, due to financial constraints and poor family planning and health services. However, the survey data suggest that health problems resulting from contraceptive use, rather than the cost of contraceptives, is the main factor that determines contraceptive use among Atyap women.

The data from developing countries, including Nigeria, therefore highlight the importance of not only providing contraceptives but also addressing the health and social requirements and preferences of clients, if a family planning programme is to be effective (Bongaarts and Bruce 1995:57).

Conclusion

There is an urgent need to improve health and family planning services in rural Nigeria in order to meet the demand for contraception and to ensure the continued use of modern contraceptives by women. Although providers may shy away from discussing health issues for fear of losing clients (Bongaarts and Bruce, 1995:68), providers’ reticence may result in an even greater reduction in use. More attention should be given, therefore, to the management of side effects and women’s health concerns by training personnel at all service points. Furthermore, hospitals and primary health centres, strategically built to serve every community, need to be adequately equipped to enable the provision of a wide range of birth control methods. This would significantly reduce costs for women - both for transportation which they are currently obliged to undertake in order to reach centres supplying a wide range of contraceptives, and for the contraceptives themselves which are currently being supplied by hospital staff. Given the current state of the economy, however, the likelihood of any significant improvements in the quality of health and family planning services is slim.

The increase in contraceptive use from six per cent in 1990 to 11 per cent in 1992, and the even higher prevalence in some rural communities such as the Atyap and Yoruba of Ekiti, indicate that major changes in reproductive behaviour have taken place. Greater benefits are likely to result, however, if investment is focused on growth and development of the health sector in general, rather than specifically on providing contraceptives. Research findings indicate that improvements in social services, and particularly in health services, may be the best form of contraception in rural Nigeria.

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Women’s employment in Africa

Maria Kenig-Witkowska

In 1975, according to ILO estimates, the female population of Africa was 202.4 million, 49.4 million of whom were engaged in economic activities. In 1980, Africa’s female population increased to 237 million, with approximately 55 million women engaged in some form of economic activity. However, the overall figures conceal a marked regional variation in economic activities, ranging from 4.9 per cent in North Africa to 32.6 per cent in West Africa. Moreover, there are wide differences between countries in the distribution of economically active women by employment sector and share in the total labour force. These differences are attributable to specific national economies, level of education and other social, religious and cultural factors.

Sectoral breakdown

Agricultural sector

This is the predominant employment sector throughout most of Africa. In most countries, the highest percentage of females are found in the agricultural sector. The proportion of women in this group on average oscillates between 40 to 50 per cent, and varies from country to country. For example, the figures are 89 per cent for Cameroon, 53 per cent for Ghana, 20 per cent for Egypt and 6.3 per cent for Zambia.

Industrial sector

The percentage of women economically actively in industry varies from country to country. However, the overall average in 1987 for all of Africa was 5.9 per cent. Big differences are evident among the different regions of the continent. At around the same time, the average percentage of women in industry for North Africa was 22.9 per cent and 1.9 per cent for the Central African region.

Service sector

In almost all the African countries, more and more women were employed in the service sector in the last three decades. In Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad and Zaire, the percentage of women in this sector tripled, while the percentage doubled in Benin, Ivory Coast, Guinea and Equatorial Guinea. In some countries, however, such as Tunisia and Morocco, despite the sharp increase in absolute numbers, the proportion declined from 43.1 to 24.9 per cent and from 36.3 to 32.2 per cent respectively.

Gender disparities

Very few women occupy administrative and managerial positions. Professional, technical and related categories account for less than ten per cent of the total active female population in the majority of African countries. A review of the trends in labour force by sex shows that over the years the feminisation of low-paid jobs, especially in the formal sector, is becoming increasingly worse. Although precise figures are not available, the example of Kenya shows some tendencies in this respect. The overall distribution of unskilled workers shows a downward trend, but men have moved away from occupations requiring no skills in much greater proportions than women. In transport and communications, the proportionate distribution of females in low-status occupations rose from 20.8 to 40.0 per cent, while for men it rose from 17.5 to 19.0 per cent.

The distribution of women in low-status occupations suggests that the majority are also likely to be over-represented in the low-paying job categories in comparison to men. Where statistical data on the gap between female and male wages are available, they show that the average earnings of women workers in various occupations are less than those of men. For instance, the available figures from Egypt show that the male/female wage ratio in non agricultural activities was 1.7 per cent in 1970 and 1.6 per cent in 1980; for Swaziland, 2.3 per cent in 1980 and 2.4 per cent in 1985 for skilled wage earners. In some countries, the wage levels for certain occupations are fixed at lower rates for women than for men. In Zambia, for example, they range from 64.6 per cent of male earnings among sales workers to 108 per cent among clerical and other related occupations. The explanation for this anomaly is the apparent higher educational level of females in clerical positions in comparison to male clerical workers. However, males with comparable educational levels are entering executive managerial positions, which means that they are automatically better paid.

Mode of access to the labour market

Educational opportunities

While the general expansion in enrolment in both primary and secondary schools has been advantageous to girls, the pattern is not consistent with that of boys. With the exception of Kenya (where primary school enrolment for both boys and girls has reached parity), Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (where there are more female than male students), most other countries still show distinctly lower enrolment rates for girls. Moreover, the number of female students at higher levels of education decreases due to certain sociocultural factors that adversely affect female participation at higher levels of the school system. These factors include the increasing rates of teenage pregnancies in secondary schools and marriage at an early age. The economic crisis,
inability to pay fees and parental preference of choosing sons over daughters when faced with limited resources, all affect female enrolment rates beyond the first level.

Vocational education and training

The overall representation of women in vocational education is not much better than that observed for pre-secondary and secondary schools. To understand the pattern of educational opportunities, it is also necessary to look at the kinds of schools, programmes and curricula available. In many African countries, single sex secondary and post-secondary institutions were the norm and technical subjects were often found only in programmes and institutions for males. The programmes offered for women mostly were and still largely are in the traditional female areas such as typing, dress making, handicrafts, embroidery and so on. Very few females attend technical vocational training, which can be partly explained by the fact that it is difficult for women to get jobs in technical workshops. The apprenticeship system further limits the entry chances of women. This invariably leads to differences in the pattern of employment for men and women in technical fields.

Access to traditional production resources

For Africa, where the majority of the population still depends on agriculture, land is probably the ultimate resource - not only as a necessary means of subsistence, but also as security for credit, agriculture extension services, irrigation, membership to cooperatives and so on. African women face many constraints in their access to land. For the continent as a whole, the trend is towards increased landlessness as a product of rapid population growth and land concentration. Radical changes that have taken place through land reform measures have often neglected women. While the traditional land tenure systems generally protected women's right to access, if not ownership of land and cattle, the judicial processes have tended to emphasise the structural points of inheritance of land, thus making land available almost exclusively to men. With the exception of agriculture cooperatives and commercial farms, women generally have no access to land. This is a vital problem for women, especially single women such as widows, for whom access to land is often the only means of subsistence.

The subdivision of land due to population growth also has important implications for women. First, they have to be content with land wherever they find it and, second, the small size of the land often disqualifies them from getting much-needed credit for agriculture. Case studies from several African countries show that women are discriminated against access to credit facilities, which in turn deprives them of other sources of production. In the case of married women, the husband must usually apply for a loan, or a woman has to obtain her husband's approval before the loan application can be considered. Often such laws require some form of security or guarantee like permanent assets. The majority of African women do not have such resources to back up a loan application. The lack of credit facilities adversely affects women's economic activities, especially their participation in the informal sector.

Self-employment opportunities

Due to the current economic crisis there is a tremendous shift to and increasing emphasis on self-employment. Since activities in the informal sector require very little capital base, they offer big potential as a major source of income for women. A general lack of production skills and capital preclude women's participation in areas such as manufacturing, construction and transport. Women's participation in the informal sector is concentrated to a large extent in the so-called less productive activities where incomes are correspondingly meagre. A study of Nigerian women's non farm activities found that 85 per cent of petty trading was carried out by female entrepreneurs.

Major constraints

Traditional and community level

While some progress has been made during the last two decades, there is a continuing underutilisation of the female labour force. Women's subordinate status in the home is reinforced by the wider society. It is usually the husband who decides if his wife will work or not, and the need for the husband's approval often limits the range of jobs which women can accept. Traditional attitudes and prejudices regarding the employment of women not only are very strong, but are often shared by the women themselves. Women appear to be less concerned with long-term career advancement than men, and in the opinion of most employers, do not perform as well as men. The overall result is that women lack self-confidence in terms of their access to the labour market.

Institutional level

Marriage in Africa is socially desirable, and the high value placed on children has far-reaching implications for married women's participation in wage employment. The absence of social support systems for childcare leads employers to complain about the frequent absences of women from work due to pregnancy, children's sickness and so forth, and therefore, to their preference for employing men. Traditional sex segregation in the labour market also restricts female labour supply because women tend to find jobs that are perceived to be suitable for women. Consequently women are confined to a narrow range of educational specialisation and training.

Moreover, the majority of African countries, like most Third World countries, have followed a capital-intensive development strategy, which means that there are limited prospects for employment generation in the modern sector. The nature of imported technologies is such that workers are expected to have certain skills required in the modern sector.
activities. Lack of such skills by women makes them less attractive to prospective employers. By introducing capital-intensive technologies in agriculture, and by creating capital-intensive rather than labour-intensive production arrangements in manufacturing, women have been pushed out of these sectors. As a result, women are being relegated to the only available sector - the informal labour market.

Policy level

Protective legislation barring women's employment in certain industries has a negative effect on the demand for female labour. In many of the sub-Saharan countries, for example, much of the now outdated protective legislation is still in place. Legislation that ostensibly protects women from working at night, in mines and so forth has been overtaken by new technological developments. The most disturbing gap in employment legislation is perhaps the failure to enact laws ensuring women receive equal pay. This appears in the form of exclusionary practices, whereby a large number of jobs are advertised with an a priori preference for men and/or deliberate misdescription of jobs. With regards to workers' benefits, women do not have equal rights to several allowances provided to men, such as housing allowances or leave allowances.

Official policy documents, such as development plans, clearly reflect how governments view women's issues. Some countries have established various institutions such as women's bureaus and even ministries of women's affairs, but the budgetary allocation and the position of such institutions within the government structure show that they are often marginalised in the governments' policies.

Future prospects

Although the most recent figures show a substantial increase in female participation in the labour market, progress is slow and sex distinctions directly or indirectly deprive women of equal opportunities and treatment. One of the major factors that influences women's participation in the labour market is the impact of structural adjustment policies on women. Women working both in the private and public sectors are affected by a reduction in employment and by wage cuts or salary freezes. In some cases, however, women may have borne the effects of economic recession better than men, because of being employed in lower-paid jobs that favoured their retention. Moreover, women predominate in the service sector, which in general has fared the recession better than the traditional industrial sector.

There is, however, evidence of the 'discouraged worker effect' under which women cease to seek employment and are assumed to have withdrawn from formal employment into the informal employment sector. The informal sector has to date absorbed a large number of unemployed women, and the trend is likely to continue. Hence it is important for governments to look at ways of integrating the informal sector into national strategies and planning processes, thus providing much needed official recognition to this sector. Increased access to skills and credit facilities should be assured by government policies. In addition, because most work in this sector is unregulated, there is a need for new legislation to protect women.

There is also an urgent need to scrutinise the recruitment, promotion and retraining policies that discriminate against women. Appropriate bodies should be entrusted with the responsibility of modernising or repealing outdated laws pertaining to labour issues, with mechanisms for periodic review ensuring that laws are applied without any discrimination.

It is anticipated that a slow but steady flow of female workers from the agricultural to industrial sector will continue. Women need to acquire new skills in order to branch out into new areas, both in the formal and the informal sector. To enhance women's employment opportunities requires the provision of diversified training for new skills as well as updating existing skills. Career counselling could also help in assisting women to understand available options in the labor market.

Lastly, women workers are grossly underrepresented at all levels of trade unions. Women fail to join trade unions, partly because most of them are employed as casual workers, and partly because women are less conversant with the notion of collective bargaining and other aspects of trade union activities. The male-dominated trade unions are largely insensitive to the needs of women workers. It is therefore important to encourage trade unions to start taking a more active interest in women's issues.

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Gender studies and gender training in Africa

Deborah Hope Kasente, Women Studies, Makerere University, Uganda

Introduction

There is no universally accepted definition of gender studies and gender training. Thus, in a regional gathering of scholars from Eastern and Southern Africa (Makerere University 1992), also attended by academics from Europe and the USA, the consensus was that to do women's studies is to do gender studies, and that the difference is a matter of terminology that depends on the sociocultural context. But the 1994 Bergen conference, the purpose of which was to share experiences and to examine the effectiveness and impact of gender training worldwide (Cloud and Antwi-Nsiah 1994), identified three broad sets of objectives of gender training (Rao et al. 1991):

1. increasing gender sensitivity;
2. improving institutional ability to implement gender policies; and
3. empowering women to work for greater gender equity.

This may imply that those involved in gender studies at university level have their concepts sorted out, but the fact remains that many practitioners are not so clear about the purpose and objectives of gender studies, or the distinction between various approaches. This confusion is reflected in the often synonymous use of the terms women in development (WID) and gender and development (GAD).

With the introduction of gender planning (GP) as yet another discipline in its own right (Moser 1993), confusion has been compounded, especially with those who have to produce gender-sensitive plans of action at government and NGO level. Moser (1993) argues that WID and GAD, though often used synonymously, represent different theoretical positions. In her view, despite its change in focus from one of equity to one of efficiency, the former is based on the rationale that development processes would proceed better if women were fully incorporated; whereas GAD bases its rationale on gender relations where the subordinate status of women is perceived as the main obstacle to women's recognition in development.

Our standpoint is that gender studies, gender training, and gender planning are different parts of the same 'animal', and they must all be well developed and coordinated for the 'animal' to function effectively. The main difference is that each deals with a particular stage in the process of enhancing good practice and promoting social justice between women and men in the allocation and control over resources.

Gender studies is the conceptual part of the process, during which models are developed and refined through research, debate, and networking. The level of gender studies can vary from university degrees to systematic analysis of resource allocation and entitlement of women and men within a specific context. Anyone claiming to be a gender trainer or gender planner must have undertaken gender studies to an appropriate level.

Gender training is viewed as a technical part of the process which involves passing on practical skills for implementing gender-sensitive policy, planning and training in specific circumstances. Needless to say, gender trainers need to have mastered the skills which they intend to transmit to others.

Gender planning is the practical application of the skills that have been acquired through gender studies and gender training. The interrelationship between the three areas, and the need to acquire skills appropriate to our supposed expertise, are critical. However, what makes the task more complex is that effectiveness depends not only on acquiring and communicating appropriate skills, but also on other contextual factors like culture, local and international political environments, and economic realities. These factors must be monitored and should be influenced by the process itself in such a way that they become supporting rather than undermining.

We shall now turn to the specific problems encountered in gender studies, and gender training and practice.

Gender studies

Both long and short programmes in gender studies are to be found in many African universities. Their main objectives are to build capacity by creating a pool of qualified personnel to serve as researchers with a bias towards gender-focused studies, or as trainers and practitioners to work with a range of sectors and NGOs. These trained women and men are supposed to be change agents, either through generating gender-disaggregated information if they are researchers, or through training others and showing good examples through gender-sensitive practice.

A problem voiced in many gatherings of African scholars is that structures, contents, and requirements of gender studies programmes are generally diverse, and in many cases developed informally. This has led to such varied standards that it is difficult to generalise about what levels of gender
Gender trainers in Africa have encountered two major types of problems. Firstly, they have had to try and understand and internalise various imported frameworks; and secondly, they have to adopt and use these as tools of gender analysis in different contexts. The exercise is, therefore, quite complex.

In interviews with a cross-section of gender trainers in Eastern and Southern Africa (Makerere University 1993), it emerged that the problem is not that the conceptual frameworks are imported, but rather that applying them requires skills that trainers do not have. There was a strong recommendation that regional models should be developed, and an acknowledgment that this would require:

- case studies based on African experiences to be used as training materials;
- the systematic monitoring and evaluation of the cultural, social, economic, and political consequences of gender training programmes;
- a forum to compare changes in gender relations in the region; and
- a high-level regional training programme that would address gender concerns in the region on a long-term basis.

A large number of organisations are carrying out gender training for different public sectors and for NGOs, but each country is doing this in isolation, with hardly any coordination even among the national trainers. These problems were well summarised by a trainer from Tanzania in assessing her country's efforts to mainstream gender in policy and planning:

Training in gender analysis and planning has been slow and uncoordinated. The effort suffers from inadequate trainers and training materials. Equally disturbing is the absence of a central data bank resource centre (Warioba and Koda 1995).

Whereas some literature indicates that most of the gender concerns are common across the region (World Bank 1994), each country has been acting independently, which leads to duplication of efforts, wastage of resources, and variations in standards. The big challenge for trainers is to work closely with each other to achieve their goals in a sustainable way for the region, local differences notwithstanding.

Filling the gaps

There are several efforts in the region to produce frameworks based on home-grown data and experiences. Many are only in the early stages, and working on gender is complex and slow (Wallace 1994). Some of these like the Umbrella project in Uganda (Government of Uganda 1988), and FEMNET in Kenya (Kabira and Masinjila 1993), aim to create gender-awareness especially among high ranking government workers. Some, like Gender Training for Development Practice in East and Southern Africa (Makerere University...
Gender planning

Gender planning as a discipline in its own right is still so new that most people find it difficult to distinguish it from gender analysis. It is too early to identify the problems associated with trying to apply it, or strategies to cope with these, because people are still at the level of getting to understand how to apply it.

The impact of gender studies and gender training

The question of whether gender studies and gender training efforts are realising their objectives, and whether there is a positive change in the lives of the marginalised groups of people as a result, keeps arising. Gender studies and gender training are not ends in themselves, but are supposed to have an impact on the lives of the specific population groups. This requires a two-phased assessment: one to see whether the studies and the training are relevant and of good quality, and the other to assess whether there is an impact on the ground. A commitment to assess whether the training programmes have achieved the intended impact should be written into the programme from the proposal stage.

An analysis of the current efforts in the region reveals that the purpose of gender studies is clearer than the purpose of gender training. For example, the Makerere Women Studies programme expects to produce about 15 MA graduates every 18 months, equipping them with skills that are measured through course work and a dissertation based on original fieldwork (Makerere University 1990). By contrast, gender training has tended to expect generalised and multiple results.

Without sufficiently clear objectives in gender training programmes, it becomes difficult to ascertain their value, and to assess what has been achieved. Whereas it may be possible to verify, in quantitative terms, how many people in which sectors have undertaken gender studies and gender training, the most challenging task is for the trainers to demonstrate that the quality and effectiveness of the training are contributing to improve the well-being of marginalised women and men, particularly in the rural areas. One way of beginning to respond to this challenge is to see what criteria and tools exist to assess the progress of trainees and determine how far they have gone towards bringing about gender-awareness. The assumption is that those who are themselves gender-aware will be able to put their insights into practice. However, the direct assessment of the increased well-being of the ‘target’ population, as a result of gender training, remains elusive.

The graduates of gender studies from Makerere return to their former jobs. Some are already members of high-level political bodies like parliament and the constitution-making assembly, having braved campaigning battles to get elected. Many others have been given bigger professional assignments, and they appear in the press, making cases for gender parity. But we need more systematic follow-up of how they are putting their new skills to use, so that we can develop more tangible indicators than we have at the present. We also need a regional forum where we can exchange such information with other universities, so that we can make a joint effort to assess the effectiveness of existing gender studies and gender training work.

All of us involved in gender training and gender studies need to take our tasks to their logical conclusion. Analysis of gender relations is not enough. Rather, it should be a means of improving our practice, to better ensure that marginalised groups of women and men are enabled to gain control over forces that interfere with their rights and aspirations.

The author is a co-director of a short course called ‘Gender Training for Development Practice in East and Southern Africa’ run by Makerere University jointly with the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University. She has recently completed a study of gender differences in access to education in Uganda.

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Wildlife-based tourism in Kenya: Land use conflicts and government compensation policies

Isaac Sindiga, Moi University, Kenya

Abstract:

A significant proportion of Kenya’s tourism is wildlife-based and 44,000 sq km, representing about eight per cent of the country’s territory has been set aside for wildlife protection. This has denied local communities access to invaluable herding and agricultural resources thereby creating conflicts between tourism and the well-being of the local people who also suffer the destruction of life and property from wildlife.

This paper probes government policies on sharing of benefits of tourism with local communities in wildlife-protected areas. The analysis could provide lessons for other African countries where such conflicts are occurring. The findings show that although revenue-sharing has been initiated in some places, questions have been raised whether it is the local governments, communities or individuals who should be compensated. So far, direct benefits to the landowners have been minimal. This has partly motivated certain communities to form wildlife associations with the aim of participating directly in tourism. This process is yielding some dividends but requires to be guided carefully in order to involve the majority of the local people in sharing in the benefits of wildlife management. Ultimately, this should motivate them to conserve wildlife even in the face of expanding human and animal populations in delicate ecologies.

The full paper was published in The Journal of Tourism Studies, 6(2), Dec 1995, pp.45-55. Copies of the paper are available free of charge from the Australian Development Studies Network, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University.

United Nations launches new initiative

The United Nations on March 15, 1996 launched a three-pronged initiative for Africa to expand assistance and reduce fragmentation of development efforts among donors. The World Bank Group will participate in all the areas covered by the initiative, focusing on mobilising resources for basic education and health reform. Under the initiative, Bank support will continue to go to Africa and will not finance UN agency activities directly.

‘Our priorities in Africa are water, food, security, education - particularly for girls - health and the environment,’ said World Bank President James Wolfensohn during the launching ceremony in New York. The challenge, he said, is to spend available resources in a more coordinated and effective manner, and to mobilise more resources for these
vital sectors. Closer coordination between the UN and the Bank on development agendas for Africa would make it easier to put in place comprehensive sectoral strategies and to use cross-sectoral approaches to deal with more wide-ranging problems. The World Bank already supports extensive investments in health and education in Africa. Under the new initiative, the Bank will join the UN in encouraging individual African countries to prepare comprehensive plans for investment to provide essential services for all citizens. UN agencies will offer assistance where countries do not qualify for Bank support, and the Bank will provide technical assistance to the African Health Panel and organise a Special Programme of Assistance forum to augment donor support.

The World Health Organization (WHO) will lead the health care and UNESCO the education efforts on ground, while the World Bank will mobilise resources and provide support. To help bring about a more coordinated effort in the area of education, the Bank will organise a pan-African forum to mobilise funds. Efforts to help African countries move from war to peacetime activities are primarily being run by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The Bank is already working with these agencies in Angola, Mozambique and Liberia. Under the initiative, the Bank will be brought into the transition process to help countries devise economic plans. With the United Nations, it will work to help reintegrate refugees, demobilise veterans, deactivate landmines, and prepare social safety nets to help the poor.

The UNDP and the World Bank will prepare a common strategy for helping African countries build up their public servants' and institutions' capacities to govern. The Bank's Africa region has recently defined such a strategy, the execution of which will benefit greatly from UN family support. The initiative aims to introduce the latest information technology throughout the continent. It also includes World Bank advocacy for the preparation and financing of comprehensive agricultural development programmes. All programmes supported under the new initiative will be nationwide efforts led by recipient governments and employing local people insofar as possible. Long-term technical assistance provided by expatriates will be kept at a minimum.

The campaign was launched in Pretoria in early April 1996 by Minister Jay Naidoo, Minister in the office of the President responsible for the RDP. The Head of Central Statistical Services (CSS), Dr Mark Orkin, is highly appreciative of AusAID's assistance on the Census (as part of wider RDP support) through the funding of technical experts from the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Dr Orkin travelled to Australia late last year to examine the Australian systems for census taking.

Preliminary fieldwork on mapping and listing of visiting points has commenced and the questionnaire is undergoing final testing. More then 70,000 interviewers will be recruited and trained to enumerate the entire population. The CSS is committed to conducting a good census and the expectation is that the results will be of much higher standard than the previous census in 1991. AusAID is currently considering further assistance to the CSS as part of a programme of support for South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Program.

Trevor Imhoff, Commonwealth Department of Housing and Regional Development

Further refugee and relief aid to Angola

AusAID will provide an extra A$3.39 million for refugee and relief assistance in Angola. The aid package will focus on continuing priority needs including assisting refugees and displaced people, food and health, and assistance to mine victims. Access to clean water, sanitation, basic education and health care is severely limited. The United Nations estimates that there are 9 to 15 million unexploded mines across the country and to date about 20,000 amputees.

Central African refugees

Australian non government aid organisations working in Central Africa are to receive A$2 million boost. An estimated two million refugees remain in Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania and Zaire. The international community and governments concerned see the orderly repatriation of refugees as a way of ensuring political stability in the region. Last November, the former US President Jimmy Carter, brokered an agreement for the orderly repatriation of Rwandan refugees from Zaire.
## Africa: A select human development profile

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* Based on 1992 population growth rates ** Central African Republic

### Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Tanzania, S. Africa, Zaire, Zimbabwe

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Towards a new cold war?

Erik Paul, Macquarie University

Australia's security treaty with Indonesia exemplifies a new ethos of diplomatic rationalism in Australia's foreign policy in South East Asia. The shift towards business and military interests taking priority at the expense of human rights is rationalised by all parties in this diplomatic circle by a 'security threat' posed by China. And so evolves a regional relationship which grows and remains within the provenance of Australian political leaders and the region's authoritarian regimes. It is a foreign policy motivated by over-zealous economic rationalists, and extreme naivete about the military consequences in the region. It's the season of Realpolitik.

The Indonesian pact is a major move in a balance of power game in the Asia-Pacific region. This is played in close collaboration with the United States to form an anti-China coalition. Australia is weaving ASEAN countries into a web of defence treaties as part of a strategic initiative to freely trade military dependencies with business interests.

There is no doubt that the treaty will enhance Australia's economic opportunity in South East Asia. There will be improved opportunities to bid on billion dollar infrastructure contracts in Indonesia and elsewhere in the region. Links with Indonesia will also give Australia added leverage in APEC negotiations on free trade and provide military and commercial intelligence. A bonus to the alliance is the likely control of illegal migration from the north.

The treaty will be a major boost for the expansion of Australia's growing military-industrial complex. Australia is likely to become Indonesia's leading provider of military training and a major supplier of military equipment. Australia's defence industry will also play a major role elsewhere in South East Asia. An imminent agreement to rent space in northern Australia to Singapore's military, for example, is said to be worth more than A$70 million. Besides storage of armoured vehicles and trucks, this will also include shifting some of the 30 aircraft and 250 staff involved. Defence exports to the region have been increasing rapidly and defence industry trade commissioners have been appointed to a number of capital cities in South East Asia.

Australia's defence establishment is able to build a regional security network in South East Asia on the basis of a proposition that China poses a likely threat to regional stability, a notion conveniently promoted by Australia's other partners in this network. In this scheme Indonesia is the key conspirator. The end of communism destroyed the momentum which has kept ASEAN active since its inception in 1967. The promotion of a free trade area (AFTA) in 1992 may not be enough to keep ASEAN together; the promotion of a common distrust of China will. It explains the rapidity of the move to include Vietnam in July and now the rush to bring Burma into ASEAN.
Of the ASEAN states, Indonesia has always been the strongest proponent of the view that any long-term threat comes from China. A major source of concern is over China’s claims in the South China Seas. These claims threaten access to the oil, gas and other resources of the area and question the control of commercial and naval sea lanes. The problem is exacerbated by China’s construction of military facilities in the Spratlys. Official Chinese maps show the giant Natuna gas field, soon to be commercially exploited by Jakarta, within Beijing’s claim to territorial sovereignty. The Spratlys coral reefs, atolls and islets, spread over some 800,000 sq km are claimed by China, Taiwan and Vietnam. In addition Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei are claimants to parts close to their shores.

ASEAN is also anxious about China’s military and commercial activities in parts of South East Asia. China recently became a major arms supplier to the Burmese military regime and acquired naval installations in the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea, some 400 km north of Penang and close to the Straits of Malacca. The Straits of Malacca are the shortest route between the Indian and Pacific oceans and are used by tankers from the Middle East to provide 75 per cent of Japan’s energy needs.

China’s activities in Burma are closely linked to Thailand’s naval expansion and planned acquisition of helicopter carriers in 1997, frigates and its submarine programme. Thailand has some 700 tanks. Other ASEAN countries are building up their military. Malaysia announced the AS$1.2 billion purchase of 300 main battle tanks. Singapore has 410 light and heavy tanks and is buying a used submarine from Sweden.

What are the implications of Australia’s security treaty with Indonesia? What are the unintended effects of Australia’s new militarism?

Indonesia’s military regime legitimacy will gain strength. The Government will get tougher with dissenters and human rights activists. Indonesia’s press is reporting that President Suharto ‘was pleased that the large part of Australian society hailed the agreement’ and would be ‘more positive about East Timor’. Conflicts in East Timor and West Irian are likely to intensify. Other authoritarian regimes in the region will be encouraged to further repress demands for more open societies.

Australia’s policy in forming a regional alliance will add fuel to the region’s armament race by advocating the use of power as the major determinant in foreign relations. It’s a dangerous path for Australia. ASEAN countries are already nervous about each other. Economic success is pushing the militarisation of ASEAN states with bigger military budgets. There is a military build-up in ASEAN countries with the purchase of a whole range of sophisticated equipment including advanced jet fighters and missiles.

The treaty heralds Australia’s shift to the right. Government is likely to further restrict criticism of Indonesia’s regime and leaders. Mass media coverage of South East Asian political affairs will reflect Government policy of appeasement towards Asian authoritarianism and give credence to the ideology of cultural relativism.

At home, Australia’s foreign policy will give strength to conservative domestic forces and elevate the role of coalitions of non liberal oligarchy and technocracy.

Human rights in Papua New Guinea: On national integrity and cultural revival

Michael Jacobsen, University of Copenhagen

According to the general discussion on human rights in Papua New Guinea (PNG), the state is perceived as headed by sinister politicians who plot against the nation together with international monetary agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), through structural adjustment programmes that generate poverty, alienation and violence throughout the nation. As a consequence, the state falls short of providing the expected services and jobs to the people. Furthermore, the state apparatus is permanently unstable because of nepotistically inclined politicians and a swift changeover of staff in the central bureaucracy every time the government changes. The state is thus defined as a weak state that can only react to the growing violence and poverty in the country in an ad hoc manner that in itself is violent.

It is in these situations that allegations of human rights abuses turn up, as people in general, because of a lack of funds, are incapable of initiating a constructive dialogue with representatives of the state such as the judiciary. The human rights discussions take place mostly at the civil society level and excludes the tribal areas which cover about 80 per cent of the national hinterland. One major reason is that the language used is very abstract and the ideas behind it too remote and foreign for the individual culture to incorporate, to cite Ms Dorothy Tekwie Orlauf from the UNDP office in Port Moresby. She maintains that human rights must be demystified linguistically and explained in a manner which ensures that the basic human rights for ‘the people’ are at the centre of the discussion.

According to the recommendations to the national government on the establishment of a Human Rights Commission, it is maintained that human rights are not a new thing to PNG. The different tribes and groups in PNG, as Melanesian peoples, have always had human rights. Human life and human freedoms have been an integral part of PNG life. The establishment of a Human Rights Commission will ensure that the rights and freedoms of the people of PNG will continue to be assured in a rapidly changing society by the state and its instrumentalities.
Two important comments must be made here. First, in order to overcome the cultural diversity of PNG, the official employment of human rights corresponds to a universalist perception of human rights. By taking such an approach, a factual cultural diversity is replaced by an ideological perception that goes well with a national political and ideological notion of 'unity within diversity'. Second, according to Dr Brian Brunton, human rights are what you get when the state takes away your human freedom. He argued, that certain elements in society appropriate all power to themselves, and then hand out human rights teaspoonful by teaspoonful. He warned that one should not confuse human rights with (human) freedom. Freedom is a much broader condition with which Papua New Guineans can identify through their own cultures. Human rights can thus be defined as creations of state power.

When trying to discuss the applicability of international human rights standards in a tribal setting, a fundamental theoretical dilemma becomes highlighted. What perception of international human rights should be used? As mentioned above, the national domestic use of human rights corresponds to a universalist perception, thereby substituting real cultural complexity with a sanitised replacement which fits the national political and ideological promotion of 'unity with diversity'.

The problem with this replacement is that it is unable to traverse the borders of civil society, as a universalist perception of the individual has no resonance in the societal construct found in the tribal areas. When discussing human rights there, another perception of the international human rights standards has to be adopted, namely (cultural) relativism. A relativist approach maintains that it is of the utmost importance to incorporate aspects of cultural, racial, gender, and religious specificities into international human rights, if they are to carry any meaning for an individual culture. Many human rights theorists have attacked a relativistic approach as being counter-productive and even destructive when discussing international human rights. Human rights must be based on universal understandings, otherwise shared paradigms for promoting them will be impossible to develop. In the current human rights debate over cultural relativism, one finds a dangerous conflation of the concept of culture with the concept of state. Indeed, several states in South East Asia invoke the justification of cultural relativism in an effort to sustain in power those who currently hold power.

Papua New Guinea is a case in point here. While developing a national ideological perception of 'unity with diversity', the state, on the one hand, promotes itself internationally through a cultural construct that is specifically Papua New Guinean, dressed up in cultural relativistic rhetoric that currently is difficult to reconcile with the internationally accepted human rights. On the other hand, the state presents itself internally on the basis of a universalist approach towards human rights that aims at reconciling state aspirations and cultural pluralism.

Apart from this perception of cultural relativism, the relativistic approach is generally associated with anthropological studies of small-scale communities. The critique maintains that such an approach can only lead to societal analysis that down-plays the interaction between the different societal levels that every (national) society consists of, thereby producing isolated and idealised cultural stereotypes. There is, or rather was, a certain amount of truth in such a critique. The relativist approach has been softened up, so it is now possible to distinguish between a 'soft' and a 'stubborn' version. The latter I reserve for state ideologies, whereas the former stresses the uniqueness of cultural specificity, but incorporates an analysis of social change that is triggered by the wider society.

Taking on the latter approach, that is, a 'soft' version of cultural relativism, I would like to discuss, on the basis of some ethnographic material, the role of the individual in a communal context.

The Dom communities in Simbu Province, PNG, are based on non inherited leadership that is achieved through a skilful manipulation of core moral values that cluster around the concepts of 'individualism' and 'communalism'. They are positioned in a wider moral framework that is referred to in Pidgin English as pasin. Pasin constitutes a moral steering system that, on the basis of moral prescriptions, especially mutual respect between clan fellows, provides for the interaction between individuals, between the individual and his group, and between social groups within an overall tribal setting. Pasin also constitutes, in conjunction with a positioning of the individual in the social organisation, an important factor in the processes of identity formation.

Identity in the Dom communities can thus be defined as being Dom-centric, as the individual defines his worldview on the basis of Dom values. When asked about how the Dom feel about being citizens in the nation PNG, they explained it in terms of concentric, geographically defined circles. Dom identity is undisputedly the most important one. Being a citizen of PNG carries no meaning for the individual Dom. The question of identity is thus closely connected to a specific tribal context. Given the fact that there are at least 800 individual tribes in PNG, it is easy to understand the hardships that face national politicians when they try to document their political ideology of 'unity within diversity'.

Every tribe in Simbu has its own pasin. An interesting thing about these different pasin systems is how they relate to each other. It is not the different pasin systems as such that interact, but different individuals that move between different systems. The essential thing about pasin is that no single pasin is better or worse than any other pasin. Other people's pasin is extended to include the pasin of the Korean business community in the provincial capital Kundiaua, and the one that governs the white community living there as well. Even life in town has its own pasin rules that have to be respected. When the Dom learned about international human rights, they also classified them as constituting a pasin system. They
would respect it as long as it did not intervene in their internal affairs, that is, start telling them what to do and how to organise their lives. As the world is changing, so is *pasin*. It incorporates the changing sociopolitical tides and other *pasin* practices, as long as it is done piecemeal and not overnight. *Pasin* itself is thus in a constant state of flux and thereby sensitive to change, protecting the community that provides it with substance in the first place. The discussion of the ethnographic material has aimed at pinpointing potential areas where international human rights standards might be able to link with a culturally specific context. Two areas were immediately identifiable: individual integrity and mutual respect for other cultures. In the greater perspective, they are echoed throughout, for example, the Human Rights Bill, while at the same time they mark out some of the cornerstones in Dom culture. A point of intersection between two radically different cosmologies is thus identifiable.

What about the operational value of international human rights, seen from a bottom-up perspective? Or, what can international human rights offer the Dom in exchange for collaboration with the international human rights regimes?

International human rights have the potential to become an important vehicle for the cultural survival of the Dom people in many ways. First of all, they constitute an international source of support: the Dom have the possibility of going beyond the established state institutions, if one of these, especially the police, raids their territory, bashes them up when arrested, or in other ways violates their personal or cultural integrity. Second, by approaching an international human rights agency, the Dom have to use their culture in a way not experienced before, and the Dom will have to act in concert as a people that is aware of its cultural specificity. The rationale behind this assumption is that the individual is always tied up in a close social network. As a consequence, it is not an autonomous individual that has been bashed up by police, but a representative of a group. A further consequence is that besides starting to think as a people, this development also works towards strengthening overall cultural integrity, a process that is of vital importance for the Dom as the national process of encompassment intensifies.

By externalising Dom culture, that is, being aware of its cultural specificity, it becomes a political tool that reinforces and sharpens cultural identity. This will have the effect that the aforementioned Dom-centric perception of identity in relation to citizenship will be strengthened, especially if it is backed up by international support in the form of international condemnation of potential violations of recognised Dom values and rights.

In this perspective, international human rights thus constitutes a double-edged sword. On the one hand it helps develop cultural awareness, thereby transforming such knowledge into a powerful political weapon in the hands of the individual culture. On the other hand, it constitutes a potential incentive for fragmentation that might threaten the internal stability and thus integrity of both state and nation.

Here we have come full circle: I began by discussing how the Papua New Guinean national politicians manipulated international human rights in order to promote the ideology of 'unity with diversity'. On the basis of the preceding discussion I find it quite legitimate to suggest that, first, the politicians are well aware of the political effect that international human rights might have on the cultural plurality in the hinterland, and therefore want to slow down the pace of integrating a human rights regime there; and second, they would like to monopolise the political use of it.

However, the politicians are caught in a choice between Scylla and Charybdis: on the one hand, they cannot afford to say no to adhering to a human rights regime, as a negative international reaction might threaten major aid programmes and might lead to a possible discontinuation of the ongoing structural adjustment programmes. On the other hand, if they adopt it, they might have to face a growing politicisation of the national hinterland that would make their ideology of 'unity with diversity' look pretty foolish. Whatever choice they eventually take produces the same overall consequences, namely that state sovereignty and the legitimacy of the national political regime will be contested.
In most countries the tariff structures for long-distance calls, including international calls, have some positive relationship with distance. With wire and cable systems the capital cost of providing the service is quite closely related to distance, but with satellites distance between earth stations becomes virtually neutral in cost terms. Fibre-optic cables obviously have a distance-related component in their capital cost but the cost per voice circuit has fallen dramatically with the rapid increase in circuit capacity per cable. The cost per voice path in the Hawaii 1 cable, which had 91 circuits and went into service in 1957, was US$378,022. The fibre-optic cable TPC-4 linking the United States and Japan, which opened in 1992, has a capacity of 75,600 voice paths at a cost per path of US$5,500 (Staple 1991:60). Such high capacity spreads the distance-related component over so many circuits that it forms a very small element in the cost of any call.

Capacity across the North Atlantic and North Pacific now far exceeds demand. In the former case utilization of trans-Atlantic circuits was about one-third of the capacity in the mid-1980s (Staple and Mullins 1989:109). Given the continued growth in capacity (Ergas and Paterson 1991:42), it is unlikely that the decline in real costs to the consumer which has occurred in many high-traffic areas will be reversed, and the tendency for the distance-related component of costs to fall will also continue. With excess circuit capacity, increasing competition as monopolies are abolished, and computer accounting systems which can readily record traffic by time slot, some service providers now offer tariffs in off-peak periods with very low distance gradients. For example, Telstra Australia offers weekend calls of up to five minutes duration to anywhere in the country (ie, for distances up to 3,500 km) for no more than A$1.00 (approximately US$0.75). It is these technological and organisational trends which make the idea of 'the end of geography', meaning the elimination of distance as a constraint to human interaction, superficially plausible.

In less developed and more isolated parts of the world the situation is very different and the effects of distance combine with other constraints to hold considerable though not absolute sway. Although the central governments and leading businesses in capital cities in such places may have reasonable telecommunication links to other countries, it will be many years before smaller centres and rural areas with low telecommunication traffic have services to match those of their capital cities. In 1988 half the world's population did not live within two hours walking distance of a telephone (Butler 1988).
South Pacific tele-cost structures

The South Pacific Island countries provide a useful case study of the differences in the cost of telecommunication access stemming from different tariff (tele-cost) structures. Their ‘tele-cost worlds’ have quite different shapes which reflect distance, technical features, political or social policies, and historical ties. There are few opportunities for economies of scale in international traffic and the cost of providing good telecommunication links for outer islands is high. Such inter-island links are often dependent on High Frequency (HF) radio and do not offer adequate access to modern information services such as computer data transfer or on-line databases which require the higher quality of fibre-optic or satellite services. Microwave systems are used where islands are close together. The majority of rural populations in the South Pacific Islands have no direct access to telecommunications at all. International and urban traffic makes up an unusually high proportion of total telephone usage (Karunaratne 1984:28-9). This is due in part to the limited rural services but also because of the open, aid-dependent, and strongly import-oriented nature of the urban economies. Thus ‘international calls from the Pacific Islands to overseas destinations have an economic parallel with calls made within a developed country between a small rural community and the urban capital city’ (Davey 1984:19).

As a result, as Davey points out (1984:19), priority was given to international links in telecommunication planning through the 1970s and early 1980s.

In 1976 agreement was reached within INTELSAT to allow lower traffic countries to link to its system with smaller Standard B earth stations. This opened a route for small, low traffic countries to use satellite systems for international links and by the mid-1980s all the Pacific Island states with populations of over 30,000 had earth stations. Smaller countries still used upgraded HF radio systems (Davey 1984:19-22). In the late 1980s the Australian OTC and the South Pacific Forum designed the Pacific Area Cooperative Telecommunications (PACT) network to assist smaller countries to link with the global satellite systems. Using a Demand Assigned Multiple Access (DAMA) system the smaller countries can link with satellite systems but pay only for actual satellite time used rather than having full-time access and being required to pay for unused time. A Sydney switching station funded by Australian Government aid is the hub which provides a regional service linking a number of countries to a block of shared satellite capacity. Following this agreement satellite earth stations were installed in smaller countries such as Tuvalu and Niue while the installation of a PACT-related earth station on Aitutaki, in the Cook Islands, indicates the beginning of a process which could see the extensive use of satellites for inter-island telecommunications within the island countries (Butters 1990).

The trend in a number of developed countries for government-owned telecommunication monopolies to be privatised and for other operators to be allowed to enter the market has not been followed for internal services in most Pacific Island countries, although the expectation that government instrumentalities should operate profitably is spreading. In Vanuatu, both internal and international services are now operated by Telecom Vanuatu in which Cable and Wireless, France Cables et Radio and the Vanuatu Government are shareholders, while in the Solomon Islands the Government and Cable and Wireless are shareholders in Solomon Telekom. The small size of the telecommunication sector makes it unlikely that any of the internal systems will have competing service providers in the foreseeable future.

International traffic

The private sector is more involved in international traffic. For example, Cable and Wireless operates the service in Tonga and owns 49 per cent of Fintel, with the Fiji Government holding 51 per cent. The Australian Telstar Corporation, successor to OTC, operates in several countries. Nevertheless, for international calls each island country is dependent on a single mode (except Fiji and Papua New Guinea) and on a single ‘Heavy Carrier’, which owns the cable, satellite, or HF radio facilities, to provide the link to the systems operating in other countries.

Although the Pacific is now crossed by a number of fibre-optic cables, most of these cross the North Pacific to link the United States and Canada with Japan, or Hawaii with the United States mainland. The TPC-5 cable links Hawaii and Japan through Guam and is linked to Australia through the PacRimWest cable. Guam could become a node for fibre-optic cables linking North America and Southeast Asia, but given low traffic volumes it is unlikely that the fibre-optic network will be extended to other Pacific Island states in the short- or medium-term future. Similarly the commissioning of the PacRimEast fibre-optic cable between New Zealand and Hawaii in 1993 made about 37,500 trans-Pacific voice circuits available for Australia (through the Tasman 2 link) and New Zealand, but it bypasses all the South Pacific Island countries en route. Just as the majority of new generation high capacity jet aircraft on trans-Pacific routes now overflies the islands with their low traffic-generating capacity (Ward 1989:24), so the latest telecommunication technology with its high capacity and low cost potential bypasses the island states.

As elsewhere, the financial regime operating in telecommunications between the Pacific Islands and the rest of the world is one in which the carriers providing the international link are paid at a wholesale rate (the ‘accounting rate’). The two carriers concerned in the link between two countries will settle their accounts on the basis of the net traffic balances over the settlement period. Where the links between national systems must be made through a third country or carrier there may be further charges and participants in the settlement. The telephone caller is charged a retail rate by the service provider in the country where the call originates (Staple 1992:36). This retail rate includes
National and international tariff structures

Few of the island countries have sufficient pressure on available circuits to make it worthwhile offering off-peak rates to shed load from periods of high demand and of the South Pacific Island countries whose rates are shown in Table 1 only French Polynesia, New Caledonia and Vanuatu offer off-peak discount rates. The use of basic technology may also limit the capacity to have sophisticated systems monitoring diurnal changes in load in association with automatic accounting systems. Thus relative to countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States, most island countries have quite simple tariff structures for both internal long-distance and international calls. Nevertheless, there are significant differences between countries in the international tariffs they charge their customers for calls to a particular country, in the general level of basic tariff, and in the choice of countries which they place in any one charge zone. Thus, the tele-cost map of the world as measured from every island country is unique. It is the shape of these tele-cost worlds to which we now turn.

Table 1 provides a matrix of the charges in $US which applied in late 1990 or early 1991 for a three minute call at standard daytime rates made through international direct dialling (IDD). In a few cases tariffs show that IDD service was not available to a particular country at that time. Figure 1 provides cost/distance data in diagrammatic form. In the Tonga case the rate of $US6.95 for a three-minute IDD call to France gives a cost per thousand kilometres of $US0.41, and as all countries outside the South Pacific region (which for these purposes includes Australia and New Zealand) are charged this rate, they are located at the same cost-distance from Tonga as is France (16,955 km). With a tariff of $US3.47 for a three-minute IDD call, all the South Pacific destinations are located 8,463 km from Tonga in terms of cost-distance relative to the scale of cost of calls to France. It is not surprising, given that the ‘terminal cost’ component to cover the accounting rate, but different national service providers can have different pricing policies for economic, political or social objectives. Thus even if all Pacific Island countries were charged the same accounting rates by the Heavy Carriers, one might still expect significant differences in the retail tariffs of different countries. Some countries may give preference through low charges to calls to one or more selected countries for political reasons, or because of the monopoly position of certain Heavy Carriers and the particular links they provide. In the case of the French territories the routing of some calls through Paris may influence rates. Other countries may offer preferential rates because of the heavier traffic which might arise, as in the case between the Cook Islands and New Zealand, from economic ties and the presence in one country of a large expatriate population from the other. Yet others may charge relatively high international tariffs across the board because the market will bear them, and the proceeds can then be used to cross-subsidise the cost of providing an internal service for areas of low monetary income and low telephone traffic.

Figure 1. Relationships between distance and cost of international direct dialled calls from three countries.

The rays from the centre of each rose represent the great circle distance to each sample counter. The bar represents the cost distance to each sample country using the scale quoted which is that to the index country, marked by an asterisk.

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of calls now makes up a large proportion of the total cost, that the prices charged for calls to nearby countries are much higher per thousand kilometres than those to distant countries.

Two countries, Kiribati and Tonga, have simple two-tier tariff systems with no change in charges during the day or at weekends. The lower rate is charged for calls to other South Pacific states, including Australia and New Zealand but in the case of Kiribati excluding United States territories, and the higher rate to all other countries. Although this paper focuses on the costs of IDD calls, it is of interest to note that for calls placed through the operator, as would be the case for most calls from outer islands, Tonga has a three-tier tariff in which calls to Western Europe, Canada, USA, Japan, Hong Kong and Macao are charged a middle rate between those for the South Pacific and the rest of the world. Although the tele-cost worlds for the two countries have the same two-step shape, the cost-distance relativities are different. From Kiribati it costs 87 per cent more to call another South Pacific country than from Tonga whereas the differential for calls to the rest of the world is only 33 per cent. Estimated international telecommunications demand for 1985 for Tonga was 72 times that of Kiribati (Karunaratne 1984:29) and this reflects both the higher level of activity in the monetary economy in the former and the large proportion of Tongans living in New Zealand and the United States. About 30 per cent of Tongans live overseas (Ward 1989) and close social and economic links are maintained by families. The higher tariffs charged by Kiribati for international calls may also reflect greater cross-subsidy of income from international calls to the radio telephone system linking the country's widely scattered atolls.

The Cook Islands, Fiji and Papua New Guinea, have telecost worlds with three cost-distance steps. The Cook Islands has close constitutional, citizenship and economic ties with New Zealand where almost two-thirds of all Cook Islanders live. Thus traffic is heavily skewed to New Zealand and the special low tariff reflects these close ties. Papua New Guinea exhibits a different pattern in that it has a uniform low rate for all South Pacific countries, including Australia with which it has the strongest economic ties, but then groups the rest of the world into two zones, of which the cheaper consists of the countries of the Commonwealth of Nations plus China. In terms of cost-distance this places neighbouring Indonesia 50 per cent further away than the United Kingdom or Zimbabwe, and France 50 per cent further than the United Kingdom. Fiji's tele-cost world provides a third pattern in which the American and French South Pacific territories and Vanuatu, which is partly Francophone and formerly administered jointly by France and the United Kingdom, are slightly more distant in cost terms than the Anglophone South Pacific. But beyond the South Pacific all the world is equidistant to Fiji in tele-cost terms.

The third group, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa has four-step worlds, with Vanuatu offering off-peak rates at night and on Sundays for calls to the nearby

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Melanesian countries and to Australia and New Zealand. This gives a five-step world at these off-peak times. Within this structure Europe, Hong Kong, Japan and Taiwan are significantly closer to Vanuatu than are Indonesia, Malaysia or the United States. Tuvalu has three tiers within the South Pacific with calls to Australia and Fiji, the countries with which it has closest economic or aid links, having the lowest two rates. As from Tuvalu, the Solomon Islands rates the world outside the South Pacific as equidistant in tele-cost terms but it also has three tiers within the South Pacific with calls to Australia cheaper that those to New Zealand, Fiji or Papua New Guinea, which are in turn cheaper than to other South Pacific countries. Western Samoa has a low rate (US$1.93) to nearby American Samoa, a second step-rate for the Pacific Islands, New Zealand and Australia, and then like Vanuatu divides the rest of the world into two tiers though with a quite different pattern to that of Vanuatu.

The two French territories of New Caledonia and French Polynesia have the highest cost regimes of the South Pacific countries studied and their rates to most of the Anglophone island countries are at least double those of other countries in the region. The lowest rate tier applies to the other Francophone Pacific Island countries, including Vanuatu. Calls to Australia and New Zealand, and in the case of New Caledonia to some island countries, are charged at a lower rate (which is not distance related) than are calls to the other island countries. Calls to the Pacific Island countries or territories linked to the United States (eg, American Samoa, Guam and the former members of the United States-administered Trust Territory of Micronesia) are charged the highest or second-highest rates. A call from New Caledonia to Western Samoa costs US$11.70 compared with US$25.07 to the nearby islands of American Samoa. Calls to France and Francophone countries in Africa, the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean are cheaper than those to other countries in their respective regions. In some cases the rate differentials are related to technical characteristics of the telecommunication systems, but it appears that political or historical ties are also taken into account in setting tariffs.

Figure 2 shows how cost-distance relationships for calls from New Caledonia re-shape the world.

It is evident from the above discussion that the tele-cost distances between two countries are unlikely to be the same in both directions. In some cases, such as Fiji-Tonga or Cook Islands-Tuvalu, the differences are small and are little more than artefacts of the inconsistency of exchange rates as measures of comparison between currencies. In other cases the differences are striking and reflect the technical, political, or subsidy issues referred to above. As is evident from Table 1, the extreme cases involve one or other of the Francophone Pacific Island territories because of their overall higher levels of tariff compared with other Pacific Island states. The geographical distance between the Cook Islands and French Polynesia is short by Pacific standards but the directional tele-cost difference is one of the largest. The Fiji-French Polynesia differential is even greater.

**Implications**

In the Pacific Islands, as elsewhere, tele-costs are a small component of overall costs for most businesses and the differences would have significant impact on the relative cost structure of only those industries with a very high dependence on international telecommunications. It is possible that the

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**Table 1: Cost of three minute IDD call between countries at standard daytime rates, 1990 - early 1991, in US$**

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Sources: Published rates for each country. UK - British Telecom; USA - Hawaiian Tel; Japan - KDD.

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current rates could become a constraint for businesses dependent on heavy use of international telephones or electronic information transfer. As yet there are few such industries in the South Pacific region, but for regional organisations, such as the University of the South Pacific, telecommunication costs can be significant and price differences do impact on the relative costs of operating an extension centre in, for example, Kiribati compared with the Cook Islands.

As the economies of these countries are increasingly integrated into regional and world economies, there may be more opportunities for activities which exploit niche markets and rely on such factors as time-zone location and differential telephone rates. One business in Hawaii exploits the time-zone and offers to originate conference calls for businesses located in mainland USA wishing to link with, say, Japan. By taking advantage of the off-peak rates available in Hawaii at times when higher rates apply in either mainland USA or Japan, a business opportunity has been created. This type of activity could increase. The fact that the South Pacific Island countries are strategically located in terms of their time zones between North America and East Asia offers a potential advantage for some activities in which good telecommunications and low communication costs can be essential. Already Vanuatu and Cook Islands have tax haven industries and aspire to become financial centres. Off-shore data processing is another telecommunication-dependent activity which might be considered and which might benefit from time-zone and tele-cost location advantages as well as from the lower labour costs in the island countries compared with the major economies of the Pacific rim. With the rapid development of information technologies one can expect some South Pacific Island countries to consider becoming involved in the changing international division of labour within service industries. The case of North American airline reservation systems based in the Caribbean islands might be a model (Jussawalla 1992:32).

As the use of telecommunications becomes more sophisticated in the region, and if the differentials in rates persist, one can envisage greater use of techniques which take advantage of the lower rates when the option exists. Automatic call-back arrangements within or between organisations are one example. There is also scope for the private sector to bypass official systems and larger business or regional organisations might do this. An existing example is the use of PEACESAT by the University of the South Pacific for some forms of communications between its extension centres (Lewis and Mukaida 1991).

Now that almost all capital centres in the region are linked to the rest of the world through satellite ground stations, the next stage for telecommunication development within the region is the extension of high-quality links to the outer islands of the widely spread archipelagoes. Although not considered in this paper, the examination of tele-cost differentials can be extended to include internal tele-costs. At present the internal systems of several of the South Pacific Island countries use lower quality technology than their external links and the upgrading of internal systems to international standards is a major priority. The technical investment needed will be heavy. Karunaranie (1984) has suggested that a dedicated and regionally-managed multi-beam satellite could provide the system needed but to extend the service throughout the archipelagoes will require a multitude of earth stations, many of which would serve very small populations.

Conclusions

Despite falling capital costs per circuit, and increasing capacity of satellites and fibre-optic cables, geography and distance will shape the development of the Pacific Islands for many years. Perhaps competition in the telecommunications field will reshape the tele-cost worlds of the islands but it is unlikely that distance will be eliminated as an important factor constraining development. Langdale (1982:283-4) has pointed out that the 'shift of industrialized countries into the information economy is likely to reinforce the existing level of information inequality among individuals and groups', and that greater competition and the concentration of access to new telecommunication services in heavy traffic areas 'are likely to exacerbate the already significant differentials between the information rich and information poor' (1982:293). The spatial inequalities demonstrated in this paper are likely to be reinforced with the shift to information economies, at least until the diffusion of new technology is much more spatially uniform and faster than has been the case in recent decades. For the South Pacific Islands this would require the expansion of high quality links provided by satellite or fibre-optic cables at a cost which would make them economic for low traffic and widely spaced islands. The South Pacific Island states are likely to remain on or beyond the fringe of the tele-cost worlds of the cores of the information economy in the United States, Japan and Western Europe, just as these areas are likely to remain on the fringes of the tele-cost worlds of the island states.


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Jussawalla, M. 1992, 'Telecom and Southeast-Asian division of
The concept of poverty as developed in Copenhagen is broad. Poverty is perceived as meaning more than inadequate income; it also includes a lack of access to basic services and amenities, a lack of security and exclusion from community life. The document recommends a focus on efforts to uproot the causes of poverty, and to achieve the involvement of the poor themselves in the elaboration of policies which concern them.

The basic programme for IYEP is contained in the *Programme of Action* and the follow-up to Copenhagen. The activities suggested are mostly to be conducted by governments, but NGOs can collaborate with them very well in most fields by offering their expertise, prompting them to take action and denouncing abuse. Perhaps because of the multi-dimensional problems facing governments at the moment, their capacity for comprehensive action against poverty appears to be somewhat limited. For this reason, the part to be played in IYEP by NGOs and civil society was extensively discussed in Copenhagen. Now NGOs must act decisively to demonstrate their credibility and coordinate their action to make IYEP more effective.

**What could be the NGOs' priorities in the fight against poverty?**

Ever since its founding, AIC has been standing by the poor in their fight against poverty. It now considers the participation of poor families and their self-empowerment to be a priority. Based on its own experience at the grassroots, it feels that the NGOs are in a favourable position to remind governments and intermediary bodies of the realities found in the field as well as of the human dignity of each person. It seems important to work at changing society's perception of the poor, to emphasize the fact that poor families, too, are bearers of rich inner resources. Equally essential would be to make everyone conscious of the fact that they must get involved in the search for a more just society, establishing bridges between rich and poor, and creating a culture of solidarity.

In order for NGOs to fulfil their role in the fight against poverty, as stressed by WSSD, partnerships must be established at all levels between national and international NGOs, between NGOs and public authorities, churches, the media, and so on. These partnerships should allow us to express our field experience and address poverty in all its dimensions. It is important for us to evaluate our actions, not only to illustrate our positions but also in order to establish indicators. We must not be satisfied only with reporting to emergencies. We must also take measures for long-term action, to ensure that genuine prevention takes place. Here again a change must be brought about in the present-day culture: the community has been favouring punctual aid, as often reflected in the media, but this action, albeit generous, must not hide the need for necessary changes to be effected in the underlying structures. Finally, it is imperative to denounce violations of human rights and safeguard the universality of these principles. Hence the

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**The family and the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty, 1996**

*This is an edited version of a paper prepared by the International Association of Charities (AIC), a long-standing member of the NGO Committees on the Family in Vienna, Paris and New York, for NGOs and the international network. The original was presented by AIC at the Full Committee meeting of the Vienna NGO Committee on the Family, 8 November 1995.*

In December 1993 the United Nations decided to declare 1996 the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty (IYEP). The corresponding Resolution specified that fighting poverty meant working toward peace and sustainable development and that 'an appropriate mix of national efforts and international measures is required; that all governments, public and private institutions, and members of civil society ought to be involved'.

The World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) held in Copenhagen in 1995, addressed the following topics: the fight against poverty, the creation of productive employment, and social integration. The concluding Declaration affirmed the following (Commitment 2): 'We commit ourselves to the goal of eradicating poverty in the world, through decisive national actions and international cooperation ...'.

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necessity for NGOs to defend their independence from the state.

As to concrete actions, the first priority in fighting poverty in families is to build up their self-confidence by listening to their members, and by considering how their respective abilities, needs and ambitions can lead to new initiatives. This may mean a long process in the case of very marginalised families but is essential to guarantee self-development. Our intervention is important in this respect because NGOs are very often more available than social services.

This first step leads to the next, which is education. Discrimination against women should be addressed, taking into consideration their historical disadvantages in education, and also that they still play a major role in most families. Also, education should not be overlooked when considering the prevention of the causes of poverty, especially in the case of children. There the concept of education should have a broader scope - it should include education about values, rights and responsibilities. This calls for an alliance of all societal forces, from government to local community, and including NGOs.

The third type of action required concerns the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights. It can deal for example with the provision of suitable work, housing, infrastructures, leisure time, social security and the possibility of people either preserving or amending their own traditions. These elements are basic requirements for preventing the break-up of families. Although the state is responsible for initiating these policies, they are prompted by the mainstream of thought in society. NGOs have an important role to play in informing families about their rights, helping them to mobilise themselves, denouncing abuse, and explaining at all levels what the grassroots consequences may be of certain legislative or political decisions.

A fourth line of action for NGOs concerns the preservation or restoration of the social links which usually develop in the family. The WSSD acknowledged the family's major role in social integration. It is the educational responsibility of NGOs to draw attention to human relationships, to family life and solidarity, when the community and/or the family are shaken up by destitution, migration, violence or other sudden changes. NGOs can take action to bring back a climate of confidence and gradually reconnect the threads of the social fabric. This is a preventive role against marginalisation, recurring poverty and delinquency, which helps to work towards a culture of peace.

A fifth priority for NGOs could deal with the exercise of citizenship, as an expression of social integration. This means such things as having one's own address; developing a sense of belonging; acquiring adequate education, particularly education about social responsibility; obtaining a democratic and transparent government and the subsidiarity principle at all levels.

This list of priorities is evidently not exhaustive. The diversity of NGOs is their own richness, and will no doubt be a source of equally diverse possibilities for effective action in support of IYEP.
Agricultural extension services in Vietnam: Some legacies and prospects

Jim Monan*, Development Consultant, Hanoi, and Doug Porter*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University

Agricultural extension services in Vietnam are poorly developed. This has serious consequences for a farming population which is experiencing the rapid transformation to the market economy. Farmers who have already increased grain production by mammoth proportions since the introduction of the free market increasingly find they need technical advice and new technologies if they are to maintain the momentum created over the last few years.

Recent gains in agricultural production are the result of emerging markets for agricultural products rather than due to the government-supported rural development activities. It is well understood, however, that future gains will be largely dependent on government support for research and extension services, including credit, new seed varieties and the technical knowledge that these improved seeds require for good husbandry and sustaining the resource base. This presents government with an enormous challenge. Large sections of the rural population, perhaps the majority, continue to struggle to achieve a reasonable standard of food security, let alone produce a marketable surplus. While producers of surplus can frequently buy-in technical advice, the majority do not have access to formal extension services of any kind. The privileged access enjoyed by some farmers, and the contrasting plight of the majority, adds to the rapidly widening gap between rich and poor in rural Vietnam.

Part of the problem has been of an ideological nature. Until recently, agricultural extension was seen by many of the old guard as a capitalist method of generating business for large transnational petrochemical companies who marketed fertilisers and pesticides. To some extent this is a valid criticism as anyone who has seen model rice plots in countries like the Philippines will attest; advertising hoardings in these plots extol the virtues of ICI and other producers of the chemicals needed for the successful production of high yielding variety seeds and seedlings. But it is also true that farmers, when using new technologies, whatever the source, need sound advice.

The legacy of the command economy also hampers the development of effective extension services. Prior to economic liberalisation, the role of agricultural technicians at all levels - province, district and commune - was to issue instructions about production targets, and then to record often fantastic production figures attesting to the successful realisation of these targets. In reality farmers seldom reached production targets. Agricultural extension practices of the past also had adverse environmental and social and economic impacts. In a recent article, Professor Vo Tong Xuan of Can
Tho University remarks that while the amount of cultivated land increased more than 50 per cent in less than a decade (1978 to 1985), agricultural policies resulted in various types of environmental degradation that are difficult to correct. These include the disappearance of forests; heavy infestation of rice pests due to the chemical suppression of their natural enemies; chemical pollution of soils and water; acidification of empoldered areas; and salinisation of downstream arable land due to upstream over-extraction of river water for new irrigation systems (Xuan 1995).

Nowadays, there are numerous nationally sponsored programmes for agriculture and forestry. Major programmes target ethnic minorities and aim to 'fix' their settlements and 'sedentarise shifting agriculture'. Others, such as the controversial '327' programme, provide funding for such things as animal husbandry, watersheds, and protection and infrastructure. Special 'extension' support funds are also available for hunger and poverty alleviation, and the World Bank, bilateral and non-governmental agencies provide funds for both nationwide and locationally specific extension support activities. Unfortunately, despite good intentions, most of these resources are 'extended' to farmers in a top-down, supply-driven manner. There is little room for consultation with farmers, or for adaptation of nationally sanctioned 'farming systems models' to local conditions. And, what actually happens on the ground varies enormously, with much of the funds and materials lost in a bewildering array of special arrangements and institutional networks.

The situation in Gia Lai province in the Central Highlands illustrates these inconsistencies in the application of funds for agricultural development. In two adjacent districts there are entirely different budgetary and agricultural extension arrangements. In one district the budget is a part cash and part seeds, while in a neighbouring district the budget is entirely composed of seeds and livestock from three different provincial sources. Neither district authority knew anything about the costs of the materials, nor were they aware what had been allocated to them at the provincial level, or for different programmes; nor did they have any indication of what the future might hold. In one district the extension director aimed all resources at innovative farmers and commercially viable crops. In the other the main priority was food security for poorer families.

Diversity can be a virtue, but there is little indication this reflects more than institutional confusion. The one thing both districts have in common is a byzantine arrangement whereby material inputs for extension come from the provincial budget, while the salaries, allowances and incentives for extension workers (these varied enormously between the two) and money for workshops come from various parts of the district budget and national programmes. Yet districts receive their entire budget from the province. The confusing tangle of relationships greatly limits the effectiveness of extension activities and, as a recent World Bank study noted, the impact on poorer people and poorer parts of the country is particularly adverse (World Bank 1995:49). More pointedly, the confusing tangle of relationships and responsibilities is part and parcel of the burgeoning corruption which, as the Prime Minister recently remarked, has ruined national projects like 327 (Vo Van Kiet to National Assembly, 9 October 1995).

Many of these problems are exacerbated by the fact that 'farmer extension' only recently received national endorsement. The decision to set up extension services was taken in March 1993 and backed up by a resolution of the Central Committee's Fifth Plenary Session (August 1993) which emphasised integrated rural development and family farming. Ministerial directives to establish Provincial Extension Centres have been followed up in most cases; by April 1994, 49 of 53 provinces had extension centres. But the character and capacity of the various extension services varies considerably. In Ha Bac, a province in northern Vietnam, extension services were established well ahead of the 1993 directive. Provincial authorities have attracted international support and there are now almost 200 extension staff on the provincial payroll who support a well-developed network of farmer interest groups and trained village-level extension workers who signal farmers' needs to commune and district government extension workers.

Over much of the country, extension services are in a parlous state, and little has changed since 1993 when the system was characterised as being 'chronically under-funded ... a common occurrence is for less than one-third of fixed costs, including salaries, to be met from all funding sources with virtually no funding for operational expenses' (World Bank 1993: Annex 5). Conditions in Gia Lai are perhaps more representative of the situation outside the main rice producing areas of the Red River and Mekong Deltas. In Gia Lai, the Provincial Extension Centre was created only in May 1994, although staff in various sections and departments of district and provincial government had maintained what they regard as 'extension networks' before this date. A provincial decision provides for 34 Extension Centre staff, although only 20 have been recruited to date due to lack of funds, and few resources are available for farmer-level activities. Meanwhile, nationally funded programmes are implemented by hiring unemployed graduates under short-term contract. Ironically, whilst there is an unprecedented level of funding available through these programmes, it tends not to be used in a way that supports the long-term development of capable, well-directed extension services which appreciate and respond to local conditions.

Much is now said in Vietnam about 'farmer participation' in agricultural extension services. A 'farmer group' approach has been adopted in many extension programmes. Volunteer village and commune extension workers are frequently also trained in order to provide a local tier in the extension service. Numerous courses are offered by foreign organisations in participatory planning, needs assessment and participation in project management. Participatory Rapid Appraisal, or PRA, a technique promoted by Robert Chambers of Sussex University's Institute of Development Studies (Chambers
Indeed, many Vietnamese and foreign organisations now look askance at any rural development project that does not feature at least one PRA session during its formulation. Unfortunately, while an advance on earlier approaches to soliciting farmers' views, PRA tends to be applied in a rote-like manner and risks becoming merely another technique in a battery of instruments used by development workers to interrogate local people. In other words, it is difficult to restate the spirit of PRA, or participation more generally, in an institutional context overwhelmingly top-down and driven by the imperative to implement nationally directed programmes.

National agricultural projects still retain elements of the old command economy. In 1994, in Kong Chro district of Gia Lai, farmers were given 3,400 kilos of improved Chinese rice seeds which came from the provincial agricultural extension centre. They were told they would have to pay for these in cash after harvest. The farmers were suspicious of the quality of the seeds but they accepted them, having no access to the open market to buy their own. The yield was poor and not enough cash was generated to repay the cost of the seeds. A deal was negotiated whereby their debt could be repaid in the equivalent amount of paddy harvested from other production cycles. In this case, extension activities adversely affected the farmers' food security. A more participatory system would have consulted before seeds were bought, or at least given them the right of refusal, and the network which provided inferior seeds would be minimally accountable.

Unless farmers are better able to influence the extension resources available it is difficult to see how extension services can become more genuinely participatory, farmer-led or driven by demand rather than supply. One methodology to be tried in Gia Lai is to turn the system into one that is demand driven by economically empowering poor farmers, by allocating extension budgets directly to farmer-accountable organisations. Farmers will decide themselves what varieties of seeds to buy, and what form of extension support they need from technicians. The funds will be allocated to groups of geographically contiguous ethnic minority farmers who voluntarily form their own association and elect their own office bearers. This may help to counter the old supply driven command system of extension services.

The province has decided to trial this approach in four communes in two districts over the next two years. Extension staff in these districts will be increased, and there is a commitment to recruit and train local residents of the ethnic minority population into the permanent extension service. At present there is less than a handful of people from ethnic minorities in the province's Agriculture and Forestry Department - an organisation with over 4,500 staff and even fewer female extension workers.

There are many constraints to successful implementation of this new approach with ethnic minority farmers who arguably have greatest claim on extension services. A wide gulf exists between all of the minorities and the ethnic Kinh who make up over 90 per cent of the population. A major constraint is the paternalistic attitude of many Kinh who make up the vast majority of extension workers. Unless minority group farmers are treated on an equal footing with Kinh farmers, with full participation in agricultural planning and implementation, things are unlikely to change. Extension workers frequently describe the minorities they work with as lazy and backward people who 'do not yet understand' their real needs. Their agricultural systems are regarded as destructive and primitive which, according to most extension workers, must be 'totally replaced' by a modern farming system resembling the intensive rice cultivation system found in lowland delta areas.

The role of agricultural technicians has changed dramatically over the past five years. This is particularly marked in the lowland delta areas where a semi-privatised system operates. Here, extension workers respond to an agenda set by richer farmers who are increasingly empowered by their ability to generate a marketable surplus in response to upward trends in agricultural prices. On paper, much has changed elsewhere as a consequence of the central government's declared support for establishing an extension system capable of responding to the needs of the family farming economy. Yet there are tremendous financial, institutional and attitudinal constraints to be overcome. While officials lament the shortage of funds, increased taxation revenues have greatly enlarged public resources available for farmer support services. Institutional arrangements are often in flux, few officials have a clear idea of the responsibilities or potentials of farmer-led extension services, while many exploit ambiguities for lucrative private advantage. Responsive, participatory and 'bottom-up' ideals appear often in new government policy. Many extension workers are committed to these ideals. But legacies of the command system mean rewards and incentives remain, for the time being, resolutely hierarchical and driven from 'the top'.

* The authors have been associated with developing an agroforestry project in Gia Lai Province funded by the New Zealand government. They are solely responsible for the views expressed in this article.

References

‘Get what you can while you can’:
Landowner and government relations
in the forest industry of West New
Britain, Papua New Guinea

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Preface

The information presented in this paper is drawn from events
surrounding the design and implementation of the Kandrian
Gloucester Integrated Development Project (KGIDP) in the
West New Britain Province of Papua New Guinea (PNG).
The KGIDP is a bilateral aid project which is jointly funded
by AusAID and the Government of PNG. The paper focuses
upon events between 1989 and 1995.

The author wishes to acknowledge that the objectives of the
project have been substantially redesigned as a result of a
recent review by AusAID and the Government of PNG in
June 1995. The redesign has moved the project away from
seeking to actively influence Landowner Company (LOC)
management and investment decisions, towards more
achievable and less contentious objectives of institutional
planning, extension and infrastructure support. In adopting
this strategy, AusAID and the Government of PNG have
anticipated that the redesign will encourage a more productive
partnership between technical advisers, LOCs and the
provincial government over the remaining life of the project.

Preliminary indications are that the relationship between the
parties is now more settled and is focusing around areas of
common interest rather than areas of differentiation.

Summary

In 1993-94 the national government of PNG and landowners
in West New Britain lost over K$100 million in export
revenue to foreign logging contractors because they were
unable to resolve equity issues associated with the distribution
of forest revenues. This situation arose because the
participation and equity imperatives of the PNG Forestry
Act were unachievable and unenforceable in the West New
Britain context, and distracted landowners and the
government from reaching agreement over their mutual desire
to maximise their respective share of logging revenues.

The allocation of logging permits

Up until the mid-1980s, the principal mechanism for
allocating logging permits in PNG was through the
government’s Timber Rights Purchase (TRP) scheme. Under
this scheme, the Government purchased the rights to log
forests from landowners. Timber rights were then granted
to a logging contractor through an international tendering
process in return for a resource rent and a package of social,
economic and infrastructure services. By the late 1980s the
TRP system had all but been replaced by Local Forest Area
(LFA) agreements. These agreements allowed landowners
to incorporate as LOCs and negotiate a Logging and
Marketing Agreement (LMA) directly with a logging
contractor with minimum state intervention.

LFA arrangements proved to be exceptionally popular with
landowners and logging contractors and became the hallmark
of the forest industry throughout PNG in the mid- to late-
1980s. Not only did the LFA allow them to expedite logging
operations and minimise government scrutiny of their LMAs,
it shifted control over forest management and revenues from
government authorities to LOCs. LOCs, through LFA
agreements, were seen by many rural people as a mechanism
for establishing control over local social and economic issues
and promoting a truly self-reliant community.

In practice, however, LOCs were formed without adequate
attention to the recording of landowner groups or to the
election of landowner representatives. LOC directors were
generally self-appointed and few had experience in company
management. The lack of a representative structure,
community consultation and basic skills in business
management severely limited the capacity of LOCs to
negotiate favourable LMAs with logging contractors. Yet
LMAs were central to the successful operation of LOCs:
they specified the responsibilities of the LOC and the logging
contractor, determined the nature and extent of logging
operations, allocated responsibility for compliance and
established the formulae for the distribution of proceeds from
the logs. Although landowners were benefiting from royalty
payments for the sale of their timber, and some LOCs
accumulated funds in their business and agriculture trust
accounts, their relative share of logging revenues was minimal.

National intervention

Inequities in LFA agreements, and the loss of substantial
revenue to landowners and the state, prompted a national
detailed a litany of corruption, malpractice, environmental
degradation and inefficiency in the PNG forest industry. This
report, and the high profile which rainforest management
issues were accorded by PNG’s principal aid donors,
prompted the national government to seek assistance to
strengthen its forest policy. Several donors, notably the World
Bank, Australia, New Zealand and Germany, pledged support
to PNG under the Tropical Forest Action Plan (TFAP) which
sought to provide a framework for the PNG government and
donors to formulate an economically viable and ecologically
sustainable forest programme. [Note: The TFAP was
renamed the National Forest Action Plan (NFAP) in 1990.
It was further revised in 1991 to the National Forest
Conservation Action Plan (NFCAP)].

A new Forestry Act was introduced into the PNG parliament
in 1991. The Act sought to re-establish national control
over the forest industry and LOC operations through revised forest agreements. It provided for more rational management of PNG’s forest resources, scope for increased community participation and representation and greater control over foreign investors. Political support for the new Act was further enhanced by a change of government in 1992, and the appointment of a new Forest Minister who was a strong supporter of forestry reform.

**Strategy formulation: The policy imperative**

In formulating a strategy for the KGIDP, technical advisers had to address a range of conflicting interests. At the national level, there was strong resolve from the Minister of Forests to pursue the provisions of the Forestry Act. The Minister’s resolve was heavily backed by bilateral and multilateral donors and some international NGOs. The NGOs were running a strong agenda directed towards supporting rational reform of the forest industry within the framework of popular participation, equity and ecologically sustainable development. At the provincial level, however, it was business as usual. Logging contractors and LOCs continued to flout the Forestry Act and were antagonistic towards any strategy which required the restructuring of LOCs.

In considering the interests of the various stakeholders, the KGIDP was faced with resolving two conflicting issues: finding sufficient common ground between the stakeholders, while at the same time promoting a Forestry Act which was unpopular with LOCs, logging contractors and most provincial politicians. The common ground between the Government and landowner groups lay in their collective view that forest resources should be used to generate revenue to improve rural social and economic welfare. However, there was major disagreement over whether the state or LOCs should determine how forest resources should be managed and the revenues distributed.

On this issue, the government was standing firm. The forest industry would be reorganised around the provisions under the Forestry Act. The Government had too much to lose. Unless sustainable forest management practices were initiated and forest revenue agreements revised, PNG’s forest resources would be rapidly depleted, the government and landowners would lose hundreds of millions of dollars in revenue to logging contractors, and the practices of unscrupulous LOC directors would continue to divide rural communities and deprive them of an equitable share of forest revenue.

**The outcome**

LOC directors and their logging contractors also felt they had much to lose. They mounted a major political campaign against the provisions of the Act and, in particular, the proposed revenue guidelines. Under the Act and revenue guidelines, the logging and marketing practices of contractors would be more tightly controlled and their revenue share reduced. LOCs were to have their revenue entitlements put in trust if they failed to demonstrate that they were representative of the constituencies they claimed to serve. Self interest fostered a strong alliance between LOC directors and logging contractors.

In September 1993, in an effort to break this alliance, the national government offered to increase the landowner share of logging revenues from 13 to 44 per cent. Based on projected log exports from West New Britain, this would...
have meant that some K$310 million would have been paid out to LOCs and landowners in the five years from 1993 to 1998 (Carter, 1995). However, the West New Britain Forest Resource Owners Association (WNBFRA), acting on behalf of LOCs in the province, rejected the offer on the basis that it was still conditional on restructuring LOCs. Other Forest Resource Owner Associations throughout PNG followed suit.

In February 1994, in response to the rejection of the forest revenue guidelines, the national government increased excise duties on log exports from 17 to 30 per cent to prevent further loss of logging revenue to the economy. The end result was that the revenue base of logging contractors was significantly reduced, while LOCs lost a major opportunity to secure additional revenue.

In August 1994, the Wingti government was toppled by the Chan coalition. The new ministry included a Forest Minister from the Kandrian district in West New Britain who had direct linkages with the WNBFRA, extensive interests in logging activities and strong connections with overseas logging contractors. The WNBFRA lobbied the Minister to reverse the national government’s decision on forest revenue arrangements. The PNG economy was in deep financial crisis, however, and needed all the available revenue it could get, so the Minister was unable to assist. On the issue of LOC reform, the Minister shared the WNBFRA view that the Government had no right to intervene in the affairs of LOCs. The Minister’s view, coupled with the fact that the National Forest Authority had virtually no resources to implement the Act, meant that the operations of LOCs continued as before.

The role of the KGIDP

The economic and political events of 1993 and 1994 severely limited the effectiveness of the KGIDP operations. In the absence of National Forest Service (NFS) personnel and resources, the KGIDP agreed to play an initial role in generating awareness of the provisions of the Forestry Act and monitoring and reporting on compliance. However, the intention was that as the NFS became more organised and more resourced, it would progressively take over KGIDP functions.

In 1993, KGIDP officers vigorously promoted the provisions of the Forestry Act and the revenue guidelines and there was widespread community discussion and debate over forestry issues. A number of landowner splinter groups formed to challenge the authority and practices of some LOCs. However, while KGIDP activities resulted in heightened awareness of the forestry issues, it had no authority to resolve them. The promised back-up from the NFS did not eventuate because of the funding and political constraints at the national level. This left KGIDP technical advisers exposed to criticism, from both the splinter groups and established LOC directors, that they had encouraged division within the community without providing any meaningful solution to the issues at hand.

The KGIDP’s foray into LOC affairs on behalf of the national government effectively alienated the project from the very people it was trying to support. The mistrust closed off access to most LOC directors and company accounts. This effectively put an end to achieving any significant progress in influencing the management and distribution of forest revenues. By the end of 1994, it became apparent that the KGIDP, without substantial NFS support, would have no influence over the management or distribution of forest revenues by LOCs. Technical support for direct intervention in forest revenue and LOC affairs was withdrawn following a joint review of the KGIDP by the Governments of Australia and PNG in June 1995.

The case for negotiation: The Kapuluk TRP scheme?

The KGIDP’s relationship with LOCs contrasted sharply with its dealings with landowners involved in TRP arrangements. While the affairs of LOCs under LFA arrangements dominated the efforts of the KGIDP, a group of landowners from the Kapuluk TRP scheme under the management of the Korean company, Nam Yang, sought assistance in renegotiating the terms and conditions of the agreement. Under the TRP scheme, the agreement was between the state and the logging contractor. In the case of Kapuluk, landowners were dissatisfied with some provisions of the agreement and the performance of the contractor. They wanted the state to renegotiate the agreement with particular emphasis on securing an increased share of revenue for landowners.

Frustrated by government inaction, the landowners sought assistance from the KGIDP to develop a strategy to bring the state and Nam Yang to the negotiating table. The KGIDP brokered a role as technical adviser to the landowners who then entered into a series of lengthy negotiations with the state and Nam Yang. The end result was a substantially revised agreement in which the logging contractor undertook to increase royalties and levies from K$4.67 per cubic metre to K$13.67 (Vigus, 1995). This increase translated into an additional K$1 million per annum for Kapuluk landowners. Throughout the Kapuluk negotiations, the KGIDP avoided being tagged as the agent of the national government. Instead, it was seen as the source of independent advice by landowners on forest management and revenue negotiation options.

The question of compromise

If the KGIDP had more flexibility to play the role of negotiator, would it have been able to assist in brokering a more acceptable outcome between the Government and the LOCs? Despite their public stance, many LOC officials made private representations to the KGIDP on the scope for restructuring their LOCs, renegotiating their agreements and securing technical advice for their investment strategies. They acknowledged the inequities in their LMAs, the internal feuding over the distribution of forest revenue, the mismanagement of trust accounts and the rapid depletion of their forest resources.
Many LOC officials wanted a way out of the situation, but were not prepared to lose face and power by publicly acknowledging their position. The KGIDP had many opportunities to negotiate with LOC directors, but not in the public domain. While most directors were wary of advice to introduce participatory management practices which would enable other landowners to challenge their authority, they were keen to develop strategies for increasing LOC revenue and to collaborate with government on the use of LOC investment funds for improving social and economic welfare. In development terms, the objectives of the LOC directors were similar to those advocated by the Government. The exception being that the directors thought they should have the right to determine LOC structure, leadership and mechanisms for distributing forest revenue without government intervention.

Had the Government accepted this position, the coalition between the LOCs and the logging contractors would almost certainly have been broken. Under its revised revenue arrangements (April 1994) the Government was offering much more than the logging contractors could. However, to enter into negotiations with LOCs on this basis would have required an about-face by the Government and its donor supporters. It would have meant collaborating with the very people the Forestry Act was seeking to weed out. The government position was based on two assumptions: first, that many LOC directors had secured their positions without recourse to proper elections and had become corrupted by logging contractors and their own greed; and second, that given the right opportunity and support, the community could be mobilised to replace these directors with democratically elected representatives of the people. In the Kandrian and Gloucester districts, there was sufficient evidence to support the first assumption but not the second. Most challenges to established LOC authority came from splinter groups, usually opposing clans, the leaders of which simply wanted to replace the existing directors with their own people. In the KGIDP experience, there is little evidence to suggest that splinter groups who deposed the established LOC hierarchy were any more democratic than those they had replaced. Thus while the national government could claim the high moral ground on the actions of some LOCs, it had absolutely no control over social organisation and dispute resolution at the landowner level.

While the vagaries of popular participation at the community level in PNG have been well documented (Filer, 1991), the lessons were largely ignored by the national government, aid donors and the KGIDP in seeking to implement the Forestry Act. The primary reason for this was, that at the time of formulating the forest policy and the KGIDP strategy, all of the above parties judged their common position to be politically correct and enforceable. Politically correct it may have been, but enforceable it was not.

Finally, in economic terms, both the national government and LOCs paid a heavy price for their ongoing debate over participation and equity. Failure to agree on mechanisms for implementing the Government’s revised forest revenue guidelines on log exports from West New Britain resulted in a loss of K$106 million in export taxes in 1993 (Taylor, 1995).

The lessons

(a) For government

Policy should be negotiated and incremental if government lacks the resources and political will to enforce its provisions.

At no stage in the formulation of the national forest policy did the Government seek to enter into any significant negotiations with the forest industry or landowner groups. While briefings were held with these groups, there was no systematic attempt on the part of government to assess the position of LOCs and what oppositional strategy they might invoke. Equally important, there was no assessment by the Government as to its own capability to enforce the Act and the likely outcome if it could not. In short, the Government was singularly focused on enforcing the content of the Act, within an unrealistic time framework and without due consideration of the processes which could have been used to delineate common ground between the parties. With hindsight, the Government would have achieved more by adopting a strategy which sought to work from common ground (maximising LOC and government revenue shares) and incrementally addressing the issues of participation and equity.

Greater recognition must be given to the problems of achieving popular participation and equity in rural PNG.

Rural society in PNG has become increasingly divided by the uneven distribution of education, access to social services and economic opportunity. This inequality places significant pressure on those communities with access to natural resources to develop them as quickly as possible and, in the words of one LOC director, to ‘get what you can while you can’. Government policy rhetoric continually seeks to reaffirm the nation’s commitment to democratic processes and plays down the real problems which rural communities have in dealing with participation and equity. In formulating the National Forest Policy, had the Government acknowledged publicly that it was unlikely to be successful in achieving its objectives of fostering equity and participation in the short term, the Act and forest revenue guidelines could have been modified to reflect an incremental position on these issues. However, such a statement would have been unlikely to endear the PNG government to the aid donors, who were looking for bold political statements to justify their expenditure and to placate vocal interest groups in their own countries.

(b) For donors and technical advisers

Donors and their technical advisers would have been better advised to play the role of ‘honest broker’ and facilitate the process of negotiation and mediation rather than becoming agents for policy implementation.
In supporting the negotiation and mediation process in the Kapuluk TRP, the KGIDP was able to play a more useful and acceptable role than as the implementing and monitoring agent for unpopular and unenforceable provisions under the Forestry Act. However, donors gave themselves little opportunity to consider the negotiation option. The World Bank, and the Australian, New Zealand and German governments were all enthusiastic proponents of institutional forestry reform in PNG and committed extensive resources to its development. The KGIDP was a direct outcome of this enthusiasm. Had donors and their technical advisers given more consideration to the difficulties of implementing the Act and the oppositional stance of LOCs, support for facilitating the negotiation process may have been seen as a more attractive proposition.

Whether donors would have opted to support the negotiation process, particularly if it meant some short-term acceptance of the status quo in LOC-landowner power relationships, is questionable. As already noted, donor responses were influenced by the attitudes of international and local NGOs whose philosophic foundations were deeply rooted in promoting community participation and social equity. Any turnaround on these issues would have been strongly and publicly contested by these groups, a situation which all donors would have been keen to avoid.

Finally, donor flexibility is ultimately constrained by bilateral and multilateral aid agreements which dictate that donors give priority to the Government agenda. In the case of the Forestry Act and revenue guidelines, the Government agenda ran counter to adopting a more flexible approach to negotiating with LOCs. From the perspective of both protocol and approach, aid donors were both locked into and strongly supportive of the Government's position.

(c) For landowners

Landowners who enter into development agreements with unresolved land and resource disputes have little chance of maintaining group solidarity in the face of conflict with resource developers.

Most LOCs were formed without due consideration of the membership of the land groups they claimed to represent. Had land groups been able to reach agreement between themselves over ownership of the forest resource and establish common development objectives, their power to negotiate with logging contractors would have been vastly increased. Instead, the relationship between many landowner groups was typified by mistrust and conflict. Logging contractors were able to exploit these divisions to secure maximum advantage.

It could be argued that, far from being the flags of the new social order which many rural people had hoped for, LOCs effectively disempowered their members by making them too dependent on the logging contractors. By the time this was realised, it was too late for landowners to play their trump card, namely, as traditional landowners, they had undisputed right to determine who should have access to the forest resources and at what price.

Finally, while it may have been better for the Government and LOCs to have focused on securing a greater share of forest revenue in the first instance, the increased revenue generated would have inevitably heightened landowner tensions over resource ownership and revenue distribution. Such tensions, as demonstrated in Bougainville (Dorney, 1990), could have a severe impact on provincial and national political stability. Hence the Government could not have afforded to adopt a strategy which simply sought to maximise revenue and ignored the more fundamental questions of participation and equity.

* Gary Simpson is the former Project Director of the Kondrian Gloucester Integrated Development Project (April 1993–May 1995)

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Success and failure in Africa - two case studies: Technical assistance in Ghana and Uganda

Why are some projects more successful than others? What lessons can be learned from successes and failures in countries with similar conditions? The World Bank's Operations Evaluation Department (OED) sought the answers to these questions in a recent assessment of two projects carried out in Ghana and Uganda.

In the 1980s, Ghana and Uganda were both emerging from long periods of internal conflict. Years of strife and turmoil had damaged their public administrations and left them with very weak government infrastructures. Their economies had collapsed and physical infrastructures were in disarray. Both countries experienced changes in governments and were just beginning to attempt some major economic reforms. These conditions made the two countries prime candidates for World Bank technical assistance (TA) projects: in the short term, to help finance and planning ministries design and implement a series of economic reforms; in the long term, to
strengthen institutions and capacities of government agencies. Comparing the results of the two projects, OED recently concluded that Ghana's was a relative failure while Uganda's was a relative success, although conditions in Ghana were actually much better than they were in Uganda at the start of the projects. Ghana's project 'largely failed to achieve many of its important objectives,' whereas Uganda's 'largely succeeded', the OED said. A recently published 'OED précis' explains the reasons for the different outcomes and the lessons to be learned from them.

Results

The project in Ghana had some success in reforming the national revenue service, but was unable to get major institutional development components, such as a skills mobilisation scheme and an economic liaison unit, off the ground. Moreover, 'attempts to strengthen the economic policy unit proceeded only haltingly' and money freed up from those components was largely diverted to low-priority uses such as purchase of vehicles (equipment accounted for 70 per cent of spent project funds, compared to the 31 per cent originally planned).

The TA project in Uganda made a substantial contribution to the country's economic reforms, the OED found. Although the project made little progress in strengthening the budgetary and financial management systems of the Finance Ministry, it succeeded in most of its other institutional development efforts.

Achievements included: helping the central bank re-establish the accounting and debt management systems, allowing Uganda to initiate Africa's first debt buy-back arrangement; assisting the Economic Analysis Unit in becoming a highly competent island of excellence within the civil service; helping establish the basis for comprehensive civil service reforms, including a 50 per cent reduction in the size of the service between 1991 and 1994; and carrying out agricultural studies and policy analyses for the Agricultural Secretariat, which helped convince the government to liberalise the coffee sector and to strengthen moves toward a more market-oriented strategy.

Reasons

In both countries, projects adopted a 'process' approach, which allows flexibility in defining objectives and activities to tackle unpredictable contingencies that may arise during implementation. However, strong project management is necessary for this approach to work: project management was 'weak' and Bank supervision 'lax' in Ghana, the OED says.

Managers in Ghana faced considerable pressure to use funds for equipment and other activities that were barely related to the project. Poor record keeping, inadequate monitoring and lack of performance indicators further weakened management and supervision. By contrast, project managers in Uganda had acquired substantial experience through association with the first part of the TA project, providing much-needed continuity. Procedures were gradually developed to ensure that activities funded through the project were consistent with national priorities.

Both governments actively participated in defining the objectives of the reforms; but commitment to institutional reforms was higher in Uganda, where top officials 'knew what they wanted from the project and worked actively to promote it'. In Uganda, Bank supervision was intense and the country team provided continuity and cohesiveness. In Ghana, supervision was 'too permissive' and unable to identify problems in transfers of project funds.

Lessons

Some important lessons were learned about the essential requirements for designing and implementing successful TA projects in countries with weak or non functioning government infrastructures:

- The more unsettled a country's institutional environment is, the more flexible project design should be, but flexible project design demands strong project management and close Bank supervision.
- Ownership is key: borrowers must actively take part in defining policy reform objectives and the operation should have the backing of high-level government advocates.
- Continuity and cohesiveness by the Bank's country team and the borrower's project management team enhance learning and mutual trust, increasing prospects for success.
- Experienced staff should be assigned to appraise and supervise the project. Foreign long-term advisers can be effective under certain conditions, but 'when management and supervision are weak, no modality will work'.
- Distortions in local incentive structures and budgetary processes must be minimised, especially in highly aid-dependent countries. These distortions can be especially severe when donors pay varying salary supplements to civil servants and compete with each other to recruit skilled employees.


Family training in Bangladesh: An innovative approach*

Six Bangladeshi farm families - men, women and children - are gathered for a training session in a room at the local rural development office. A woman in full burqa raises her hand and begins to speak. She hesitates, but with her husband's encouragement, shyly continues and asks how to keep insects away from the wheat seed she has selected.
'Something as simple as a woman speaking in front of a mixed male/female group tells us these sessions are totally different from how training is conducted in most developing countries, especially in this part of the world,' points out Craig Meisner, International Maize and Wheat Improvement Centre (CIMMYT) agronomist stationed in Bangladesh. He is acting as adviser to the Whole Family Training Project (WFTP), a pilot project funded by AusAID that aims to teach farmers how to handle and store wheat seed after harvest in several wheat producing districts of Bangladesh.

Typically, NGO and government programmes in Bangladesh target either males or females and this pilot project, implemented through the Bangladesh-Australia Wheat Improvement Project and Bangladesh's Wheat Research Centre, was originally conceived as a training programme for women involved in wheat production. 'Before starting the project we did a survey and found that in Bangladesh wheat production is a family affair,' relates Marla Smith O'Donoghue, a consultant hired to assist in finding an effective means of reaching and training women. 'This gave us the idea that it was probably better to train the whole family instead of just the women.'

Although largely unrecognised, women's contributions to agricultural production at both the household and national levels are significant in the developing world. However, for the most part women farmers have little access to the training and information that are basic for improving crop production. Furthermore, in countries where for cultural reasons women do not speak to men outside their families, reaching them through mostly male extension workers is virtually impossible. The WFTP arose from the perceived need to address these issues and give women access to wheat production technologies.

Wheat is currently the second most important staple cereal crop in Bangladesh, where production is projected to reach 1.3 million tons in 1995 and 1.4 million tons in 1996. As the country's population increases and land pressures intensify, farmers will have to learn new ways of increasing yields while protecting natural resources. Farmers in marginal areas, however, have remained largely beyond the reach of extension services. 'An additional payoff of this project is that, in seeking to benefit rural women, it will contribute to increasing wheat yields in the poorer districts of Bangladesh,' says Meisner.

Local women with previous experience in rural development and training were hired to organise and conduct the training sessions. They delivered to each family (defined for the purposes of the project as husband, wife and two other family members) a written invitation. This was particularly important in getting people to attend: though many of the invitees were illiterate, they considered it a great honour to receive a written invitation. A total of 2,370 people from mostly marginal and small landholding families - almost 100 per cent of those invited - attended the sessions. The organisers used demonstration techniques and visual aids to convey simple but essential seed storage procedures.

'Some time after harvest, we visited the families and found that, except in one district where it was too late in the season to apply what they learned, between 90 and 100 per cent were using the technologies,' observes O'Donoghue. 'All of them said they would gladly attend training sessions again.'

In view of this success, the next phase of the project will also focus on whole families, this time to teach them the basics of wheat cultivation. Although a departure from tradition, this innovative approach may prove useful for teaching modern technologies to farmers who grow wheat and other crops in similar cultures of the developing world.

*Press release from the CIMMYT, International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center. For more information contact: Craig Meisner, Wheat Program, CIMMYT, Apdo. Postal 6-641 06600 Mexico D.F.*
African farming crisis overstated?

Much of the conventional wisdom holds that Africa has been undergoing an agrarian crisis since at least the mid-1970s, with falling food production per capita and the rising imports of cereals made worse by famines, and alleged widespread environmental degradation. But village-level evidence suggests that official statistics on these matters exaggerate the decline, and that rural Africans have been adjusting quite energetically to changes in circumstances. In areas of low population density, farmers had generally expanded their farm areas, using animal draught power to do so where suitable stocks were available. In more populated areas, farming had been intensified, out-migration was less of a problem, and the off-farm economy had created extra jobs and income-earning possibilities locally. African farming is apparently making progress, albeit slowly.

Excerpts from Development Research Insights, September 1995, pp.1,4

Water projects for EHP

Work has begun on the European Union (EU) funded project to bring fresh drinking water through pipes to 48 villages (about 10,000 people) in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. The EU has similar projects in seven other provinces, and its supply programme includes the training of villagers to maintain the systems and keep them in working order.

PNG Social Development Newsletter, January 1996, p.11

Thais boost local economy

Australia has become a favourite destination for Thai tourists and other visitors from South East Asia. According to new figures from the Bureau of Statistics, more Thais are now visiting Australia than Australians are visiting Thailand. The figures show the growing scale of Asian tourist boom: 81,300 Thai residents visited Australia last year, while 75,300 Australians went to Thailand.

The Age, 25 March 1996, p.1.17

A renewable World Bank?

In response to an increasing number of requests for support of renewable energy projects, the World Bank has begun a solar initiative. Staff will be encouraged to see the real investment possibilities. The Bank will also work with other major international organisations interested in the demonstration or introduction of renewable energy technologies.

APACE Newsletter, Oct-Dec 1995, p.10
Chan declares war on Bougainville

The Papua New Guinea government has stepped up its offensive against Bougainville independence campaigners living abroad, branding them as ‘criminals’, as part of a fresh military crackdown against separatists. Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan declared the government would seek out ‘agents of the rebels’ and prosecute them under the criminal code. He urged the Bougainville Revolutionary Army leadership to ‘clean out its house’ following a series of recent pro-independence attacks which left at least a dozen defence force members dead.

Asia-Pacific Network, 22 March 1996

New programme to wipe out river blindness in Africa

A new joint international programme has been initiated to eliminate river blindness (onchocerciasis), which afflicts 15 million people in Africa. The 12-year African Programme for Onchocerciasis (AFOP) will be one of the largest intercountry health programmes in the world, to be set up as a partnership among the World Bank, governments, NGOs, donors, local communities and other international agencies. Over the next generation, AFOP will add 10 million years of productive labour to the 16 African countries involved in the project.

World Bank News, December 1995, p.1

Pacific press freedom under siege

In Tonga the deputy editor of the weekly Taimi ‘o Tonga was detained 26 hours and two pro-democracy letter writers were jailed for even longer without charge. Eventually the editor was charged with ‘threatening’ a civil servant. In Vanuatu, Serge Vohor, briefly Prime Minister of Vanuatu after a recent general election, ordered a gag on his country’s news media to prevent it from reporting moves to oust him from leadership. In Fiji, the government denies that it is planning to muzzle the news media in response to claims by the Opposition Leader Jai Ram Reddy, who has told the public that a cabinet faction ‘don’t want you to know all the details about the scandals in government’. In Papua New Guinea, a hastily constituted PNG Media Council, representing the country’s news media companies, recently organised a two-day public seminar involving leading politicians, judges, academics, journalists and grassroots activists in an attempt to defend press freedom. As part of a constitutional review expected to steer Papua New Guinea towards a republic, Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan’s government is seeking to introduce legislation which could fetter a traditionally free press.

Asia-Pacific Network, 22 March 1996

New Zealand’s overseas aid

New Zealand’s overseas aid efforts will increase over the next three years. The 1995-96 budget, increased by six per cent to a total of NZ$164.7 million, brings spending on overseas aid to 0.23 per cent of GNP. By 1997-98, spending would be 0.25 per cent of GNP. Increases and changes include existing and new projects in the Pacific, East and South Asia, Africa and to UN organisations.

Te Amokura/Na Lawedua, Vol. 7(3), Sept-Dec 1995, p.9

New Australian aid for HIV/AIDS in Africa

This new programme worth A$10 million over four years, is in addition to the A$7.8 million currently being spent on ten HIV/AIDS prevention and care projects in southern and eastern Africa. The additional resource will enable Australia to fund UNICEF initiatives in South Africa and Kenya in addition to support for current programmes in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Namibia. Moreover, it will allow funding to continue for the South African Network of AIDS Organisations (SANASO), which links 100 NGOs and community organisations involved in HIV/AIDS prevention and care.

Focus, December 1995, p.2

Lifecycle greenhouse impacts of common appliances

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* Based on 15-year life of appliances

Green Heating Quest Newsletter, January 1996, p.9
The living lawn mower runs on rabbit power

A ‘hunger-driven’ lawn mower powered by a couple of rabbits is being tested at the Australian National University in Canberra. As they eat the grass, they roll the silent, environmentally-benign lawn mower around, keeping the grass at a well-nibbled length, and fertilising at the same time.

ANU Reporter, Vol. 27(1), January 1996, p.1

International Monetary Fund or Infant Mortality Fund?

The structural adjustment programmes have made the World Bank and the IMF extremely unpopular in Africa. Health and education are usually the first to suffer, when governments need to cut their spending. The IMF should be renamed 'the Infant Mortality Fund', said the head of a hospital in one African capital. ‘After the IMF visits you, your children start to die.’

Excerpts from the New Scientist, October 1995, p.35

Brain rot!

A recent survey in New Zealand found that TV1 had 14.3 minutes of advertising an hour, TV2 14.5 and TV3 15.3. Britain televises no more than seven minutes an hour and Australia's upper limit is 13 minutes. The implications of these figures, together with the number of hours a day people watch TV, are frightening. And this is not even taking the programme content into account!

Te Amokura/Na Lawedua, Vol. 7(3), Sept-Dec 1995, p.6

Water crisis in the Middle East can be averted

Unless they drastically change the way they manage their water resources, the countries of the Middle East and North Africa will suffer from severe water shortages and economic decline in the next 30 years, warns the World Bank.

Per capita water supply in the region is now one third 1960 levels and is expected to halve in the next three decades, according to a new Bank report that analyses the state of water resources in North Africa and the Middle East (MENA). It lists the options and opportunities facing the region and proposes a plan of action for averting a crisis.

World Bank News XV (11), March 21 1996

April 1996

Australia pledges support for a global ban on anti-personnel landmines; unilaterally suspends use

Foreign Affairs Minister Alexander Downer and Defence Minister Ian McLachlan have announced Australia's support for a global ban on production, stockpiling, use and transfer of anti-personnel landmines (APL) and a unilateral suspension on the operational use of APL by the Australian Defence Force. These measures come into effect immediately.

‘The indiscriminate use of landmines has created a humanitarian and economic crisis of massive proportions’, Mr Downer said. ‘Australians are rightly dismayed at the daily tragedies which indiscriminately sown landmines wreak on innocent civilians, often in areas which have long ceased to be battle zones. By joining the small but growing number of countries which have suspended the use of landmines by their national defence forces, Australia hopes, by the example it sets, to add its weight to the international campaign for a global ban on the use, transfer, production and stockpiling of landmines - that is, their total elimination as a weapon of war. Australia will work internationally for the achievement of such a ban, Mr Downer said.

Joint statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Defence

Australia pledges support for a global ban on anti-personnel landmines; unilaterally suspends use
The theme of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) consultative conference was 'towards enhanced trade and investment in the Southern African Development Community'. The conference was inaugurated by President Nelson Mandela of the Republic of South Africa, and attended by SADC ministers and officials, ministers from the international cooperating partners, and the regional and international business community. The SADC Council of Ministers, at its meeting in January 1995, had agreed to put trade and investment as the foremost priority for SADC. This decision was predicated on a number of factors: the democratisation of South Africa; the hope for peace in Angola; and the new political dispensation and economic reforms sweeping throughout the 12 Member States. The conference thus provided a forum for frank exchange of views, experiences and lessons between SADC and the regional and international enterprises, and with SADC's new and traditional international cooperating partners.

On the first day, the conference deliberated in plenary on issues that SADC should address in order to enhance its investment image and be able to compete favourably with other regions of the world for direct investments, venture and joint venture capital flows into the region. The conference commended SADC for the bold measures its Member States were taking to restructure their economies in line with changes in the world economy: the restructuring of the financial sector to make it more responsive to the needs of the enterprise sector, the provision of similar incentives and support measures to both the domestic/regional and international industry, the removal of bureaucractic practices and price distorting subsidies, the adoption of sound macroeconomic policies that are conducive to the operations of efficient modern economies.

The conference called upon SADC member states to expedite the conclusion of the Trade Facilitation Protocol, in order to boost intra-regional trade and observed that this could only be achieved if measures were put in place to attract investment flows to exploit the region's largely untapped and diverse natural resources, especially in areas that offer the region comparative advantage. The conference appealed to the region to put in place institutional framework that would ensure that goods and services produced in the region were competitive on the world market. For this to be achieved, the region needed to inject new technologies to replace old and inefficient
production systems. More importantly, the need to invest in development of human resources was emphasised. The conference noted that the development of small- and medium-scale enterprises offered greater scope for growth and industrialisation of the region as well as offer solutions to the region's burgeoning unemployment problems.

On the second day, the conference broke into sectoral interactive sessions covering: manufacturing; industry, trade and construction; mining and energy; tourism; agriculture; food; fisheries; natural resources and environment; and infrastructure, transport and communications. A number of recommendations were made in each of the sectoral sessions. Some of the salient recommendations are presented below.

**Food, agriculture and natural resources:** priority would be given to this sector in the overall SADC Programme of Action; information exchange should be improved through development of regional databases; and appropriate and adequate support services should also be developed.

**Manufacturing and associated sectors:** SADC Member States affected by existing trade imbalances should negotiate bilateral trade agreements with SACU countries; and should involve the private sector in human resource development and in the implementation of economic reforms which include restructuring and privatisation of state assets.

**Mining and energy:** pooling of energy should be encouraged, including coordinated and integrated power planning systems; a regional energy marketing system should be put in place to remove barriers to trade; a regional research centre for mining should be established; and efforts towards development of safety, health and environmental legislation on mining should be coordinated.

**Infrastructure, transport and communication:** SADC region should compete for the scarce private world resources for infrastructure development; with governments urged to focus on the development of infrastructure in the rural areas; Member States should enter into partnership with the private sector along the lines of build, operate and own (BOO) or build, operate and transfer (BOT) projects.

**Tourism:** Movement of capital between the Member States should be deregulated; resources for the development of skills and expertise should be provided; and the profile of tourism sector should be enhanced by provision of funds for marketing.

*Excerpts from the Official Communique on the 1996 SADC Consultative Conference on Trade and Investment.*

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**Environment and development in Africa: Challenging the orthodoxies**

*Leeds, UK, 14-16 September 1995*

It was not immediately obvious what constituted 'the orthodoxies' in this conference, but that did not prevent a high quality of presentations and discussions from taking place. In fact it was probably necessary to keep the definition open so that debate did not follow a simple and predictable anti-imperialist line. While imperialism is unfortunately still the major barrier to sustainable development in much of Africa, it is important to consider the contingent and multifarious ways in which 'environment' and 'development' interact. The most impressive feature of the conference was the presence of 37 speakers, 20 of them from Africa. This is no mean feat given the severe financial constraints facing African academics, researchers and activists. It was also good to see a large contingent from Egypt and The Horn as well as representatives from NGOs.

The opening plenary usefully set the tone for much of the discussion that was to follow. The three presenters gave very different accounts of the key problems which centered on the viabiity of identifying a separate 'environmental agenda' and the politics of defining and measuring an 'environmental' problem. Peter Landymore of the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) presented an ODA­ eyed view of solving the 'environmental' problem in Africa. The emphasis was very much on the institutional level and the ways in which green thinking can be incorporated into project planning and implementation. He stressed the fact it was the donors who were keenest to introduce explicitly 'environmental' policies. A number of papers concentrated on the issue of measurement and definition of the environment-development nexus. The general consensus was that aggregated analyses of resource depletion were of little use since they tended to either underestimate the nature of the problem or overestimate it. However, the 'optimists' line which stressed that in general the problems were overestimated were met by refutations mainly from Africans living in affected areas. After discussion, there was some agreement that the factors which precipitated environmental problems were so complex that micro-scale variations were possible. This was useful precisely because it forced people to examine the complexities and avoid useless generalisations. These discussions were also useful in that they showed that a realistic analysis could not be conducted using 'overtly 'scientific' methods but must involve input from Africans whose local knowledge surpasses any technical expert or mechanical device.

Another important theme running through many papers was that of conflict. Wars are usually regarded as political matters. However, the scale and duration of many conflicts means that entire social and economic systems are disrupted. Additionally, access to resources are drastically altered which forces substitution with other resources or the
exploitation of new ones. Either way both development and environment are adversely affected. The discussion running through these papers was over the causes and consequences of conflict and the implications for survival.

A similar strand of thought was picked up in the exploitation of natural resources stream. The speakers sought to tease out the ways that access and use of resources was contested in state policy, through market forces and by local state structures. Within these discussions, the issue of liberalisation was ever present and studies suggested that structural adjustment had exacerbated environmental problems. Although baseline data was lacking presenters showed that the export-based model tended to stimulate ‘natural’ resource exploitation such as minerals, exotic species and tourism. These in turn placed added pressure on the environment and compromised the livelihoods of those not involved in these sectors but facing the negative externalities associated with them. The other paradox was in many cases the state was either too weak to effect any form of environmental regulation or was too centralised to allow popular protest against degradation. In this light the Ogoni case occurred a number of times and suggested that some form of democracy is vital for sustainable development.

Giles Mohan, University of Central Lancashire

Reprinted from DARG Newsletter, Autumn 1995, pp.16-17

International Year for the Eradication of Poverty 1996

Sydney, 7 March 1996

The United Nations Association of Australia (UNAA), in cooperation with the UN Information Centre in Sydney, organised the first public forum to discuss the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty (IYEP) in 1996. The half-day seminar featured speakers from UNAA and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as well as the two peak agencies, the Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS) and the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA). ACOSS and ACFOA, the former representing the concerns of domestic poverty and the latter concentrating on global poverty and the role of foreign aid, are combining forces to highlight the IYEP and the actions people and governments can take towards eliminating poverty in Australia and overseas.

The seminar was opened by Christopher de Bono of the UN Information Centre. He made three important points: that there are 1.5 billion people living in poverty in the world today; that the life expectancy of Aboriginal men is 18 years less than the average for non Aboriginal Australian men; and that we all have to take responsibility for doing something about this situation. This message was reinforced by the Hon. Peter Collins, Leader of the NSW Opposition, in his speech of welcome to participants in the seminar. Australia, he claimed, is not immune from the problems of social and economic alienation caused by poverty and unemployment. Poverty is a worldwide problem, not one just confined to the Third World.

Robert Fitzgerald, President of ACOSS, argued that charity neither begins at home nor overseas. In fact, he wants to destroy the 'gratuitous model of charity' and replace it with a model of justice and social rights. We can, and should, do both: increase our overseas development assistance and meet the local demand for poverty reduction measures. It is all a matter of priorities, he argues, poverty is not a natural situation, it is a result of choices in how we allocate resources. We need a commitment to sharing the wealth of this country, and in particular to improving the living standards of Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders.

According to Janet Hunt, Executive Director of ACFOA, one of the key strategies for reducing poverty - such as spending on primary education, clean water and sanitation, and access to credit - are not sufficiently taken into account in Australia's overseas aid programme. Furthermore, only 14 per cent of our aid goes to Africa and South Asia where most of the world's poor live. Hunt argues that it is time for the humanitarian agenda of our foreign aid programme to come to the fore, ahead of the commercial agenda which has dominated for the past two decades. Linked to this, Australia should support World Bank proposals of debt reduction for highly indebted countries, particularly in Africa, as well as promoting measures to counter the effects of trade liberalisation on those who are marginalised by the process.

Keith Suter, President of UNAA (NSW) and Member of the Club of Rome, concentrated in his address on the threat to world peace posed by global poverty. Thanks to the mass media, people in developing countries now know that they are poor, while in the developed world there is a 'culture of contentment' which has contributed to the decline in foreign aid commitments. The degree of alienation and marginalisation of the poor is growing, and this, according to Suter, is a major contributor to the spread of guerrilla warfare from Rwanda to Bosnia. What is needed, he argues, is a holistic approach from governments as well as NGOs to tackle the closely linked issues of disarmament, peaceful conflict resolution, and social and economic justice.

Tannis Gutnick, a Legal Officer with UNHCR in Canberra, spoke about poverty being one of the root causes of refugee flows. UNHCR has developed a multifaceted preventive strategy which calls for governments and NGOs to engage in problem-solving including economic development as a fundamental strategy for reducing the number of refugees and internally displaced persons.
Common themes which emerged from the seminar were:

- poverty causes social dislocation;
- economic growth alone cannot eliminate poverty;
- income per se is an inadequate measure of wealth or poverty; and
- the world and Australia are growing more unequal in terms of distribution of wealth.

As Suter pointed out, the rich are getting richer and the poor are becoming more numerous. The trickle-down theory does not work; direct action is required to reverse the mechanisms which contribute to the creation and continuation of poverty.

The Hon. Peter Collins ended his speech by paying tribute to the many Australian agencies whose programmes bring hope to the poor around the world by engendering self-sufficiency and empowerment. I think all of the speakers would agree with his conclusion that such programmes may be the only meaningful answer to the problem of poverty. It is up to us to respond to Hunt’s impassioned plea to build a strong movement for the eradication of poverty and to challenge those who think it can’t be done. According to Suter, we can do this by using the media, organising public fora, promoting discussion of the issues in churches and schools, and generally providing information to the public about the need for a change in priorities both nationally and internationally in order to eradicate poverty from this planet.

‘1996 is the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty. It is incumbent on everyone of us to help make that principle a reality’, Collins said.

Wendy Lambourne is vice-president of RESULTS Australia, a citizens' lobby group dedicated to generating the political will to end hunger and absolute poverty. This article was commissioned by UNAA.

Mining and mineral resource policy issues in Asia-Pacific: Prospects for the 21st century

Canberra, 1-3 November 1995

Mining is more widespread in the Asia-Pacific region than most people recognise. Australian mining capital, expertise and technology are massively deployed throughout the region, perhaps dwarfing any other Australian involvement in the region’s rapidly growing economies. With this growth have come an array of issues to be worked through - every mineral prospect is now the site of intense environmental, social, and political negotiation; mining is no longer a simple engineering problem, nor is even the most remote mine site sheltered from publicity.

Partly to make up for the lack of attention given to the issues which surround mining in the region, 150 participants gathered for a conference organised by the Australian National University’s Division of Pacific and Asian History. The conference attracted participants and speakers from industry, government, NGOs and academia from throughout the region. Financial support was provided by the Division of Pacific and Asian History in ANU, the Commonwealth Environmental Protection Agency, BHP, CRA and Ampolex. Keynote speeches were delivered by individuals from Lancaster University, UNDP and the ILO, and Noel Pearson of the Cape York Land Council provided an impassioned and analytical argument on recent High Court decisions relating to native title.

Much of the focus of the conference was on New Guinea due to the high profile the mining industry (mostly Australian-owned) has achieved in that country recently. The debate surrounding the environmental effects of the Ok Tedi mine and the recently begun Lihir gold mine, and the human rights and environmental issues raised over the border in Irian Jaya close to the Freeport gold and copper mine gave the presentations an added immediacy and relevance. Interestingly, the consensus appeared to be that Papua New Guinea was an extreme case for the mining industry rather than presenting a range of qualitatively different issues, and hence could provide valuable lessons (including the involvement of local communities at all levels in mine development) to other countries and corporations involved in other parts of the region.

Four major themes structured the conference: the global climate of the minerals industry and its impact on the region; government; community; and environment. Workshops then dealt in detail with government policy, community relations and industrial relations issues.

The players and issues involved had the potential to generate some heat, but in the end courtesy prevailed and although issues may not have been resolved, everyone left with a much better understanding of the range of different perspectives. Disagreements were apparent - what was regarded as good practice by some individuals were seen as less impressive by others - differences between industry and NGOs over environmental standards, for example; and tensions between corporate rhetoric and the implementation of these intentions. Despite these tensions, indeed perhaps because of them, the conference also provided a rare opportunity for a range of interest groups (from industry to NGOs) to exchange views and pool the knowledge and research skills scattered throughout Australian, Canadian and other universities, industry-specific research centres, government departments and the industry itself. It is to be hoped that the initiative provided by the conference will be followed up to ensure the momentum generated is maintained - already a regular newsletter is planned.

Glenn Banks, Human Geography, Australian National University
This year's annual conference was jointly convened by the Australian Drug Foundation and HIT, from Liverpool in the United Kingdom. Among the several hundred international delegates were researchers, parliamentarians, bureaucrats, service providers, law enforcement officers and representatives from drug user organisations and from Families and Friends for Drug Law Reform. This eclectic gathering well matched the conference theme 'from science to policy to practice', as did the papers presented by the eight keynote speakers and at the many concurrent sessions. Several speakers also gave the delegates an idea of the problems facing illegal drug users in countries other than their own. Although there are many prominent proponents of the harm reduction model in the USA, Imani Woods' keynote paper showed us that her country still has a long way to go towards implementing harm reduction programmes. Although the concept of harm reduction was new in Asia, Sujata Rana informed us in her keynote address of one successful harm reduction programme that she had been involved with in Nepal. Sujata also reminded us of the increase in blood borne viruses (BBVs) among injecting drug users (IDUs) in Asia.

The prevalence of BBVs among IDUs was a recurring conference theme. On the first day we were shown startling videos from Australia and the USA; both showed IDUs using drugs in ways in which viruses could be transmitted. Nic Crofts of the Macfarlane Burnet Centre for Medical Research in Melbourne reported his findings from an international literature review of research on the hepatitis C virus (HCV); he concluded that worldwide, at least 60 per cent of IDUs have contracted HCV. Many IDUs have also contracted the hepatitis B virus and although the hepatitis G virus is only newly recognised, it has also been shown to be bloodborne and to be a cause of liver disease. Alex Wodak of St Vincent's Hospital, Sydney, delivered the conference oration. He argued that in order to minimise the spread of BBVs among IDUs there should be international efforts to encourage them to switch to non injecting routes of administration. This proposition was the cause of much debate during the remainder of the conference.

A session was devoted to the cause of the recent increase in the number of heroin-related overdoses. Researchers from Britain and Australia reported that in the majority of cases the deaths were due to concurrent use of either alcohol or benzodiazepines. Most deaths occurred in a home environment and many lives could have been saved if an ambulance had been called sooner. There were calls to further educate IDUs about the prevention of overdose and to teach them resuscitation techniques. There was also a suggestion that users be given access to Narcan® (an antidote to opioids).

Acknowledging that a lot of harm reduction work has been accomplished by representatives from drug using organisations, the host country harm reduction award was presented to the Australian Intravenous League. Aaron Peake was one of the first people to conduct needle exchange programmes in the USA. He is now working in South East Asia and educating those who provide harm reduction services to drug users. Aaron was presented with the International Harm Reduction Award.

Phyll Dance, National Centre for Epidemiology and Public Health, Australian National University
The Australian Development Studies Network

- The Network offers a forum for discussion and debate of development issues.
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- It helps members to inform each other about their work.
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CANBERRA ACT 0200

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ADDRESS: __________________________________
_________________________________________
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POSTCODE: ______

PHONE: __________________ FAX: _____________

NOTE: All cheques should be made payable to ANUTech Pty. Ltd.
Conference calendar

Courting the environment

Sunshine Coast, 8-12 May 1996

The conference will examine how the scientific community and the legal system and profession deal with the scientific, legal and value judgements inherent in environmental decision making. One focus of the conference will be the legal, policy, and methodological issues associated with the preparation, technical assessment and legal review of studies, reports and instruments that are required pursuant to environmental laws. Particular case studies including New Zealand’s legal actions to prevent French nuclear testing in the Pacific will be used to illustrate the conference theme.

For more information contact:
Susan Blain
Queensland Environmental Law Association Inc.
PO Box 7082, Riverside Centre
Brisbane, QLD 4001
Australia
Tel (07) 3832 4865
Fax (07) 3832 4233

Asia Pacific regional conference of sociology

Manila, 28-31 May 1996

The conference will address the following themes: environment and development; teaching sociology; gender relations; the growth of cities, ethnicity and nationalism; health, education and welfare; class and economic restructuring and theory formation in Asian sociology - does the western model apply? There will be a workshop on applied research methods and two specialist meetings of the Research Committees of the International Sociological Association.

For more information contact:
Dr Corazon Lamug
University of Philippines
Los Banos, Philippines
Tel (63 2) 94 2440
Fax (63 2) 813 5697
E-mail cb1@mudspring.uplb.edu.ph

A 2020 vision for food, agriculture and the environment

Canberra, 28 May 1996

1.1 billion people are currently living in poverty, with more than 700 million lacking sufficient food to lead healthy lives. By the year 2020, farmers must produce food for about 2.3 billion more people. At the same time, the world’s environment faces serious threats of deterioration. These facts have serious implications for Australia in terms of our security, trade and living costs. These and many other issues will be explored in the free half-day seminar.

For more information contact:
Ms Cathy Reade
The Crawford Fund for International Agriculture Research
GPO Box 309
Canberra, ACT 2601
Australia
Tel/Fax (06) 248 6016

The second ‘women in migration’ conference

Sydney, 3-4 June 1996

The conference is being organised by the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research. Topics include: the changing family context; employment, business and training; and rights, power and participation. The conference is aimed at those in migrant communities, women’s groups, unions, business, universities, service industries, government and the media. Speakers include key policy makers, researchers and ethnic community representatives.

For more information contact:
The Conference Secretariat
The Meeting Planners
108 Church Street
Hawthorn, VIC 3122
Australia
Tel (03) 9819 3700
Fax (03) 9819 5978

HIV/AIDS and society

Melbourne, 18-19 June 1996

The theme of the conference is ‘Partnerships: Activism, advocacy and research’. The conference will include presentations and posters across all areas of education, treatment and care as reflected in the three centres comprising the National Centre in HIV Social Research. The 1996 conference will be a forum in which researchers, educators, carers, activists and health practitioners gather as partners in the HIV/AIDS epidemic to identify the connections between activism, advocacy and research that have already been successful and to critically reflect on ways to do these better.

For more information contact:
Ms Dianne Bell
Executive Officer
National Centre in HIV Social Research
La Trobe University
Bundoora, VIC 3083
Australia
Tel (03) 9418 6909
Fax (03) 9418 6975

Asia-Pacific conference on sustainable energy and environmental technology

Singapore, 19-21 June 1996

Themes to be addressed at this conference include: energy conservation; alternative fuels; renewable energy; clean production; process waste minimisation; air pollution and air toxic control; solid waste utilisation and management; greenhouse gas mitigation technology; advanced water and wastewater treatment; and policy, economics, education and training.

Dr Max Lu
Dept. Chemical Engineering
University of Queensland
St Lucia, QLD 4072
Australia
Tel (07) 365 3735
Fax (07) 365 4199
E-mail apcseet@ultrix.cheque.uq.oz.au

April 1996
AusWeb96

Gold Coast, Australia, 7-9 July 1996

This is the Second Australian World Wide Web Conference. AusWeb96 is designed to be inclusive of the major developments of the World Wide Web and is being built around four major themes: business opportunities; education and learning; technical failures; and cultural and community issues. A number of conference workshops have been organised. These include: copyright and the Web; interfacing the Web and administrative systems; ISDN and the Web; interfacing databases and the Web; and virtual reality mark-up language. A number of practical 'hands-on' workshops on the Web have also been organised.

For more information contact:
AusWeb96
Norsearch Limited
PO Box 157
Lismore, NSW 2480
Australia
Tel (66) 203 932
Fax (66) 221 954

Feminism in transit

Canberra, 19-20 July 1996

This is the third interdisciplinary conference for postgraduate students whose work is informed by feminism. The organisers are soliciting papers from a range of disciplines. Deadline for submission of abstracts is 1 May 1996.

For more information contact:
FIT3 Convenors
c/-Political Science Program, RSSS
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 3049
Fax (06) 249 3051
E-mail brook@coombs.anu.edu.au

28th International conference of Community Development Society

Melbourne, 20-24 July 1996

This conference marks the first excursion of the Society beyond the shores of North America. The conference is being organised by Westate Federation - a consortium of private, provincial agencies engaged in the delivery of a wide range of human services. The conference will offer many opportunities for discussion of common concerns and interests and hopes to draw participants from around the world. In addition to keynote speakers, proffered papers, the conference will have a number of workshops as well as professional development training programmes.

For more information contact:
Bruce du Vergier
Executive Director
Westate Board
PO Box 404
Warrnambool, VIC 3280
Australia
Tel (055) 630 630
Fax (055) 630 669

Changing health in a global environment

Nagoya, Japan, 27-30 August 1996

This is the fourteenth meeting of the International Epidemiological Association. Topics for the conference include: epidemiology of AIDS, tuberculosis, cancer, and mental health; women's health; elderly health; population problem; health and its association with smoking and alcohol; health information systems; and ethics.

For more information contact:
The XIV ISM Secretariat
c/o Dept. of Preventive Medicine
Nagoya University School of Medicine
65 Tsurumai-cho, Showa-ku
Nagoya 466
Japan
Tel (81 52) 741 2111
Fax (81 52) 733 6729
E-mail i45457a@nucc.cc.nagoya-u.ac.jp

Global environmental biotechnology: Approaching the year 2000

Boston, 15-20 July 1996

This will be the third biennial meeting of the International Society for Environmental Biotechnology. Presentation of state-of-the-art technical papers will be integrated with tutorials and workshops by practicing technologists in the broad field of environmental biotechnology. By having both selected presentations and experienced tutors, it is anticipated that all participants will benefit from this interactive symposium.

For more information contact:
D.L. Wise
Centre for Biotechnology Engineering
Northeastern University
Boston
USA
Fax (1 617) 373 2784

The Western Pacific - 5000 to 2000 BP: Colonisations and transformations

Port Vila, Vanuatu, 31 July to 6 August 1996

The conference is the third in the 'Lapita series' and will coincide with a major exhibition of Vanuatu ethnographic arts. Preliminary themes for the conference include: continuity or not of pre-Lapita and Lapita assemblages in Near Oceania; what Lapita is and isn't; the place of Vanuatu in the initial colonisation of Remote Oceania; the sources of Micronesian colonisation; early human impacts on Western Pacific environments and biologic origins of Pacific populations.

For more information contact:
Matthew Spriggs
Archaeology and Natural History
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 2217
Fax (06) 249 4917
XIV International conference on social sciences and medicine

Peebles, Scotland, 2-6 September 1996

The conference themes include: AIDS - changes in health-related behaviour; beyond the orthodox - hearsay in medicine and the social sciences; causes of change in the health of populations; comparative health care systems - recent reforms; cultural problems of ageing; empowering patients - issues and strategies; reproductive health ideologies; and the impact of structural adjustment by international agencies on health.

For more information contact:
Dr Peter J McEwan
Glengarden, Ballater
Aberdeen AB35 5UB
Scotland
United Kingdom
Tel (44 133) 975 5429
Fax (44 133) 975 5995

Beyond Beijing: From words to action

Washington, DC, 5-8 September 1996

This is the seventh international Association for Women In Development (AWID) forum. The theme of the forum is progress toward implementation of the Platform of Action from the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. Four plenary sessions will cover: Women and human rights; globalisation of the economy; powersharing and political participation; and health and reproductive rights. Skill development workshops will be offered in improving effectiveness with message development, media relations, advocacy, use of the Internet and practical research data.

For more information contact:
Karen Mulhauser
AWID Forum Program Chair
1511 K Street, NW, Suite 825
Washington, DC 20005
USA
Tel (1 202) 463 0180
Fax (1 202) 463 0182
E-mail awid@igc.apc.org

Human services in crisis: National and international issues

London, 18-20 September 1996

The term human services is used to denote one or more of the following areas: community care; community work; criminal justice; juvenile justice; education; health; housing; policing; social care; and social services. Speakers will address a topics such as welfare reform, research and development in 'virtual universities', lawyers and social workers - an experimental model, multidisciplinary considerations in services to adolescent survivors of sexual trauma, empowerment and disability.

For more information contact:
Heather Harvey
School of Social Sciences and Professional Studies
University of Humber
Inglemire Avenue
Hull HU6 7LU
United Kingdom
Tel (44 1482) 440 550 x 4396/4091
Fax (44 1482) 441 377

Science and technology in reconstruction and development

South Africa, 23-26 September 1996

Topics for the conference include: agriculture and rural development; technology transfer and choice; R & D - intellectual property, financing, academia and industry linkages; human capital and human resource development; energy, water and infrastructure; science and technology policy; reconstruction and development in South Africa; and development in Southern Africa. Submissions are due June 1996.

For more information contact:
Dr Dipak Ghosh
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University of Stirling
Stirling FK9 4LA X01
Scotland 3209
United Kingdom
Tel (44 1786) 467 479
Fax (44 1786) 467 479
E-mail dipak.ghosh@stir.ac.uk

Ecopolitics X

Canberra, 26-29 September 1996

The ecopolitics conferences are designed to bring together people interested in politics and/or environment, including academics, practitioners in both the public and private spheres, environmental activists, politicians and other interested members of the community. The conference convenors are seeking a range of papers on local, national, regional and international environmental concerns and hope to involve as wide a cross-section of participants as possible. Deadline for submission of abstracts is 5 April 1996.

For more information contact:
Dr Lorraine Elliot
Department of Political Science
Faculty of Arts
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 0589
Fax (06) 249 5054
E-mail Lorraine.Elliott@anu.edu.au

1996 African Studies conference

Adelaide, 27-29 September 1996

The aim of the conference is to draw in participants from a wide ranging programme combining individual papers with a number of panel discussions. Themes for two possible panel discussions are: Australian-African relations, including AusAID's new policy towards Africa and the NGO sector; and critical theory in the African context, including considerations of gender and development. The organisers are currently soliciting papers.

For more information contact:
Paul Ahluwalia
Politics Department
University of Adelaide
Adelaide, SA 5005
Australia
Tel (08) 303 5570
The Oxfam Handbook of Development and Relief


A major factor affecting the conduct of international affairs over the last 15 years or so has been the increased influence and role of NGOs, including organisations which support development and relief in developing countries. For example, more and more OECD governments channel increasing proportions of emergency assistance through NGOs rather than through UN humanitarian agencies. Moreover, whether governments provide help in particular emergencies is often determined by the pressures that NGOs are able to exert on them, especially through television. NGOs also have a profound influence on the development aid agenda. Although overall official aid transfers are in relative decline, the ends to which such aid is directed are more and more influenced by normative criteria, such as human rights, promoted by NGOs. While there has always been tension between the development and foreign policy (political and trade) goals of official development assistance, the addition of this further dimension has made even more difficult the design of coherent aid programmes likely to have any positive impact on the generation of wealth, which remains a necessary condition for overcoming poverty in most countries.

One of the most respected and influential NGOs is the British agency Oxfam which today has its autonomous counterparts in several developed countries, including Australia. The massive three-volume work under review, which distils over 50 years of Oxfam's experience in some 70 countries, is therefore of unusual interest. The first two volumes are divided into six sections of approximately equal length entitled Oxfam's approach to development and relief; focusing on people; capacity building for development; production; health and development; and emergencies and development. The third volume is a resource and relief directory which aims to provide basic information about NGOs, official aid agencies and UN agencies likely to be useful to aid workers seeking information about where to turn for assistance. The entries under Australia seem typical of its limitations. Neither of our two largest NGOs, World Vision and Care Australia, are listed, presumably because the editors do not regard them as Australian - only the founding bodies are listed under USA.

Overall, the Handbook strives for encyclopaedic completeness. Oxfam's theory of development, which is that poverty is due to oppression and exploitation and that to
overcome it, its victims must be empowered, is explained at length in the first volume but recurs in the discussion of specific types of interventions preferred by Oxfam. Development, it is said, is concerned with processes that go beyond the scope of any individual project: 'Every human relationship is potentially an arena for oppression and suffering, and also for change. Injustices may be large-scale, easily identified, and entail physical coercion; or they may be concealed, and sustained though emotional cruelty, repressive ideologies or other forms of subordination'. If NGOs look at development in a political vacuum, their interventions can in fact serve to disempower the men and women they aim to assist, it is argued. Within this analysis particular emphasis is placed on gender discrimination and the fundamental importance of the empowerment of women. As a measure of Oxfam's commitment, staff are recruited only if committed to ensuring that the organisation addresses inequalities that place women at a disadvantage to men.

In all of the many pages devoted to these themes there is much that is sensible and practical. Nevertheless, it often reads more like a political manifesto than rigorous social philosophy. Considered as philosophy, the norms advocated are very much rooted in contemporary western values. Imperialism and colonialism too were rooted in western doctrines of racial and cultural superiority. The wisest comment in the Handbook is made by Oxfam's Director in his foreword: 'Humanitarian agencies have always to be aware that their actions, taken to solve a problem, may create new and unexpected outcomes. One of the major challenges facing us is to give up the concept of the single 'right' answer ... We need to remember that most people promote change through their own skills and capacities, rather than through those of humanitarian agencies'.

Cultural change and social change are undoubtedly major factors in overcoming poverty and are given too little weight in traditional development models. However, in placing emphasis on the former, rather than on economic determinants, the authors have adopted much too narrow a view of the relevant cultural factors and their complex relationship with the economy.

The Handbook has much useful analysis and practical guidance in relation to the concrete situations facing Oxfam field workers confronted with problems of health, food production, fisheries, forestry, emergency relief and so on. However, while informative for the novice the analysis and guidance falls well short of the expertise needed for informed interventions. For example, the section on food aid is accurate enough in its own terms but provides inadequate guidance on either the emergency or developmental uses of food aid.

The long section on emergencies and development throws into particularly sharp relief an underlying and unresolved tension throughout the Handbook between theory and practice. The case is made at length that relief interventions also must 'address the underlying inequities that make people more vulnerable to extreme stress or crisis' that is, that development and relief should not be seen as different in kind. However, when it comes to prescriptions for action in the face of sudden emergencies it is readily accepted that priorities have to be redefined and resources reallocated. It is recognised that in such situations knowledge is always incomplete and that more information often results in throwing up insoluble dilemmas and paralysing action. In short, often the only practicable course is to focus on what can be done immediately to save lives and lessen suffering. In practice Oxfam has displayed admirable flexibility and intelligence in responding to emergencies.

In short, the Oxfam Handbook is useful as an introductory text to guide field workers and for raising levels of professionalism among often dedicated and highly motivated cadres. As a statement of Oxfam's philosophy it is of interest but falls well short of the intellectual rigour required for a convincing statement of what is meant by development and the limits to its attainment.

J. C. Ingram, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University

Sustaining export-oriented development


Thirty years ago, prognosis about East Asian development were almost universally gloomy. For the vast majority of the regional states, scarcity of the primary resources integral to industrialisation were thought to impose a strict external constraint upon the rate and path of development. This confucian culture widespread throughout the region appeared antithetical to the protestant spirit that was regarded as the culture correlate of the historical rise of capitalism. War - since Korea, an ever-present possibility - threatened to disrupt external stability, while highly organised labour movements posed an equally grave internal threat to the tenuously grounded postcolonial regimes; both suggested good reasons why the level of productive investment might be low rather than high, and focused upon immediate returns rather than the long-term.

To merely list these commonplace assumptions from earlier times is to testify how much the conventional wisdoms about capitalist development have quite fundamentally changes. The processes by which those transformations in modes of thinking were wrought is, no doubt, intertwined with the biographies of many individual academics, but few would be more central to that whole process than Helen Hughes, the founding Executive Director of the National Centre for Development Studies at the Australian National University. This book, dedicated to Hughes, arises from a conference held in 1993 on the occasion of her retirement from the
conventional wisdoms about East Asian development. In dedication to Hughes that highlights what he sees as the longer piece would have been appropriate, for just as these essays come from friends and colleagues, and are therefore open exercises in partnerships for the most recent conventional wisdoms about East Asian development. In this spirit, the volume begins with Heinz Arndt’s short dedication to Hughes that highlights what he sees as the most distinctive and enduring aspects of her life’s work. A longer piece would have been appropriate, for just as Development Studies has gone down the ‘road to Damascus’, so, too, Hughes’ earliest works were highly critical of the neoclassical position she later robustly defended. Perhaps courtesy demanded Arndt not fully remember in a Festschrift those things that Hughes might still like to forget.

There are also some interesting omissions. Not that long ago - before it was raised to a higher level of generality - scholars of the neoclassical conviction used to argue that the East Asian development model had really been made in Japan, and spread outward through the region by process of dynamic comparative advantage set off by Japan’s rapid technological upgrading. One might have therefore expected that this volume’s focus on the sustenance of export orientation would have prompted some investigation of the meaning of the prolonged recession that still hangs over the Japanese economy. Finally, the volume contains nothing on gender and the development process - an issue that Hughes did much to promote, even if she wrote little directly on it.

Richard Leaver, Politics, Flinders University

Meet Kofi, Maria and Sunita

Lesley Ann Simmons, Cobblestone Publishing Inc., ISBN 0 942389 12 3, 80pp., US$14.95

A new children’s book - illustrated by children and narrated from their perspective - provides an informative and moving picture of the lives of three eight-year-olds and their families in Ghana, Peru and India. It describes the traditions, struggles and hopes of the poor in these countries, and some of the ways in which development aid is helping to improve people’s lives.

The book, is illustrated by elementary school children in Washington, DC, New York and Chicago. Through storytelling, it exposes children to the treasures of cultural diversity, teaching them about different customs and ways of life, from a Hindu wedding in India to the way children are given their names in Ghana.

‘I wrote the book because from talking to young children over the years, I have found them very receptive to the problems and challenges of the poor in the developing world,’ Simmons says. ‘They are fascinated by other cultures and they show respect for other people’s culture, lifestyles and problems in the way they pose their questions and discussions - when they think about these things.’

Simmons, a public information officer who has lectured and written extensively for children on development, decided to write the stories after students at Amidon Elementary School in Washington, DC, asked her to describe what the World Bank does. She then had some students put themselves in the children’s shoes, by playing the parts of the family members and describing their everyday lives to the others. After the roleplaying, the children set out to brainstorm for ideas needed to improve the lives of these families.

‘I wanted them to hear something positive about the development process rather than the usual message - which I heard just recently during a visit to a school in Texas - about funding for development as money down the drain or helping foreigners to take American jobs,’ Simmons said.

The three stories are a series of snapshots of daily life in developing countries. In India, Sunita is preparing for the wedding of her older sister and says that without the electrical lights in their house, her mother could not have finished sewing the wedding clothes in time. In Peru, it is Maria’s birthday and she tells her dream friend, a silver
donkey, about her day. Maria's mother says that their life is better now that the family has moved to Lima, because the children can go to school and she and her husband have been able to save money to buy a water tank for the house.

In a small village in Ghana, Kofi is worried because he has knocked over one of his mother's tomato plants, part of a new garden that she was able to start after a well was built in the village, saving her long walks with heavy buckets to get water every day. 'I can go to school now because I don't have to help my mother fetch water from the stream anymore,' Kofi says.

Other authors and institutions have also taken up the task of educating children about development. The United Nations Children's Fund, UNICEF, recently published a book called Children like me. In honour of the UN's 50th anniversary, a history of the organisation entitled A world in our hands was written, illustrated, and edited by young people around the world. The book describes what the UN has meant to communities all over the world, offers a vision for progress for the next 50 years and emphasises the link between educating children about development and securing economic and social progress in the future. In the foreword, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali writes, 'To young people everywhere this book sends a message: how the United Nations performs is your concern. Only with your help can we ready the United Nations to serve the world of the future.'

Reprinted from World Bank News Vol XV(1), 4 January 1996

The tech and tools book: A guide to technologies women are using worldwide


This book is wonderful. It is not new - first printed in 1986 - but it still fulfils the extreme need to have a development book about appropriate technologies that service aspects of women's lives, technology that exists worldwide: domestic; agricultural; health and sanitation; food processing and cooking; and income-generation projects. The book also incorporates technologies that help and support women in their local and international work in raising awareness and networking about issues that are important to them.

The Tech and tools book is divided into three sections:

Section I: Contains a double page spread per artefact of technology which contains a picture, a brief description, contact addresses, lists of strengths and weaknesses and a description of how and where the technology has been used.

Section II: Contains practical guidance for development workers on facilitating an analysis and discussion of any particular appropriate technology project.

Section III: Is a resource section containing names and addresses of organisations and journals, and so on.

The Tech and tools book is a book to work with. It does not include details of the technologies on a 'how to build it' basis. Its purpose is to provide a starting point - to inspire women with the possibilities of what they can do with their women's groups by showing them what others have done in their communities. This book can be used to inspire and initiate discussion.

This book is extremely practical for development workers for use in initiating discussion with a group of women about their needs and the place of and type of technology that might help them. Alongside the technology examples the book provides a framework to consider the appropriateness of any technology. This framework offers a guide to assess any technology project that is chosen by a women's group against their particular context and the needs initially expressed by them. Within it there are a series of checklists and questions to help take a technical or income generating project through its planning stages and to consider needs, markets, raw materials, energy requirements, infrastructure, skills, training, investment, appropriate business forms and marketing. It provides a guide to good technology decision making.

Section III is about provision of resources for women's appropriate technology projects and contains quite comprehensive lists of organisations, journals, catalogues, funding bodies and conferences that have taken place on appropriate technology and/or women and technology. This last section is a good compilation but unfortunately in some cases is now quite out of date. The book is clearly and accessibly laid out. It has a hand-drawn style and visually it provides a non threatening image of technology.

The Tech and tools book is a book for development workers who are preferably technology-confident. If this is the case they will be able to access further technical information, and advise and support the community in the technical design and building phases of the project. Section I can be used as it is to provide interest and visual inspiration to women's groups, but most of the book needs to be interpreted and used by someone familiar with development issues and processes.

The tech and tools Book is a must for every development worker's bookshelf and it is sad that it is still the only one of its kind. One day it would be good to see a 'how to build' resource kit to accompany this milestone publication.
Advancing women's status: Women and men together?


In 1948, three years after the adoption of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights formally recognised the principle of equality between women and men. Nearly a half-century later, the inadequate implementation of this principle is widely regarded as one of the most pressing problems of our age. This book reflects the recent emergence of a less segregated approach to understanding and changing gender relations. This means understanding women and men in relation to each other, as well as identifying strategies which involve men, both separately and together with women. Singling out women as a special group can marginalise women and their concerns from their rightful place in the mainstream of development.

This publication in the series 'Gender, society and development' focuses on gender relations, namely the social, economic, political and legal roles of women and men in society. The appearance of this book coincided with the Fourth World Conference on Women. Four of the main themes of the conference are considered from a gender perspective: women's status and rights, education and training, economic participation, and sexual and reproductive health. Each of these four state-of-the-art reviews is accompanied by an annotated bibliography, providing the reader with an introduction to key literature concerned with developing countries. As in all parts of the world, these themes are extremely topical. Debates about women's status and rights, for example, are debates about gender and therefore about the fabric of society, in addition to being debates about women.

African primary health care


In the years following the Alma Ata Declaration, there have been many attempts to improve the quality and quantity of African primary health care, even at village level. But at present, turbulence defines the African experience. In the face of economic crises, and structural adjustment in particular, both coverage and quality of care are shrinking. Village-based care is becoming less tenable, and there is strong evidence to suggest that the poor - and poor women in particular - are suffering disproportionately.

This book looks at many of the key issues involved, including the extent to which structural adjustment lies behind the malaise in primary health care, and various policies that are proposed to address these problems. These include decentralisation of planning and management (decision-making power) to district level, the implementation of charges to users, and the role of households and communities in meeting the challenge presented by the turbulent economic setting.

Case studies from Ghana, Bein and Mali highlight the problems and recommendations for the future. A concluding chapter integrates the material with the recent literature, comparing and contrasting countries. Both the effects of economic crisis on health care and health status, and the policy options available to governments are reviewed, as are the roles and dilemmas of international organisations and donor agencies.

This and the previous title are both available from:
Royal Tropical Institute
KIT Press
Mauritskade 63
1092 AD Amsterdam
The Netherlands
Tel (31 20) 568 8272

Feminism/postmodernism/ development


In a world where global restructuring is leading to both integration and fragmentation, the meaning and practice of development are increasingly contested. New voices from the South are challenging Northern control over development. This book is a comprehensive study of this power struggle. It examines new issues, 'voices' and dilemmas in development theory and practice. Drawing on the experiences of women from Africa, Latin America and Asia, this collection questions established development practices and suggests the need to incorporate issues such as identity, representation, indigenous knowledge and political action.

Language and development


The papers in this edited volume are a selection from those presented at the Second International Conference on Language and Development in Bali, Indonesia on 10 April 1995. The four main sections of this edited volume are as follows: language project design and evaluation; language projects and sustainability; curriculum concerns and language and the politics of development.

Available from:
Indonesia Australia Language Foundation
Wisma Budi Suite 503
Jalan HR Rasuna Said Kav-C6
Jakarta, 12940
Indonesia
Transaction costs of lending to the rural poor: Non-governmental organisations and self-help groups of the poor as intermediaries for banks in India

V. Puhazhendhi 1995, The Foundation for Development Cooperation, Brisbane, Australia, ISBN 0 646 25939 3, 89pp., A$12.00 (plus A$3.00 postage)

For commercial banks in developing countries, the transaction costs of lending are a crucial issue in making credit available to the rural poor. Normal methods of loan approval, administration and collection are simply uneconomic in relation to the very small loans which the poor require to finance their economic activities. Recent decades, however, have seen increasing evidence that, using NGOs and self-help groups as a channel for low-cost delivery, commercial sources can supply credit to the poor on a sustainable basis. Such innovative banking programmes are being implemented by commercial banks in the South Indian states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu - under the guidance of the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development and actively encouraged by the Reserve Bank of India.

This study quantifies the cost savings banks can achieve through such methods of lending to the poor. Results indicate savings in transaction costs of between 21 and 41 per cent, lower costs for borrowers, and significantly improved loan recovery rates. These results have significant implications for the commercial viability of micro-lending as well as for poverty alleviation. They will be important to commercial banks and NGOs with credit programmes, as well as to governments and international development organisations.

Available from:
The Foundation for Development Cooperation Ltd
PO Box 10445
Adelaide Street
Brisbane, QLD 4000
Australia
Tel (07) 3236 4633
Fax (07) 3236 4696

Sustaining export-oriented development: Ideas from East Asia


This book examines the East Asian economies' postwar development and assesses the prospects of and constraints to continuing at its current pace. The possibilities of transferring East Asian development elsewhere are also considered. While there is no single East Asian model, common elements are identified: an abundance of low-wage labour and free labour markets; an emphasis on health and education; trade liberalisation and export-oriented policies; financial market liberalisation (providing an environment conducive to private saving and investment); efficient capital utilisation; and a focus on sound infrastructure.

Several of the contributors focus on identifying the roles played by these key factors in the growth of the dynamic East Asian economies. Others look at future constraints, examining important issues such as the environmental limits to growth, and the sustainability of rapid export growth in China. Written by leading economists, the book traces the changes in the thinking of policy makers and advisers about the policies required for economic development. In particular, it examines the shift in emphasis from import-substitution to outward orientation that has coincided with the East Asian economies' success.

This book makes a significant contribution to the discussion of economic growth and development issues and will be of interest to those in economics, Asian studies, trade and aid, and others concerned with public policy.

Votes and budgets: Comparative studies in accountable governance in the South


Through case studies on Botswana, Jamaica, Sri Lanka and Zambia, this book asks whether competitive electoral politics have improved or worsened the accountability of public sector management and spending. It examines the role and influence of political leadership, parties, elections, parliaments, interest groups, the media and external donors. Questions raised include: were 'democratic' conditions prevailing in these four countries sufficient to ensure that open and transparent government; were they conducive to peaceful transfer of power from one party to another and to the introduction of new policies; and how responsive were expenditure decisions to wider society interests? The authors conclude that, on balance, the advantage in terms of accountability lies with the multi-party political system but it does not do so in every case.

Democracy, governance and economic policy: Sub-Saharan Africa in comparative perspective


This book examines the nature of the relationship between democracy and development in developing countries, drawing on historical experience and the impact of economic adjustment in the 1980s. Focusing on sub-Saharan Africa, it reviews political developments and the growth and decay of the state since independence, and explores the political dimensions of economic policy making. The authors also analyse the current trend towards democratisation in Africa and its implications for improved economic management.
Do IMF policies help developing countries? As linchpin of the global financial system, the International Monetary Fund provides balance of payments support, chiefly to developing countries, conditional on strict remedial policy measures. Its approach to policy remains highly controversial, however, and critics allege its policies are harshly doctrinaire, imposing hardships on already poor people. This book examines the arguments, tracing the extent of Fund adaptation, presenting major new evidence on the consequences of Fund programmes, and considering its future role.

IMF lending to developing countries: Issues and evidence


The International Monetary Fund was created to centralise the management of the global monetary system. The IMF has been widely criticised for its lending role in developing countries, with some arguing that it should not be lending to all and others claiming that net reverse flows since the mid-1980s suggest that the Fund has abrogated its responsibilities. This book provides the first detailed theoretical and empirical analysis of Fund lending and concludes that key changes are needed if the Fund is to realise its full potential for assisting developing countries.

IMF programmes in developing countries: Design and impact


Asian metropolis: Urbanisation and the South-East Asian city


The metropolises of South East Asia are the symbolic heart of this economically dynamic region, and are growing at unprecedented rates. This book penetrates the facade of contemporary city growth, exploring the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial city. It examines: the divergence in urban development under capitalist and socialist regimes, and the gradual convergence in the post-reforms era of the 1990s, the current problems of the fast growing metropolis, from the exploitation of women in the labour force, to the over-stretched infrastructure and urban environmental crisis.

Island exiles


In 1940 few people from the remote central Pacific island of Nauru had ever left their tiny central Pacific island. Six years later, the Nauruans had been to the heart of the Japanese war machine and back and were ready to take on a fight for control over their island and its rich phosphate reserves. This book recounts the story of the Nauruans' journey to Admiral Yamamoto's impregnable base in the Caroline Islands. During their exile there, children as young as six were forced into labour gangs and young men watched astounded as 'comfort women' were expected to serve huge numbers of troops. The Nauruans' witnessed some of the biggest carrier attacks of the war, were accused of spying for the Allies and became targets of the pilots training to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The Nauruans who had remained behind on their own island faced starvation and one of the longest periods of sustained bombing of any people during world war II.

Women, tradition and change

Institute of Agriculture and Women in Development 1995, Colombo, 136pp., US$17.50

This study contains the first in-depth analysis of the impact of conflict and displacement on women in traditional Tamil society, and the consequent changes in the role and responsibilities of women. Through field surveys, research and case studies, the book includes a vast amount of data and information related to displaced women and their refugee status. This book will be essential reading for government and foreign aid organisations involved in developing and implementing rehabilitation and reconstruction measures to alleviate the situation of displaced Tamil women in Sri Lanka, and to all other institutions interested in development, gender issues, the empowerment of women, ethnic conflict, and social and value changes.

Global issues of our time


This book is put together by geography teachers from around the world. The book provides present examples of how their countries have been affected by various global issues and the positive actions that have been taken to find solutions. Some of the topics covered include industrial pollution in Taiwan, thermal steel industries of Europe, the diamond trade, the impact of a new airport for Hong Kong, and saving Australia's soils. If you are looking for some positive changes that are happening in the world which give hope for change, this book is worth reading.
Affordable water supply and sanitation


This book comprises over 40 papers presented at the 20th WEDC Conference held in Colombo, Sri Lanka in 1994. Specialists from all over the world consider the different aspects of, and the issues surrounding, affordable water supply and sanitation. They examine both 'software' aspects - people, communities, health, management and institutions - as well as technological considerations such as waste management.

Low-cost sanitation: A survey of practical experience


This practical manual describes and compares a range of low-cost systems - what they are, where they are appropriate, and how they can be planned, built, operated and maintained. Particular emphasis is given to 'software' aspects - the role of women and agencies in sanitation projects and programmes, and how individual householders and communities improve their own sanitation. The author examines the underlying health, social and cultural aspects and preferences in diverse regions of the world; and gives evidence of the diseases which occur through lack of adequate sanitation provision, and the health benefits which result from its installation and upgrading.

Both books are available from:
Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd
103-105 Southampton Row
London WC1B 4HH
United Kingdom
Tel (44 171) 436 9761
Fax (44 171) 436 2013

The economies of central Asia


This book is the first general introduction to the economies of central Asia; Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan, mainly since independence. It deals with the five countries' common features, determined by geography and their role in the Soviet division of labour. The author goes on to deal with the countries as national economies. Finally, he examines common problems facing the countries since they gained independence in late 1991.

Asian economies in transition: Reforming centrally planned economies


This book analyses and evaluates the experience of the 11 Asian economies undertaking the transition from central planning to a more market oriented approach. It begins with a detailed discussion of the Chinese model of transition which highlights its failures as well as its successes. Vietnam's experience, while offering the closest parallel to China's reform strategy, is shown by the author to contain more explicit macroeconomic policy reforms and greater practical attention to the problem of inefficient state enterprises. It discusses the less happy experience of the Asian republics of the former Soviet Union, the breakup of the ruble zone, and the interesting counterpoint provided by the Mongolian economy.

Available from:
Cambridge University Press
10 Stamford Road
Oakleigh, VIC 3166
Australia
Tel (03) 9568 0322
Fax (03) 9563 1517

The poverty agenda and the ILO: Issues for research and action


This is the first of three monographs in a series titled 'New approaches to poverty analysis and policy', based on a symposium on poverty held by the ILO in Geneva in 1993. The fight against poverty and for social justice lies at the heart of ILO's concerns and the focus of this monograph is precisely on the approach followed by the ILO with respect to poverty. It comprises a description and critical evaluations of the corresponding research and action programmes of ILO, covering areas such as employment, social security, labour regulations and relations.

Tradition versus democracy in the South Pacific: Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa

Stephanie Lawson 1996, Cambridge Asia-Pacific Studies, Melbourne, ISBN 0 521 49638 1, 240pp., A$75.00

Much recent literature on non western countries celebrates the renaissance of indigenous culture. This book looks more critically at Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa, showing how current movements to reclaim and celebrate 'tradition' may protect the power and privileges of indigenous elites and promote political conservatism. Stephanie Lawson argues that opposition to 'western' democracy in the name of 'tradition' is not necessarily representative of indigenous people at the grassroots, and is often manipulated to benefit the elite. She provides a critical approach to understanding the political implications of romanticising non western cultural traditions.

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Cambridge University Press
10 Stamford Road
Oakleigh, VIC 3166
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Tel (03) 9568 0322
Fax (03) 9563 1517

April 1996
Labour market institutions and social security systems are the major mechanisms and instruments in the fight against poverty. For reasons which are to a large extent identified in this monograph, the actions to alleviate poverty have proved to be unsatisfactory: they have either failed to reduce its incidence; or not managed to reach the most needy among the poor. The labour-poverty nexus is at the heart of this monograph. The links between poverty and unemployment, labour market segmentation, and low-quality jobs are highlighted.

The poverty agenda: Trends and policy options

Gerry Rodgers and Rolph van der Hoeven (eds) 1995, International Institute for Labour Studies, ISBN 92 9014 569 2, 205pp., 30.00 Swiss francs

This is the third and final monograph in the series ‘New approaches to poverty analysis and policy’. The contributors of this monograph all attest to the precarious situation of the poor in various regions of the world, who often have to carry a disproportionate part of the burden of economic change and restructuring. Faced with the need to reconcile poverty policies with structural adjustment (and coping with the effects of globalisation), the authors offer various suggestions for policy change which, as they point out, cannot be general but should be embedded in the social and economic structures of the particular country setting.

For more information or to order contact:
ILO Publications
International Labour Office
CH-1211 Geneva 22
Switzerland

Newsletters and journals

Headway

This is the newsletter of the Development Bank of Southern Africa. It includes news on Bank activities as well as on development issues in southern Africa. It is distributed free of charge. The December 1995 issue contained short articles on infrastructural development, the development of indigenous policy capacity, and a list of the Bank’s recent publications.

For more information contact:
Corporate Affairs
Development Bank of Southern Africa
PO Box 1234
Halfway House 1685
South Africa

Te Amokura / Na Lawedu

This news digest is published jointly by Development Studies at Massey University and the Development Studies Programme at the University of the South Pacific. Published three times a year, the digest contains news on the latest developments around the world, particularly in the developing world. It also offers information on available courses in development studies in the Australasia-Pacific region, and a NGO roundup and recent publications. There is no subscription but donations are invited.

For more information contact:
Development Studies
Massey University
Palmerston North
New Zealand
Tel (64 6) 356 9099 x8801/7399
Fax (64 6) 350 5627

The Asia-Pacific Magazine

This new magazine is published jointly by the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, the Australian National University and David Syme and Co. Ltd, and will present the results of the best academic research on the Asia-Pacific region in a popular, high quality, monthly format. It will not be a news or current affairs magazine, but will provide the deeper background needed to understand contemporary affairs in the region. It will cover all fields - history, economics, anthropology, contemporary culture, linguistics, politics, security studies, the environment, archaeology, and so on - and intends to inform, stimulate reflection and debate, as well as entertain. It will appeal to business people, politicians, public servants, journalists, school teachers, students and the educated public in general. For the academic community, the magazine will provide an opportunity to keep abreast of developments in research across the range of specialisations.

The magazine will have access to the intellectual resources of the academic staff and postgraduate students of both Pacific and Asian studies at the Australian National University and other Australian universities. It will also feature contributions by writers from around the world, from universities, research institutes, museums and other organisations, from journalists and private scholars. The first issue will appear in April 1996.

For more information contact:
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Development Bulletin 37
Review of African Political Economy (ROAPE)

Now 20 years old, ROAPE is a fully refereed journal covering all aspects of African political economy. ROAPE has always involved the readership in shaping the journal’s coverage, welcoming contributions from grassroots organisations, women’s organisations, trade unions and political groups. The journal is unique in the comprehensiveness of its bibliographic referencing, information monitoring, statistical documentation and coverage of work-in-progress.

For more information contact:
Carfax Publishing Company
PO Box 25
Abingdon, Oxfordshire OX14 3UE
United Kingdom
Tel (44 235) 521 154
Fax (44 235) 553 559

Australian Feminist Studies

This journal appears twice a year and publishes material in the fields of women’s studies and feminist scholarship. This includes both feminist scholarship and critique based within mainstream academic disciplines, and research and discussion that transcends the conventional boundaries between academic disciplines. The journal also aims to encourage discussion of interactions between feminist theory and practice; consideration of government and trade union policies that concern women; comment on changes in educational curricula relevant to women’s studies; sharing of innovative course outlines, reading lists and teaching/learning strategies; reports on local, national and international conferences; reviews, critiques, enthusiasm and correspondence.

For more information contact:
Research Centre for Women’s Studies
University of Adelaide
Adelaide, SA 5005
Tel (08) 303 5267
Fax (08) 303 3345

Development in Practice

This journal is a forum for NGOs, official aid agencies, practitioners, policy makers and academics, to exchange information and analysis concerning the social dimensions of development and emergency relief work. As a multidisciplinary journal, it reflects a wide range of institutional and cultural backgrounds and a variety of professional perspectives.

For more information contact:
Oxfam
274 Branbury Road
Oxford OX2 7DZ
United Kingdom
Fax (44 1865) 313 925

Journal of Southern African Studies

This journal, a Carfax publication, publishes Southern African studies work that draws significant connections between the humanities and social sciences. The journal reflects new theoretical approaches and discusses the methodological framework in general use by students of the area. The region covered by the journal includes: the Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland; Angola and Mozambique; Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe and, occasionally, Zaire, and the Malagasy Republic of Mauritius.

Centre for Pacific Asia Studies Newsletter

This newsletter, produced by the Centre for Pacific Asia Studies, Stockholm University, provides brief coverage of the Centre’s activities. The 1995(1) issue included short notes on an international workshop on China’s cultural revolution; upcoming seminars, conferences and guest lecturers; and a list of some of the Centre’s publications.

For more information contact:
Katharina Soffronow
Centre for Pacific Asia Studies
Stockholm University
S-106 91 Stockholm
Sweden

Monographs and reports

An agenda for development


This report contains the key United Nations documents relating to the international community’s efforts to forge a new consensus on development. The featured texts include Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s initial report setting out the rationale for an agenda for development, the Agenda itself and his recommendations responding to the comments and views expressed by Member States.

The African elephant

UNEP/GEMS 1995, New York, ISBN 92 1 100575 2, 40pp., A$10.00

This publication discusses the scientific background of the African elephant and the role of ivory in its endangered population. A chapter on the counting of elephants provides the reader with an understanding of how results, correlations and trends of elephant population are determined. Studies made on the African elephant, especially on its numbers, are needed to make sensible management decisions by the African governments and to conserve their elephant population wisely in the future.

African socio-economic indicators


This report provides a summary picture of recent trends for countries, sub-regions and the continent. It complements with graphs and data the African Statistical Yearbook.
African industry in figures

*United Nations 1993, New York, ISBN 92 1 106284 5, 67pp., A$45.00*

This report provides statistical data in the form of indicators, for example, ratios, growth rates and indices designed to facilitate international comparison. Due to the difficulty of gathering data, some of the figures are estimates made by UNIDO to supplement data on production, trade and consumption missing from traditional sources.

African statistical yearbook 1990-91

*United Nations 1993, New York, North Africa 124pp., West Africa 220pp., East and Southern Africa 300pp., Central Africa 170pp., A$50 each*

These reports present data arranged on a country basis for 52 African countries and covers statistics on: population and employment; national accounts; agriculture; forestry and fishing; industry; transport and communications; foreign trade; prices; and social statistics.

For more information contact:
Hunter Publications
PO Box 404
Abbotsford, VIC 3067
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Fax (03) 9419 7154

Bulletins of the Royal Tropical Institute

The Bulletin series of the Royal Tropical Institute deals with current themes in international development cooperation. These Bulletins offer a multidisciplinary forum for scientists and development workers active in agricultural and enterprise development; health; and culture, history and anthropology. These fields reflect the broad scope of Royal Tropical Institute activities.

Community financing for health care: A case study from Bolivia


As financing for health care has become more difficult, the idea of recovering costs from the community has become increasingly attractive. This case study looks at a time in which health care was provided 'free' and then was followed by two types of community financing. Based upon contributions in kind (potatoes) and labour, this system was organised, owned, managed and supervised by a community organisation. Among the 'side effects' were an increase in the empowerment of the community and a strengthening of community organisation.

A loom from Bhutan


Textiles have always played an important role in the Buddhist Kingdom of Bhutan. In the past tax was collected in the form of textiles and even nowadays textile gifts are common. Bhutan has a long weaving tradition among (young) women from the central and eastern parts of the country, and handwoven textiles are highly appreciated among the Bhutanese.

Three types of looms are found in Bhutan: a treadle shaft loom, a heddle and shed stick loom and a card loom. This Bulletin focuses on the heddle and shed stick loom and a specific cloth, woven on it. It explains the workings of the pseudo continuous circular warp, the ways in which various traditional weaving patterns are woven into the fabric, as well as the names and meanings of some motifs.

In analysing Bhutanese weaving, Rita Bolland, refers to textiles and weaving techniques from Indonesia, which are very well represented in the Tropenmuseum's collection.

Supporting small-scale enterprise: Case studies in SME interventions


Are there cost-effective ways to support small-scale entrepreneurs so that they can successfully compete with larger firms in export and local markets? This Bulletin suggests that facilitating the development of business-oriented organisation and management structures can both make use of the comparative advantages of smaller enterprises and avoid the limitations encountered in supply-side and technology-driven approaches.

Three studies examine the position of small-scale entrepreneurs in export and local markets. After a general introduction, Chapter 1 describes the opportunities and constraints for small-scale entrepreneurs in Peru in the sophisticated US and European export markets. Chapter 2 explores the need for a business-oriented approach in technology projects, while a detailed look at a Malian rice-milling project involved in local markets is provided by Chapter 3. Conclusions are drawn in the final chapter.

The central message is that - in the face of market liberalisation, intensification of both local and international competition and an ever-increasing pace of change - small-scale entrepreneurs (whether in local or export markets), can benefit from business associations. Creating stable, long-lasting relationships and networks (for example, with suppliers, producers, distributors and traders) enables entrepreneurs to anticipate changes, identify new opportunities and respond to them without delay, and to take advantage of economies of scale. Small-scale entrepreneurs can then begin to make use of market niches, choose markets and target their production; they can optimise their product strategies, plans for business development and marketing.
Women speak out: Health issues in Southeast Asia


This Bulletin describes the development and results of a symposium on women’s health, initiated and in large part developed and implemented by the Vietnam Women’s Union, in a process facilitated by the Royal Tropical Institute. Participants from ten South East Asian countries joined in discussing family planning and population policies, traditional medicine, health education, community health services, nutrition, violence against women, working conditions, and environment. Chapters on these topics provide an overview of issues, problems and potential solutions related to women’s health. These reflect the practical concerns of the participants, grounded in field experience. Each chapter includes a list of practical recommendations, including activities that could improve the health of women in the region.

While philosophies and approaches to women’s health differ in the countries represented, participants were united in their aim to find ways to improve the situation of women in every country, including women’s health, and to establish and protect women’s reproductive rights. Participants also agreed unanimously that progress in this area depends on recognising and respecting the right of women to express themselves and be heard. Achieving health and well-being depends on enabling women to participate in decision making at all levels, from family to government, and on access to economic resources.

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Royal Tropical Institute
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1092 AD Amsterdam
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Fax (31 20) 568 8286

Non-timber forest products

Susan Baing 1995, Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific, Boroko, PNG, 32pp.

Non-timber forest products has a simple message: think about ways to make money from your forests without cutting their timber and destroying them forever. The booklet discusses the potential commercial value of forest plants (for example, palm hearts, nuts, seeds, medicinal plants, fibres, orchids, mushrooms, rattan); animals (butterflies and other insects); and tourist-oriented activities. It talks about the problems associated with trying to sell products on both local and international markets, as well as how to keep simple accounts for a business.

One of the booklet’s best features is lists of questions which should be considered before moving ahead with a commercial project. These questions are to make sure the project has a real potential to make money and that the forests and their wildlife are protected. A key word in all of this is sustainability - using the forest in a way that allows it to renew itself naturally. If logging must occur, the author argues, it should be selective. Only fully grown trees of specific varieties should be taken. As little damage as possible should be caused to the rest of the forest, whether the logging is by commercial companies or local villages with portable sawmills.

Non-timber forest products is written in English for Papua New Guinea provincial high school reading level. The foundation has donated copies to high schools. It is available free of charge to persons interested in community development.

Available from:
Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific
PO Box 1119
Boroko 111
Papua New Guinea

The Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action: World Summit for Social Development


At the World Summit for Social Development - the largest gathering of world leaders - 117 heads of state or government - pledged to make the conquest of poverty, the goal of full employment and the fostering of stable, safe and just societies their overriding objectives. This UN publication includes the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development as well as the Programme of Action. The Programme of Action discusses: an enabling environment for social development; the eradication of poverty; expansion of productive employment and reduction of unemployment; social integration; and implementation and follow-up.

Women, sexuality, culture

Mary Spongberg, Margaret Winn and Jan Larbalestier (eds) 1996 (forthcoming), ISBN 1 86451 144, A$17.00

This is a collection of papers from the Women, Sexuality and Development conference held in Sydney in 1994. It includes contributors from Bangladesh, China, Fiji, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea and Australia.

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April 1996
Slowly, slowly, the egg will walk:
A participatory evaluation of the AusAID supported South Kalu Programme, Ethiopia

Karlyn Eckman, Tim O'Shaughnessy and Susan Barber (eds) 1995, World Vision Australia, ISBN 1 875140 28 X, 114pp., A$18.00 (including p&h)

A new study, funded by AusAID and World Vision Australia, reports that people in the Antsokia Valley, Ethiopia, are living on the edge - year in, year out, walking the fine line between coping and crisis. 'Slowly, slowly the egg will walk' is a traditional Ethiopian (Amharic) aphorism. It conveys one of the more general, yet important, messages of this report: re-establishing food security in areas devastated by famine is a long and difficult process requiring long-term, multifaceted and integrated approaches.

The evaluation found that the strategies undertaken by World Vision Ethiopia were sound and highly successful, particularly in mitigating food insecurity and preventing famine. The report's discussion and recommendations cover a wide range of areas, including health and nutrition, infrastructural development, environment and conservation, income generation, gender issues and institutional capacity-building.

The report will be of interest to readers wanting to learn more about Ethiopia and its people; Ethiopian Government policies; international aid, effective aid; food-security policy and programmes; the relief-to-development continuum; donor policies; evaluation. While primarily an evaluation of an AusAID-funded food-security program in the Antsokia Valley, Ethiopia, the study will interest a wide range of readers within and outside the aid and development community.

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Migrants and their remittances:
Results of a household survey of Tongans and Western Samoans in Sydney

Richard Brown and Adrian Walker 1995, Pacific Studies Monograph No. 17, Centre for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, Sydney, ISBN 0 7334 0420 0, 100pp., A$10.00

This research monograph presents the results of the largest survey yet to have been conducted among Pacific island migrants anywhere in the world. It is part of an ongoing series of studies on migration and remittances in the South Pacific through which a sizeable primary database has been compiled from a number of household surveys among both remittance-receiving households in Tonga and Western Samoa and remittance-sending migrant households in Australia. The survey reported here was carried out among almost 1,000 Tongan and Western Samoan households in Sydney during the period September to December 1994.

The main purpose of this monograph is twofold: first, from the survey data it compiles a comparative socioeconomic profile of the Tongan and Western Samoan migrant communities in Sydney in cross-tabulated form, with particular attention to their remittances; second, it uses the same survey data to analyse the principal determinants of migrants' remittance behaviour. One of the main aims of this report is to make this new information readily accessible to policy makers in both the migrant sending and host countries, migrant communities and organisations in the host countries, and researchers and others, who share an interest in furthering our understanding of factors influencing the welfare of migrants and their dependants.

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Kensington, NSW 2052
Australia
Tel (02) 385 3386
Fax (02) 317 6337
E-mail J.Lodewijks@unsw.edu.au

Pacific 2010: Women and employment in Solomon Islands


In this paper, Marion Ward examines the status of women in the Solomon Islands and outlines the measures currently under way to address women's subordination. In particular, she looks at women and education, employment, unemployment, self-employment and work in subsistence agriculture. She argues for change at all levels of government to address the status of women and provides specific recommendations on how to achieve full participation of women in the development process.

For more information contact:
National Centre for Development Studies
Publications Office
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
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**University of Adelaide**

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For more information contact:

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Fax (08) 223 1460

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### Australian National University

*Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR)*


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For more information contact:

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Overseas Development Institute, London

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No. 5, Commodity markets: Options for developing countries, November 1995

For more information contact:
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London NW1 4NS
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Tel (44 171) 487 7413
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E-mail odi@odi.org.uk
Australian National University

National Centre for Development Studies

Human resource management

This four week course for practitioners and researchers will be offered from 29 April to 24 May, 1996. Using an interactive teaching approach, it provides participants with an introduction to the most recent developments in human resource management. This approach also enables participants to develop constructive proposals for improving human resource management practice in their own organisations. Topics to be covered include: organisational reform; management and culture; communication skills; motivation of personnel; productivity measurement; performance management and job analysis.

Qualitative research methods

The course aims to introduce and familiarise researchers with the use of qualitative (in-depth) methods of data collection and the analysis of community-based demographic, social, economic, and/or cultural research. The four week course will be offered from 13 May to 7 June 1996. The course focuses on the use of qualitative methods and data in population-based and policy-oriented fields where the need to generalise findings to larger populations is paramount. The importance of integrating micro-level and macro-level qualitative data is emphasised. Short-term supplementary training at the Australian Bureau of Statistics may be arranged for interested participants.

Survey data analysis

This is a four week course (10 June to 5 July, 1996) for researchers and professional in the population and health field. The objectives are to teach participants the basic steps in analysing a survey dataset and how to apply bivariate and multivariate analytical techniques. It focuses on approaches to the analysis of survey data which has already been collected, such as data from demographic, economic and health surveys. the techniques taught can also be applied to census data. The analysis will be performed using statistical software packages on microcomputers. The main packages used will be SPP/PC+, with some use of GLIM. The first two weeks will comprise training in statistical techniques and their computer applications. In the last two weeks, participants will work mainly on the analysis of their own dataset.

For more information contact:
Special Courses Coordinator
National Centre for Development Studies
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 2396/4351
Fax (06) 248 8805/249 5570
Managing Business in Asia Program

Public sector economic management for development

This four week course will be in October 1996. The purpose is to provide participants with an understanding of the nature of a modern economy, the role of governments in managing the economy, the major fiscal, monetary and regulatory policy tools available to governments and to review the processes involved in government facilitation of structural economic reform. Participants are expected to be mid-career officials from central or implementing agencies involved in policy analysis and management in developing countries. Equally relevant would be professionals involved in the analysis and interpretation of development processes.

Transition to markets

The purpose of the course is to familiarise government officials with the nature of market economies and with the formulation and sequencing of policy measures required in transforming centrally-planned economies into market economies. After a brief introduction to the arguments for and against markets, the course proceeds to present and discuss: the role of governments in market economies; the range of policy instruments available to governments in mixed economies; intergovernmental relations in multi-tiered systems of governance; managing state-owned enterprises; and government-business relations. The course is scheduled to run from 17 June to 27 July 1996.

For more information contact:
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The Australian National University
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Australia
Tel (06) 249 3892
Fax (06) 249 4895

The University of New England

Planning for sustainable rural development

This course is aimed at participants from a wide range of government and NGOs. It covers a broad range of issues in development, including the following: development issues - defining growth and development, history, theories, strategies and their successes and failures; introduction to the planning process - reasons for planning, levels and strategies, with particular emphasis on community participation; project planning; project appraisal; environmental aspects of development; role of NGOs in development; women in development; rural credit; and train-the-trainer sessions. The course will be offered from 15 October to 29 November 1996.

Managing the transition to industrialisation

The rapid economic growth of the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) of East Asia has been hailed by many as evidence of the importance of industrialisation in the development process. This course will use case studies, and other methods, to examine this argument from various viewpoints, and will be particularly useful to middle-level managers and planners in the governments of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and other countries where industrialisation is high on the development agenda. The course outline includes: development issues, and objectives of industrialisation; the economic, social and political pre-conditions for "take-off"; the economic and social implications of industrialisation; sociology of urbanisation; the planning of urban settlements, including infrastructure, transport systems and optimal land-use planning; and the western model - is it sustainable? The five week course will be offered from 9 July to 9 August 1996.

Environmental management in development

This course will equip planners, project managers and policy makers from government, NGOs and parastatals to integrate environmental issues into their development plans and policies. The five week course is scheduled from 9 July to 9 August 1996. The course outline includes: ecosystems, agricultural development and ecologically sustainable development; environmental impact assessment; the project approach - problem/solution and logical framework analysis, gender and social appraisal; land and water evaluation and management; retention of biodiversity from a global/national view; conservation and management of flora and fauna; geographic information systems; sustainable forest use and forest products; ecotourism; and agroforestry and shifting cultivation.

Breeding and genetic evaluation of livestock in the tropics

The course will provide participants with methods of applying recent advances in genetic and mixed-model techniques to improve livestock. It will provide hands-on experience on data handling, genetic evaluation and breeding designs aimed at tropical environments. This course will be offered from 9 to 26 July 1996, and is designed for all those individuals in the research and teaching of genetics and animal breeding, and implementation of breeding programmes.

For more information contact:
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Development Bulletin 37
A number of Africanists attending the 1977 ANZAAS Conference in Melbourne got together to discuss common problems, among them a concern about their physical and intellectual isolation. Following on from this, Drs Tom Spear and David Dorward convened a gathering at La Trobe University in 1978 under the theme 'African Modes of Production', a play on the jargon of the times intended to focus on academic production. A decision was taken by those present to form the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP).

An Association Newsletter was inaugurated, Professor Anthony Low, (then Vice-Chancellor of the Australian National University), agreed to serve as foundation President, and it was decided that the Association should endeavour to convene similar conferences on an annual basis.

While the initial purpose of AFSAAP was to provide a forum for Australian scholars working on African research, the aims were soon extended. An early project was to encourage teaching about Africa in schools. Today this is encompassed within a wider aim of contributing to an understanding of Africa within the general community. The Association provides comment on African issues to the media, and maintains a Directory of Africanists in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, in which specialist skills are listed.

The Newsletter, upgraded to the Review and Newsletter in 1995, is a 60-page twice-yearly publication edited by Professor Cherry Gertzel at Curtin University. This is the main link amongst members between the annual conferences, and provides a forum for presenting papers at the annual conference and publishing their research findings in the Review and Newsletter.
Membership of the Association is open to anyone interested in the development of African Studies in the Australasia-Pacific region. It also welcomes members from outside the region. The annual conference is open to non members.

Enquiries concerning the 1996 Annual Conference in Adelaide, 27-29 September, should be addressed to Dr Pal Ahluwalia, Politics Department, University of Adelaide, South Australia 5005.

For more information contact:
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AFSAAP
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Bundoora, VIC 3083,
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South African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC)

SARDC is an independent institution involved in the collection, analysis and dissemination of information on the Southern African region. Its objective is to improve the knowledge base about political, economic, cultural and social developments, and their implications, to assist governments, NGOs, the private sector, international organisations, development agencies, academics, diplomats and the media. The organisation provides information and analysis of current events, policy analysis, technical expertise, topical seminars, project evaluation, human resource development and other specialist services on the above topics. Regular publications by subscription include special reports, background features, chronological summaries, bibliographies and acquisitions lists. Special projects on major issues bring together skills from within and outside SARDC. In response to the growing global concern about environmental issues, SARDC has established a long-term project on the causes, effects and possible solutions to ecological problems in Southern Africa. Special attention is also given to post-conflict electoral processes in Angola and Mozambique.

SARDC contains over 3,000 subject files on regional issues, a library of books and periodicals, and a computerised database of select material. SARDC also maintains a comprehensive bibliographic and contact database on the environment in Southern Africa, women in Southern Africa, peace and security and disaster management.

For more information contact:
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PO Box 5690
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E-mail SARDC@MANGO.APC.ORG

South African Network of AIDS Service Organisations (SANASO)

The overall aim of the SANASO resource centre is to enhance access to information on HIV/AIDS for SANASO members, health and community workers in government and NGO sectors in the Southern African region. The centre hopes to strengthen and support the planning and implementation of HIV/AIDS prevention and care programmes by facilitating the exchange of information which is practical, accessible and of regional relevance. The main activities of the resource centre include: provision of an enquiry service; referral to other resource centres, libraries and organisations which offer appropriate information and services; supporting training programmes by providing relevant resource materials and information; distribution of free and low-cost materials; and information support for newsletters and other publications, including the SANASO Newsletter and AIDS Action (Southern African edition). The resource centre collection will include: journals and newsletters; training materials; audiovisual resources; posters, flip-charts and other visual aids; and published and non published documentation including reports, studies and research studies with a practical focus.

For more information contact:
Information Officer
SANASO Secretariat
PO Box 6690
Harare
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Tel/Fax (263 4) 720 801

Third World Network

The Third World Network (TWN) is an independent non profit international network of organisations and individuals involved in development issues, the Third World and North-South affairs. Its objectives are to conduct research on economics, social and environmental issues pertaining to the South, to publish books and magazines, to organise and participate in seminars and to provide a platform which broadly represents Southern interests and perspectives at international conferences. TWN publishes the daily SUNS (South-North Development Monitor) Bulletin, the fortnightly Third World Economics, the monthly Third World Resurgence and Third World Network Features, a media service that produces three feature articles per week. TWN also publishes material on environmental and economic issues and organises seminars and workshops.

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Development Bulletin 37
**Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS)**

AOSIS is the 'lobbying arm' of the Small Island Developing States (SIDS), which is an official UN designation for the 40-some island states. AOSIS gained a lot of credit or notoriety for championing the need for more aid from the First World for coping with climate change effects (such as sea level rise). The organisation was also instrumental in getting the UN General Assembly to postpone action on the "SIDSNET" proposal which came out of the 1994 Conference of Small Island Developing States in Barbados.

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**Australian Reproductive Health Alliance**

The Australian Reproductive Health Alliance (ARHA) will be established in 1996 and its major function will be to monitor the Australian Government's response to the Cairo Plan of Action, which was the outcome of the International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994. ARHA will also conduct exploratory research on the need for, and the potential structural options for an entity to promote reproductive health in Australia and overseas, through: researching the range of models currently operating for similar purposes in Europe and elsewhere; researching the extent of need in Australia for a new entity, and the potential support for it; reporting on potential structure, disseminating the findings; and consulting with AusAID on the post-Cairo agenda and reporting on the feasibility of the ARHA as a formally constituted NGO establishing an International Population and Development Branch to directly manage international projects in South East Asia and Oceania.

For more information contact:
Australian Reproductive Health Alliance
PO Box 60
Deakin West, ACT 2600
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**International Family Policy Forum**

The International Family Policy Forum will serve as a coordinator for partnership-building, international cooperation on policy issues related to families and family well-being. At the heart of the Forum are participating partners - private and public, governments and NGOs, research and academic institutions and others involved in family issues - who will be an effective resource for constructive change for families worldwide, and who will use the Forum as a tool. Composed of leaders in many fields, they will be both recipients and providers of expertise and experience. Through an international Board of Directors and an international Advisory Board, the Forum focuses on relevant issues of strategic importance, reflecting shared challenges, international consensus and current concerns; it is not conceived as an instrument to create political/public awareness of families through confrontation or advocacy on a limited set of issues. Plans for the more immediate future include expert group meetings on: families and the World Summit for Social Development; family impact consideration; family and enterprise; families, empowerment and community development; families and the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action; and families in development - the problems and prospects of a family focus in development assistance.

For more information contact:
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**Pan African Development Information System (PADIS)**

PADIS was created in 1980 under the auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). Its overall objective is the promotion of information systems in support of economic and social, scientific and technological development in Africa. PADIS activities are geared towards three levels of operation, National Participating Centres, Subregional Centres and Institutional Participating Centres, all of which receive advisory services, training and information from PADIS. The centres themselves input data into the PADIS information system for exchange with other countries in the region, as well as elsewhere. In 1993, PADIS with assistance from IDRC started a three year project called 'Capacity Building in Electronic Communications for Development in Africa', to develop the supportive infrastructure necessary for sustainable computer-based networking in Africa.

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Materials

Database of South African training and capacity-building providers

The database contains over 2,200 contact addresses of South African training and capacity-building providers. It is estimated that this database represents 50 per cent of South African training and capacity-building providers. The main focus of the database is on organisations providing training courses in the following areas: adult basic education; community organisation and development programmes/projects; technical skills; business, management and administrative skills; developmental project skills; and training of trainers. The information on the organisations included in the database to date has been compiled in conjunction with major training stakeholders in the country, including national government departments, provincial governments, provincial RDP offices, national training institutions, universities, technikons, technical colleges, private organisations and other educational and training institutions.

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Directory of South African women’s organisations

The directory includes over 1,000 entries of women’s groups or organisations working on gender issues. The entries are classified according to nine provinces; and are identifiable by 16 different sectors of activity, eg. health, education, legal/human rights, labour, media, peace, environment, violence against women, arts and culture etc.

Order from:
The NGO Secretariat for Beijing
PO Box 62319
2107 Marshalltown
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Tel (27 11) 331 1125
Fax (27 11) 331 2363

The Southern African Development Directory 1995

The directory consists of background information and a listing of development-related organisations involved in the Southern African development process. Covering different African countries, the publication focuses mainly on the activities and contact addresses of government departments, parastatals, research institutions, development corporations/banks, NGOs, international funding agencies/donors, UN organisations and diplomatic representation in these countries. In addition, specific chapters focus on the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the African Development Bank (ADB), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), UNDP and the World Bank.

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Elephants, water pumps ... and other signs of transformation

This is a publication of World Vision Australia. It presents short stories from World Vision projects around the world. These stories and accompanying reflections give us an insight into life in the Third World.

For more information contact:
World Vision Bookshop
GPO Box 399C
Melbourne, VIC 3001
Australia
Tel (03) 9287 2297

Agstats

Agstats is a CD-ROM compilation of results of the Agricultural Census which presents small area information on a vast range of agricultural commodities. It contains information on both physical (area and production) and economic (value) data and is an useful tool to get up-to-date picture of the performance and production levels of rural industries and to monitor environmental issues.

For more information contact:
Australian Bureau of Statistics
PO Box 10
Belconnen, ACT 2616
Australia
Tel (06) 252 6627
Fax (06) 207 0282
Pacific profiles: ADB projects in the Pacific

The Bank is committed to assisting its Pacific Island developing member countries to achieve an economic foothold in the region. The video provides a glimpse into six ADB-financed projects in the Cook Islands, Fiji and Western Samoa.

Cash in hand

This documentary looks at how access to credit can be one of the keys to lifting people out of poverty in the Philippines, where an innovative micro credit project has enabled small entrepreneurs to establish weaving, furniture making and glass blowing cooperatives.

River of change: Peace dividends along the Mekong

For centuries, the Mekong River has enticed emissaries and explorers, travellers and traders, into the heart of South East Asia. This documentary captures how today, in an era of peace, subregional economic cooperation is bringing hope and change to the people of the Mekong.

Order from:
Publications Unit
Information Office
Asian Development Bank
PO Box 789
1980 Manila
Philippines
Fax (63 2) 636 2647
E-mail adbpub@mail.asiandevbank.org

World list of universities

The new edition of the World list of universities provides details of higher education establishments in more than 11,200 institutions worldwide. It comprises a listing (by country) of universities and colleges, compiled by the International Association of Universities from the data supplied by the educational governing bodies and other authoritative national sources in over 170 countries.

For more information contact:
Marketing Executive
Macmillan Education Australia
107 Moray Street
South Melbourne, VIC 3205
Australia
Tel (03) 9699 8922
Fax (03) 9690 6938

April 1996
Training manual for community workers

This training manual, a joint effort of the Indigenous Health Program and the Tropical Health Program, aims to teach people how to collect and present health information in their own communities and how to use it for their own activities. The modules cover submission writing, health promotion, planning and evaluation of small interventions in the health field or in community development and consist of Trainers' Modules, Resource Modules and Learners' Modules. While these are designed for use by Aboriginal community health workers, they are also suitable for health workers in developing countries and can be used by people with primary school or even less schooling.

Information and order from:
Dr Coeli Geefhuysen
Tropical Health Program
University of Queensland
Herston Road, Herston
Brisbane, QLD 4006
Tel (07) 365 5377
Fax (07) 365 5599

Shelter and Community

Community is a 24-minute documentary filmed in the Satkhira district of rural southwestern Bangladesh. It portrays the dramatic social and economic transformation of a community through local development initiatives, which includes micro-credit and gender training. Community is the second of the two-part video series, following Shelter. Shelter depicts how loss of life and livelihood from cyclones in Bangladesh dramatically decreased after a project to build cyclone shelters, plant trees and conduct disaster training was initiated.

For order or more information contact:
Karen de Moor
Oxfam America
Tel (1 617) 482 1211
E-mail kdemoor@igc.apc.org

Electronic forum

NGONET

NGONET was established in 1991 in response to NGO needs for environment and development information in electronic, print and audio formats. It aims to address the information needs of Southern groups, indigenous peoples, women and grassroots organisations. The forum is organised in regional nodes, which are linked to one another and to the major international networks. Its nodes scan international developments and translate them into terms relevant to local people, and scan the local community for information and actions that contribute to global solutions. Their main role is to act as ‘information brokers’ between local, regional and international levels. Such a structure seeks to strengthen decentralised mechanisms for information gathering and dissemination.

For more information contact:
NGONET
Casilla de Correo 1539
Montevideo 11600
Uruguay
Tel (598 2) 496 192
Fax (598 2) 491 222
E-mail NGONET@CHASQUE.APC.ORG

SANGONeT

This is a regional electronic information and communication network for development and human rights workers. It brings together information ranging from financial management manuals to the Interim Constitution. Documents can be retrieved by keyword searches or browsing through hierarchical subject trees. It focuses on collecting information in such areas as development policy and practice, directory information and management resources. SANGONeT also provides an international gateway for Fidonet networks in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia and Zambia.

For more information contact:
SANGONeT
PO Box 31
2000 Johannesburg
South Africa
Tel (27 11) 838 6943
Fax (27 11) 492 1058
E-mail support@wn.apc.org
ZANGONET

This is an electronic mail network of Zambian-based NGOs. The project was established in 1992 to link NGOs in Zambia and their counterparts in other parts of the world. To date there are more than 30 NGOs linked with ZANGONET, including eight United Nations agencies.

For more information contact:
ZANGONET
Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD)
PO Box 37836
Lusaka
Zambia
Tel (260 1) 224 507
Fax (260 1) 222 883
E-mail ZARD@P87.F1.ZS.FIDONET.ORG

Indonesian Studies Group

This network provides access to the contents of 27 current Indonesian journals either from your own computer (access to WWW is a prerequisite) or from a terminal from Menzies library at the Australian National University. To access:


For more information contact:
Michael Laffan
Menzies Library
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 3515
E-mail Michael.Laffan@info.anu.edu.au

ANGONET

This is a non profit computer communication service provided by the development workshop in Luanda, Angola, to Angolan organisations and individuals working in social and economic development and humanitarian assistance programmes. It aims to promote networking and the exchange of information between NGOs, civic associations and development organisations working in Angola and the rest of Southern Africa.

For more information contact:
Haymee Perez Cogle
ANGONET
PO Box 3360
Luanda
Angola
Tel (244 2) 396 107
E-mail hperez@angonet.gn.apc.org

Papua New Guinea WWW Virtual Library

This is a part of the Pacific Studies WWW Virtual Library. Contents include: bibliographic information; books and films; feature pages; gopher/ftp resources; information; issues; and much more. It can be accessed through:


For more information contact:
Matthew Ciolek
Research School of Social Sciences
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 0110
Fax (06) 257 1893

BRIDGES

This is a South African-based electronic communications and conferencing network dedicated to assist the aims and objectives of South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme. Information services provided include e-mail, contact directory information, diary and calendar, conferences and databases. Access is easy and inexpensive and users can access the network using any computer equipped with a modem and a telephone line.

For more information contact:
BRIDGES
PO Box 31067
Braamfontein 2017
South Africa
Tel/Fax (27 11) 339 5473
E-mail ALK@OLIVETTI.ZA

SABINET

This is the South African Bibliographic Information Network. It offers access to a variety of databases which are updated regularly, including the South African Cooperative Library Database, Library of Congress Database, British National Bibliography, South African National Bibliography, Index to South African periodicals, Union Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations (UCTD), KOVSIDEX, NAVTECH, Database of Approved Research Periodicals, British Library Inside Information, Bookdata and UnCover.

For more information contact:
Cecilia van der Merwe
SABINET
PO Box 617
0011 Pretoria
South Africa
Tel (27 12) 663 4954/9
Fax (27 12) 663 3543

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