Public policy and development: In-country perspectives

Inside

Discussion papers: Technology policy and poverty reduction; corruption; privatisation; public sector reform; democracy in the South Pacific; Fijian land law; native title

Briefing paper: Urbanisation – challenges and opportunities for the Australian Aid Program

Viewpoint: Bioethics in the Third World; Cambodia's economic transition; Mining in Papua New Guinea

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Closing dates for submissions to *Development Bulletin* are mid-November, -February, -May and - August for the January, April, July and October issues respectively.

ISSN 1035-1132
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*Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID)*
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Public policy and development: In-country perspectives

The idea for this issue of Development Bulletin came from Peter Larmour, Director of the Development Administration Programme at the National Centre for Development Studies. He felt that work currently being undertaken by a number of postgraduate students and academics in the area of public policy, corruption and governance added considerably to the existing literature, particularly as much of this work dealt with the situation in their own countries or countries where they worked. We agreed. To expand the range of perspectives and countries involved, we sought contributions from postgraduate students and staff in other universities in Australia and the Pacific who were undertaking similar work. Some of those contributing to this issue have now graduated and hold senior administrative positions in their home countries. Their work provides a rare opportunity to share new perspectives on political and economic change in developing countries and inside information on the forces which shape public policy. We are most appreciative of the editing undertaken by Heather Brook on some of these papers.

Briefing paper

Our briefing paper follows on from the publication of the Simons Review. It considers a major challenge for the future - how to provide effective development assistance in an era of rapid urbanisation.

Viewpoint

Continuing our theme of providing perspectives from inside developing countries, Vandana Shiva considers bioethics; Chris Aina Kia of the Melanesian Environment Foundation writes of the public policy and governance problems associated with large-scale mining in Papua New Guinea; and Peter Annear, writing on Cambodia, discusses the country's economic transition.

From the field

Salim Momtaz provides a case study of how environmental actions in one country have international repercussions. He discusses the environmental, social and political impacts in Bangladesh of the construction of the Farakka Barrage dam in India.

From the press

As usual we have gleaned the interesting, the amazing and the ridiculous from the world's press. If you have contributions for future issues please let us know.

AusAID

We greatly appreciate sustained support from AusAID in publishing Development Bulletin. We applaud their concern for supporting a widespread exchange of information on social, economic and sustainable development and their role in its promotion.

Next issue

The next issue of Development Bulletin will focus on new alternatives for aid delivery, including the role of NGOs. If you have any queries or would like to contribute please phone, fax or email us.

Pamela Thomas, Kate Fairfax, Rafat Hussain
Public policy and development: In-country perspectives

Major issues for debate today are the inter-relationships between public policy, governance, corruption, democracy and the growth of the private sector. To what extent will policies which encourage rapid growth in private sector investment help alleviate poverty? Will privatisation of the public sector allow adequate support for industrial or agricultural research and development, and to what extent should government attempt to control industrial legislation and export policies? Will privatisation help reduce corruption in the public sector?

Commentators in this issue of Development Bulletin provide a variety of first-hand perspectives of the situation in their own countries, or from countries in which they are working. Their experience covers the impacts of privatisation of the public sector on social, economic and political change. In many countries these changes are closely linked to rapid urbanisation, industrialisation and democratisation. In very few has there been any impact on alleviating poverty or reducing corruption.

Kavoos Mohannak reviews the rapid growth of the private sector in South Korea and its impact on privately funded research and technological change. Liberalisation of regulations on foreign licensing and direct foreign investment led to an increased inflow of foreign technologies. Later policies which supported assimilation and development of local technologies have led to considerable increases in local investment in technological development.

Amir Imbaruddin considers the relationship between government regulations and corruption in the public sector. He questions the widely held belief that democracy checks the abuse of power by the state. In Indonesia, corruption is closely related to public sector monopoly in delivering services, as well as to traditional values and authoritarian forms of government. Ruth Tampipi, in discussing public sector corruption in the Philippines, agrees that one way of reducing corruption would be through breaking public service monopolies in service delivery and allowing competition between government and private providers. She also stresses the need to implement existing laws against bureaucratic malpractice. Cesar Go, in a case study from the Philippines, illustrates the difficulties and advantages of contracting out government services to a non-profit private organisation.

The realities of implementing privatisation policies in small Pacific Island states are discussed by Mwisai-Donga Bolenga. While privatisation has the potential to achieve efficiency, in very small states there is a strong likelihood that groups with vested interests in public sector management will oppose privatisation. There is also the likelihood that it will entrench divisions between the rich and poor. Indian government poverty alleviation policies, implemented through the Poverty Alleviation Programme, have been credited with reducing the percentage of rural poor. Pundarikaksha Mukhopadhyay disputes this finding and recommends further investigation into the ways that policy, practice and evaluation are implemented.

Democratic forms of government are considered to be important elements in reducing public sector corruption, in providing economic transparency and encouraging private investment. However, achieving democracy, as the situation in some Pacific Island states show, is particularly difficult and has had no noticeable impact on reducing public sector corruption or increasing private investment. Stephanie Lawson, Azmat Gani and Robert Meyer provide case studies of the impact of public policy on development and political practice in the Pacific. From an Australian perspective, Jon Altman looks at government policy regarding native title and its impact on indigenous Australian interests.
The changing role of government in South Korean technology policy

Kavoos Mohannak, Politics, Monash University

The performance of the Korean economy has been one of the most outstanding in the world over the last three decades. During the 1962-1991 period, the Korean economy grew at an average annual rate of nearly nine per cent. Despite its lack of natural resources, like Japan, Korea made a successful transition from a poor, undeveloped economy to a newly industrialising one in a relatively short period of time. Korea's progress may be attributed to many political, economic, social and technical factors. The most important may be its ability to make effective use of technological knowledge in production, investment and innovation. However, with the world economy becoming both globalised and regionalised and with the changing technology policy in advanced industrialised countries, Korea must continue to adjust to new situations and reformulate its technology policy. As in any country, Korea's technology and research and development policy has direct and indirect effects on the economic development process.

The rise of the private sector in science and technology

Many scholars have explicitly addressed centralised, authoritarian policy making and effective policy implementation as important variables for Korean economic success. Others note that an important factor contributing to the overall soundness of Korea's economic policies was a high level of cooperation between the government and the business sector. Jones and SaKong (1980) developed three propositions describing the Korean political economy during the period 1961-1979:

- The government of Park Chung Hee (1961-1979) had been heavily interventionist in attempting to influence the microeconomic decisions of productive units either through stimulating, forcing, or guiding private enterprises.

- Interventionist efforts were effective in altering private decisions, resource allocation and economic outcomes.

- Interventions had a positive net impact on growth.

In general, political authoritarianism may have numerous causes including historical experiences, cultural traditions, national ideologies and social values. However, in the case of Korea, in the 1960s when the military regime emerged, authoritarianism was significantly intensified and the political structure became highly centralised. Interestingly, this is the period in which the Korean economy launched its rapid growth. Consequently, it has been argued that the centralised, authoritarian, political structure has been a necessary condition for its economic development during this period.

Since the early 1980s, several domestic developments have fundamentally changed the roles of the state and the private sector in general, and in science and technological development in particular. In the 1960s and 1970s, private firms focused primarily on production, directed by the state through economic development plans and science and technology policies. Government dominated in terms of capital, research and development infrastructure, information and technology, and it was not possible to challenge state authority.

During the 1980s and early 1990s however, the private sector became an equal partner in the country's technological and economic development. The role of private firms is perhaps most apparent in the dramatic change in composition of overall investment in research and development. As recently as 1980, public research and development investment exceeded that of the private sector, with government comprising 63.5 per cent of the total. However, private research and development overtook public research and development during the mid-1980s, to 75.5 per cent of the total in 1985 and 80 per cent in 1990-91 (Table 1).

Table 1: National research and development investment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Public sector (%)</th>
<th>Private sector (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>75.5 (77.9)</td>
<td>21.4 (22.1)</td>
<td>96.9 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>178.0 (63.5)</td>
<td>102.5 (36.5)</td>
<td>280.5 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>301.9 (24.5)</td>
<td>930.2 (75.5)</td>
<td>1232.1 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>647.0 (19.4)</td>
<td>2687.9 (80.6)</td>
<td>3334.9 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>815.0 (19.6)</td>
<td>3343.4 (80.4)</td>
<td>4158.4 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: STEPI 1995

The private sector's rise is also evident in the dramatic increase in private research centres in Korea: from 53 in 1981, to 500 in 1988, then tripling in the next five years to 1,500 in 1993. In 1993, 64.5 per cent of all private research centres were operated by small and medium-sized businesses, with the primary focus on such sectors as electricity, electronics and precision machinery. Private firms have also increased their research institutes overseas since the early
1980s. Perhaps the most important factor in the rise of the private sector has been the substantial growth of the chaebols, and their research and development-related capabilities, since the early 1980s. By 1990, research and development investment by chaebols typically amounted to over 20 per cent of total sales.

**Big business and political power**

The financial strength of big business has been matched by growing political power. For example, the Federation of Korean Industries has demonstrated a willingness to challenge state authorities through political activities. As a result, the Korean state is no longer regarded as an actor with enormous strength, autonomy and power. Political democratisation has contributed to the general decline of the state's power relative to the private sector, as numerous special-interest groups exert growing influence in the policy making process.

Yet, the rise of the private sector has not been only a matter of business grabbing power. Since the Chun regime (1980–1987), state policy has been the transition to an economy in which the private sector and the market would play a greater role in determining the allocation of resources. Particularly in an environment of accelerating technological change, the Korean state has recognised the limits of government intervention in science and technology and economic development. Moreover, bureaucratic fighting among government agencies such as the Ministry of Science and Technology, the Economic Planning Board, and the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy, have compromised the effect of state technology policy.

Finally, corruption within the government and ruling class has played an important role in the state's diminishing influence. As the economy expanded, the incidence and intensity of corruption also expanded.

However, the Korean state still has an important role in the country's science and technology development, mainly through the allocation of capital and its involvement in basic science and technology such as national projects, science towns, and information networks. However, changing state-business relations, together with high costs of investment and the shorter duration of technology lifecycle, will make it harder for the Korean state to pick up winners, to mobilise and allocate resources, and to orchestrate the private sector.

**The changing role of government**

The literature on Korea's technological development suggests that the Korean government's involvement in research and development is 'directive,' rather than 'promotional'. This is evident in the state's research and development institution-building in selected social sectors, and in various policy measures to stimulate domestic research and development or eliminate obstacles.

This 'directive' mode of state intervention is perhaps an outcome of the particular arrangement of political power allowed by the authoritarian-bureaucratic political system; president-centred with the president functioning as the key actor in policy initiation, decision making and implementation. This form of political system was particularly notable during President Park's tenure (1961–1979).

From the beginning of Korean industrialisation, the government emphasised infrastructure building in the science and technology system, including both the development of a science and technology policy making body and research and development institutes. It adopted a protectionist policy against the importation of foreign technologies. In 1980, the Korean government substantially liberalised regulations on foreign licensing and direct foreign investment. Technology imports have led to an increasing inflow of foreign technologies.

Although the Korean government had developed a research and development infrastructure and a national science and technology office, implementation of the programme for supporting industrial technology was still difficult. This was because of a lack of coordination among government agencies. The Ministry of Science and Technology, despite having explicit jurisdiction to develop science and technology, had little potency dealing with private industry, in comparison to the Economic Planning Board, the Bank of Korea and the Ministry of Finance who were also involved in industrial research and development.

**Deregulation and economic liberalisation**

In general, the 1980s have been influenced by the concerns of policy makers and scholars over the issues of 'deregulation', 'privatisation', 'restructuralisation' and 'economic liberalisation'. The government realised that as Korea's economy became more complex, government intervention through central economic decision making became less efficient. As a result, industrial policies that had been directive to strategic industries had to be improved.

Firstly, the policy which considered only quantitative performances in granting tax and financing privileges, was changed to include qualitative criteria such as firms' efforts toward technological development, value added and productivity growth. The scope of industrial policies had to get down to the level of individual technologies employed by individual firms.

Secondly, the government gradually shifted the supportive policies away from the import of foreign technologies to assimilation and development of local technologies. This programme was followed by another national research and development programme, entitled 'Industrial Technology Development Program'. These shifts in the policy paradigm urged the private sector to invest more in technological development rather than being concerned with export or sales volumes. Implementing a national research and development
programme was the first government initiated project to develop advanced technologies indigenously. In 1981, many tools were established to support technology development such as: a tax reduction system for humanpower development; tax exemption for real estate used by private sector research institutes; income tax exemption for foreign scientists and engineers; and preferential taxes for investment from venture capital corporations. In 1982, a reduction of tariffs and special consumption tax for research instruments, facilities and product samples, were implemented to promote private research and development. These supportive policies, especially tariff reduction, provided important incentives for firms to import research equipment and facilities.

Support was also given in the financial system. Broadly, Korea uses grants and tax credits to promote private research and development which can be classified into three major categories: tax incentives, financial incentives and government procurement (OECD 1996). Table 2 shows tax incentive measures for the period 1991-93.

In addition, subsidies were provided to firms involved in national research and development programmes. To provide loan and investment services for new technology-based entrepreneurs, several venture capital corporations were established in the mid-1980s.

To conclude, it can be seen that industry and science and technology related policies are now being shifted in terms of direction and implementation. Firstly, the policies focus more on allocation of resources with respect to the size of firms and industrial sectors. Secondly, the policies shift toward indirect ways of support rather than direct interventions in private sector research and development activities. Thirdly, the technology supply-push policy has been transformed into a technology demand-pull policy based on private sector technological capability accumulated in the last 30 years.

### Table 2: Tax incentive measures, 1991-1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tax credits on research and development expenditures (%)</th>
<th>Special depreciation</th>
<th>Other instruments (%)</th>
<th>Technology development reserve fund system (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>35.59</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>22.18</td>
<td>40.58</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>38.03</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>14.69</td>
<td>46.61</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>51.98</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>12.67</td>
<td>34.58</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: OECD 1996

Endnote
1 The term *chaebol* normally refers to a few large, private conglomerates in Korea. More specifically, it can be defined as 'a family-controlled group of businesses operating in many unrelated industries' (Ku-Hyun Jung 1988).

References


Do poverty alleviation policies matter for rural India?

Pundarikaksha Mukhopadhyay, Economics, University of New South Wales

Between 1978 and 1983, the incidence of rural poverty in India declined from 51 to 40 per cent (Government of India 1983:4). According to the World Bank (1989) the overall percentage of rural poor fell from 53 per cent in 1970 to 41.7 per cent in 1988. The proportion of ultra-poor, defined as those with 75 per cent or less of the expenditure of the poverty line, for rural areas, declined from 30.1 per cent in 1970 to 20.4 per cent in 1988. The Indian Planning Commission attributed this decline to the ‘process of economic growth and the anti-poverty programmes’ launched in 1978. This is a bold claim. The contribution of the Poverty Alleviation Programmes (PAP) has been stressed by several scholars such as Bandyopadhyay (1989) and Ghose (1989) with supposedly less immediate interest in boosting the image of the Indian Government. On the other hand, it is also asserted that the decline in the incidence of poverty across states does not show a pattern related to growth rates in agricultural production or to variation in per capita expenditure on PAP.

Anti-poverty programmes: An overview

During the 1950s, the main thrust of the Indian Government’s policies was the alleviation of rural poverty through land reforms. In 1965, a ‘new strategy’ for agriculture focused on the introduction of new technologies. In the national election of 1971, Indira Gandhi’s Congress (I) won an overwhelming victory with the populist slogan of abolishing poverty and the launch of the Minimum Needs Programmes, the Crash Scheme for Rural Employment and the Small Farmer Development Agency which provided subsidised credit for small farmers, and the Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourer programme. The latter two were transformed into the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) by the new Janta Government. In 1977, the Food for Work Programme was started, renamed the National Rural Employment Programme in 1980, and supplemented by the Rural Labourers’ Employment Guarantee Programme in 1983. For the Eighth Five Year Plan (1990-1995), the introduction of a nationwide employment guarantee scheme was contemplated (Government of India Planning Commission 1990).

In the years 1980 to 1985, four per cent of the public sector outlay was allocated to self- and wage-employment programmes together with some area-oriented programmes. There has been a heated debate as to whether this should be the main thrust of the anti-poverty strategy. The main argument in favour of self-employment schemes is their potential for producing assets and skills which give the poor a sustainable and independent economic base. Critics, however, point out the administrative problems involved in their implementation, demand constraints and the risk for beneficiaries, especially if such schemes are imposed on them by a patronimial bureaucracy eager to fulfil its targets. Wage employment programmes are easier to organise. Because they are self-targeting, they create community assets and reduce the vulnerability of the poor to contingencies. Another five per cent of the public sector outlay was allocated to the Minimum Needs Programme. Several observers have argued that the funding for the PAP is inadequate (Bandyopadhyay 1989). Dandekar (1986) calculated that even with perfect targeting and permanent income gains, the funds needed to pull all rural poor above the poverty line would have amounted to 34 per cent of total government revenue in 1986-87.

The Integrated Rural Development Programme

Under the IRDP during the Sixth Five Year Plan, Rs15 billion of government subsidies and additional bank credits worth Rs30 billion were targeted to a group of 15 million families with annual household incomes below Rs3500. In actual practice Rs16.5 billion of subsidises were disbursed, assets worth around Rs50 billion were created and 18.5 million families benefited, including the two million who had received funds between 1978 and 1980 (see Table 1) (Dandekar 1986). Between 1980-89 and 1987-88, real expenditure on IRDP increased at an annual rate of 14 per cent.

One of the aims of IRDP is to maximise the number of people crossing the poverty line. This would imply that assistance is targeted towards those poor whose incomes are near the cut-off point. According to the ‘Antyodaya Principle’ however, first priority on the allocation of IRDP funds has to be given to the poorest. There is therefore a trade-off between the two objectives of the IRDP. This trade-off, however, dissolves in actual practice, since the Antyodaya Principle has turned out to be too difficult to administer.

The implementation and the impact of IRDP have been evaluated by various officials, semi-officials and independent studies. Indicators used to assess the performance of IRDP included the following:

1. beneficiaries who crossed the poverty line
2. difference between pre- and post-assistance income
3. eligibility of actual beneficiaries
4. investments intact after a certain period
5. incremental capital output ratio of these investments
6. their sectoral distribution
7. resources to be spent for obtaining a credit

According to criterion (1), IRDP performed badly. Only 22 per cent of the eligible beneficiaries crossed the (deflated)
Table 1: Progress under IRDP - All India

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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total allocation</td>
<td>1500.0</td>
<td>250.55</td>
<td>300.66</td>
<td>400.88</td>
<td>407.36</td>
<td>407.36</td>
<td>1766.81</td>
<td>543.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total expenditure</td>
<td>1500.0</td>
<td>158.64</td>
<td>264.65</td>
<td>359.99</td>
<td>406.09</td>
<td>472.92</td>
<td>1661.89</td>
<td>613.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total term credit mobilised</td>
<td>3000.0</td>
<td>289.05</td>
<td>467.59</td>
<td>713.98</td>
<td>773.51</td>
<td>856.22</td>
<td>3100.35</td>
<td>1014.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total investment</td>
<td>4500.0</td>
<td>447.69</td>
<td>732.24</td>
<td>1072.4</td>
<td>1179.60</td>
<td>1328.14</td>
<td>4762.26</td>
<td>1628.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total beneficiary families to be covered (million)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total beneficiary families actually covered (million)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>2.71</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>16.56</td>
<td>3.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. schedule caste beneficiary families covered (million)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>6.51</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficiary families covered to target (%)</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>90.3</td>
<td>114.9</td>
<td>120.7</td>
<td>131.3</td>
<td>109.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled caste/ schedule tribe total (%)</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilisation to total allocation (%)</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>89.7</td>
<td>99.7</td>
<td>116.1</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per household subsidy (Rs)</td>
<td>582.0</td>
<td>975.0</td>
<td>1041.0</td>
<td>1102.0</td>
<td>1190.0</td>
<td>1478.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per household credit (Rs)</td>
<td>1060.0</td>
<td>1723.0</td>
<td>2066.0</td>
<td>2088.0</td>
<td>2099.0</td>
<td>3033.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per household investment (Rs)</td>
<td>1642.0</td>
<td>2698.0</td>
<td>3107.0</td>
<td>3201.0</td>
<td>3344.0</td>
<td>4511.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidy credit ratio</td>
<td>1.182</td>
<td>1.177</td>
<td>1.198</td>
<td>1.190</td>
<td>1.181</td>
<td>1.201</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


poverty line in 1977-78, equivalent to 6.6 per cent of the total number of rural poor that year. This figure shrinks to three per cent if the loan repayment is subtracted (Rath 1985). However, there was considerable upward income mobility among beneficiaries who still remained under the poverty line (2), although it is difficult to ascertain how much of this is actually due to IRDP. Estimates of 'eligibility mistakes' in the implementation of the programme at a national level, measured by (3), range between 20 and 30 per cent, and differ widely across states. The share of IRDP investments still intact after two years (4) was satisfactory. Their ICOR (5), studied in Uttar Pradesh by Rao and Rangaswamy (1988), was 1.66 on average, but varied widely according to the infrastructural development of the region and the type of investment. The highest ICOR was found in the primary sector (2.66) (ibid), a sectoral investment bias that has been widely criticised (6). Lastly, there were high costs in obtaining an IRDP loan due to bureaucratic procedures, lack of cooperation by bankers and corruption (7).

Dreeze (1990a) suggested that IRDP performance was particularly bad in the backward states, such as Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan, 'less dismal' in Gujrat, Maharashtra and in the southern states, and comparatively good in West Bengal. This claim is not entirely supported by the indicators provided by the concurrent evaluation of 1987. The states which performed above average in terms of both targeting and percentage of eligible beneficiaries who crossed the poverty line, were Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Maharashtra and Rajasthan. Madhya Pradesh and Orissa achieved high shares of eligible beneficiaries and average percentage of poverty line crossers. The other 18 states either performed well in terms of targeting, but less so in terms of poverty reduction or vice versa. The good performance of the two hill states seems plausible because of the egalitarian social structure prevailing there. Maharashtra has a long standing reputation for redistributive intervention. However, the relative success of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa which is still low in absolute terms, needs further investigation.

The pluralist approach adopted by the Indian policy makers in the choice of cut-off points for loan eligibility, assessment of IRDP performance and the overall incidence of rural...
poverty, would make it difficult to estimate the contribution of IRDP to the decline of poverty after 1977-78, even if the available evaluations of this programme were reliable. Bandyopadhyays (1989) claim that 35 of 51 million persons who allegedly crossed the poverty line between 1979-80 and 1983-84 did so because of IRDP loans, can be safely dismissed. It is based on the most optimistic assessment of the scheme which assumes perfect targeting, and uses a low, IRDP-specific poverty line which is not adjusted for inflation.

Although the impact of IRDP on the incidence of rural poverty was probably negligible, it led to income improvements for some of the poor, but they were not large enough to pull them above the poverty line. There is also conflicting evidence as to whether these gains accrued to the poorest. It is therefore not even possible to conclude that the IRDP reduced the severity of poverty by improving the income distribution among the poor.

**Wage Employment Programmes**

The earliest and the most ambitious public work programme in India is Maharashtra’s Employment Generation Schemes (EGS), started during the drought of 1972-73. These schemes eliminated as much as three-quarters of rural unemployment among landless labourers in 1977-78 (Dandekar and Sathe 1980). The variability of their income decreased by around one-half (Ravallion 1990). It has been claimed that the increase in real wage rates in this state since the mid-1970s was due to the EGS; it provided three per cent of total rural employment in Maharashtra in 1984-85.

The National Rural Employment Programme is far less ambitious than the EGS. During the Sixth Five Year Plan, it provided 355 million person days of employment on average per annum, compared to 170 million generated by the EGS in a single state. Together with the Rural Labourers Employment Guarantee Programme, it amounts to one per cent of total rural employment in India (see Table 2).

Wage employment schemes should not merely be assessed by their contribution to poverty alleviation, measured by the head-count index. In fact, it is rather improbable that such schemes directly impact on the number of people below the poverty line. They are, however, of crucial importance as policy instruments for reducing risk as long as the non-farm sector is not sufficiently developed to absorb the surplus labour from agriculture. They may also exert an upward pressure on rural real wages. Furthermore, they do not always strictly adhere to Keynes’ proposal of digging useless holes, but may create community assets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Achievement (million person days)</th>
<th>Annual target (million person days)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>413.6</td>
<td>no target was fixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>354.5</td>
<td>335.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-83</td>
<td>351.2</td>
<td>352.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-84</td>
<td>302.7</td>
<td>322.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>352.3</td>
<td>309.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>395.4</td>
<td>275.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Rural Development, Government of India.

**Conclusion**

Up to the early 1970s, Indian development strategies for poverty alleviation relied on trickle-down agricultural growth and a commitment to land reforms. After the 1971 elections, during a phase of widespread social unrest, greater emphasis was put on special credit and employment schemes aimed at small and marginal farmers, agricultural labour and basic needs programmes. In 1978, the introduction of the IRDP by the newly elected Janta Government marked a significant strengthening of these schemes. However, despite multitudes of evaluations at the national, regional and local level, their impact remains controversial.

Recent evaluations suggest that IRDP failed to reach its target of reducing the number of people below the poverty line. The obsession with pushing people above this line may even be self-defeating because it forces administrations to maximise the number of beneficiaries within a given time period without properly involving them in the process. Under certain circumstances, an IRDP investment can provide a self-sustaining source of income and reduce risk through diversification. The identification of such circumstances, however, is prevented by bureaucratic target-setting and attempts at populist image-building. Increasing IRDP investment beneficiary numbers alone, is probably a dead end, because there are demand, supply and infrastructural constraints to the effectiveness of credit schemes. The importance of such programmes, however, becomes clear if one conceptualises poverty in terms of vulnerability to risk. The increasing share of casual wage labour in the total rural workforce and the increasing variation of agricultural production, both underline the necessity of stabilising the incomes of the poor. However, the claim that the reduction in poverty at state and national levels after 1977-78 was primarily due to poverty alleviation programmes, needs further investigation.
Endnotes

1 For a summary of political economy of PAP since 1971 election see Brass (1990); for an excellent in-depth analysis of the political reasons which led Indira Gandhi to adopt her famous “garibi hatao” slogan, see Frankel (1978) and Mandal (1989).

2 One of the major methodological flaws of the evaluation studies quoted is that they simply relied on two point comparison between pre- and post-assistance incomes (Copestake 1988; Dreeze 1990b).

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Corruption in Indonesia: Causes, forms and remedies

Amir Imbaruddin, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University*

Indonesia is one of the world's most corrupt countries, according to studies conducted by the Berlin-based organisation, Transparency International, and by the Hong Kong-based organisation, Political and Economic Review Risk Consultancy (Katz 1995; Aji 1995). Although 'corruption' is not clearly defined, these studies suggest that corruption is not only a problem of developing countries (mostly in Asia), but of Western developed countries such as the United States, Britain, Germany and France. The problem of corruption is inherent to all political systems.

This article defines corruption, analyses which definitions and rationales for corruption apply in Indonesia and explores why corrupt practices exist in public services. It suggests solutions to corruption and discusses the difficulties faced in their implementation.

Defining corruption

The results of these international studies on corruption may have differed if the definition of corruption applied was not uniform or fixed, but based on what is believed in each country. Gift-giving practices in many developing countries in Africa and Asia, based on traditional beliefs, honour or social status, may have been categorised as corruption in Western developed countries, but not by traditional gift-giving practitioners (Ali 1985). The results might also be different if the calculation of the corruption index included the sale of state offices in France and the United States this century, or if the studies occurred 200 years ago when such practices may not have been categorised as corrupt.

Gardiner (1993) has argued that there is no single definition of corruption which can be uniformly accepted. Corruption may vary regionally and temporally. Corruption has been defined simply as power or public role abuse for private gain (Heidenheimer et al. 1989), but Nye (1979:417) proposes a more complex definition of corruption, as:

behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (family, close private clique) pecuniary or status gain; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence. This includes such behaviour as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgement of a person in a position of trust); nepotism (bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit); and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private-regarding uses).

In order to maximise recognition of corrupt practices among Indonesian public servants, Nye's definition is adopted throughout this paper.

Sources and forms of corruption

Theorists disagree as to why public servants behave corruptly. Some reasons for corruption in Indonesia include:

Monopoly

It has been pointed out that corrupt practices easily occur because the public sector, with its limited capacity, is the only provider of certain services, while a large number of citizens need those services. Public sector products such as decisions and licences, are valuable because demand for them usually exceeds supply. This is worsened by state expansion and the fact that official procedures are usually time-consuming, uncertain, impersonal and expensive (Hope 1987).

In Indonesia, bribes are the most common form of corruption in relation to the abuse of the monopoly functions of the public sector. Indonesia is probably the most regulatory country in the world regarding permits and licences. To get married, to enrol in a school or university and even to have a discussion amongst more than five people, one needs a permit from the authorities. To quickly obtain an identification card (which is obligatory for adult Indonesians), driving licence, marriage, death or birth certificate, or documents from the immigration department, an applicant may have to pay up to 20 times the official cost (Schwarz 1994:135).

Furthermore, the price will increase if the license or permit is for productive business. For example, in 1995, requests for an official licence for a new commercial publication were purportedly granted only if 20 per cent of the company stock was reserved for the Honourable Indonesian Minister for Information, Harmoko (Inside Indonesia, March 1995:2-4). This excluded an additional, invisible monthly fee of five to ten million rupiah (A$3,000-6,000). The minister or his immediate family owned shares in at least 3 Indonesian print publications, two private television stations, and two private radio companies (Inside Indonesia, March 1995:4).

Low incomes and poverty

Poverty, or being paid at a rate inadequate to meet daily basic needs, also lures public servants into corruption. Schooli (1980) states that Indonesian corruption is closely related to a means to supplement excessively low government salaries, not to amass vast private fortunes. For example, one study (Tanzil 1980) found that despite similar prices of basic goods and services in both countries, the salaries of Greek police were four times higher than those of their Indonesian counterparts.
It is not surprising then if ‘motorists in any of Indonesia’s cities view the police as collectors of an [un]official road tax, rather than as upholders of the law’ (Schwarz 1994:135). When his car was stolen in 1991, Schwarz needed a verification letter from the police in order to collect on his car insurance. A police captain would only ‘help’ prepare the letter if he was given US$300.

However, supplementing a low income cannot remain a justifiable excuse for high-level ministers with more than adequate salaries, incentives and privileges. For example, low income could not have prompted the collusion of the then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Sudomo, with a Chinese businessman to manipulate as much as US$448,878,780 from an Indonesian State bank (Majidi 1994:321). Using his power and position, Sudomo influenced the bank directors to infeasibly bestow a multi-million dollar credit to a businessman. Despite this being considered to be the greatest financial scandal in Indonesian history, only the Chinese businessman was blamed and subsequently sentenced to seventeen years in jail (Repulika 15/8/94:1).

Traditional values
While traditional gift-giving practices may resemble corruption in the form of bribery, other traditional values may have resulted in more nepotistic forms. The most obvious Indonesian example is the recruitment and promotion of public servants, including military personnel, but also occurs in selection for schools and universities. Recruitment is not merely an administrative procedure, but provides income for relatives, supporters, clients or other patrons. Besides a political purpose to absorb unemployment into the public sector, the patronage system has also caused internal pressure to increase the size of the Indonesian administration from approximately 420,000 public servants in 1950 (Feith 1962:83) to 3,771,285 in 1991 (Indonesia Central Bureau of Statistics 1991:67-68). This large number of public servants may also be a factor preventing the payment of adequate salaries. Nepotism is also clearly at work among the major actors in Indonesia’s economy. Almost all Chinese conglomerates receive facilities from the government such that ‘to most Indonesians, the word ‘Chinese’ is synonymous with corruption’ (Bratanata cited by Schwarz 1994:98). The most popular facility awarded is a monopoly to provide certain goods and services, or a contract to be the sole supplier to the government of particular goods and services at ridiculously inflated prices - up to 200 per cent more than market prices (Aji 1995:86).

The President’s children are also among the so-called ‘crony business people’ - those who have continuing close, personal relationships with the President. The President’s second son, Bambang, for instance, has benefited from marketing overseas, and distributing in Indonesia, crude oil and other petroleum products produced by the state oil company. This activity could be carried out more efficiently and cheaply by the company itself. Even worse, government officials or even ministers who try to raise or complain about the issue face the threat of being removed from office or cabinet, as happened to Murdani, former Commander of the Indonesian armed forces (Schwarz 1994).

Public ignorance
Public perception is another crucial factor determining a nation’s level of corruption. The more apathetic the society is toward corrupt practices, as is the case in many developing countries, the more widespread government graft and bribery (ICAC 1994; Ali 1985). The Indonesian public seems to tolerate corruption despite a 1980 poll by Tempo in which 43.8 per cent of respondents named corruption and abuse of power by public servants as the most dangerous element in the country (Hamzah 1991:4). Six factors may explain this phenomenon:

- Habituation: Corruption in Indonesia began during World War II according to Anderson (1972), when arbitrary reduction of salaries through inflation saw the Indonesian rupiah sink to one-sixtieth of its previous value in less than four years. Since then, corruption has remained a stubborn feature of the Republic.

- A lack of information: Citizens may not know that public servants are corrupt, or that corruption is costly to society.

- Improper and traditional values: For example, citizens may believe that personal gain is the only thing that counts and that public servants are supposed to look out for themselves alone.

- A lack of opportunity: To express intolerance of corruption and a fear of retaliation.

- A lack of incentives: Citizens may feel that they gain more from corrupt government that they would from an honest system (Gardiner and Malec 1989).

- Cultural practices or traditions: Since 40 per cent of the Indonesian population is Javanese, who often dominate key positions in the public sector, Javanese culture is often blamed for public service corruption, collusion and nepotism (Magnis-Suseno 1995). For example, because of the Javanese cultural imperative to avoid conflict, Javanese people may tend to tolerate corrupt practices rather than challenge them. In addition, as a colonised people, the master-servant relationships of colonialism linger on. Public servants are seen as masters whose performance is beyond criticism (Magnis-Suseno 1984). Indeed, according to Schwarz (1994:135), the very term ‘public servant’
is something of a misnomer in this 'quasi-feudal' Indonesia where government employees are more accurately the 'owners' of the nation and the general public their servants.

**Forms of government**

It is widely believed that democracy delegates certain powers to society which may check the abuse of power by the state. The presence of strong political parties and pressure groups and freedom of the press may safeguard against arbitrary or corrupt decision making (Ali 1985). Unfortunately, although Indonesia has had democratic institutions such as parliament, political parties and regular elections since independence, in effect the government is still far from democratic.

The elections, for example, conducted five times during Soeharto's presidency, have been neither free nor fair due to bribes and cheating. The candidacy for members of parliament (MPs) must be approved by the government, and MPs from the opposition parties who might enjoy popularity among voters are, then, denied candidature. In fact, of the 1,000 members of the People's Consultative Assembly, which decides who should govern the country, only 400 are elected while 600 are appointed by the government (YLBH 1990:68). As a result, elections give the people only a 'vote' and not a 'say' and do nothing to change the socio-political status quo.

The press, often a very effective means in preventing government abuse of power, is suffering in Indonesia. Despite more than 200 press publications, nearly 700 private radio stations and five television companies, Indonesian journalists are not able to report freely because although the Indonesian Pancasila press is 'free', it must also be 'responsible' (Indonesia Department for Information 1994:221-2). No-one knows exactly what is meant by a 'free and responsible press', but 12 newspapers and magazines were banned in 1974, 14 others were closed four years later, as was one other in 1990 - all for being 'irresponsible'. As late as 1994, two leading Indonesian news magazines, Tempo and Editor, along with the tabloid Detik, were banned.

**Combating corruption: Implementation problems**

Serious and comprehensive anti-corruption campaigns are necessary to root out corruption in Indonesia. In the Indonesian context, the following strategies may minimise corruption in the public sector:

**Administrative reform**

Comprehensive administrative reform through privatisation, deregulation, decentralisation, professionalisation and commercialisation of public services should occur.

**Privatisation:** This may take various forms, from contracting-out public services or functions to selling off state assets. The underlying idea is not to pit the private sector against the public sector but to establish competition, to minimise the monopoly provision of public goods and services and to ensure public accountability of all providers.

**Deregulation:** Since licensing activity is a critical arena of corruption, if some government activities were restricted or abolished by deregulation policy, there would be fewer vehicles for corruption.

**Decentralisation:** Decentralisation must involve the delegation of real authority - including the authority to generate and reserve a portion of local revenues - and accountability. Abuse of authority and public corruption is less likely to occur if the rules which govern officials are at least in part defined by local norms, evincing local support and legitimacy. The Indonesian government has publicly advocated a decentralisation programme, yet it is limited to administrative, not fiscal, functions.

**Professionalisation and commercialisation:** The professionalisation and commercialisation of the Indonesian public service, as has occurred in some state enterprises, may minimise corruption. Training is important as 'no matter how well-qualified a person may be at the time of recruitment, becoming an effective and efficient public servant must be taught and inculcated rather than assumed' (Hope 1987:137). The objective of administrative training must include the creation of public servant commitment to national goals and values, including ethical personal behaviour and a strong work ethic.

The large size of the public service may be a crucial factor in the government's inability or unwillingness to increase salaries. Therefore redundant personnel should be retrenched through programmes of phased deployment and early retirement. The government's 'zero growth public sector' programme should be seriously implemented, and where recruitment must occur, merit-based and performance-oriented procedures should be applied. The recruitment of unemployed into the public sector to improve the unemployment statistics should stop, and programmes which improve employment opportunities outside the public sector be introduced. Public sector salary levels should increase to correspond to the cost of living and senior public servants' salaries should be competitive with their private sector counterparts.

**Public mobilisation:** Public intolerance of corruption is perhaps the most important factor in controlling corruption, according to Gardiner and Malec (1989). Therefore, public mobilisation programmes should be introduced in Indonesia. Though expensive, successful programmes save larger sums of public money (ICAC 1994). A successful programme will encourage citizens in four areas: not to participate in corruption; to 'blow the whistle' when they become aware of specific instances of corrupt behaviour; to support honest candidates for public office; and to work for public integrity.
Political reform

Political reform towards a more democratic system of government is probably the most important factor determining the success of anti-corruption reforms in Indonesia. The more democratic a country, the more likely it is that: mechanisms will be put in place to monitor the performance of administrators and bureaucrats, incentives will be created to promote noncorrupt behaviour, and punishments mandated to discourage corruption. A truly free press can also be an effective and efficient monitoring and controlling mechanism in a democratic environment, by investigating and exposing allegations of corruption. A more democratic Indonesia could furthermore create impartial and ongoing law enforcement against corruption. Indonesia’s anti-corruption laws and teams, in place since 1958, often only punish low-level bureaucrats committing petty corruption (Hamzah 1991).

However, such political reform towards democracy is likely to be the most difficult anti-corruption strategy to achieve. Firstly, the so-called middle class - educated people of a certain level of wealth (who have become effective fighters for democracy in South Korea and Thailand) - is not a true middle class. Unlike their counterparts in other countries who are successful because of their entrepreneurial skill, Indonesia’s businesspeople, mostly ethnic Chinese, are very dependant on government patronage and various kinds of protection and monopolies. Although economically powerful, the Chinese are politically weak, aware of anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesian society and interested in maintaining the current political system in which they can buy protection (Schwarz 1994).

Secondly, as some analysts argue, political reform towards democracy in Indonesia will only occur if the initiative comes from the old but powerful and influential president, Soeharto (Crouch 1994).

Conclusion

Corruption is a problem for both developed and developing countries. In Indonesia, corrupt practices are triggered by: the monopoly functions of the public sector in delivering certain services; poverty and low public sector incomes; traditional values; ignorance; and the form of government. Although some strategies to combat corruption have been identified, these are unlikely to succeed in Indonesia so long as the government remains undemocratic.

* This paper is based on the author’s Master degree thesis, submitted to the National Centre for Development Studies, 1995

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Indonesia’s businesspeople, mostly ethnic Chinese, are very

July 1997
Bureaucratic corruption:  
A Philippine public sector reform perspective

Ruth Tampipi, Department of Trade and Development, Philippines

Bureaucratic corruption is as old as government office. In the Philippines, controlling bureaucratic corruption has been a governmental aim through various leaderships, even the highly corrupt Marcos dictatorship (1965-1986). Nevertheless, bureaucratic corruption persists even up to the present Ramos administration. This paper analyses some characteristics of present day corruption in the Philippines, and the difficulties of implementing anti-corruption measures and provides recommendations for reducing corruption in the public sector.

Characteristics of present day corruption in the Philippines

Bureaucratic corruption was one of the key factors in the overthrow of the repressive regime under President Marcos in 1986. This event became the turning point in the democratisation of the Philippines, where major changes in the bureaucracy's instrumental values, ethics and accountability took priority (Carino 1990). Bureaucratic reform under the Aquino (1986-1992) and Ramos administrations included: the passage of new laws; the creation and strengthening of agencies to check and improve performance; and the participation of non government organisations in policy making (Brillantes 1993). Despite these efforts, graft and corruption continue to plague the Philippine bureaucracy.

Present day corruption in the Philippines is said to be less centralised and more 'democratic' (Carino 1990) than in the past. Public accountability is better served when power and authority are not concentrated in one person (Tancangco 1991). This argument does not seem especially pertinent to the Philippines' bureaucracy as delegation of power and authority also produces opportunities for corruption. The delegation of responsibility and authority in the Philippines has simply 'decentralised' bureaucratic corruption, evident in the existing bureaucratic syndicates - for example, in the Bureau of Customs, the Commission on Immigration and Deportation, the Bureau of Internal Revenue and lately, the Department of Agrarian Reform (Carino 1990). Corruption in these agencies is not orchestrated from the centre, and the officials involved operate independently.

Present day corruption continues to follow the 'justice delayed, justice denied' pattern where complaints remain unattended for long periods of time. Delays in action are aggravated by the fact that 'preventative suspension' is often only meted out to lower level employees accused of corruption, not to more prominent officials. High-level bureaucrats try to maximise their own corrupt receipts by eliminating lower-level corruption in order to advance a misleading image of their own administrative capacities as personally 'sound' (Ackerman 1978). High-level bureaucrats are likely to tolerate low-level corruption only where it is necessary to their own survival; that is, if the corruption of those subordinates prevents them from reaping pay-offs received by their superiors. Hence, delay in actioning complaints of corruption is not only attributable to weak policing, but also to the lack of discipline and responsibility among agency heads.

In the Philippines, responsibility for corruption is sometimes described as an 'employee' rather than a management problem. When accused of corruption, the defence offered by the former Secretary of Agrarian Reform was that his leadership fell victim to the corrupt manipulations of his subordinates (Carino 1990). However, being unaware or 'innocent' does not absolve management responsibility, but points to the need for competent administration, including knowledge of and control over the performance of subordinates.

Difficulties in implementing anti-corruption measures

The 1987 Philippine Constitution emphasises the importance of high ethical and accountability standards for public officials. However, there is a wide credibility gap between government pronouncement and action. The existence of the Presidential Commission on Graft and Corruption along with other agencies illustrates the incapacity of most government departments to internally address corruption. Reasons for inadequate control of corruption include:

Inadequate resources: Fiscal constraint in the Philippine public sector limits policy capacities (Grabosky 1990). Efforts to control bureaucratic corruption can be costly, and must compete for declining budgetary resources (Reyes 1993). Minimising the net cost to society - the difference between the social cost of corruption and the cost of its eradication - requires considerable care. The costs of controlling corruption may outweigh the benefits. On the other hand, resource limitation is a 'given' in the practice of government and should not be an excuse for passivity (Reyes 1993).

Unclear goals and priorities: Controlling bureaucratic corruption requires clear and concise objectives, supported by an appropriate machinery through which the government offers direction and purpose. The lack of clarity and purpose in measures to combat corruption in the Philippines is evident in Executive Order No. 151, passed in 1994, which created
the Presidential Commission on Graft and Corruption. Section 4 states that the Commission shall confine itself to cases involving presidential appointees with the rank equivalent to or higher than an assistant regional director, where the amount involved is at least ten million pesos and for activities which threaten grievous harm or injury to the public interest. This provision attracts criticism from bureaucratic reformers; petty and large-scale corruption produce the same social cost, betrayal of public trust and accountability, and injury to public interest (Caiden and Caiden 1994).

Nor are 'grievous harm' and 'public interest' clearly defined. Even though the Philippine government has official anti-corruption aims, the individuals implementing them may have different personal aims (Ali 1985). Unclear goals and priorities may thus be made more complex and less effective as they are translated into action.

Protection and dependence: Protection of high officials appears to be more important than of the public service itself, such that a whole department or programme is stigmatised ahead of its purportedly corrupt head being sent 'on leave' (Carino 1990). Even those government officials who are not personally involved in corruption, seldom seriously attempt to eradicate it, generally because of their own dependence on the support of their 'superior' but corrupt official (Alatas 1990). This 'protective mantle' around corrupt top officials reinforces the gap between the civil service and its executive leadership, resulting in complacency and cynicism among rank and file employees, which in turn makes bureaucratic corruption more difficult to control.

Limited participation: Controlling bureaucratic corruption is a daunting task for any government to address alone. Policy formulation and implementation are monopolised by the government in most developing countries, with little or no opportunity for private sector participation or contribution (Bryant and White 1982). Complaints about bureaucratic corruption in the Philippines are often heard, but seldom officially lodged by complainants. While the fear of negative publicity may be a potent instrument in keeping bureaucrats on the path of rectitude (Ali 1985), a lack of formal complaints can be quoted by officials to deny that corruption exists at all. Large numbers of Philippine citizens are politically inactive and inarticulate. However, this is probably not so much due to the lack of popular political will, as to limited awareness, education and available channels of participation (Reyes 1993).

Recommendations

Bureaucratic corruption is ubiquitous, operating without regard to particular systems of government. Absolute remedies are unrealistic, however, practical measures can be implemented to reduce corruption in the Philippines:

Restructuring the organisational culture of government: Redressive action must start within the Philippines' bureaucracy towards its lack of discipline, accountability and professionalism. Corruption in most Philippine revenue-generating bureaus is reflective of the entire organisational culture - the norms, 'language and rituals', rules for dealing with clients and the 'feeling or climate' conveyed by the physical layout (Schein 1985). Department heads should create, modify and, when necessary, destroy undesirable organisational culture, as culture and leadership are 'two sides of the same coin' (Schein 1985). Methods and means may include: remodelling office layouts; boosting public expectations by displaying posters or repeating slogans encouraging critical suggestions for improved service delivery; rewarding employee efficiency through public acknowledgment; and facilitating staff training programmes.

Breaking power monopoly through competition: Introducing competition into the Philippines' bureaucracy could remedy the monopoly of discretionary authority which facilitates corruption. Competition not only means increasing private sector participation in public service delivery, but also establishing competition among government departments. Existing departments would have the opportunity to take over the tasks of other, less efficient or more corrupt departments. Similarly, clients might avoid bureaucratic extortion with a choice of service providers. Public and private providers could cooperate in the establishment of 'one-stop shops', with costs more efficiently shared amongst private and public sector providers and their clients, and enhanced public accountability (Caiden 1989).

A nationwide 'moral recovery' programme: The introduction of a nationwide 'moral recovery' programme could address the problems of limited government resources and participation in policy making. The active participation of families, schools, churches and the media as instruments for moral regeneration and behavioural reform (Carino 1990) might shift ingrained public attitudes of tolerance towards corruption and change the attitudes of corrupt officials (Grabosky 1990). Courses in 'public ethics and accountability' could be incorporated into the primary and/or secondary school curricula, for example, as sub-topics of existing subjects such as araling panlipunan (study of Philippines society) or sibika at kultura (civics and culture). Clients who are aware of their rights or of the rules by which government bodies operate are less vulnerable to bureaucratic corruption. A campaign for public awareness would increase participation as it instilled a sense of belonging and cohesion in the moral improvement of both government and citizenry (Barber cited in Grabosky 1990:128).

Providing avenues for public complaints: Providing avenues for public complaints would help address the problem of limited public participation in government anti-corruption efforts. Complaints should not have to be large-scale to warrant the attention of the frustratingly inaccessible Presidential Commission on Graft and Corruption or other agencies. The public could express disapproval of bureaucratic corruption through the mass media, or the Civil Service Commission through an anti-corruption 'hotline'
or suggestion/complaint boxes located strategically around the city. The success of such ventures would rely on the willingness of individuals to expose corruption that they have personally observed or experienced (Grabosky 1990), but could be encouraged by provisions that guarantee the protection or confidentiality of complainants.

**Citizens' co-production and participation:** Government initiatives to enable citizen participation in anti-corruption efforts need not be unrealistically expensive. It may be possible, for example, to fund anti-corruption strategies by producing 'off-budget' services supported by contributions from the private sector and/or the general public (Grabosky 1990:125). 'Off-budget' anti-corruption strategies may take several forms.

Firstly, the vigilance of the citizenry can offer free surveillance services which would cost thousands of pesos if delivered by the police or private security agents (Grabosky 1990). Secondly, the involvement of private institutions such as the Medical Practitioners Association, or the Institute of Civil and Electrical Engineers in government inspection and accreditation, would not only discourage corruption, but could also nudge private enterprise's 'social conscience' in matters such as occupational health and safety. In the Philippines, private firms consider the enforcement of government regulations an expensive nuisance, and proprietors sometimes offer bribes or 'reward for the government inspector's kindness' (Ali 1985). Involving private organisations in the policing of regulations would not only break the government monopoly on authority in such matters, but would also offer 'checks and balances' to ensure that both government and private inspectors were accountable for their limited exercise of power (Caiden 1989).

**Performance monitoring and evaluation:** Performance monitoring and evaluation are means of identifying performance gaps against *a priori* specifications outlining performance standards (Hogwood and Gunn 1984). Normal annual performance evaluations offer opportunities for deviations to be hidden or complicated by the sheer volume of transactions involved. Therefore, performance monitoring should also involve continuous, monthly or quarterly checks and balances. Personalised checks or *ad hoc* 'sampling' offer further opportunities to reduce corruption. In personalised monitoring contact, previous reports can be reinforced or disproved, observations may be made, and information freely shared (Bryant and White 1982). Policy makers may thus be made aware of the realities of their service delivery and simultaneously exercise discipline and control among their officials.

**Strengthening policy capacity and political commitment:** Monitoring and evaluating the Philippines' bureaucracy demands that actions be taken where performance is significantly below standard. Politicians believe that they have done their job by passing laws against bureaucratic malpractices, but such laws are currently seldom implemented. There must be a political commitment and willingness to innovate and modify 'sacred' but antiquated rules preventing peak public sector performance, with public accountability of paramount importance. Without an environment conducive to public sector reform, anti-corruption laws will exist in vain.

**Conclusion**

Combating corruption in the Philippines' bureaucracy rests on the political commitment of the present Ramos leadership to implement a programme of reform. Here, actions speak louder than words. After all, if public bureaucracies are to serve the citizens well, they must be held accountable not only for the services they provide, but also for the quality and manner in which those services are delivered.

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The relevance of privatisation to small-scale Pacific Island economies: Looking at Vanuatu

Mwisal-Dongo Jeanette Bolenga, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University*

As in other developing countries, privatisation is a 'growth industry' in small-scale Pacific Island economies (Thynne and Ariff 1989). Despite its many forms, the optimistic global objective of privatisation policies is to 'achieve some public purposes more efficiently, effectively and accurately' (Gormley 1991:17). However, the lack of homogenous socio-political and economic conditions within and between countries means that one form of privatisation working well in one situation may not do so well in another. This paper considers the case of privatisation in Vanuatu.

Defining privatisation

Privatisation is essentially 'the transfer from the public to the private sector of the ownership and/or the control of productive assets, their allocation and pricing and the entitlement to the residual profit flows generated by them' (Adam et al. 1990:6). This paper's definition extends the traditional emphasis on ownership to include 'the change in the supply of a service from the public sector to the private sector irrespective of the source of financing' (Roth 1987:6, emphasis added).

The privatisation debate

Privatisation debates have tended to centre around a well-rehearsed dichotomy: at its best, privatisation reduces government costs and offers new possibilities for better service delivery; at its worst, it raises costs and, as Gormley argues, may threaten such 'important values as equity, quality and accountability' (1991:3). Gormley also suggests that privatisation is often opposed because it 'conjures up visions of a beleaguered government bureaucracy ceding responsibility for vital public services to unreliable private entrepreneurs' (ibid). Thynne and Ariff (1989) identify four common justifications for privatisation policies offered by their proponents: government-centred, business-centred, public-centred, and employee-centred.

Government-centred justifications assert that privatisation relieves the government, its administrative machinery and personnel, from certain responsibilities and obligations, thus alleviating problems of administrative overload. Consequently, with fewer direct responsibilities; government resources can be better concentrated and utilised; capital generated through the sale of state enterprises can finance new developments; the budget deficit can be reduced; and ever-unpopular taxation increases can be avoided.

Business-centred justifications focus on the opportunities which privatisation initiatives can open up for private sector organisations. Privatisation may create opportunities to invest in enterprises which were traditionally government-owned, and to tender for work which government ministries, boards or companies have decided to contract out. Moreover, as the regulatory environments within which business activities occur are relaxed, privatisation assists in extending private sector organisations' scope for innovation and creativity (Gormley 1991).

Public-centred justifications concentrate on potential benefits to the community and individuals which may occur through privatisation. They assume that private sector organisations are more efficient than public enterprises, and that sold-off or contracted-out activities will thus offer a more efficient service to the public.

Employee-centred justifications recognise the potential value of staff commitment at all levels of the organisation - not only for their limited financial stake in the organisation, but as a form of share ownership offering job continuity, which may in turn promote or enhance worker satisfaction, motivation and productivity (Thynne and Ariff 1989). The presence of skilled and competent management and a committed and stable workforce, is an enormous incentive to productivity, and may help solve employment situations where retrenchment is perhaps the only alternative.

Privatisation in developing countries

Although privatisation is practised worldwide, its success depends on social, political and economic values. Heald (1990) argues that privatisation programmes in developing economies can only succeed where governments are prepared to promote and maintain vigorous competition of enterprises in the industrial sector.

Privatisation is often promoted as a solution to the ills of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), since SOEs are perceived as unwieldy and unsustainable (Adam et al. 1990). However, too much emphasis on privatisation as an overall remedy for fiscal crisis, without concrete analysis of public sector weaknesses and the commitment of local and national policy makers and enforcers, also contributes to privatisation failure (Heald 1990). Many developing economies underwent policy changes in the 1980s, including 'trade liberalisation, price control reduction, interest rates liberalisation, maintenance...
of more realistic exchange rates and a more open and less restrictive environment for the private sector' (Frazer 1988:161).

The Pacific Islands

Unlike market-oriented and transitional economies, small-scale Pacific Island economies are at the early or middle stages of their economic development. Constraints to development include heavy dependence on external aid donors and financial institutions, and the control of most of their physical infrastructures, especially the major elements of trade and commerce, by foreign nationals and multinational companies (Roth 1987).

In recent times, privatisation among small-scale Pacific Island states has increased tremendously. Privatisation proponents have criticised 'the inefficiency of the public enterprise with its attendant lack of profitability, bloated employment level and susceptibility to political interference and corruption' as its main pitfalls (Stein 1992:14). However, in addition to oversized bureaucracies, budget deficits and other prominent features of developing economies, the small population, the small geographical size and the isolation of the Island states, are major constraints to privatisation initiatives. The most common form of privatisation in these economies is partial divestment, especially corporatisation.

McGregor (1992) argues that privatisation, in the form of straight selling out of SOEs to the private sector, remains impractical because of the absence of local entrepreneurs with cash and experience, and underdeveloped capital markets. The objective of such restructuring is to 'replace the mixed, inconsistent, discretionary and often non-monitorable objectives of the public sector enterprise by more clear, consistent, commercial and measurable ones' (Duncan and Bollard 1992:24). But does such a change in status guarantee efficiency, budget cuts, reduce foreign participation or diminish the involvement and influence of public sector policy makers and enforcers?

Case study: Vanuatu

Government initiatives for privatisation in Vanuatu remain inadequately thought out, and are therefore likely not to succeed. Corporatisation, especially in the form of joint-ventures or corporate companies wholly owned by the government and contracting-out, will continue as the norm unless the government, the private sector and the people are prepared to accept changes associated with privatisation. For example, Vanuatu's decision to corporatise rather than completely privatise its telecommunications system can be explained by several factors:

- the lack of local private sector financial resources. Given that Vanuatu's slim private sector is dominated by overseas-owned nationals and multinationals, the government may have feared that foreign financial powers could reign supreme after a total transfer of ownership. Few benefits would accrue to the local people under such foreign ownership;
- possible government fears of losing control over the pace of development in Vanuatu with total privatisation (Duncan and Bollard 1992);
- government unwillingness to incur the potential financial costs of privatisation such as consultancy costs, pension entitlements to former employees and writing-off debts to privatised enterprises; and
- a lack of sufficiently expert personnel.

Yet privatisation initiatives in Vanuatu do have the potential to succeed, especially where the unique identities, cultures and traditions of the area are safeguarded, provided that the local private sector pledges its interest and support (Feinstein 1986). The government must be convinced that considerable private sector interest exists to override the fear of embarrassment and political backlash should privatisation fail. In addition groups with vested interests in public sector management may oppose privatisation (Kemp 1991) such as bureaucrats, who fear losing their power, positions and financial benefits, and public sector unions over concerns about possible job losses, anticipated lower wages and poorer working conditions (Thynne and Ariff 1989:13). Private sector companies operating as monopolies, particularly those enjoying privileges such as import exemptions, may oppose privatisation for its potential to limit access to foreign markets and to increase competition. It is important then, to promote more consistent public-private sector dialogue to reduce misunderstanding and uncertainty.

In Vanuatu, two issues are paramount in the privatisation debate. Firstly, the fact that privatisation does not merely concern the transfer of ownership of government services, but may involve changes in service delivery affecting the entire society; and secondly, the fact that Vanuatu's political elite is largely comprised of its local capitalists.

Privatisation has the potential to entrench poverty at one end, and a rich entrepreneurial class at the other, especially where imbalances of wealth and income already exist, such as in Vanuatu's urban and rural populations. If privatisation brings efficiency and competition, and thus reduces government costs, then services to the poor should be extended.

However, a smaller government with different patterns of distribution would not necessarily spread social wealth more equitably, especially where efficiencies would be constrained by private shareholders' personal interests (Duncan and Bollard 1992). Likewise, expansion of the private delivery of public programmes will not necessarily reduce costs, because new, contingent expenses may override the expected savings (Duncan and Bollard 1992).
Secondly, because the political effect of a small population is that local capitalists are the political elite in Vanuatu, an economic system based on private enterprise may not reflect the alleged rationality of the market place. The success of privatisation initiatives will therefore depend on the influence of elites on existing socio-political and economic institutions.

The paradox of privatisation is that although publicly owned firms under market control may perhaps prove easiest to privatisate, the transition to private ownership may make little or no difference to the performance of such commercial concerns. On the other hand, those enterprises currently enmeshed in the state bureaucracy - those which could most benefit from privatisation - are far less likely to be divested to the private sector (Johnson 1988). Traditionally, public enterprise activities have been concentrated in areas of low profitability. The shortfall of foreign exchange and a weak and fluctuating demand for their output contributes to reduced profitability. Privatisation can succeed in such areas only with a range of market protection measures, such as tax and subsidy concessions.

Conclusion

Privatisation has multiple objectives which in practice are mutually inconsistent, and thus cannot be simultaneously achieved, particularly with regard to the complex socio-political and economic nature of individual nations. As capital markets are currently inadequately developed to support large capital sales in small-scale Pacific Island economies, corporatisation and contracting-out are the most common privatisation strategies. Perhaps privatisation should not be considered the only solution to administrative problems, because improvement in the management of state enterprises and the liberalisation of capital markets without changing their ownership may also enhance efficiency and productivity. The objectives of privatisation will only be accomplished effectively in Vanuatu if the government formulates appropriate legal and economic legislation to supplement its Companies Act. It should ensure that the operation of privatised companies is sustained, an efficient role in service provision is maintained and competition is enhanced.

The success of privatisation in Vanuatu will be determined by population and geographical factors, the effects of the dominant political and economic systems and their administrative arrangements, and by Vanuatu's colonial legacies. Careful consideration of all these factors is needed to successfully implement policies that improve service provision and resource allocation to enhance economic development. In determining the usefulness of privatisation strategies to small-scale Pacific Island economies, then, it is essential to carefully examine each factor which has successfully influenced the implementation of Pacific Island development.

*This paper is based on the author's Master degree thesis, submitted to the National Centre for Development Studies, 1995.

References


Public choice and contracting-out to a non-profit organisation: The case of the Emergency Rescue Unit Foundation (ERUF) in Cebu

Cesar G. Go, University of Cebu, Philippines

The privatisation of some services, particularly through non-profit organisations in a non-competitive environment, may not fit the theoretical basis and assumptions of public choice theory. Incentives for the efficient and effective delivery of services are said to be absent in such a situation. But decisions of whether to privatise, the kind of privatisation preferred, and to whom privatisation should be delegated, may be driven by motives other than efficiencies presumed to be brought about by a free market environment (Fitch 1988). Ideally, administrative, political and financial structures are redesigned to suit the privatisation process (Hite 1993). In theory, the system will then reflect the motivation and rationale for privatisation. These structures are supposed to determine the efficacy and effectiveness of the delivery of the public service being privatised.

In 1992 the ambulance service of Cebu City, Philippines, was contracted-out by the local government to the non government Emergency Rescue Unit Foundation (ERUF). This article analyses the administrative, political and financial arrangements between a local government unit and ERUF, from January 1990 to December 1994, and assesses the efficiency and effectiveness of ERUF service delivery after 1992 until 1995.

Privatisation of the emergency ambulance service in Cebu City

The privatisation of the emergency ambulance service in Cebu City in 1992 was the first such initiative ever recorded by a local government unit in the Philippines. It was also a first for Cebu City in terms of wholly privatising a public service. Prior to this, all social services - including health, garbage collection, education, and maintenance of peace and order - were all funded and mostly delivered by either the local government and/or the national government (Montecillo 1995).

Prior to the contracting-out of the ambulance service, the residents of Cebu City relied on two ambulances operated by the Cebu City Medical Centre, a tertiary hospital funded and administered through the City Health Office, and the ambulances of the seven private hospitals within the city. Disaster coordinating councils at different levels of government provide emergency medical services and assistance during natural disasters, but there is no existing emergency services bureau or a specialised unit in any section or department of a city or national office that responds, on a daily basis, to medical emergency calls from the residents of Cebu City (Fernandez 1995).

The ERUF is a non-profit NGO which had been providing emergency ambulance services since July 1986. As ERUF built its reputation for efficient and effective ambulance and rescue services, the city considered ERUF's potential to provide the ambulance service on the city's behalf. In contrast, the Cebu City Medical Centre, had been criticised for inefficiency and inferior service. In 1990, the city received two 'trauma vans' from the Netherlands and, because ERUF had already trained paramedics and communication facilities, negotiations as to the terms of the contracting-out took place.

The programme to contract-out the ambulance service was conceived as early as five months before the signing of the memorandum of agreement (MOA). The legal justification for the MOA between the two parties comes from the Republic Act 7160, or the 1991 Local Government Code, Sections 35 and 36. These state that:

(i) a local government unit may enter into arrangements with NGOs and peoples' organisations to engage in the delivery of basic services; and

(ii) the local government unit, through its chief executive and with the concurrence of the legislative council, may provide financial or other assistance to NGOs (cited in Brillantes 1993:116).

Subsequently, the city agreed to subsidise 'the day-to-day expenses of the NGO for as long as the ambulances are used for the benefit of the City'.

The contracting-out arrangement between ERUF and Cebu City

The contracting-out arrangement between ERUF and the City is guided by the terms of the MOA with several provisions that are either vague or left to the discretion of either party. For instance, the MOA does not specify any particular amount for the subsidy (although in 1995, an amount had been set outside of the MOA). Secondly, the agreement lacks guidelines to ensure cost efficiency. The subsidy for any quarter must be liquidated before the subsidy for the following quarter is released. Legally, ERUF is not covered by restrictions on how it is to spend the subsidy. Finally, there is also uncertainty of the period of the subsidy.

These uncertainties have had various results:

• ERUF procedures have changed, resulting in cost inefficiencies while not compromising the quality of the services provided. Prior to the subsidy, ERUF was fiscally prudent - especially in its spending - due
to budgetary uncertainties from its dependence on fund-raising activities, donations and membership dues for operational expenses. Typically it saved some of the incoming money in anticipation of times with fewer cash donations and no immediate fund-raising prospects.

With Cebu City subsidies, ERUF found an incentive to spend the entire subsidy, either through the acquisition of assets, training materials or equipment - ERUF's rationale was that it could not buy such assets without a subsidy, and that the subsidy should be fully spent. Cost-cutting and efficiency were no longer necessary modes of action.

Administrative costs as a percentage of total cost have risen since the agreement, as has the average cost of transporting a patient to hospital. However, while these acquisitions and increasing unit transport costs may have contributed to short-term inefficiency, the annual increase in transported patients (about 30 per cent per year) may eventually pay off these investments through increased quality of service with ERUF's modern medical and rescue equipment. Economies of scale may also occur. The average unit cost, therefore, may settle at a level similar to that of the pre-agreement period.

Since the subsidy was instituted, the quality of paramedics recruited to ERUF has improved, with more than half now being registered nurses.

The salaries of paramedics and administrative staff have increased annually since 1992.

From 1990 to 1994, ERUF had consistently kept the average emergency response time to under ten minutes.

ERUF has maintained its links with the community through equitable provision of services. Even before the subsidy, ERUF had provided free ambulance service to indigent patients, while charging patients admitted to private hospitals.

Clearly, the contracting-out arrangement has had both positive and negative effects, but ultimately it is the City which must decide on the cost and quality of services provided to its residents. The City might institute a framework that will ensure or provide incentives for more efficient, effective and accountable services, without trying to co-opt ERUF.

Conclusion

This case study has illustrated some of the complex outcomes of contracting-out. The contracting-out arrangement has changed the relationship between Cebu City and ERUF. It has increased their interdependency as a result of the increased bureaucratisation of ERUF, manifested in its expenditure patterns and budget maximisation practices, and has blurred the traditional distinctions between them. Yet, contracting-out has been advantageous for both parties. For Cebu City, it has had the political advantage of utilising and working with a recognised service provider which has, over the years, gained goodwill in the community. For ERUF, the substantial financial support by Cebu City enabled an expansion and improvement of its services at a faster pace than voluntary donations and membership dues would have allowed. Simultaneously, the provision of free ambulance service to all residents of the city addressed both the local government's objective of equity and ERUF's mission of providing effective and free ambulance services to all. More importantly, the presence of ERUF in Cebu City had allowed indigent patients easy access to an efficient ambulance service without having to worry about paying for it.

A factor in determining the success or failure of contracting-out is selecting the right kinds of public service to target; ones which the private sector might better provide for (Donahue 1989). The manner in which service deliverers are selected is also important. Notions of competition, contestability and evaluation in contracting-out can offer incentives to efficiency (Cook and Kirkpatrick 1988). The advantages and disadvantages of profit-motivated versus non-profit service delivery should also be examined (Ferris and Graddy 1986). But to accurately project efficiency and effectiveness, these public choice factors should be used as guidelines in a broader framework of the other institutional arrangements and the organisational decision making process.

'Transaction cost analysis', while sharing the individualist assumptions of public choice theory, concludes that contracting-out may not be appropriate where there is uncertainty about future needs, a lack of clear and visible performance standards and little or only temporary competition among contractors. Such conditions may encourage opportunism among contractors and reduce the capacity of government to control the quality of services (Self 1993). However, the case of ERUF seems to refute this idea, where there was certainly little or no competition for service delivery, and undoubtedly some uncertainty about future needs. ERUF has maintained just as effective a provision of service under government contract as it did prior to it. However, the cost efficiency of the service, at least under the period examined, remains questionable. This is because the financial arrangement between the city and the ambulance service has altered ERUF's time preferences as well as its incentives for spending, saving and determining priorities.

Finally, when voluntary organisations provide services to the state, the result can be a mixture of public equity and efficiency with voluntary initiative and discretion (Self 1993). Privatisation strategies should therefore make sure that the vitality, enthusiasm and local roots of the voluntary sector are not lost in contracting-out arrangements.

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References


This paper tests the validity of the argument that public enterprises are inefficient (Chang and Singh 1993). It uses two case studies to examine whether privatisation is the best remedy for public enterprise inefficiency in developing countries: Singapore Airlines from 1980 to 1985 before privatisation, and from 1986 to 1990 following partial privatisation; and a wholly state-owned national airline, Air Namibia, from 1990 to 1994.

**Defining privatisation and public enterprise**

The term 'privatisation' is used in this paper to describe policy initiatives which refer to: the transfer of ownership of an enterprise (or part of an enterprise) from the public to the private sector; and liberalisation or deregulation, when private enterprise is permitted to enter into activities previously restricted to the public sector (Cook and Kirkpatrick 1988).

Public enterprise occurs when the state as an economic agent, intervenes through a variety of policy instruments and engages in the production of goods and services. Hansom (1959:115) claims that 'in a more restricted and familiar sense, public enterprise means state ownership and operation of industrial, agricultural, financial, and commercial undertakings'. State intervention in the economic growth of developing countries is warranted in several ways. Public ownership may be necessary to exploit economies of scale, and may be instrumental in the pursuit of socio-political goals such as employment creation, reducing regional inequalities through strategic location, and offering subsidised services to low-income consumers. As a result, public enterprise often accounts for a significant share of developing country national output and investment.

**Privatisation in developing countries**

The growing interest in privatisation in developing countries has been prompted by the reassessment of the size, role and contribution of the public enterprise sector in their economic growth and development. Public enterprises were originally established to lead the industrialisation of developing countries, to generate public savings for investment and attract foreign capital (Simone and Feraru 1995). Direct government participation in the economy was initiated to government stimulus for economic growth (Yi 1976). Therefore, the Singapore government's *modus operandi* has been to establish government-linked companies, expecting their assistance in infrastructural development, restructuring, and economy take-off (Low 1988). *Singapore Airlines* was incorporated in 1972 as a fully state-owned airline, with the hope that it would boost the country's image, technology, tourism and trade. From the mid-1980s however, the Singapore Government committed to privatisation through the sale of government-
linked company shares (Thynne and Ariff 1990). This policy shift from a 'hard state' approach to one with an increasingly dominant private sector, was pragmatic and responsive, rather than ideological and ambivalent. Government officials asserted that:

In the past ... the government had intervened to build up Singapore’s economic base, but times have changed. In the 1980s, the engine of economic development should be the private sector and not the government ... the state will invest in new priority industries only where private entrepreneurs do not have the will or the money to undertake projects on their own (cited in Holloway 1987:50).

The Government appointed a Public Sector Divestment Committee (PSDC), which proposed that divestment of government-linked companies be based on three primary objectives: to withdraw from commercial activities no longer needing government support; to develop the stock market by floating government-linked companies through secondary distribution of government-owned shares; and to avoid or reduce competition with the private sector (Thynne and Ariff 1990).

Singapore Airlines was one of the first government-linked companies to be floated. Currently, 54 per cent of the stake is state-owned, with the remaining 46 per cent privately owned (SIA 1994:129).

To test whether public enterprises equate with inefficiency, we can compare the operating efficiency and financial performance of Singapore Airlines from 1980 to 1985 before privatisation, to 1986 to 1990 after partial privatisation.

Efficiency and productivity

Figure 1 shows Singapore Airlines’ overall productivity, comparing revenue tonne kilometres (RTK) against the available capacity, and overall load factors. More than 50 per cent of the available capacity was used, while industry growth fluctuated over time (SIA 1982). Factors influencing increases included flight frequency and upgrading to aircraft with larger capacities. The graph reveals that the early 1980's world recession aided the decline of Singapore Airlines' industry growth in 1982-83. From 1985 onwards however, Singapore Airlines markedly increased its gross output, which was attributed to a management drive for efficiency. Virtually all of its operational and management policies were designed with the national interest in mind, but with profitability as the 'bottom-line' (Westlake 1991).

Profitability

The airline's return on investment (ROI) - or net profit over total assets - reveals the effective ability of airline management to generate profits with respect to available assets (Ilokwu 1991; Gitman 1979). Figure 2 indicates that the airline continued to make a profit throughout the period under consideration. From 1985 onwards it appears that managerial effectiveness increased to generate profit, but that several other factors also contributed to this, including cost-savings in fuel and oil, and increases in fixed assets.

Clearly, Singapore Airlines performed solidly throughout 1980-1990 which may have resulted from the drive for efficiency, not government protection (Westlake 1991). Therefore, the statement equating public enterprises with inefficiency must be qualified as subjective and inconclusive because there are public enterprises which are efficient and profitable, just as there are private enterprises which are inefficient and insolvent. However, it must be emphasised that Singapore Airlines demonstrated a far superior performance in the last five years compared to the years before divestment. It would appear that after Singapore Airlines' flotation on the stock exchange, there was a sharper focus on profit due to market pressure.

Figure 1: SIA overall productivity measure 1980-81 to 1989-90

![Graph showing SIA overall productivity measure 1980-81 to 1989-90](image)

Source: Compiled from SIA Annual Reports 1980-1990.
Figure 2: Return on investment 1980-81 to 1989-90

![Graph showing return on investment 1980-81 to 1989-90](image)

Source: Compiled from SIA Annual Reports, years 1980-1990

Case study two: Air Namibia

Air Namibia is the wholly state-owned national airline of Namibia. It is a commercialised statutory corporation which operates within a free-market system, and exists primarily to serve the national interest through providing a high-quality, profit-making service (TransNamib 1995). Although constitutionally, the corporation is supposed to be insulated from politics, operationally, it refers strategic decisions to the government (Noble 1993). Due to a lack of primary data, the performance of Air Namibia can only be analysed by measuring the return on investment (ROI).

Profitability

Figure 3 reveals that along with national independence and the opportunity it offered the airline, came competition. From a $0.89 million profit in the financial year 1990-91 (TransNamib 1992:16), the airline recorded an operating loss expressed as -37 per cent ROI in 1991-92 due to fuel price increases. The financial year 1992-93 shows a marked improvement in revenue, up by 17.7 per cent to N$133,368 million due to the peace accord signed in the capital of Angola (TransNamib 1993:18). The last two years show a significant drop in the revenue yield, forced down apparently, by intense competition on international routes, resulting largely from deregulation and economic recession (TransNamib 1994:19).

Given the observed trend of performance 1990 to 1994, Air Namibia may be described as being inefficient and unprofitable. It seems that Air Namibia's management has not achieved its corporate objective of making a profit while serving the national interest. Along with many other African national airlines, Air Namibia is constrained by the lack of financial, technological and personnel resources of most African governments, to be internationally competitive.

Air Namibia also operates within a Southern African airline environment that in general suffers further from: small markets; low aircraft utilisation; poor revenue yields; overstaffing; inadequate funding and poor capital structure; unclear management and government relations; and deficiencies in the aviation structure (SATCC 1992:2). The Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC) has argued that the state-owned and protected nature of these airlines fosters inaction. Consequently, Air Namibia's performance indicates that certain public enterprises fail to meet the pragmatic rationale for which they were initially established: to act as an instrument of economic growth and development (Cook and Kirkpatrick 1988).

To privatise or not?

Air Namibia is an institution reformed from a government department to a commercialised corporation. A change in the allocation of property rights from the state to private owners may improve its operating efficiency. Privatisation can immediately shift the objectives to maximise profit, leading to company share based rewards, as well as providing negative incentives against poor performance, such as the threat of takeover or liquidation. Cook and Kirkpatrick (1988) argue that privatisation is primarily a means to improve the performance of the public enterprise sector through: lessening the scope for political intervention; simplifying the objectives of the enterprise; reducing overly complex networks of dysfunctional bureaucratic controls; and therefore, minimising government intervention in operating decisions.
However, privatisation should occur within the context of macroeconomic reform, referred to by Nellis and Kikeri (1989) as liberalisation of trade regimes, pricing reforms, demand management, and the elimination of monopolies. Deregulation may also be relevant to Namibia and other developing countries by promoting competition within the service market (Dalvi 1995:103). Extensive deregulation of the Namibian airline industry would boost competition and benefit the government through increased efficiency; customers through greater choice; and the market through openness. Institutions may also gain through increased focus and flexibility (Dalvi 1995). Private firms should be encouraged to enter the market, and where feasible, public services should be contracted out to more efficient and effective suppliers.

The usefulness of privatisation can be judged by the extent to which it achieves its primary objectives: to improve public finances and increase economic efficiency (Bouin and Michalea 1991). For example, the Namibian government is operating on a budget deficit (Standard Bank Namibia Ltd 1991), possibly due to the poor financial results of public enterprises. Privatisation may not only reduce that financial burden, but also procure additional tax revenue. It should be emphasised however, that improvement in economic performance is more likely to result from an increase in market competition, rather than from a change of ownership. Privatisation then, is only a means to an end, but not the end in itself (Cook and Kirkpatrick 1988). The guiding principle should be to ensure that privatisation does not take place at the expense of measures to increase competition such as liberalisation and deregulation, because this may lead to a small group of private owners using their economic position and political influence to bar further competition (Nellis and Kikeri 1989).

Conclusion

The public enterprises examined in this paper were created as a response to market failure. Developing countries have used public enterprises as instruments to promote restructuring and to set the economy on an upward path. However, public enterprises perform variously, depending on their corporate mission, control measures, orientation and management philosophy. Singapore Airlines' competitive, efficient and profitable performance throughout the period considered resulted from the right mix of marketing and financial strategies, not government protection (Westlake 1991). Its performance shows the general assumption equating public enterprises with inefficiency as inconclusive and therefore invalid. However, the airline demonstrated far superior performance immediately after it was partially privatised, as a result of greater cost-saving measures.

Certain public enterprises can constrain economic development such as Air Namibia. The major causes of inefficiency associated with state ownership are: political interference; protection against competition; subsidy; and the fact that some public enterprises have to serve socio-political objectives in addition to commercial goals. The policy question of whether privatisation can most appropriately remedy inefficient public enterprise performance must be understood within this context. The transfer of property rights may create the necessary commercial pressure and discipline to improve the efficiency of public enterprises. Privatisation will generally succeed in a contestable market; however, the mere transfer of a public monopoly to a private one will only create regulatory and other monopolistic problems. The principal objective of policy formulation in general should therefore be to increase competition.
This paper is based on the author's Master degree thesis, submitted to the National Centre for Development Studies

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July 1997
Public sector reform in Fiji: Re-thinking affirmative action policy for Indigenous Fijians and Rotumans

Nemani G. Mati, Bureau of Statistics, Suva, Fiji

Affirmative action is an umbrella term for a range of possible corrective responses to manifestations of discrimination (Poiner and Wills 1991). To discriminate against a person means to deny him or her equality of opportunity. A major focus of affirmative action is to alert people to the previously unrecognised abilities of members of targeted groups (Blanchard and Crosby 1989). A target group is any group identified as having been negatively affected by discrimination and therefore targeted for concern by affirmative action programmes. One of the ways in which affirmative action goes beyond equal opportunity is in its differential recruitment of under-utilised groups (Blanchard and Crosby 1989). Affirmative action is principally concerned with employment by relatively large employers such as the public sector (Poiner and Wills 1991). This paper evaluates the affirmative action policy for Indigenous Fijians and Rotumans in the Fijian public sector.

Bases for affirmative action

A major area of concern in any discussion of recruitment into public sectors worldwide is the question of equality of opportunity and representativeness of the public sector bureaucracies. While there is no doubt of the significance of merit in public sector recruitment, it is important to produce administrators whose social and economic characteristics are similar to the people with whom they will work. Narrow recruitment from a single social stratum tends to negatively affect policy design and service delivery. Members of minority groups may be discriminated against while the dominant groups will tend to impose their own values. Thus the idea of greater representativeness in the public sector can be used as a positive means of changing the economic and social structure of a society. This process usually involves affirmative action.

The ideas on which affirmative action is grounded can be traced to the field of ethics (Taylor 1991). In attempting to apply ethical analysis to affirmative action, four basic approaches can be identified: justice as freedom; justice as fairness; justice as productive freedom; and justice as the greatest good (Taylor 1991), each of which is evident in the kinds of ethical theories propounded respectively by Robert Nozick, John Rawls, Marxist critics, and utilitarianists.

Affirmative action policy for Indigenous Fijians in the public sector

The Constitutional Inquiry and Advisory Committee (CIAC) handed down its report on the public sector in late 1989, after inviting and considering public submissions. One of the major themes in submissions from Indigenous Fijians was a desire to control their own future and destiny particularly with regard to controlling access to lucrative public sector jobs. Thus the CIAC argued for the predominance of Indigenous Fijians in the various decision making bodies within the public sector.

The new Constitution for the Republic of Fiji was promulgated, to take immediate effect, on 25 July 1990 by President Ganilau. While the 1990 Constitution may have institutionalised Indigenous Fijian desire to control the public sector, a positive discrimination policy had been gradually implemented in public sector organisations immediately after the military coup in 1987 (Narsey 1989). A positive or 'reverse' discrimination policy, advocates that as past generations discriminated against other groups, it is therefore valid to discriminate against their progeny (Poiner and Wills 1991). Since 1989, public sector organisations in Fiji have been implementing a positive discrimination policy, in which at least 50 per cent of positions at all levels are to be filled by Indigenous Fijians and Rotumans (Narsey 1989).

The positive discrimination policy being implemented in Fiji, like affirmative action policies in general, may be necessary in some cases - for example where a particular ethnic group is economically under-represented (Narsey 1989; Blanchard and Crosby 1989; Poiner and Wills 1989; Taylor 1991). An obvious illustration in the Fijian case would be in business and commerce, in which Indigenous Fijians are under-represented, and Indo-Fijians form the vast majority. However, a similar pattern has not occurred in the public sector, where Indigenous Fijians and Rotumans form the majority.

It cannot be said therefore, that the policy of positive discrimination being implemented within the Fijian public sector is affirmative action in the strict sense of the term. What it represents is more or less a form of political backlash, a reaction against change and anything that is new to traditional Fijian political and social organisation. This is not to deny the ethical and moral grounds on which the notion of affirmative action is based; it is obvious, however, that the affirmative action policy adopted in Fiji has little to do with justice and the ethical high ground. It is my contention that Indigenous Fijians were never discriminated against by Indo-Fijians in the first place, rendering the argument for positive or reverse discrimination invalid.
The need for reform

Although the government has indicated a desire to reduce the relative size of government for several years, the share of government expenditure in GDP increased from 22 per cent in 1989 to 27 per cent in 1994. Employment in the civil service declined from 18,900 in 1989 to 17,400 in 1990 before steadily increasing to 18,900 in 1994-95 (Fallon 1995). This growth in civil service numbers has occurred at the same time as the government has implemented its positive discrimination policy towards Indigenous Fijians and Rotumans. It would be fair to assume then, that the drop in civil service numbers from 1989 to 1990-91 would be due mostly to Indo-Fijian professionals who have migrated overseas or have joined the private sector immediately after the military coup.

A more disturbing trend in investment has accompanied these developments. There has been a slowing down in investment both from domestic and external sources which has lead to a slow economic growth rate (Fallon 1995). Instability in political institutions and regulatory and legal frameworks can lead to loss of potential investment, a slowing down in economic growth, and a general breakdown in control and accountability (North 1990). Institutional instability can be attributed to a number of causes, one of the more important being an under-performing bureaucracy.

Growth in the size of a bureaucracy is often accompanied by problems of control and accountability or responsibility. A key component of a properly functioning system of administrative accountability and control is the internalisation of their proper role by public sector workers. Lack of accountability can particularly occur when public sector workers do not have this internalised sense. Such a situation could develop in countries where workers are not recruited on merit, do not possess the necessary qualifications, are not required to sit the entrance exams or are promoted quickly because they belong to a particular ethnic group. This has been the experience of the Fijian public sector. The combination of institutional instability and a lack of appreciation of public sector values which may result from 'bending the rules' to recruit on any basis other than merit, may develop an ideal breeding ground for corruption.

Coupled with the above problems, is the serious issue of implementation of a positive discrimination policy in the Fijian public sector. The policy has tended to benefit only certain groups within the Indigenous Fijian community such as well-educated, middle class people, those with connections to 'old boys networks', particular ethnic or regional groups and the like. The Malaysian experience has shown that affirmative action policies tend to favour the already privileged, building up the middle class and causing deep resentment among non-beneficiaries (Sundaram 1994). It is not surprising, therefore, that a similar trend has become evident in Fiji (Narsey 1989). This phenomenon seems to support Narsey's contention that a society which accepts unjust discrimination in terms of one category will find itself less able to argue against other forms of unjust discrimination (Narsey 1989). This problem would seem to indicate that Fiji's current affirmative action - or, strictly speaking, positive discrimination - policy is not producing the desired result, and therefore needs to be re-thought and reformed.

Proposal: Re-thinking affirmative action in the Fijian public sector

The current economic, political and social climate in Fiji does not permit an immediate, radical shift from the present policy of positive discrimination and affirmative action in general; smaller steps must first be taken. The main thrust of this proposal, therefore, is to re-think existing positive discrimination policy in the Fijian public sector. There is a need to examine structural arrangements, decision making and operating processes. A more difficult, longer-term strategy would involve changes to those constitutional provisions legitimising the notion of affirmative action.

It is recognised that affirmative action is necessary for social justice and parity, but it must closely target people in need. Timing is also important; it must be determined from the outset whether the policy is a permanent, temporary or transitional measure. The question of cost must also be addressed; the priority afforded to affirmative action policy implementation must be assessed relative to other demands. Finally, there is a need for research and monitoring before, throughout and after an affirmative action policy is proposed or implemented.

Recommendations

Short-term strategies

Affirmative action policies should be:
(i) carefully researched prior to implementation;
(ii) carefully targeted to specific groups;
(iii) continuously evaluated for efficiency, effectiveness and accountability;
(iv) transitional; and
(v) implemented for specific periods of time only.

Long-term strategy

Review the constitution to modify elements or provisions which legitimise the notion of affirmative action.

Strategies for implementation

In examining implementation issues of affirmative action, attention should be paid to Dror's 11 point model of administrative reform (Dror 1976). Here, administrative reform means a 'directed change of main features of an administrative system' (Dror 1976:127). The model is strategic, outlining a step-by-step approach, where each step is linked to the next in ways relevant to the goals of reform. Six steps especially relevant to the Fijian case are:
Goals - Affirmative action policy must state its aims clearly and publicly, and should specify how progress towards these goals is to be measured.

Reform boundaries - Reforms must be implemented in ways which recognise the need to foster negotiation and consensus among various stakeholders, and to acknowledge the interface of politicians, political institutions and administrative systems as factors in the boundaries of reform.

The timing and scope of reform - Time preferences and constraints should be established clearly from the outset, with a reasonable, agreed time span and achievable goals. A real or perceived sense of crisis sometimes determines the scope and time span in which change occurs.

Risk acceptability - An understanding of the risks involved and their degree of jeopardy is essential for informed reform. Once the level and degree of risk is understood, contingency plans can be developed. Higher risk projects are usually associated with greater innovation, while lower risk reforms usually involve incremental change.

Incremental versus innovative change - Greater innovation in the scope of change entails less predicableability in its consequences. The above recommendations for the short-term reform of affirmative action policy in Fiji are basically incremental.

Theoretical bases - Reform must be grounded in theory otherwise the whole process will simply resemble a tale-swapping competition. The theory on which affirmative action policies are based is well-established. It is important, however, to subject such theory to ongoing scrutiny in order to establish its relevance to the conditions in which it is to be applied. The ideology of merit - that is, the belief that a civil service based purely on merit will be the most efficient and effective - must be similarly subject to revision and improvement.

Conclusion

In Fiji, affirmative action for Indigenous Fijians and Rotumans has taken several forms, and has occurred in the areas of education, business/economics and employment. In the Fijian public sector, affirmative action as an employment strategy has been found wanting in both efficiency and effectiveness, tending to benefit only some while overlooking the most needy. There is a need for reform here, to ensure that those people in greatest need are helped. To do this, it will be necessary to examine the theory and application of affirmative action, and to scrutinise and improve it continually. The strategies recommended here suggest that an incremental approach may be the most useful in Fiji. Reforming affirmative action is like reforming the Constitution; the stakes are high, and either rigidity and inertia sets in, or a politically volatile situation is risked. Because the consequences of an incremental approach are more predictable, they can be confidently instigated to greater and faster effect.

References

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Democracy in the South Pacific: Present problems and future prospects

Stephanie Lawson, International Relations, Australian National University

The collapse of the Soviet empire encouraged the belief that there remained no serious ideological challengers to the notion that democracy - especially in its liberal manifestation - was humankind's political destiny. Opposition to democracy had been understood largely in terms of the narrow spectrum of cold war ideological bi-polarity where communism stood as the major adversary. Indeed, the cold war and the perceived threat of communism had for a long time overshadowed other forces opposed to democracy which were not associated with geopolitical power blocs. One of the most subtle, yet powerful of these other forces, resides in the concept of 'culture'.

The culture concept has been especially prominent in the 'Asian values' debate in which democracy and individual civil and political rights have been targeted as essentially 'Western' cultural constructs, and therefore alien to local Asian contexts. Similar arguments, based ultimately on notions of authentic local political cultures, have been put forward by some political elites in the South Pacific, often in association with the term the 'Pacific Way'. As with the 'Asian values' debate, the origins of the 'Pacific Way' as a broad regional cultural construct providing a point of demarcation, especially from the 'West', is a post-colonial phenomenon which has its origins well before the end of the cold war. So while there is nothing especially new about the debates, the collapse of ideologically-driven superpower rivalry may be seen as providing space for the expansion of pre-existing ideas about 'culture' as a major explanatory category for a range of social, political and economic developments.

Politics and cultural difference

In the South Pacific, the idea that conflict occurs because of cultural difference, and that this constitutes a serious impediment to democracy, has been encouraged by developments in a number of contexts. 'Cultural difference' is here conceived broadly as being constituted by distinctions which may include ethnicity, language, race (or biological descent), place of origin and religion. More to the point is the idea that cultural differences, and the conflict that is often assumed to automatically accompany such differences, make it much more difficult for democratic forms of government to operate effectively.

In the case of Fiji, the military coup of 1987 is widely perceived to be the result of political tensions between the two major population groups, indigenous Fijians and Fiji Indians. In Vanuatu, there have been obvious political tensions between the Francophone and Anglophone communities, while in New Caledonia the same has been evident in relations between Kanaks and immigrant communities. Although the conflict in Bougainville has many dimensions, the idea of marked cultural difference between Bougainvilleans and the rest of Papua New Guinea's population has also been used as an important explanatory category - at least by the leaders of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). More generally, the extensive cultural heterogeneity of Papua New Guinea's population is seen as the most significant impediment to effective governance, and therefore of the quality of democracy in that country.

The notion that successful democracy is ultimately dependent on a reasonably high degree of cultural homogeneity, however, is suspect for a number of reasons - not least because even a brief survey of countries around the world shows that heterogeneous populations can and do coexist within a viable democratic system. The story of the Bougainville secessionist crisis in Papua New Guinea over the past decade shows how misleading simplistic explanations based on cultural difference can be.

The Bougainville crisis

In 1987, the issues in dispute on Bougainville concerned the rights of local landowners, the payment of royalties for the extraction of resources, and environmental degradation. Much of the initial disputation occurred within the landowning community itself rather than between this community and any other group, including the mining company and the national government. By 1989 the conflict had spread and had not only become violent and explicitly secessionist, but had also acquired a cultural dimension with the promotion of the idea that Bougainvilleans as a whole were 'culturally distinct' from other Papua New Guineans. Indeed, racialist categories of 'blackskins' (Bougainvilleans) and 'redskins' (other Papua New Guineans) were frequently invoked by BRA leaders and supporters.

In the subsequent history of the Bougainville rebellion, the issue of cultural difference has waxed and waned. It has recently been overshadowed by the 'Sandline affair', the threat of a military coup, the standing down of Sir Julius Chan as Prime Minister, and a call for general elections to resolve the national political crisis triggered by Chan's actions. The situation in Papua New Guinea remains uncertain, and is clearly far from stable. Indeed, even without the Bougainville factor, politics and government in Papua...
New Guinea since independence in 1975 have been characterised by an array of problems often associated with a ‘weak state’. These include apparently intractable problems of law and order as well as highly unstable governing coalitions. In turn, many of these problems are often attributed to Papua New Guinea’s high level of cultural heterogeneity. So what are the prospects for democracy in a country like Papua New Guinea?

First, it should be noted that political stability, although desirable, is not synonymous with democracy. The fact that Papua New Guinea has a history of instability, in terms of both secessionist issues and the formation and maintenance of governing coalitions, does not mean that democracy has ‘failed’ per se. The worst that can be said is that democracy has so far failed to produce stable government, adequate law and order, and a level of development sufficient to cater for the rising aspirations of the people. Also, some aspects of democracy can be said to have actually worked well, and far better than in some other Pacific island states, especially with respect to constitutional succession of government. For one thing that has occurred frequently in Papua New Guinea is a change of government according to constitutional rules.

Succession of government

In most democracies, succession usually comes about according to the results of a general election. The record of succession in Papua New Guinea is somewhat different, but no less democratic because of that. While changes of government have occurred following a general election, many changes have also occurred via parliamentary votes of no confidence. These changes are just as constitutional (and democratic) than those which follow a general election, despite the fact that the situations in which some of them have occurred often seem, at least to anyone unfamiliar with Papua New Guinean politics, nothing short of chaotic.

The whole issue of succession is important, and has wider implications for the prospects for democracy in the Pacific. Succession of government is the ultimate litmus test for democracy, for although a political system may possess all the formal institutional hallmarks of modern representative democracy, such as a constitution, an elected legislature and a plurality of political parties or other groups active in elections and political processes generally, these do not by themselves add up to a democratic political system. If governments cannot be changed via an electoral process, then democracy is not merely impaired, it is effectively absent.

Succession of government via constitutional means has occurred in most other South Pacific states, thereby indicating that one of the most important aspects of a democratic system of government has become reasonably well-established in practice in these places, despite other kinds of problems. Elsewhere, however, succession of government via democratic constitutional processes is either virtually impossible, as in the case of Tonga, or has failed completely when put to a practical test, as occurred in Fiji in 1987. The political experience of each of these countries illustrates not only certain points about the importance for democracy of succession via constitutional means, but also some significant aspects of current debates about broader cultural issues.

The Tongan monarchy

Tonga’s form of government is monarchical and although a proportion of parliamentarians are elected by commoners, these are greatly outnumbered by representatives of the country’s tiny group of nobles and appointees of the monarch. So although Tonga’s government operates according to a constitution, and elections are held regularly to return some members of the legislature, it is by no means a constitutional monarchy in which ultimate political power is located in the people. It resembles a Westminster style of government only insofar as King George Tupou I took on an English monarch’s name, adopted certain aspects of the British constitutional system as it existed in 1875 and remoulded Tonga’s pre-existing political system around many of its formal institutions.

The system that remains in place today therefore comprises a curious blend of political institutions and practices. More to the point, however, is that whereas the Westminster system has become far more democratic - and the monarchy and its surrounding nobility far more ‘constitutional’ - the Tongan political system still excludes the mass of commoners from effective participation in government. And the present system certainly precludes any possibility that the government could actually change following a general election.

This system has come under challenge from an active pro-democracy movement which is seeking, among other things, greater accountability in government due to widespread perceptions of corrupt practices. Inspired by the example of pro-democracy movements elsewhere, its leaders and supporters have campaigned strongly for a range of political reforms. But the responses of the entrenched political elite have indicated that there is little hope for significant reform in the near future. Moreover, pro-democracy leaders and Tonga’s more critical mass media have been subjected to a range of political and legal tactics, including numerous court actions and the withdrawal of publishing licences, which are clearly designed to muzzle calls for reform and intimidate other actual or potential critics.

In terms of broader debates about culture and democracy, one of the most interesting aspects of these developments is the basic justification used by the political elite for retaining their current positions and privileges. The present system is defended as reflecting a set of long-established Tongan cultural traditions. Indeed, the monarchy and the nobility are sometimes represented as the very embodiment of Tongan cultural traditions - of all that makes Tonga a unique and distinctive society. This leads one to ask: distinct from what;
or in opposition to what? There is more than one answer to these questions, for the construction of Tongan identity by the political elite draws on a range of historical images and varies according to prevailing issues and circumstances.

A persistent conservative theme has been that Tongan cultural traditions, which in turn determine Tonga's only appropriate political forms, stand in most distinct contrast to those of the 'West' generally, and 'Western democracy' in particular. It has therefore been argued that democracy as practised in the 'West' is unsuitable for Tonga, that it is an alien political form lacking resonance with local cultural traditions, and that the only form of 'democracy' suitable for Tonga is the system that it has already. For at least one noble has offered the following non-sequitur in defence of the current system; that because it is 'Tongan', it is therefore in fact 'democratic'.

Similar arguments were used by conservative opponents of universal suffrage in Western Samoa who have long maintained that limiting the right to vote to matai title-holders represented 'true democracy' for the country since it reflected Samoan cultural tradition. The change to universal suffrage was nonetheless achieved in 1990. Even with limited suffrage, however, tolerance of political opposition in Western Samoa has been a long-standing feature of governance there and constitutional succession of government has not been a problem. As mentioned above, this has not proved to be the case in Fiji.

Fiji's military coup

The Alliance government held office in Fiji from before independence in 1970 until defeated in the general elections of 1987. It was led throughout that time by Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara - a high-ranking Fijian chief from the eastern region of the island group. He is now the Republic's President. The government elected in 1987 was led by a Fijian commoner from the western region of Viti Levu, Dr Timoci Bavadra. It comprised a coalition of the recently formed multi-racial Fiji Labour Party and Fiji's oldest political party, the National Federation Party. This was the first occasion following a general election on which there had actually been a change of government. But it was short-lived. Less than six weeks later Sitiveni Rabuka led a military coup, claiming that the rights of indigenous Fijians were under threat from the new government.

Pointing to the more numerous Fiji Indians on the new government's backbenches, Rabuka and his supporters played the ethnic card to full advantage in justifying their overthrow of the elected government. This is despite the fact that it would have been politically and constitutionally impossible for the government to undermine any of the rights then enjoyed by indigenous Fijians. The power of simplistic ideas, however, should never be under-estimated. Certainly, the belief that the coup really was motivated by concerns for the rights of indigenous Fijians, rather than by the inability of a long-standing elite to accept an electoral defeat at the hands of dissident commoners and descendants of Indian immigrant labourers, remains widespread. And it accords with the equally simplistic view that cultural difference per se is likely to produce conflict.

An inevitable accompaniment to these developments was a re-opening of debate about the 'appropriateness' of democracy in Fiji's social and political context. This issue had been canvassed at various stages of Fiji's constitutional development throughout the colonial era, and debates during this period reflected some very paternalistic notions about the most suitable political forms for both the mass of Fijians and Fiji Indians. While such attitudes were evident among some European members of the colonial legislature, the paternalistic case had been put most forcefully by Fijian political leaders themselves, while resistance to it was strongest among Fiji Indians.

Debate following the coup echoed many of the old pre-independence lines against democracy, including the inherent unsuitability of 'Western' forms of government for 'non-Western' peoples - an argument once again voiced most loudly by Fijian leaders. While the post-colonial mood has lent a different twist to the presentation of such arguments, and is now usually overtly anti-Western, the product of the argument is very much the same; 'Western' democracy is an alien institution - a 'foreign flower' unsuitable for transplantation in non-Western soils, especially where entrenched political elites are supported by selectively crafted versions of apparently authentic, indigenous cultural traditions.

The new constitutional arrangements imposed by proclamation have proved to be something of a disaster for Fiji as a whole. They attempted to place traditional chiefly leaders at the apex of the political system, and also instituted a form of political apartheid by excluding Fiji Indians from any share of effective political power. Under this system, it has been possible for governments to form without a single Fiji Indian vote in support. Apart from the exclusion of Fiji Indians, the system has also failed to deliver on its promise to provide a better deal for the majority of indigenous Fijians. While a privileged few have certainly received enormous benefits, most ordinary Fijians have not.

Culture and democracy

The way in which the concept of culture is used in politics has some obvious implications for democracy. First, 'cultural traditions' are often appealed to by conservative political elites opposed to more open, democratic forms of government and politics. Usually portrayed as age-old practices which are also unique to the particular society, such images assist in creating powerful symbols of political legitimacy which work to the advantage of incumbent elites - and to the distinct disadvantage of oppositional forces. But the very cultural traditions which appear to most strongly support elites in power often have their origins in the not so very distant past.
In the case of Fiji, for example, the formation of institutions such as the Great Council of Chiefs and the system of provincial government, as well as the marked predominance of eastern Fijians in positions of political power, can be attributed directly to the British colonial administration. Tonga was never formally colonised, but its system of government, including the constitution which sets out the rights and privileges of the royal family and the nobility, was influenced very strongly by external models. Similar points can be made about aspects of Western Samoa’s political system. So what are portrayed as authentic, indigenous political institutions and practices, uncontaminated by non-indigenous (and especially Western) impositions, are sometimes nothing of the sort.

The fact that conservative political elites in places such as Fiji, Tonga and Western Samoa have used the idea of ‘culture’ to oppose democracy makes the very concept of culture, at least for anyone interested in the dynamics of political power, an object worthy of serious critical attention. This is especially so when the concept is deployed by these elites to denounce democracy as a Western impost on a non-Western society, when in fact the calls for more democratic participation are coming most forcefully from within their own societies.

The same critical attention should also be directed to cases such as Papua New Guinea which, although far more democratic in many respects than Fiji or Tonga, clearly faces an array of very difficult problems. But to write off places like Papua New Guinea because of these problems, or to accept the rhetoric of conservative leaders in other places, may be nothing but a retreat to the paternalistic idea that democracy cannot really be operated effectively by non-Western people. With this in mind it is also worth noting that the current post-colonial mood of anti-Westernism, in which romanticised versions of indigenous cultural traditions have been elevated to new heights of social and political legitimacy, may also support such paternalistic and authoritarian agendas.

This is a modified version of an essay which is forthcoming in The Encyclopedia of the Pacific Islands (Auckland, Pasifika Press, 1998).

Further reading
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Government consumption and economic growth in Pacific island countries

Azmat Gani, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University

Governments have been prime economic agents in many Pacific island countries in terms of producing and distributing much needed goods and services. Their roles are justifiable, particularly in delivering pure public goods in areas where markets tend to fail; education, healthcare, rural infrastructure, law and order, consumer and environmental protection and defence. Equally important is that to a large extent, Pacific island governments have also provided goods which could have been provided privately, perhaps at a lower cost and more efficiently.

While governments in Pacific island countries vary greatly in size, their involvement in a range of economic activities keeps them large in comparison with governments in economies with similar per capita income levels. Given the difficulties in precisely measuring government size, one indicator is the share of government expenditure in gross domestic product (GDP). Table 1 presents data on government expenditure as a percentage of GDP for the Pacific island countries, and shows government expenditure ranging from approximately 28 per cent (Fiji) to 84 per cent (Marshall islands). In fact, the very small countries like the Cook Islands, Marshall Islands, Micronesia and Tuvalu have much higher levels of government expenditure than their larger counterparts like Fiji and Papua New Guinea. This shows that governments in the Pacific island ministates are more intensely involved in producing goods and services. Overall, the average government expenditure as a percentage of GDP in the Pacific island countries is many times higher than the world average of 14 per cent for economies with similar per capita incomes, ie, the low-middle income economies.

Table 1: Government expenditure (% of GDP)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1985</th>
<th>1994</th>
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<td>Cook Islands</td>
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<td>61.9</td>
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<td>Fiji</td>
<td>24.0</td>
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<td>Kiribati</td>
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<td>31.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
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<td>31.0</td>
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<td>39.3</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

na= not available
Source: Asian Development Bank 1996

The high levels of government expenditure seem to be influenced by a number of factors. In general, levels of income and development, sectoral structure, demographics and politics are known to influence government consumption in many countries. In the Pacific islands, additional economic factors also seem to explain the size of government: pressures of social spending particularly in terms of job provision, low levels of private sector investment and a lack of commitment to government reform. Further, Pacific island countries do not seem to use domestic revenue sources such as taxes or natural resources to meet spending pressures, or to sustain a large or growing government. Nor do they appear to consider downsizing the government. External help in terms of foreign aid seems to favour government financing and meeting budgetary shortfalls in a number of countries.

The size of governments in all economies depends directly on the role and the functions it performs. Table 2 presents data on expenditure by function showing that a significant portion of government expenditure is devoted to public service particularly in wage and salary bills. In addition, a large portion is devoted towards the provision of economic services, which can be delivered privately, while government expenditure on health, social security and housing is low.

Pacific island governments tend to spend a disproportionate share of public funds on programmes with little impact on growth and productivity. For example, spending on defence is far greater than on social security and housing in Fiji, Papua New Guinea and Tonga, while in Vanuatu defence spending is almost equivalent to health spending. Disproportionate spending also occurs in economic services which is higher than education spending in a number of countries (Table 2). Further, the efficiency of government services, in particular the public service with high staffing and wage bills, is questionable.

Empirical evidence shows that governments tend to be productive and promote economic growth where they correct proven market failures and complement private activity, such as investments in economic infrastructure, preventive healthcare and basic education, but rarely otherwise. Further, the effect of government expenditure on economic growth can have countervailing effects; government investment can stimulate growth whereas government consumption can retard it. Government spending in the Pacific island countries seems to be inefficient, for the government sector is large relative to population, geographic size and gross output. In view of the above concerns, this paper attempts to empirically verify the effect of government consumption on

July 1997
Table 2: Government expenditure by function as a percentage of total expenditure - 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Fiji</th>
<th>Papua New Guinea</th>
<th>Solomon Islands</th>
<th>Tonga</th>
<th>Tuvalu</th>
<th>Vanuatu</th>
<th>Western Samoa</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public service</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social security</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic services</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Asian Development Bank 1996

Note: Data for the Solomon Islands are for 1988, for Tuvalu 1987 and for Western Samoa, 1995. Economic services include agriculture, industry, electricity, gas, water, transport and communications.

economic growth in seven Pacific island countries: Fiji, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Western Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu and Kiribati, using panel data for the years 1980-92.

The model

Empirical literature using cross-country data for large developing and developed countries, have identified the effects of government size on economic growth (see for example, Kormendi and Meguire 1985; Grier and Tullock 1989; Barro 1991; Ghura 1995; and Miller 1996). While the role of government in developing countries is highly controversial, it is considered to be the provider of valuable public goods, thus complementing private investment and is benefiting economic growth (Buitert 1977; Kormendi 1983). Contrary to this, increased government consumption is usually accompanied by increased taxes and monetisation of the deficit, which distorts resource allocation and increases inefficiency, thus reducing growth (Barro 1991).

The relationship between government consumption (G) and growth in GDP (Y) in the Pacific island countries can be analysed in an aggregate production function framework. Since capital (K), labour (L) and exports (X) can have major plausible influence on economic growth, it is worth controlling this to minimise mis-specification of the estimable equation. The following pooled cross-section of time-series model is formulated:

\[ \ln Y_t = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \ln K_t + \alpha_2 \ln L_t + \alpha_3 \ln G_t + \alpha_4 \ln X_t + \mu_t \]  

(1)

where, \( \ln \) is natural logarithms, \( i \) is the country, \( t \) is the time and \( \mu \) is the error term assumed to be normally distributed with an expected mean value of zero. \( K \) is measured by investment/GDP ratio, \( L \) is measured by growth in labour force, \( G \) is measured by government consumption/GDP ratio and \( X \) is measured by growth rate in exports of goods and services. All variables are adjusted for inflation. The expected effects are \( K (+) \); \( L (+) \); \( G (-) \); and \( X (+) \). The data sources are from Asian Development Bank (1995 and 1996), International Monetary Fund (1996) and the South Pacific Economic and Social Database (National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University).

Results

The regression results of equation (1) are presented in Table 3. The equation performs well exhibiting no problems of heteroscedasticity (ARCH), with an absence of autocorrelation in residuals (DW), while the error term is normal (JB). The overall explanatory power (Buse R^2), although low, is common for a pooled cross-section of time-series model.

Table 3: Regression results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>8.31</td>
<td>2.10*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>3.73*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>-15.42</td>
<td>-3.19*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>0.074</td>
<td>7.48*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>2.59*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates significant at the 1 per cent level.

The coefficient \( G \) is consistent with a priori expectations, negative and statistically highly significant at the 1 per cent level. The results of \( G \) provide strong support that government consumption has had an adverse effect on Pacific islands economic growth. The negative outcome of \( G \) confirms that much of government expenditure in the Pacific islands is spent on consumption goods rather than investment goods. The coefficients of \( K \), \( L \) and \( X \) are consistent with the theoretical expectations, positive and statistically significant at the 1 percent level, indicating that they are positively associated with Pacific islands' economic growth.
Conclusion

This study examines the effect of government consumption on economic growth in seven Pacific island countries by utilising panel data for the years 1980-92. The empirical results reveal that government consumption exerts a significant adverse effect on economic growth. A continuing dominant role exists for the state sector in economic activities particularly those to do with economic services in a number of Pacific island countries. The adverse effect of government consumption on economic growth leads to the suggestion that the government sector should perhaps be reformed to allow efficiency. Privatisation is one way to reform the government and reduce its expenditure, as it contributes to creating competitive conditions needed for private sector development and reduces the subsidised monopoly position of the government in certain economic activities. The policy implication for the Pacific island governments is to promote market competition by allowing private enterprises to emerge in sectors and areas considered exclusive to public enterprises, and through corporatisation of public enterprises.

References

Compulsory acquisition in Fiji: 
Monasavu, a case of incompatibility of laws

Robert H. Meyer, Land Management and Development, University of the South Pacific*

It is well-established that the historical customs and practices of land tenure in the South Pacific do not fit the idyllic model of 'all for one and one for all' communalism, with a rule of law benignly imposed from above by the orderly and systematically installed current power figure. A capitalistic/socialistic hybrid model is more true to fact. Increased monetisation, commoditisation of agricultural products, commercialisation of the macro-economy, and the impact of supply and demand on a scarce land market, have all contributed, and continue to do so, to the haemorrhaging of the traditionally maintained systems of land tenure. A major contributor to instability in these indigenous systems is the colonial power's introduction of extra-legal land law regimes imposed as a flimsy veneer on customary land tenure practices. This original attempt at a consolidation of these two distinct bodies of law was destined to failure because of their antithetical natures and the different socioeconomic orders from which they spring and in which they thrive.

The continued failure to successfully incorporate a Western model of jurisprudence based on land as something ultimately reducible to individual ownership and freely alienable, and the South Pacific model of customary land tenure with land as an omnipotent, ownerless, bountiful provider of primarily communal concern, continues to plague the efficient implementation of modern government policy and rational land management throughout the region. Fiji provides an example of this incompatibility. In Fiji, as in most countries, the government has legal power to take private land for public purposes.

A brief history of the Monasavu Scheme

The implementation of the hydro-electricity scheme at Monasavu has been one of the most ambitious developments ever undertaken in Fiji. The scheme was to allow Fiji to cut back substantially on importing expensive oil for electricity generation. Due to major increases in the price of oil during the 1974 OPEC oil crisis, the Fijian Government decided in June 1975 to commit to the construction of a hydro-electric dam at Monasavu on the Nadrau Plateau.

Construction began in 1977. The project consists of a dam across the Nanuku River, a 2,300 acre reservoir behind the dam, weir construction and underground tunnels through which water flows from the catchment area, and then down to the reservoir and a power house, and a switch yard from which transmission lines distribute electricity throughout Viti Levu. A service road from Nadrau to nearby Koronio accesses the site. The dam is massive with a width of 322 meters, a length of 485 meters, and a height of 82 meters.

It was determined at the initial stages of the project that it would be necessary for the Government to purchase the site outright, rather than acquire a leasehold interest, primarily due to the influence by aid donors, all of whom sought security against a freehold tenure. However, the acquisition of the land was not done with sufficient foresight. Private land was formally taken for use by Government first for the reservoir and dam, and, then later and informally for the catchment area and the service road. The timing and manner of land acquisition has contributed significantly to the parties' confusion and misunderstanding of the true nature of the agreements made.

There exists now a major disagreement over compensation due for the Government taking of native land. There are two reasons for the current Monasavu controversy:

- In September 1975, at the time of the land acquisition required for the project, there was a failure to form a contract that precisely identified the rights and the duties of both Government and the landowners which were being created under the agreements to convey the legal interests in the land acquired.
- Subsequent to the acquisition and until the present day, there has been a continuing failure on the part of Government and landowners to find agreement on a full accounting and actual transfer of the monies due under that imperfect contract, in a manner and in amounts to the satisfaction of both parties.

To put an end to the controversy, these two interrelated failures will need to be rectified. This will require an understanding of land tenure in Fiji.

Non government participants in the conflict

The social segmentation in Fijian society is based primarily on patrilineal kin groups, the widest of which is the vanua, descended from a common ancestor, which is again further divided into one or more yavusa, in turn divided further into various mataqali. A Fijian village may contain two, three or even more mataqali. Some yavusa may occupy a whole village or two or more different villages.
The following yavusa are involved in the Monasavu project as the reservoir itself was constructed on their land: Nadrau occupying the villages of Nadrau, Nabuya, Nabawaqa, and Qalinasavu; Nabobuco occupying the villages of Naqelewa and Rewasau; Nubu occupying the villages of Nagatagata, Nadala, Vatacere, Qalinsa and Koro; and, Nasalia occupying the villages of Nasalisa and Udu. The Yavusa Nakurukuruvakatini is occupying the villages of Nasauvere, Narokorokoyawa, and Korovou is involved by virtue of the fact that the catchment area is located on its land. The access road intrudes on the land of a number of mataqali whose precise identification to this date remains undetermined. The Yavana later involved in the Monasavu project because their land is affected by the transmission lines and the several weirs include Nabobuco, Nadrau, Nubu, Waimaro, Nakaidravu, Nakurukuruvakatini, Muaira and Noimalu.

It has tentatively been established that at least 18 mataqali hold traditional and legal rights to the reservoir area, the catchment area, the service road, or are otherwise affected by the scheme. To the great distress of Government, some confusion continues to exist as to the identification of all affected, interested and involved parties in the controversy. Before arriving at any conclusive solution to the conflict, therefore, all parties must be identified, and in the process, some boundary disputes will require resolution. Whether in fact any or all of these entities have legal standing in a court of law, have retained legal representation for the purpose of litigation, or even have organised into a single association with a single spokesperson or agent, remains undetermined.

Background of the controversy

In July 1975, Government invited several chiefs from the Monasavu area to accompany senior government officials to New Zealand for a familiarisation tour with hydro-electric schemes. The chiefs in attendance were the Tui Nabobuco, Ratu Sakiusa Navakaroko, the Tui Nubu Ratu Ilisoni Nocolauli, and the Tui Nadrau Ratu Navolioni Ntadra. Government officials included Permanent Secretary for Works Berenado Vunibobo, Ba District Officer, Fred Gibson, and Fijian Association representative for Colo North Semi Ketewai, who was also Chairman of the Colo North District Development Committee. Tui Nabobuco reports that upon their return from New Zealand he requested from Vunibobo and Gibson, General Manager of Native Land Trust Board (NLTB) J. Kamikamica, Vincent Tovata from Nadrau, Commissioner for the Western Division Jesoni Takala, Roko Tui Ba, Mr. Alosio and Semi Ketewai, landowner from the Yavusa Nubu and head of the Fijian Association Movement, who has up to the present day kept a detailed and extensive handwritten first-hand account of most events related to the project.

Substantial evidence strongly suggests the following described events occurred. The negotiation team first stopped at Nadrau where, during their meetings, Ratu Penai informed the landowners that Government was intending to acquire land belonging to them and to the other landowners for the purpose of constructing the Monasavu Dam, and, that their consent to the purchase of their land would be required. The landowners demanded a sum (the exact origin of which is undetermined) of $8,000,000 but Ratu Penai responded that this was not a decision for him to make and that he would have to take their demands to Government. Therefore no agreement was made at this meeting.

Later, on the same day, the negotiation team travelled to Nadala village for a meeting with the landowners of the Yavusa Nubu. After an explanation was made as to the purpose of the visit, the landowners readily agreed to grant consent for the purchase of their land and they presented a tabua indicating the traditional handing over of their land for the project. The landowners were advised compensation would include $400 per acre and royalties. This figure of $400 was considerably more than the flat rate of approximately $60 per acre applied across the board by Government in similar matters, but, considerably less than themillions demanded by the native landowners. In any event, a formal land transfer document was signed at a later date.

The next morning, Ratu Penai sent Mr Kamikamica back to Nadrau to request an urgent meeting to be attended only by Tui Nadrau, however, the current Tui Nadrau, Ratu Lemeki, also attended this second meeting. Under the threat of compulsory acquisition and without the consent of the mataqali, Tui Nadrau presented the tabua. A promise was made that the landowners would receive compensation which would include $400 per acre and royalties. A land transfer document was convened at Laselevu to advise the landowners from the Yavusa Nabobuco and Yavusa Nasalisa of Government’s intention to acquire their lands. Like the meetings at Nadrau and Nubu, the landowners were advised of the compensation of $400 per acre and royalties. A land transfer document was signed at that time.

The Yavusa Nakurukuruvakatini was not approached by Government at this time because Government’s need for the catchment area and the service road, both of which lie within their land, was not properly anticipated.

Legal aspects of the controversy

Many legal issues are raised by the Government’s conduct during the acquisition. The legality of its conduct during the acquisition of the land and afterwards depends on:
English common law, which remains a source of law for Fiji under the 1990 Constitution, as well as judicial precedent of other Commonwealth countries; and

Cap 135 of the Fiji Acts Crown Acquisition of Lands which existed statutorily in some form at the time of the events.

Whether or not the land in question was compulsorily acquired or merely acquired under the threat of compulsory acquisition is inconsequential. Government is empowered to acquire private land for public purposes with compensation.

With regard to English common law, a massive body of case law is brought to bear on compulsory compensation because this right has been exercised as a prerogative of government in England since the seventeenth century during the Enclosure Movement, whereas, in Fiji only three acquisitions have been litigated under Cap 135. Therefore, the applicable law to the Monasavu affair is uncertain, however, one is inclined to believe that a number of basic principles of English common law surely exist in Fijian jurisprudence.

Primarily for the purpose of protecting the sanctity of private property rights and in light of the heavy burden Government undertakes to presume to extinguish those rights in an acquisition, the law of compulsory compensation historically has been heavily regulated and strictly prescribed, requiring careful adherence to procedure in each of four well-delineated steps: authorisation, selection, acquisition and compensation. At Monasavu, in fact, Government failed in many different ways to demonstrate respect for procedure by telescoping steps, and therefore the protection they were meant to provide to landowners. On the other hand, Government’s malfeasance does not necessarily increase the compensation that should have been awarded.

Ratu Penaia’s dual status as a figure of chiefly authority and as Deputy Prime Minister is particularly troubling. He undertook to represent Government while simultaneously acting in his chiefly capacity, knowing full well the substantial psychological influence his chiefly authority would have on his success in eliciting landowners’ consent. The arrival of the team by helicopter further overwhelmed the landowners. It can be argued easily that the weight of chiefly authority, known full well the substantial psychological influence his chiefly authority would have on his success in eliciting landowners’ consent. The mere presence of Ratu Penaia by tradition places a limit on those who can ask questions or even engage in the conversation.

Some testimonial and hearsay evidence of the circumstances surrounding the negotiations at Laselevu support this ‘dual status’ argument. When the current Tui Nabobuco tried to express a dissenting opinion at the time of the acquisition, he was told to sign without questioning. One other chief from Nasalia ordered his subjects not to discuss any proposals or grievances and they were told just to sign the consent form. Mataqali members did not have the opportunity to express their reservations before the final agreement was made; only the mataqali heads were involved in giving consent. Cap 134 Native Land Trust Sec. 33 Regulations appear to stipulate under the circumstances of the Monasavu acquisition that only ‘such consent shall be deemed to have been given if a majority of the adult native owners shall have signified their consent’.

The act of expropriation both of the catchment area and the right of way for the service road leaves Government’s tenure in a questionable state. Some question exists as to whether a formal lease has ever been negotiated or executed with NLTB on behalf on the Yavusa Nakurukuruvakatini.

Under Cap 135 Sec. 12 certain ‘heads of claim’ (ie, distinct bases of compensation recognisable under the law) are enumerated in addition to mere market value. Severance, Injurious Affection, Disturbance, Equivalent Reinstatement are all technical legal categories that may apply to the landowner’s claim. Unfortunately, it was, and continues to be, Fiji Lands Department policy even to the present day to make blanket awards of compensation for acquisitions which are set at flat rates without any rational relationship to the true market value of the land under the technical requirements of the law. A flat rate, no matter how generous, cannot in all cases be a substitute for legal formality because inevitably questions about special value will arise. For example, in operation at the time of the acquisition was the Colo-North Development Company, formed by the landowners belonging to the district, which engaged in logging. Although logging operations had not reached the subject area when Government acquired the site in question, nevertheless, a head of claim for the potential loss of revenue for unlogged forests may exist under one of these technical legal categories of compensation.

Landowners’ current demands with legal commentary

A number of quite specific issues remain unresolved between the parties. Considerable fact finding will be required before any knowledgeable decision can be made as to their resolution.

The lack of electrification of the villages near the Monasavu area is understandably a major source of disappointment to the landowners. Government’s failure to attend to this, is a severe public relations blunder at the least. Moreover, Yavusa Nadrau, Nabauuberu, Nubu and Nasalia claim Ratu Penaia made oral promises of electrification contemporaneous with the 1975 agreements. It remains possible even to this day to collect parol evidence and hearsay testimony on this issue. The engineering of electrical service to Nadrau and Nubu is understandably a major source of disappointment to the landowners. Government’s failure to attend to this, is a severe public relations blunder at the least. Moreover, Yavusa Nadrau, Nabauuberu, Nubu and Nasalia claim Ratu Penaia made oral promises of electrification contemporaneous with the 1975 agreements. It remains possible even to this day to collect parol evidence and hearsay testimony on this issue. The engineering of electrical service to Nadrau and Nubu is underway from Nadarivatu. Nabauuberu and Nasalia have been advised they can only expect diesel generators in the immediate future. In a questionable state. Some question exists as to whether a formal lease has ever been negotiated or executed with NLTB on behalf on the Yavusa Nakurukuruvakatini.
Yavusa Nakunkuruvakatini claim for water resources taken from their land. Water for construction purposes has been used since the start of the project. Streams have been diverted and prawn fishing is no longer available to them. Additionally, the mining of stones, rocks and boulders for use in the construction of the project, in the reservoir and catchment area, has been undertaken without designated compensation.

At the time of the 1975 acquisition, Government failed to consider the need for a catchment area which is essential to the project. Government's expropriation of the catchment area and the landowners' loss of possessory property rights justify some consideration of compensation for the loss of timber.

The access road is a public access road maintained by the Public Works Department and is the only means of access to Monasavu through the Vunidawa Government Station. Compensation has been awarded for the portion of the service road from Serea to Lutu. Compensation has not been awarded for the portion of the road beyond Lutu which comprises at least 10 kilometers.

A conclusive determination should be made whether all, part or none of these claims have been compensated for under the original agreement. At least one informal 'Compensation Submission by Landowners' has been floated. Whether a legally sufficient principal/agent relationship exists creating some consideration of compensation for the loss of timber.

Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner. Of particular interest to the situation at hand is the principle that the amount of compensation payable is based on the value of the land to the owner.

Conclusion

The native owners on the Nadrau Plateau continue to make demands for adequate compensation for the loss of their interests in their land; demands which range in the millions of dollars. These demands by native landowners for what they profess to believe is adequate and fair compensation remain unaddressed by Government.

In the case of Monasavu, an attempt has been made to apply, simultaneously, both in theory and in practice, two distinct bodies of law. The incompatibility of the two bodies of land law that have been brought to bear on an otherwise legitimate function of Government has contributed significantly to the resulting complexity of a major controversy. Neither alone can now provide a solution to the problem that seems to have arisen in an extra-legal netherland. Rational and effective land management policies are impossible to implement where a failed rule of law prevails; a failure precipitated by the inherent incompatibility of antithetical bodies of law.

* Robert Meyer has recently been appointed by the Solicitor General of Fiji to the Committee of Inquiry into Office of the Registrar of Land Titles.
Native title and resource development: 
A post-Wik economics perspective

Jon Altman, Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, Australian National University*

There is a growing acceptance by key industry interests that the High Court Mabo judgment of 1992 conferred a potential de facto property right in resources on native title parties (NTPs). A form of property right has existed in the Northern Territory since the early 1950s and land rights laws since the 1960s have progressively provided various forms of property rights in resources to indigenous people. However the key differences between property rights provided under the Native Title Act (NTA) framework and statutory land rights is that the former are still largely undefined, and are an unusually weak form of property largely constituted by a right to negotiate over future acts.

Resource developers want three things - certainty, certainty and certainty: certainty of access, certainty that transaction costs will be kept at internationally competitive levels and certainty that mineral leases are legally valid and enforceable. In my view none of these three forms of certainty need to be compromised either by legislation or by the existence of native title property rights. This argument is built around three key issues:

(i) understanding the workings of the existing NTA statutory framework;
(ii) recognising the intent of proposed amendments to this framework; and
(iii) speculating, at least at present, on the potential impact of the High Court's Wik decision on mineral resource access.

Further, I explore why there is a perception that the NTA framework is not working and examine some ramifications that may result from addressing current concerns in response to political pressures rather than economic sense.

Property rights framework

In the native title debate, it is increasingly difficult to differentiate ideology from fact, and real shortcomings in the existing framework from those created by strategic behaviour and associated 'falsely-generated' uncertainty. This paper therefore uses the property rights framework, with its heavy emphasis on assessing transaction costs, as it is relatively objective.

The NTA statutory framework

Using the property rights framework, there is clearly a perception that, under the NTA framework, transaction costs are too high: processing complex future acts is time-consuming and there are information problems in situations of multiple claim.

The NTA framework is a very new law, passed in 1993 and only really operationalised in 1995 after the High Court rejection of the Western Australian constitutional appeal. The current considerable uncertainty about the workability of the NTA is as much a consequence of strategic behaviour by a number of key interest groups (and non-strategic behaviour by some others), as it may be due to inherent shortcomings in the Act. Ultimately, the NTA (and land rights laws) should not, and cannot, constitute a total impediment to mineral resource access; all the NTA provides to NTPs (to both holders and claimants) is a right to negotiate (RTN) over certain future acts that may affect native title on land or waters.

The existing RTN framework in the NTA is far from open-ended and what it provides is often poorly understood. Any proposal for development on land (a permissible future act) where there may be a native title interest, requires government to make a s.29 notice to signal the legal beginning of possible negotiations. This period, from negotiation through to the end of possible arbitration, according to the RTN framework, will take 12 months.

S.29 notification is crucial, despite initial attempts to avoid it in many cases, including the proposed Century mine. Notification is the trigger for establishing, within two months, if there are native title parties or not. If there are none, a future act is valid and may be done. However, if NTPs do come forward:

• there is a two- to four-month negotiation period;
• if agreement is not reached during this period, there is a six-month mandatory arbitration period; and
• there is no right of veto for NTPs and whatever the arbitrated outcome, the Commonwealth Minister has powers to override it.

The crucial issue is that if developers (and State governments) work within the RTN framework, they get certainty. They get certainty of leasehold title for a valid future act, and transaction costs will not be onerous, unduly high or inefficient (Industry Commission 1996). Such is the legislative intent. And with good faith and proactive negotiation, such intent is being transformed into reality in a growing number of situations.
The potential costs are a delay of 12 months (which can be even greater if developers work outside the framework using unrestrained 'private' negotiations); and compensation for impairment of native title, which in arbitration will probably be influenced by precedents established in payments made to freehold owners of land (the so-called compensable interest test) as well as any pre-arbitral offers.

Proposed amendments

Many of the perceived problems of the NTA framework are being addressed by proposed amendments. For example, there is a perception that the current RTN framework has too high time-delay transactions costs. This is despite statistics that indicate that a very high proportion of permissible future acts referred to the National Native Title Tribunal (NNTT) by the end of 1996 (4,500 out of 7,000) attracted the expedited procedures; 94 per cent of these have been cleared for grant (Smith 1996). Consequently, Parliament is currently considering an amendment package which aims to improve outcomes for industry by limiting the coverage and operation of the RTN (see ATSIC 1996; Smith 1996). The key features are:

- exclusion from the RTN of some classes of exploration and forms of future acts (like compulsory acquisition for private infrastructure);
- extension of the s.29 notification period by three months, but reduction of the negotiation period from six to four months (or to an effective one month);
- reduction of the arbitration period from six to four months;
- only one application of the RTN being allowed, at exploration or mining; the timing of which is largely at the discretion of the developer and State governments and the RTN effectively becomes conjunctive;
- provision for a 'project acts' approach that amalgamates a series of related future acts linked to one (major) project into one RTN; and
- provision for parallel processing of government departments' administration of exploration and mining with the NNTT processes, which potentially reduces delays for developers.

While amendments are aimed primarily at facilitating resource development, there remain some potential problems. Three stand out:

- because of tighter timeframes and a longer notification period the proposed one-month available for negotiated agreements is too short;
- because native title claimants, as well as holders, have the RTN there is the possibility that in negotiated agreements, claimants not determined as holders will erroneously receive upfront agreement benefits. There are only trust provisions for compensation payments with arbitration, not arbitral agreements (i.e., there is an information problem); and
- while the role of Native Title Representative Bodies (NTRBs) is greatly enhanced, they are still not empowered to sign off negotiated agreements or to monitor agreement provisions as under the Northern Territory Land Rights Act. The potential for competing claims remains and the institutions created to mediate remain too weak (in terms of mandatory statutory functions) to be entirely effective.

The Wik decision

The Wik decision, first and foremost, greatly increases the proportion of Australia over which NTPs may be able to exercise the RTN with resource developers: miners wanting access to pastoral lands will need to negotiate with NTPs and will not have the preferred option of directly purchasing stations.

In Western Australia, the State government has used the NTA notification process for development proposals on pastoral lands. In Queensland on the other hand, the State government chose to bypass the NTA framework, with the potential that exploration licences and mining leases issued over pastoral lands since 1994 may be invalid. Clearly, it is far safer and, arguably, cheaper, if developers and State and Territory governments operate within the NTA framework.

Interestingly, the Wik decision has greater potential significance for retrospective issues rather than future acts. This is not just the case with invalid acts that have resulted from the Queensland government's unwillingness to use the NTA's future act regime. There is also potential in existing validation procedures for NTPs to lodge claims for compensation on pastoral leasehold land where resource development has occurred in the post-1975 period (after passage of the Racial Discrimination Act 1975). However, it will be government not developers which will pay for successful claims.

It is pastoral interests, not surprisingly, that most vehemently oppose the Wik High Court decision, despite the fact that their prior commercial interests are given primacy and that there is little empirical evidence that native title and commercial pastoralism cannot co-exist. There is concern that the Wik decision will limit the potential to convert pastoral leases into perpetual leases, arguably a better option for land management. Certainly the positioning of peak bodies like the National Farmers' Federation and the Minerals Council of Australia are vastly different on the Wik issue.

Options and their shortcomings

At present there is constant media and political speculation that the NTA framework needs drastic amendment. A number of broad approaches are being canvassed.

The first and most extreme is legislative extinguishment of native title, at least on pastoral leasehold land. For resource developers with transaction costs, this approach has major...
problems. Any extinguishing legislation would most likely
be legally challenged, with the possibility that a future
overruling by the High Court would again make new leases
invalid. General extinguishment will result in delays, lack
of certainty and a potentially large compensation bill to be
borne by the Australian public. It may also result in a real
'moral hazard' as compensation may need to be assessed on
a case-by-case basis and pastoralists will have no incentive
to oppose compensation claims. This could potentially
escalate costs for government.

Another alternative, for resource developers to work outside
the NTA framework by bargaining directly with NTPs, has
intuitive appeal. Striking private deals quickly is, at face
value, preferable to the delays associated with the current
future acts regime. But there is the fundamental problem of
identifying the correct NTPs, exacerbated by the flexibility
and dynamism of both traditional and contemporary
indigenous land tenure systems.

The most obvious alternative, especially for resource
developers, is to work within the existing, and soon to be
streamlined, framework. From 1993-96, the Keating
Government remained committed to the NTA, not because
it was working perfectly but as a means to assess real
shortcomings in the statute, as distinct from those generated
by strategic behaviour (in the economic sense).

The Howard Government should, after implementing its
amendments, similarly commit to a moratorium on statutory
change to assess the workability of the framework. Key
institutions like the NNTT, NTRBs and NTPs should strive
to make the amended framework more workable. Already
some indications are, for example, that the open-ended
mediations of the NNTT may be too time-consuming; guided
mediation, perhaps based on the precedents established by
best-practice commercial arbitration, may reduce the delays
that generate unacceptable transaction costs. Similarly, NTPs
will need to demonstrate good faith in negotiations and
become aware that the weak property right generated by the
RTN has to be traded quickly to have commercial value.

Conclusion: Addressing uncertainty

The current uncertainty, and associated transactions costs
of the NTA, are largely associated with uncertainty about
how the relatively new amended NTA framework will
operate. It is now more important than ever for government
to let the statute bed down so that strategic behaviour can be
differentiated from any real shortcomings in the statutory
framework.

In the meantime, resource developers must work within the
existing framework. Indigenous interests must astutely
ensure that the NTA framework produces some timely
outcomes to demonstrate that it is workable.

With time, it is likely that regional approaches to resource
access will emerge. With appropriate resourcing and
accountability requirements NTRBs will become more
efficient and effective intermediary bodies mediating between
NTPs and developers. The NNTT will become more
experienced and have more streamlined and timely processes,
and a growing body of precedent.

To facilitate the effective operation of their land management
regimes, State governments could accept native title and set
up future act regimes streamlined to their particular
circumstances. Similarly, the Federal Government should
not succumb to political pressure that will result in the pursuit
of unproductive, and potentially extremely costly,
amendment options. Instead, it should ensure that timelines
stipulated in the NTA are met and that the processes of the
NNTT and NTRBs are further fine-tuned.

The opposition to native title currently expressed by elements
within the Federal Government, a number of State
governments and some industry groups clearly oppose
indigenous interests. But only a cooperative and a
coordinated approach involving all stakeholders that will
result in a reduction in transaction costs; it is such an
approach that would auger well for doing business with
Aboriginal communities.

* This is an abridged version of a paper presented to the
'Doing Business with Aboriginal Communities' Conference
held in Kalgoorlie, 10-12 March 1997.

References


Altman, J.C. 1996b, 'Native Title and the petroleum industry: Recent developments, options, risks and strategic choices,' APPEA Journal 1996/2: 139-45. (Also available as CAEPR Discussion Paper 125, CAEPR, ANU, Canberra)


Further comments on the Simons Report

"The peak council of Australia's community aid organisations, the Australian Council For Overseas Aid (ACFOA), welcomes the Simons Report. The Report says unequivocally that the single objective for aid must be about reducing poverty. ACFOA knows that public support for aid hinges on this and we believe that if the Report's recommendations are implemented, Australia's aid programme would be much better focused on helping very poor people out of poverty.

We remain concerned about the low level of Australian aid. The Report recommends setting achievable targets to increase the aid/GNP ratio. In 1984-85 aid was 0.5 per cent of GNP. Today it has fallen to 0.29 per cent of GNP - a huge decline since the Jackson Report. We must not abandon the 0.7 per cent international benchmark, but interim targets make good sense. A legislative Charter for aid is a good idea - it would encourage greater Parliamentary commitment to development cooperation, and enable more reliable planning.

Phased increases in aid would speed up a proposed shift in emphasis towards the poorer countries of South Asia and Africa which the Review supports - particularly as other countries in this region develop further and 'graduate' from aid over the next decade. These regions are where the bulk of the world's poorest people live - so the sooner we can do more in those very poor countries the better."

Janet Hunt, Executive Director, ACFOA

"The poverty first theme to the Simons Report is to be welcomed by all Australians. Poverty alleviation in the Third World is never not in Australia's self-interest. The practical realities of implementing such a strategy, however, faces many obstacles, not least being the clear definition and application of a poverty framework for AusAID that does not fudge at the edges. Too often in the past we have heard how 'all development assistance helps the poor', yet the reality is that ODA has more often than not helped the not-so-poor more than it has trickled down benefits to the genuinely needy. The least needy among beneficiaries have been Australian suppliers of goods and services. One can only hope that they too will recognise a mutual interest in working collaboratively to ensure that the Australian overseas aid programme is poverty-focused first and foremost. Whether the present government will have the political courage to achieve this restructuring of the programme is a matter that only history will tell."

Joe Remenyi, Deakin University

"At last, the mixed messages and the conflicting agendas that grew out of the Jackson Report in the early 1980s have been put to rest. The Simons Review Committee are to be congratulated on their clarity of understanding in highlighting that the one clear objective of Australia's overseas aid programme should be poverty reduction through sustainable development. We are encouraged by the Committee's acknowledgment that a more successful Australian aid programme will be reflected in a narrower but more effective geographic focus - predominantly on the poorest countries and region in the Asia-Pacific area. However, Africa must not be forgotten and our obligations to that continent - precisely because the need is so great - should not be ignored.

Our greatest disappointment is the recommendation to abandon the 0.7 per cent ODA/GNP target established by the UN. It is not acceptable that international standards be lowered because Australia has failed to meet them. Other countries are meeting their global commitments and Australia should also. The sectoral priorities highlighted by the Committee such as education, health, infrastructure and rural development are sound, as are those on good governance and the untying of aid.

Overall, the Committee's report provides an insightful and thoughtful analysis of how better to direct, manage and make effective, Australia's overseas aid programme."

Ian Curtis, Manager, Consulting Services, World Vision
Public consultation on the Simons Report

In June 1996, the Australian Government commissioned an independent committee to conduct a review of the Australian overseas aid program. The findings of this review were published in May 1997, as One clear objective: Poverty reduction through sustainable development (also known as the Simons Report). The report contains 79 recommendations and a range of other suggestions on aid policy, programming and management issues.

There is currently an opportunity for public consultation on the Simons Report. The consultation process has two steps:

**Step one**

This will be a period of public comment on the report. The public is invited to comment on the recommendations of the Report. Written comments should be sent to

Corporate Strategies Team
AusAID
GPO Box 887
Canberra 2601
(email: ausaid_cst@ausaid.gov.au)

Please note that submissions must be received by close of business on 31 July 1997.

**Step two**

This step will be whole-of-government consultations and preparation of a formal response to the report. This response will be completed by the end of 1997.

** The Australian Development Studies Network organised a symposium in late 1996, to debate major issues being considered under the Simons Review on Australian aid. The proceedings of this symposium were made available to the Simons Review Committee, as part of the Network's submission. The proceedings are available from the Australian Development Studies Network. In addition, the October issue of the Bulletin will focus on New directions for Australian aid delivery.**
In a recent article entitled, 'The bogus debate on bioethics', Suman Sahai has stated that ethical concerns are largely a luxury of developed countries which the Third World cannot afford. She calls the bioethics debate an essentially Western phenomenon.

I would like to differ with Suman Sahai on her presumptions that bioethics is not Indian or Third World in content or substance and that ethics is a luxury for the Third World. In fact it is the separation of ethics from technology that is a peculiarly Western phenomenon, and by calling the bioethics debate 'bogus', Sahai is speaking like the transnational biotechnology industry which refers to ethics as an 'irrelevant concern'. In fact Sahai was cheered loudest on the Internet by Henry Miller of Stanford University Hoover Institute, a right-wing think tank, who has been acting as a major spokesperson of the US biotech industry.

The argument that the Third World cannot afford bioethics is systematically used by the biotech industry which states that for the hungry, ethics and safety are irrelevant. This was also the logic used by Lawrence Summers when he recommended that polluting industry should be shifted to the Third World. Removing ethics from technological and economic decisions is a Western construct. This is the imported dichotomy. The import of this dichotomy enables control and colonisation.

The separation of science and technology from ethics is based on the Cartesian divide between res extensa (matter) and res cognitans (mind), with the objective mind acquiring objective and neutral knowledge of nature. It was also constructed by Hume when he said no logical inference could be drawn from what 'is' to what 'ought to be'. 'Hume's guillotine' was an effective instrument for separating ethics from science (which in the empiricist and positivist philosophy was supposed to provide an objective view of what 'is').

However, knowledge and knowing are not neutral - they are products of the values of the knower and the culture of which the knower is a part. Ethics and science are related because values are intrinsic to science. Ethics and technology are related because values shape technology, they shape technology choice, and they determine who gains and who loses through impacts of technology on society.

There are a number of reasons why bioethics is even more important for the Third World than for the West. Firstly, ethics and values are distinct elements of our cultural identity and our pluralistic civilization. The ancient Ishoupanishad stated that:

The universe is the creation of the Supreme Power meant for the benefit of all creation. Each individual life form must, therefore, learn to enjoy its benefits by farming a part of the system in close relation with other species. Let not any one species encroach upon others’ rights.

On his 60th birthday the Dalai Lama wrote a message to me after my speech on new technologies and new property rights,

All sentient beings, including the small insects, cherish themselves. All have the right to overcome suffering and achieve happiness. I therefore pray that we show love and compassion to all.
Tagore, in his famous essay Tapovan, stated,

Contemporary Western civilization is built of brick and wood. It is rooted in the city. But Indian civilization has been distinctive in locating its source of regeneration, material and intellectual, in the forest, not the city. India's best ideas have come where man [sic] was in communion with trees and rivers and lakes away from the crowds. The peace of the forest has helped the intellectual evolution of man. The culture of the forest has fuelled the culture of Indian society. The culture that has arisen from the forest has been influenced by the diverse processes of renewal of life which are always at play in the forest, varying from species to species, from season to season, in sight and sound and smell. The unifying principle of life in diversity, of democratic pluralism, thus became the principle of Indian civilization.

Compassion and concern for other species is therefore very indigenous to our pluralistic culture, and bioethics builds on this indigenous tradition.

Secondly, bioethics is particularly significant for us because it is the Third World's biodiversity and human diversity that is being pirated by Northern corporations. While the Northern corporations can afford to say ethics is irrelevant to the appropriation of the South's biodiversity, the indigenous people and Third World farmers whose blood samples and seeds are taken freely and then patented and commercialised cannot afford to put ethics and justice aside. It is in fact from Third World communities that the bioethics imperative has first been raised on these issues.

Thirdly, value dimensions determine the context of biotechnology development because of safety issues. In fact, it is the Third World or the South which has introduced Article 19.3 and got a decision within the Convention on Biological Diversity to develop a biosafety protocol. It continues to be the Third World which is leading the debate on the ethics of biosafety.

Bioethics and value decisions are necessary in the Third World because biotechnology, like any technology, is not neutral in its impacts. It carries disproportionate benefits for some people, and disproportionate costs for others. To ask who gains and who loses, and what are the benefits and the costs, is to ask ethical questions. It is the Third World which has raised these issues in the Convention on Biological Diversity. It is the powerful industrialised nations which insist that bioethics is a luxury for the Third World. Her paper assumes that what is good for transnational corporations (TNCs) is good for people, that what is good for seed corporations is good for farmers. She gives the 'Flavr Savr' tomato as an example of a biotechnology application that is promising to the Third World and suggests that ethical and value decisions about the 'Flavr Savr' will block benefits from coming to Indian farmers and consumers. The 'Flavr Savr' is a bad example because it was a technology that served the interests of the trade industry that made tomatoes for prolonged shelf life.

However, the needs of corporate interests do not reflect the needs of people. The alternative to prolonged shelf life and long-distance trade is not the reengineering of fruits and vegetables. The alternative is to reduce 'food miles'. Cuba for example, has used the crisis of the US trade embargo to create thousands of urban organic gardens to meet the vegetable needs of each city from within its municipal limits.

Long-distance transport for basic food stuffs which could be grown locally serves the interests of global agribusiness, not the small farmer. Thus, while Pepsi Co. paid only Rs.75 to Punjab farmers for growing tomatoes, exporters like PepsiCo receive Rs.10.0 as subsidies for transport. Without these subsidies, non-local supply of food controlled by TNCs and produced with capital-intensive methods would not be able to displace local food production produced sustainably with low external inputs.

Global traders controlling production and distribution worldwide need square tomatoes and tomatoes that don't rot. Small farmers and consumers looking for fresh produce do not. People need locally produced food, consumed as close as possible to the point of production.

In any case, the biotech miracles that are made to look inevitable don't work reliably either. The 'Flavr Savr' tomato was a failure and Calgene, the company that launched it, had to be bailed out by Monsanto. Exaggerating benefits and universalising beneficiaries have major ethical and economic implications. It is important to look at the realistic achievements of biotechnology and make ethical decisions on the basis of what biotechnology has to offer for whom, both in terms of costs as well as benefits.

To declare ethics and values as irrelevant to the Third World in the context of biotechnology is to invite intellectual colonisation. At worst, it is an invitation to disaster.

* This paper was reproduced from the enviroethics email network (enviroethics@mailbox.ac.uk). Dr Shiva can be reached via: Research Institute for Science, Technology and Ecology, A-60 Hauz Khas, New Delhi 110016 India e-mail: vandana@twn.unv.ernet.in
Recent experiences in Cambodia's economic transition

Peter Annear, Centre for Health in Development, Deakin University*

With Cambodia now four years into a renewed process of market-based economic transition, donor agencies are satisfied that the Royal Government has maintained both macroeconomic discipline and the structural adjustment programme initiated after UN-sponsored elections in 1993 (Natarajan, personal communication). Inflation has been contained and the Riel remains stable despite currency liberalisation, principally because foreign budget support allowed the Government to not extensively borrow from the National Bank. Both a current US$20-30 million account deficit and the Government's capital works programme have been almost entirely foreign-funded. Foreign investment has increased in recent years, and there has been a rise in the rate of GDP growth, to an annual rate of 6 to 7 per cent in recent years.

These apparent achievements, however, mask greater uncertainties resulting from a lack of development in the critically under-resourced social sector, despite a significant flow of donor finance into health, education, rural development, infrastructure development and civil service reform. While official, direct government borrowing is very low, significant indirect borrowing occurs in the form of unpaid government salaries and bills. The opportunity for significant reductions in military spending - 60 per cent of budget resources last year - arose after mass defections from the Khmer Rouge occurred in 1996, but no such downsizing is likely prior to national elections scheduled for 1998. Consequently donors remain cautious, and foreign investors are in many cases 'sitting on the fence'. More importantly, recent industrial action for improved wages and working conditions in the newly established garment industry may be a sign of greater public intervention to correct social imbalances in the longer term.

Demands for better conditions in the garment industry

The mostly foreign-owned garment industry grew rapidly after Cambodia gained GSP (General System of Preferences) trade status with the European Union in 1994, with almost half the exports from its 36 garment manufacturing enterprises going to Britain (see Table 1). Many of the garment factory owners are from Hong Kong, China or Malaysia. By the beginning of 1997, at least five of the enterprises had experienced labour walkouts and demonstrations involving demands for better pay and conditions (Heng Sok Chheng 1997). In one incident at the Tack Fat garment factory, about 400 mostly young women workers marched to the National Assembly while representatives of the newly formed Free Trade Union of Workers of the Kingdom of Cambodia (FTUWKC) negotiated with management. The strikers faced opposition from security guards and the police. In 1996, an estimated 90 per cent of the industry's 18,282 workers were women (most of whom are young), while the industry's labour costs have been estimated at a mere 6.4 per cent of total sales (Samra 1997).

Table 1: Cambodian garment industry exports 1996 (11 months)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>US$ millions</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>66.001</td>
<td>93.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>32.985</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>2.019</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>0.810</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>0.234</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1.352</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>70.416</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Commerce

The FTUWKC was launched in December 1996 by 158 garment workers with an Appeal to All Workers In Free Countries, stating 'the only hope to bring some social justice one day is to start now to collectively resist oppression and fight for human dignity through a free trade union ...' (Navy 1996). The union insists it is independent of Government and political parties and signed its first agreement with a garment employer on 27 December 1996.

Although Minister for Social Affairs, Suy Sem, complained that strikes would damage the foreign investment outlook and harm the economy, some National Assembly members believe that workers have legitimate complaints. Working a 72-hour week with little or no overtime payments and earning less than US$30 a month, the garment workers had no security or sick-leave provisions, could not keep their jobs if they married and could be sacked without notice (Mary 5/1/97). Following the strike activity, a December agreement between the Ministry of Social Affairs and the garment companies increased monthly minimum wages to US$40, reduced the working week to 48 hours, established maternity and sick leave and introduced performance incentives. Garment manufacturers condemned a new Labour law passed in January, claiming 'serious shortfalls in [the quality of] Cambodia's workforce' (Heng Sok Chheng 1997), especially compared to lower-waged Chinese garment workers and described the laws as revenge by the Government against employers.

However, the law is itself flawed. Civil servants and domestic workers are totally excluded, blatant gender discrimination exists as employers only have to give male workers rice and

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housing benefits (in a country where up to 26 per cent of families are female-headed), forced labour for ‘civic obligations’ is permitted, child labour is outlawed but made possible by enormous loopholes, company-store practices are allowed, there are virtually no health or safety regulations, and there are no penalties for late payment of wages.

**Investment and privatisation**

In 1994, Finance Minister Keat Chhon announced that while Cambodia ‘will not catch up with the development level of our neighbours ... we will catch up with their pace of development’ (Mehta 1996; for a regional comparison, see Table 2). But growth is both uneven and unsustainable. For example, the official 7.5 per cent growth target achieved in 1995, was largely due to fortuitous weather conditions and an increased rice harvest. To bolster its precarious fiscal position by raising company tax revenues, the Government is now considering a review of its overly-generous 1994 Investment Law (Lenaghan 7/4/97). In the 12 months to August 1995, the Government’s Cambodian Investment Board (CIB) approved 202 investment applications (33 fully domestically-owned, 82 foreign-owned, with the remainder being joint ventures), mostly coming from Malaysia, Singapore, China and Thailand. Of these, 57 were operational by September 1995. Only four had more than US$10 million in capital. The World Bank estimates that realised foreign investment inflows were US$100 million in 1995 (from US$10 million in 1994) and may reach US$200 million by the end of the decade. Even so, the manufacturing sector’s modest contribution to national output has been constant at around 7 per cent of GDP, with manufacturing growth dominated recently by textiles, garments and food processing. Construction and services have together contributed almost three-quarters of GDP growth.

**Table 2: Growth rate of real GDP in per cent per annum**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1994</th>
<th>1995</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South East Asia</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


While 50 per cent of industrial production in 1995 remained in state hands, the World Bank believes this is not crowding out private business. The private sector now accounts for 70 per cent of gross domestic investment, which has grown strongly during the 1990s, reaching 22.4 per cent of GDP in 1995 from 9.4 per cent in 1991. However, due to a low national savings rate of only 7.5 per cent of GDP in 1995, Cambodia remains heavily dependent on foreign capital inflows (principally grants and loans).

The first phase of privatisation occurred from 1991 to 1993, when it was halted by the UNTAC administration. It resumed after April 1995 when new privatisation regulations were approved and a Privatisation Committee was established to formulate and monitor the privatisation process. In the first phase, ministries privatised their own enterprises, selling 50 of a total 152 state companies (mostly services and small production facilities). Additionally, 52 enterprises were leased in 1991-92 of which more than 90 per cent were in manufacturing. During this phase, employment protection was one of the highest priorities in the privatised enterprises. In the second phase, an additional 42 enterprises have been placed on the privatisation list, and the Government has conceded to pressure from multilateral banking institutions to privatise existing state-owned enterprises in the agricultural sector. Recently, foreign investment in rice production has been encouraged, with the first agreement being a joint venture between the Cambodian Government and a Singapore Government-private sector consortium to grow rice in Takeo province.

**Macroeconomic stability**

Like other regional economies faced with economic transition and structural adjustment, such as Lao PDR, Myanmar, and to a lesser extent Vietnam, Cambodia faces serious difficulties related to limited implementation capacity, low absorption capacity for foreign aid, low private investment, restricted public expenditure, and the fact that ‘aggregate demand for resources [exceeds] supply’ (Dowling 1996). Macroeconomic stability has been achieved by: placing a stranglehold on government expenditure (except on defence); and underwriting the domestic and foreign deficit with foreign funds (see Table 3 for a summary of government finances). After the 1994 budget centralised all revenue-raising powers with the national treasury for the first time, expenditure estimates increased by 21 per cent for 1995, while the 1996 budget forecast a small reduction in the deficit to 7.4 per cent of GDP (roughly equal to defence spending). Without an adequate taxation system however, the Government’s revenue base remains extremely weak, and plans to double the tax ratio over the next decade, from the current 6 per cent to 13 per cent of GDP (the average for developing countries), will require fundamental change. Implementation of a progressive company and income tax system is called for but faces insurmountable obstacles due to the lack of formal employment and other formal economic structures. It is more likely that a value added tax (VAT) proposed by the World Bank will be instituted, starting with the 400-500 large companies registered with the Large Taxpayers Unit.
Table 3: Government finances in billions of Riels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total revenue</strong></td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>156.0</td>
<td>290.1</td>
<td>590.4</td>
<td>642.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Customs duty</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>172.4</td>
<td>280.9</td>
<td>320.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other tax revenue</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>124.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-tax revenue</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>225.8</td>
<td>197.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total expenditure</strong></td>
<td>104.2</td>
<td>245.6</td>
<td>608.4</td>
<td>1019.2</td>
<td>1221.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current expenditure</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>238.5</td>
<td>373.2</td>
<td>683.7</td>
<td>732.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>118.6</td>
<td>219.4</td>
<td>431.8</td>
<td>425.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other current expenditure</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>119.9</td>
<td>153.8</td>
<td>251.9</td>
<td>307.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capital expenditure</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>235.2</td>
<td>335.5</td>
<td>488.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deficit</td>
<td>-45.3</td>
<td>-89.6</td>
<td>-318.3</td>
<td>-428.8</td>
<td>-578.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic financing</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>79.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign loans</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>239.1</td>
<td>432.1</td>
<td>536.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue % GDP</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure % GDP</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current % GDP</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence % GDP</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deficit % GDP</td>
<td>-3.4</td>
<td>-3.6</td>
<td>-5.7</td>
<td>-7.0</td>
<td>-8.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Cambodia's economy is now more vulnerable to international financial pressures, while the Government's export-led growth strategy is only slowly taking effect. Further trade liberalisation will follow ASEAN membership, though even First Prime Minister Norodom Ranariddh has cautioned that 'being members of ASEAN will not mean that Cambodia will simply become a marketplace for other members of ASEAN. We have to be in a win-win situation, and not in a situation where one side wins, and the other side loses' (Mehta 1996). The ASEAN states dominate Cambodia's trade (see Table 4). With imports rising faster than exports, the trade deficit has widened, averaging an annual increase of 49 per cent in 1992-95 (see Table 5 for a regional comparison of Cambodia's trade deficit). A reduction of the current account deficit, which increased from 1.5 per cent to 14.9 per cent of GDP between 1991 and 1995, will be driven by increased exports from US$265 million in 1995 to US$495 million in 2000. These increases will be non-traditional, labour-intensive, light manufacturing products, especially garments which account for 96 per cent of Cambodia's total GSP preferences.

Table 4: Cambodia's main trading partners 1993 in per cent of total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Exports toa</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Imports fromb</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Former USSR</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a not including re-exports b includes non-retained imports
Source: World Bank 1996

With external financing requirements reaching US$550 million by 2000, the World Bank warns that official foreign assistance (grants and concessional loans) to Cambodia must be maintained at current levels until 1998 (at around US$500 million a year). This judgement is overly optimistic, and it is likely that foreign financial support of this magnitude will be required for a much longer period. Approximately US$1.5 billion in foreign assistance has been pledged since 1991, with Japan as the largest donor. Despite a low absorption capacity, actual disbursement increased from just US$5...
million in 1992 to an estimated US$345 million (US$270.3 million in grants and US$74.7 million in loans) in 1995. But with grant moneys declining, rising debt is an increasingly haunting prospect. Discounting unrealistic previous rouble debts, Cambodia's hard currency debt of US$472 million at the end of 1994 represented 20.3 per cent of GNP and 91.3 per cent of exports of goods and services (Economist Intelligence Unit 1996). Ninety-seven per cent of the debt is bilateral. While such levels are manageable, the inherent dangers need close attention.

Social development

Despite economic changes, Cambodia's social development is limited (see Table 6) and below the levels of the late 1960s in some areas. Rural development is painfully slow and agriculture lags behind other more rapidly growing sectors, averaging a 3 per cent annual output growth rate in the 1990s. However, World Bank proscriptions for agriculture are likely to concentrate rural wealth rather than assist universal rural development. The Bank focuses its proposals on privatisation of rubber plantations and other state rural enterprises, rationalising land ownership laws and upgrading rural infrastructure including water resource management, which is badly needed. The World Bank states that extension of rural micro-credit should be left to NGOs and not be attempted by the Government.

Table 6: Social development indicators (c. 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy at birth</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life expectancy (South East Asian region)</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment (estimated % WF)</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under-employment</td>
<td>chronic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy (% total population)</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiteracy (% women)</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to safe water (% population urban)</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to safe water (% population rural)</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population per doctor</td>
<td>9500.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Various UNICEF, IMF, World Bank and Royal Government of Cambodia reports

There are fears that the current generation of five to fifteen year old Cambodians may eventually be seen as the 'lost generation' (Fauveau, personal communication). Such fears recognise the harsh reality that educational standards will not improve quickly enough to meet the needs of this new generation (while, for example, the children of the elite are invariably educated overseas). Meanwhile, the relatively low number of children aged under five - a product of the human devastation caused by the Khmer Rouge 20 years ago - indicates a potentially serious lack of labour power within the next two decades, even with better educational opportunities (National Institute of Statistics 1996). The numerical dominance of women in the 20 to 40 year age group, which is also a result of the Khmer Rouge regime period, is regarded as a constraint to development, reflected in the high proportion of female-headed households. Poverty remains acute for this group even though women have traditionally been better managers and have taken responsibility for family finances. Overall, women comprise 50 per cent of the workforce mainly because the low level of civil service salaries (the major employer of males) necessitates that women work, predominantly in the extensive informal sector.

Conclusion

At a Round Table on Structural Adjustment in January 1996, researchers from the Cambodian Development Resource Institute indicated that major macroeconomic constraints were still evident from 1975-79 and the prolonged war with the Khmer Rouge, such as the legacy of dependence on Soviet bloc assistance in the 1980s and excessive defence spending (Kannan 1997). However, the SAP package of fiscal and monetary requirements does not adequately consider these constraints. Though inflation fell after 1993, absolute price levels have remained high and in excess of comparable countries. No social-protection system has yet replaced the earlier, though inadequate, system under which vulnerable groups were provided a share in the local production of food, subsidised agricultural inputs and benefits of other collective activities. Giving priority to private sector transactions assumes that human capacity for development exists while simultaneously not meeting health and education needs. Attempting to re-focus government expenditure on social development needs and the protection of vulnerable groups is a formidable challenge. However, waiting for a 'trickle-down' effect to improve social conditions is likely to be futile. There is, therefore, a danger that the ideology of market reforms within the structural adjustment model will overwhelm Cambodia's broader reconstruction and development programme. A more balanced approach to economic and social issues may therefore be called for.

*Peter Annear was a development programme manager in Cambodia in 1993-95 and returned in January-February 1997 to undertake further postgraduate research. For an account of Cambodia's economic and political transition, see P. Annear 1996, 'Cambodia's economic development since 1954: Economic transition and the role of the private sector', Development Bulletin, Volume 38, July.*
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July 1997
Mining in Papua New Guinea

Chris Aina Kia, Melanesian Environment Foundation, Papua New Guinea

The curse of wealth

Papua New Guinea (PNG) has been cursed with mineral riches: gold, copper, silver, oil and natural gas. Every part of our land is being searched. Over 1,000 exploration licenses have been granted to companies which in some cases, mean whole provinces.

When our Melanesian Environment Foundation (MEF) began ten years ago, there were only two operating mines: Panguna on the island of Bougainville which began mining in 1969 and Ok Tedi which began in 1981. Active mines now include Misima, Porgera and Lihir. Lihir, which began construction in 1995, will be the world's richest gold mine outside South Africa. Eight other mines are at various phases of development and grassroots alluvial mining is taking place at Mt Kare, Wau and many other places.

People and the land

Gold and copper have never been a part of our traditional culture. Instead, a strong sense of human relationships is fundamental to our Melanesian cultures. As Indigenous communities, we consider ourselves to be an integral part of the land in a way outsiders find it difficult to understand. Ninety-seven per cent of our land is still held in the customary way. This very special way of life, often thought of as weakened by colonial history and the Western capitalist ethic of human dominion over the environment, persists throughout PNG.

And what is the value of gold compared with the value of land itself? Land is our life: our physical life, our food and sustenance. Land is also our social life. It is marriage, it is status, it is security. In fact it is our only world (Mother Earth). When people take away our land and exploit our sacred mountains, they cut away at the very heart of our existence.

The impacts of mining: Environmental, social and political

- Water pollution of the Java River was one of the main factors leading to the 1989 rebellion which shut down the Panguna mine in North Solomons Province. The so-called Bougainville crisis is still continuing. Recently, the PNG Government announced its intention to buy controlling shares in the mine as a way to solve the nine-year crisis.

This rapid exploitation has placed heavy demands on our rural societies in other ways as well:

- Mining projects disrupt our traditional life and social value system with the introduction of cash (kina and toea), imported foods and especially alcohol. When MEF visited the mine site in 1995, we were told by a company spokesperson that Porgera women now 'don't want to get their hands dirty' making gardens. Turning away from growing their own foods means dependency on imported goods like Australian rice and Japanese canned fish.

At Porgera we were also told that local children drop out of school because the families think that royalty money makes education unnecessary. We were told the same in Misima, where school children were sometimes given K50 (A$49) just to buy lunch. Students do not want to go to school; teachers wait all day for students to come, but none turn up. When the mines are gone and the royalty payments are over, what future will these children have?

Projects take men away from the villages and they no longer care for their families. This increases the burden on women who remain in the villages, who must take up the men's work as well as their traditional responsibilities.

- Good relationships between individuals, once paramount, have now been replaced by competition. Communities are no longer concerned with the interests of everyone in the village; instead, there is self-centredness, with an individual out for him/herself.

- Recently Lihir landholders asked for an indefinite closure of the mine until problems can be addressed (National 17/3/97).

Apart from the environmental destruction it causes, mining also sets the stage for the violation of human and civil rights.
For example:

• All established mines have internal, private security forces, in effect, private armies, in the pay of the transnationals. These forces are accountable only to their employers.

• Specially trained police known as Rapid Units are stationed at each mine site to 'maintain order'. Police have been called out to control landholders' protests and mine workers' strikes. It is well known that their purpose is to protect company investments, not the civil rights of Papua New Guineans.

• In our own organisation, MEF has a joint project with the Australian Conservation Foundation to develop a code of conduct for Australian mining companies operating in PNG. Promised AusAID funding for this work was blocked though pressure from the PNG subsidiaries of Australian mining companies.

• In response to the well-known landholders' lawsuit against Ok Tedi pollution, BHP put pressure on the PNG National Government to sponsor legislation denying Papua New Guineans the right to try such cases in international courts. In effect this criminalises individuals and groups who are actively opposed to mining activities.

The Ok Tedi's eighth Supplemental Agreement Bill passed in 1995 took away one of the most important legal protections that ordinary people have against big companies and government officials: the right to sue for damages. This attempt to tamper with the laws of damage is a serious blow against landholders. According to Individual and Community Rights Advocacy Forum (ICRAF) lawyers, Powes Parkop and Brian Brunton, the PNG Government was saying that it cannot trust PNG judges in PNG to administer well-established leases in the best interest of the PNG people. According to ICRAF, being able to sue for damages,

... is one of the most important legal protections that ordinary people have against big companies ... who would like to trample on the rights of individuals. It is the law of damage which keeps corporate and bureaucratic greed in check, and compensates when the powerful get out of control.

• In Bougainville, military force has caused massive human rights abuses, including torture, rape and killings. Only a few months ago, Theodore Miriung, the Bougainville Premier and an outspoken critic of government policy on Bougainville was murdered in front of his family as they sat to dinner. The coroner's report, issued in December 1996, revealed that his killers were Papua New Guinean soldiers.

In February 1997, mercenaries were imported to 'solve the problem' of Bougainville. The PNG Government allocated US$36 million for Sandline International to regain control over Panguna mine. MEF believes that the use of military force is not the solution to Bougainville, and we abhorred the engagement of mercenaries.

In response, the Defence Force Commander Singirok demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Chan, Deputy Prime Minister Haiveta and Defence Minister Ijape, stating that 'Papua New Guineans must not forget that the basis of the Bougainville crisis stems around ... mining and environmental concerns and issues' (Post-Courier 18/3/97). In response, Singirok himself was sacked on 19 March. Within a few days, civil unrest had broken out in urban centres across PNG, and an alliance of students, NGOs and the military pressured the government to withdraw the contract. On 21 March, the mercenaries were sent out of PNG; on 26 March, Prime Minister Chan agreed to 'step aside' while a Commission of Inquiry investigated the affair.

PNG stands at a development crossroads. The path to so-called modernisation focuses on the economy at the expense of indigenous peoples and the environment. A new cult of cargo has emerged; everything foreign is valued, everything indigenous degraded. Such 'cargo' development leads to the enrichment of a small elite at the top of the economic pyramid, and the relative impoverishment of the vast majority of Papua New Guineans.

It also leads to the build-up of urban areas and ever-increasing migration to squatter settlements, paid for by neglecting rural areas where 80 per cent of the people live. It leads to a steady increase in the frustration of young people - over 50 per cent of the population - who are pushed from the underfunded education system into an underdeveloped job market.

It leads to increased violent crime and lawlessness, and a corresponding tendency towards centralist state repression, through such measures as the 'Internal Security Act', retaliatory policing, the suspension of civil rights (such as Port Moresby's current 10pm to 4am curfew) and due process, the importation of mercenaries' and the impossibility of participating in government beyond the local level.

Along with indigenous peoples everywhere, we blame the Western 'cargo' development to for this. We blame the transnational corporations which use funding institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, regional funding institutions and even the United Nations to force their policies and programmes on us. We blame organisations such as GATT and the World Trade Organisation, and their imposition of structural adjustment programmes and privatisation, for furthering the oppression of indigenous peoples. The foreign capitalist concept of viewing land as a commodity is an insult. We Indigenous Melanesians view our land as our very heart, our Mother.
From the field

Farakka Barrage: Its environmental and social impacts in Bangladesh

Salim Momtaz, Humanities, Central Queensland University

The environmental, social and political impact of dams is not a new issue. Yet, the issue is more complicated when these impacts affect populations in more than one country. This paper examines the case of the Farakka Barrage dam, which was commissioned by India in 1975, and is located approximately 16 kilometres upstream from the western border of Bangladesh. The low flow of the Ganges due to upstream withdrawals has initiated a process of environmental degradation in the south-western part of Bangladesh which adversely affects the lives of nearly a third of the country’s population.

This paper reviews the impacts of the dam in Bangladesh, and explores the perceptions of the affected community, using the results of a survey involving 100 households in the Rajshahi and Kusta districts in 1996.

Impacts of the Farakka Barrage in Bangladesh

The withdrawal of Ganges water at Farakka have been adversely affecting the people, environment and the economy of Bangladesh in the following ways:

Agriculture and irrigation: In Bangladesh, nearly 80 per cent of the population live in the countryside, with farming as their principal occupation (BBS 1995). About one quarter of 7.7 million hectares of cultivated land lies in the Ganges basin. This vast area suffers from water deficiency in the dry season which results in decreased productivity. For example, the minimum water discharge in the dry season at Hardinge Bridge measuring point, declined from 2030 cumec in 1971 (pre-Farakka) to 523 cumec in 1991.

The Ganges-Kobadak (G-K) Project is an important, and the first, irrigation project in the Ganges basin in Bangladesh. The Bheramara pumping station uses water from the Ganges. However, in dry seasons, the Ganges water level drops to the point where all pumps lose their submergence. When this occurs, this irrigation project has to shut down, affecting 50,000 hectares of cropland.

Groundwater: Due to a lowering of the river stage, the once effluent river has now become influent. Consequently the amount of available groundwater in the region has suffered significant depletion (BWDB 1987). A survey conducted on the groundwater level in 1992, showed that the water table had dropped by seven metres from the pre-diversion levels (Asafuddowlah and Khondker 1994).

Fishery: Changes in hydrological and hydro-biological conditions of the Ganges and its distributaries in the lower
reaches of the Ganges have negatively affected fish production. For example, the changed pattern of water flow, velocity, water turbidity, total dissolved solids and salinity on which fisheries of the region flourished (Karim 1995), has degraded the habitat of Hilsa and other fish species (Asafuddowlah and Khondker 1994).

Salinity intrusion: A devastating effect of the upstream diversion of the Ganges waters has been the marked increase in surface and ground water salinity, leading to the higher soil salinity in the south-western region of Bangladesh. Due to reductions in dry season Ganges flow, the salinity of Khulna district rose from 380 micro-mhos/cm in the pre-diversion period of 1974 to about 26,000 micro-mhos/cm in April 1992 (Asafuddowlah and Khondker 1994). The salinity front of 500 micro-mhos/cm moved through the Passur River Estuary from 146 km to about 220 km inland since the Barrage had been put to operation (Joint River Commission 1996). Increased salinity has also jeopardised the generation and regeneration of the Sundari trees, which account for 60 per cent of the total marketable timber of one of the largest mangrove forests in the world - the Sundarban.

Navigation: The reduction of the Ganges flow has made more than 324 kilometres of navigable routes now completely inoperative in the dry season. Once navigable to large paddle steamers during the pre-diversion period, the Ganges can now only be crossed by country boats during the dry months.

Survey results

Against this backdrop of negative impacts of the dam, a survey was conducted in the regions within the influence of the Ganges. The results of this survey are as follows:

Knowledge of the Barrage: The respondents were asked if they heard about the Farakka Barrage. In contrast to the popular perception of rural people as ignorant, all respondents said that they had heard about it. All respondents said they knew its location, with some even having visited it to see one of the 'splendours of modern architecture and engineering'. In response to the question 'what is Farakka Barrage?’, many answered: 'it is a dam'; 'it is a bridge with road and railway lines on it’. It was clear from the survey results that most people knew about the Barrage, but also that to some degree they were aware of its negative effects. For example, a fisherman said 'it is the reason why we do not get fish in the river' while a landless day labourer said 'it has been built to make us beggars'.

There is, however, a tendency among the people to blame Farakka for all their miseries as has been observed among the political parties in Bangladesh with an anti-Indian stance in the post-independence era.

Views on the impacts: All respondents said that they were being directly or indirectly affected by the Barrage. Two major effects identified by the respondents are:

- Reduced flow in the river in the dry months, such that people can sometimes cross the river by foot. From February to April when there is no rainfall, India uses most of the available water in the Ganges. The consequences of low water flow in the river experienced by the people living in the villages along the river are: 'lowering of water level in the natural water bodies (khals, bills etc.)', and 'very little or no water in the hand tube-wells and shallow tube-wells due to a decreasing water table affecting irrigation for agriculture'. One person said 'in extreme cases there is no water in hand tube-wells - the main source of drinking water in rural areas - and we have to go some distance to fetch water either from deep tube-wells or from other hand tube-wells where the situation is not as bad’. In the dry season, any remaining water is 'very hot under the scorching summer sun'.

- Decreases in fish production - regarding the availability of sweet-water fish, one respondent said 'when we were small children there were many perennial water bodies in the vicinity of the villages and our parents used to catch fish enough for the whole family. Now most of those water bodies have dried up’ (see Table 1).

Table 1: Impacts of the Farakka Barrage in the study area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of impact</th>
<th>Frequency of responses (n = 100)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reduced discharge in the Ganges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in dry season</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced water level in the perennial water bodies</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No water in hand tube-wells in dry season</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No water in shallow tube-wells in dry season</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dug-wells dried up</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease in agricultural production</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decrease in fish production</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowering water table</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River bank erosion and creation of charlands (braids)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field survey 1996

Personal and government measures to cope with and reduce the adverse effects: Most people think that there is nothing much they could do to reduce their miseries unless the Bangladesh side of the Ganges receives its due share of water. One respondent said 'the magnitude of the problem is so vast that no individual measure would be sufficient'. Some others said 'because we cannot cultivate the traditional crops during the dry season due to lack of water, we have started growing wheat instead as advised by the government.'
which requires less amount of water'. Some others said 'we cannot take any preventive measures to avoid the detrimental effects of this human-imposed hazard but as a part of our struggle for survival we take instant curative measures, for example, if one crop fails we cultivate another crop as quickly as possible or try and do some temporary business to earn a living; if our houses and trees are damaged we rebuild our houses and plant trees'.

People in the region acknowledge some government efforts towards mitigation of negative impacts such as deep tube-well irrigation projects which helped increase agricultural production in some areas. The Bangladeshi government also constructed some embankments to protect villages from erosion during floods and people receive relief goods after a flood has occurred. However, people think that more can and should be done by the government to minimise the environmental, social and economic consequences of the Farakka Barrage dam.

Views on permanent solutions to the problem: Unlike many politicians and a section of the media, people in the region believe in an amicable solution, reached through negotiation between the governments of India and Bangladesh. Some respondents said 'since the Indian government built the Barrage and controls its operation, it is for the benefit of our country that we resolve the water sharing problem bilaterally rather than taking a hostile attitude to Indian government and making noise in world bodies'. A few respondents also suggested pressuring India internationally by raising the issue in the United Nations or constructing an 'anti-Farakka Barrage' on their side of the river to store wet season water for dry season use. During the regime of late President Ziaur Rahman the government selected such a dam site, but without any feasibility study. Experts say that a similar barrage built in Bangladesh would require a minimum level of discharge during dry season which has been unavailable in recent years. Critics now say that it was just a political stunt and the idea of an anti-Farakka Barrage has been completely abandoned by the present government.

Conclusion

This paper has told a small, but untold, part of a larger story of how unilateral withdrawal of water from a transboundary river has negatively affected the environment, and forced millions of people to adapt their lifestyles to the worsening situation. Farakka barrage is an example of how the construction of a huge dam without proper impact assessment and community consultation may end up damaging the environment and causing misery to millions of people.

On 12 December 1996, the governments of India and Bangladesh signed a landmark agreement to share the waters of the Ganges River which ended a 20 year dispute. According to the agreement the dry season flow in the Ganges on the Bangladesh side would increase. This should be of great interest to researchers working in the field as it will be interesting to see if the degradation process is reversed or retarded as a result.

References


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Bangladesh poor country - big effort

In the early 1990s, Bangladesh, a desperately poor country of 120 million people, spent more than US$135 million a year on family planning, now used by more than 45 per cent of Bangladeshi women. The government, which has consistently made family planning a high priority, spent about $32 million a year from its own funds on the national family planning programme during this period. The World Bank and more than a dozen other donors provided another $100 million annually in loan and grant assistance for both family planning and other maternal and child health services. Private citizens spent almost $4 million a year from their own pockets to buy (mostly subsidised) contraceptives on the market. This shows that with sufficient political will, it is possible to mobilise significant resources for population work even in a very poor country like Bangladesh.

Working with NGOs in Nepal

' Working with NGOs can increase project reach and sustainability, introduces new perspectives on development, and makes it easier to have a dialogue with local communities', says Joe Manickavasagam, the World Bank's Resident Representative in Nepal. Although NGO involvement in projects varies, the recent trend points towards greater collaboration with NGOs in Bank projects. In Nepal, the Bank is building on the successes of the JAKPAS experience in the Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Project. The project will finance schemes designed and built by beneficiaries, who, with the help of NGOs, will contribute time and money towards construction costs and maintenance. Other proposed Bank projects involving NGOs include: the Agriculture Technology and Dissemination project; Irrigation Sector Project; Land Resources Management Project, Rural Infrastructure Project; Basic Primary Education II; and Population and Family Health II.

Poisoned coral

1997 has been earmarked as the Year of the Reef. The reason for the heightened interest in the fate of the world's coral reefs is the fact that recent surveys and studies reveal that we are losing this wealth of biodiversity faster than the tropical rainforests. Of the world's 600,000 square kilometres of reefs, roughly 70 per cent are endangered and threatened. If nothing is done to conserve and manage the coral resources, we may lose three-quarters of them in 40 years.
Elderly population growing fastest in developing countries

The size of the world's elderly population has been growing for centuries; what is new is the rapid pace of aging. The increase in the 60-and-over population in the industrialised nations of Europe and North America generally has outpaced total population growth in recent decades, with the notable exception of a steep downturn in the early 1980s resulting from low birth rates during and after World War I. In less developed nations, the growth rate of the elderly accelerated sharply after 1960 and is substantially higher than that of the world's population of all ages. Less developed nations as a whole are aging much faster than their more-developed counterparts. The world's 60-and-over population increased by more than 12 million persons in 1995; nearly 80 per cent of this increase occurred in less developed countries.

![Average annual per cent growth](image)

Source: International Data Base, International Programs Centre, US Bureau of Census

### Australian fund for combating desertification

AusAID will provide a further $600,000 to assist with the implementation of a United Nations' Convention to combat desertification in African countries. Africa's high rate of population growth, combined with the refugee crises which have plagued some regions, has led to excessive grazing and cultivation of land and increased pressure on forests. Eighty-six countries, including Australia, signed a UN Convention to combat desertification in 1994. Since then the Australian government has already contributed a total of $370,000 to help several African countries develop national strategies for combating desertification. The latest contribution is part of AusAID's development assistance programme for Africa and will see funding being channelled into both the preparation of anti-desertification action plans and their practical implication.

*Focus*, March 1997, p.6

### Claim of Pacific island dependency on financial aid

An Australian University study claims financial aid given to South Pacific island nations has left many of the region's governments dependant on donor countries, rather than self-sufficient. Dr Patrick Laplagne from the University of New England, says the seven year study found foreign assistance is often used by governments to bolster the public service. He says the spending is on an area which is the least productive economic sector in terms of producing internationally tradeable goods and services. Dr Laplagne says it is difficult to see how the majority of South Pacific nations could become economically self-sufficient, given their limited natural resources and geographic isolation. According to him, donor nations such as Australia and New Zealand need to ensure aid is used to strengthen private enterprise rather than the public service.

*Radio Australia*, 18 April 1997

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*Development Bulletin 42*
The world’s natural pharmacy could face extinction

A growing number of medicinal plants, used since ancient times to treat ailments from stomach-ache to malaria, may soon face extinction unless developing countries develop more stringent conservation measures, according to a new World Bank report, Medicinal Plants: Rescuing a Global Heritage. During the last ten years a booming world trade in plant remedies has led to such over-harvesting of certain varieties, that they are now threatened or endangered species. Given that more than four billion people in the developing world depend heavily on natural medicines for their daily health, and that the global trade in medicinal plants is now worth in excess of one trillion dollars, the need for better conservation is beyond question.

*World Bank News, Vol. XVI, No. 16, 1 May 1997, p.4*
Conference reports

NGOs, scientists and the poor: Competitors, combatants or collaborators?

Canberra, 8 April 1997

'Time to get moving!' was the message from several top scientists and aid workers at this seminar, which attracted around 150 stakeholders to listen to, and comment on, successful examples of cooperative aid projects between NGOs, scientists and the rural poor in developing countries. The seminar was supported by AusAID and the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR).

In his opening address, Andrew Thomson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that the seminar was very timely as it provided the opportunity to examine how partnerships had worked and to consider how to apply them elsewhere to greater effect. He noted with pride that Australian Government funding had helped some partnerships to succeed, notably the 'Seeds of Hope' programme and two ACIAR projects on diseases in chickens and cattle. He recognised that agriculture was the sector upon which other sectors like industry and manufacturing grew and that even in a rapidly urbanising world, it is important to maintain a productive rural sector.

In terms of NGO and scientist cooperation in humanitarian aid, Mr Thomson pointed out the need for all partners to ensure that activities were not duplicated and that existing and new technologies, particularly low-cost ones, were adopted by local farmers. This meant increasing NGO involvement in bridging the gap between scientists and local communities.

In the opening session, speakers shared their experiences in Africa and Asia. Their enthusiasm was tempered with a degree of urgency about the need to move quickly to resolve appalling poverty and chronic hunger in the Third World.

Speakers representing World Vision International in Africa, international agricultural research centres in Sri Lanka and India, the ACIAR, the Overseas Service Bureau and the Church Missionary Society in Africa and Asia, then presented remarkable examples of NGO and scientist collaboration in developing countries.

They were unanimous in their declarations that there is a real need to work together towards common goals – alleviating poverty and eradicating hunger, protecting the environment, improving the status of women and improving the livelihoods of the poor. All speakers emphasised that they considered themselves to be neither competitors nor...
combatants, but partners in delivering research outcomes to the world’s poorest people.

Doing better

In his keynote speech Dr Christian Bonte-Friedheim, former Director General of the International Service for National Agricultural Research (ISNAR) said that it was high time that farmers, NGOs and scientists moved together in tackling rural development in the Third World, because as individual groups, few were doing it very successfully.

He stressed that poor farmers were some of the most important partners and their needs had to come first in any agricultural research project. He also emphasised that in the fast-paced world of today, education of the rural poor was the key to rural development, and pointed out that national agricultural services needed to be strengthened and enhanced so that with NGO involvement farmers could have better access to changing technologies.

Successful savvy

Bill Scowcroft reviewed the immensely successful ‘Seeds of Hope’ project which began in Rwanda during the 1994 civil war. Six of the Centres which form the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) quickly multiplied seeds stored in genebanks for distribution to refugees returning to their ravaged farms. Science provided the means to avert famine and NGOs provided the vital distribution networks crucial to ensuring that farmers got the seed packs, bred for local conditions, to plant in their fields.

Joe DeVries, Director of World Vision Agricultural Programmes in Africa, was particularly supportive of a ‘NGO/scientist/poor’ cooperative model. He sees a growing role for aid NGOs in the future - to consolidate agricultural research and food. World Vision, as a major international aid agency already employs its own agricultural scientists to develop new technologies for poor farmers. He praised Australian involvement in World Vision’s ‘Year of the Seed’ programme, mostly funded by the Australian public, and Australia’s significant role in international agricultural research centres and universities working in developing countries.

Program Director for World Vision International in Eritrea, Joe Siegle, spoke about a blueprint prepared by the Australian Tree Seeds Centre, with support from AusAID, for re-establishing forests in Eritrea. It was in daily use by the Eritreans, and with skills passed on by expert foresters in nursery management, Eritrea is now producing 13 million seedlings for planting each year. Well over two-thirds of these seedlings survive planting, and once mature, support the fuel needs of around 86,000 families.

Women on the move

Two scientists who caught the imagination of the audience were Jenny Turton and Ann Foster. Both vets, and living and working amongst poor people in Africa, they gave revealing insights into what it means for local communities to have ownership over development projects.

Jenny Turton was recruited by the Overseas Service Bureau to work on an ACIAR commissioned project into tick-borne diseases in cattle. She provided the vital link between her Zimbabwean counterparts at the professional level, and the ACIAR project leader in Australia.

Ann Foster travelled between villages in Tanzania and mingled with the (mostly female) chicken farmers to teach them how to inoculate their flocks against the deadly Newcastle disease. Project leader, Peter Spradbrow, would like this kind of cheap, effective and highly successful way of vaccinating flocks to be much more widespread in Africa.

Two other speakers representing the International Irrigation Management Institute (IIMI) and the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT) said how their projects which focused on drought resistance in crops in India, and irrigation management in Sri Lanka, gained significantly through cooperation with local NGOs.

The day included lively discussion from the floor and Beris Gwynne, World Vision Australia, had the hard task of summing up.

She reiterated that World Vision was evolving into an organisation that was looking beyond short-term emergency responses to food crises with food aid, to longer-term solutions to food security problems in the Third World. Often the two go hand-in-hand.

She commented that the NGO and scientific communities should strive for more of the same kind of cooperation. She urged participants to leave the seminar with renewed vigour in pursuing their common goals and build upon the network of relationships that the seminar provided to ensure more effective action against world poverty and hunger without further damage to our environment.

Heather Slater, Crawford Fund for International Agricultural Research.

The proceedings are available from:
Crawford Fund for International Agricultural Research,
1 Leonard Street, Parkville VIC 3052,
Tel (03) 9347 8328 Fax (03) 9347 3224,
E-mail: crawford@werple.net.au
Global water forum

Melbourne, 21 March 1997

To mark World Water Day in March this year, four agencies sponsored a cross-sectoral Global Water Forum at Melbourne University. World Vision Australia (WVA), the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA), the Resource Futures Program of CSIRO Wildlife and Ecology, and the International Development Technologies Centre at Melbourne University prepared a day to address aspects of the international theme 'The world's water: Is there enough?' Specific panel and discussion sessions addressed this from the perspective of government overseas aid, NGOs and community development, water technology, water management and water in politics.

Participants generally expressed delight at the wide ranging and inter-connecting analyses of water-related issues. Paul Flanagan (AusAID) and Ted Vandeloo (WVA) gave overviews respectively of what is happening to water in AusAID's programmes and globally. Tim Fisher (Australian Conservation Foundation) and Adrienne Farago (PLAN International) outlined lessons from local community development and water security.

The ‘Is technology enough?’ session included Ahmad Mustafa who discussed the Australian Army's experience with water supply for people on the move. Ann Hamblin (Director of the CRC for Soil and Land Management, Adelaide) put water technology into the wider perspective of public choice and watershed management. Don Stewart (IDTC) illustrated the complex factors in providing appropriate water technology in Kiribati. Hector Morales (also from IDTC) outlined the urgent need for appropriate technology in irrigation if there is going to be enough to feed and water the world.

In the session on ‘Learning from water management experiences’, Des Horton (City West Water in Melbourne) outlined the often conflicting and forced-choices that local water managers have to make. Neil Hamilton (CSIRO Resource Futures Program, Canberra) outlined the public policy choices needed to ensure future quality of life here and abroad. Geoff Syme (Australian Centre for Water in Society, Perth) touched on values and justice in future water distribution, illustrated by examples from his experience of water and reconciliation in the Middle East.

All panel sessions were followed by extended question and answer times. The evening session was on the hard forced-choice decisions that need to be made in 'Water and politics'. It featured papers by Senator Lyn Allison (Democrats, Victoria), Bruce Bilney (Liberal MHR for Dunkley), Daniel Cass (Greens Spokesperson on International Affairs and Environment), and the Hon. Neil O'Keefe (Labor MHR for Burke and Shadow Minister for Resources and Energy).

While all agreed that water can no longer be taken for granted and that justice is important in resource distribution, each had a different prognosis for future actions. Attitudinal and lifestyle changes were to be encouraged. Bruce Bilney paid ten cents for his glass of water to illustrate that there's no such thing as a free drink, and then presented a complex and nuanced version of the market place's role in establishing water security. Neil O'Keefe painted a picture of competing QANGOs, missed opportunities and great possibilities for the future and suggested that Australia might do worse than create one Water Management Authority.

Ted Vandeloo, Manager of Education Services, World Vision Australia.

Some of the papers are available through World Vision's Action Network, while the proceedings should be jointly published by the end of 1997 by ACFOA and World Vision.

South Asia: Development paradigm

Exeter, United Kingdom, 7-10 January 1997

The seminar was part of the annual conference of the Royal Geographical Society and Institute of British Geographers (RGS-IBG). The 11 papers presented at the seminar might appear at first sight to be somewhat disparate - ranging from Communist Party Marxist's (CPM) rule in West Bengal - to eco-tourism in Nepal and the languages used by the mass media in India. But there were some surprisingly common threads running through this material. One thread was the implicit debate about what development is actually about - very much a current concern both with academics and practitioners. Another thread was the way in which different communities communicate and negotiate with each other - and of course one element of communication is implicitly about the projection of different views of what the dominant development paradigm ought to be.

Glyn Williams (Keele) started the ‘day’ by suggesting that the CPM’s understanding of empowerment through Panchayati Raj ought to be reinvestigated, since it appeared not to sufficiently empower the weaker and poorer sections of the community. An examination of this suggested that at each scale level, the relations of power were affected by power relations at other levels - so an understanding of the local circumstances has to be situated in part in wider dialogues. An all-India examination of one aspect of power was provided by Pam Shurmer-Smith (Portsmouth). Shurmer-Smith looked at the Indian Administrative Service in an era in which government has abdicated many of its previous responsibilities for development, and particularly at the impact that changing patterns of recruitment - locally more than nationally and from lower castes rather than higher - was having. In many ways we were left with a feeling that here was a changing apparatus being left to define its own
new role. Tanja Haque (University College) completed this session with a detailed account of a NGO in Bangladesh which trained disadvantaged women to be peripatetic primary health care workers - struggling against prejudice in the villages they served. It was something of a stirring example of one situation where empowerment has worked - but whether these circumstances are easily replicable is another matter.

The second session was devoted to two papers by Sarah Howard and Tim Acott (Greenwich) and Sara Parker (Liverpool John Moores) on the impact of tourism on the Anapurna region in Nepal. They provided striking slides and interview material to suggest the environmental and cultural impact of trekking in this region - and to discuss the Anapurna Conservation Project designed to mitigate these impacts. The ensuing lively discussion debated how and even whether tourism can have low or zero impact in local cultures. In this case the community relationships being examined were basically those of international and national cultures abrading each other.

On the second day, Emma Mawdsley (Durham) kicked off with a lively account of how the Chipko movement and the movement for the secession of Uttarakhand were related, and how such movements offered targets for appropriation by 'outside' interests. Much of the argument concerned a growing maturity of local political forces linking with their emergence at a more regional scale. Kevin Hannan (Sunderland) intrigued the audience with a wide historical perspective on the evolution of the Indian Forest Service, from pre-independence to the present. Its officers still maintained much of the 'esprit-de-corps' originally aimed for, although the functions and purposes of the service were changing fast within a changing India. Hamish Mian (Staffordshire) moved us into urban terrain, and attempts to assist (or empower?) residents of bustees (settlements) in need of environmental improvement. One irony stood out, because the improvements most needed by the poorest would not and could not be provided by the private sector or through self-help, a role for the municipal corporation remained. However, if it improved any bustees, then the poorest would be evicted as rental values rose.

Peter Atkins (Durham) presented some preliminary findings from his atlas of gender in India, which depicted many difficult-to-interpret maps of sex ratios at birth and in the adult population and their changes over time etc. The strongest patterns provoked some speculation on culture and community, and some perplexed exchanges about what would be considered a norm for any of these - but such norms remained as elusive as the holy grail. Aditi Chatterji (Calcutta) re-introduced international cultural power relations in her critique of the Hills Stations of British India and their historical and contemporary roles, starting from an Orientalist perspective. These Stations had once displayed their domination of the 'other', making a good contrast with the exploration on foot of the 'other' which the trekkers of Anapurna want to experience now. The final paper (the author, Lancaster) focused on the political consequences of circulating ideas in different language communities in India, and how the English speaking elite are pro-environment, while local vernacular communities are pro-development.

Graham Chapman, Lancaster University. This is an edited version of the original conference report which appeared in the DARG Newsletter, No.27, Spring 1997.
Conference calendar

Australian Tropical Health and Nutrition Conference

Brisbane, 17-19 July 1997

The theme of this annual conference is International Health: Opportunities and Threats, Costs and Benefits. The conference will focus on indigenous health issues, economics and health financing, travel and health, emerging and re-emerging diseases, participatory action research and special interest group sessions. An ATHN Expo is also planned, where innovative manufacturers of health technologies who are sensitive to the needs of the developing world will be invited to display their products throughout the conference.

For more information contact:
Wendy Gardiner
ACITHN
The University of Queensland
Medical School
Herston Road
Herston, QLD 4006
Australia
Tel (07) 3365 5408
Fax (07) 3365 5399
E-mail W.Gardiner@mailbox.uq.edu.au

Managing Information for Better Health Outcomes in Australia and the Asia Pacific Region

Sydney, 10-13 August 1997

This conference is jointly organised by the Asia Pacific Association for Medical Informatics and the Health Informatics Society of Australia. The conference topics include: role of the Internet in healthcare; quality and outcomes of care; privacy and legal issues; health communication; healthcare services; and health education.

For more information contact:
APAMI - HIC 97
Conference Administration Office
413 Lygon Street
East Brunswick, VIC 3051
Australia
Tel (03) 9388 0555
Fax (03) 9388 2086
E-mail hisa@hisa.org.au

Indigenous Rights, Political Theory and the Reshaping of Institutions

Canberra, 8-10 August 1997

This conference is being organised jointly by the Humanities Research Centre and the Reshaping Institutions Project, with support from the Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University. The conference will address theoretical and institutional issues raised by the legal and political recognition of indigenous customs, law and property rights in countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Themes include: theories of rights, justice, sovereignty, citizenship, the rule of law and the politics of difference.

For more information contact:
Leena Messina
Humanities Research Centre
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 4357 / 2770
Fax (06) 248 0054
E-mail administration.hrc@anu.edu.au

International Conference on Women in the Asia-Pacific Region: Persons, Powers and Politics

Singapore, 11-13 August 1997

Towards the close of the twentieth century, feminist studies have moved beyond documenting the consequences of male dominance and female subordination to an interpretative, theoretically grounded understanding of the complexities of gender relations and identities. Two trends are of significance here. The first focuses on how gender as a category is being (re)constructed as a result of the countervailing forces of globalisation as time and space compresses on the one hand, and the assertion of local identities and cultures in order to maintain diversity and difference on the other. The second trend attempts to link gender relations to a wider framework of social relations where questions of gender intersect with other asymmetric relations pertaining to race, class and citizenship rights.

For more information contact:
Dr Peggy Teo
International Conference on Women in the Asia-Pacific Region
Centre for Advanced Studies
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 119260
E-mail geoteo@nus.sg

Constitutional Foundations: Reconciling a Diversity of Interests in a New Northern Territory Constitution for the 21st Century

Darwin, 4-6 September 1997

The Northern Territory is presently examining its constitutional future, and a draft Constitution for the Northern Territory has been tabled in the Legislative Assembly. If implemented, it would be the first completely new Australian Constitution since Federation. It raises a number of important constitutional issues facing Australia as a whole, including: recognition of multi-culturalism versus monoculturalism; the constitution and indigenous peoples in Australia and recognition of their land, culture, language, religion, customary law and regional self-determination; accountability, rights and entrenched constitutional restraints on government; and citizens'
participation in government. The conference will be of interest to a wide range of people who wish to explore these issues in a wider context.

For more information contact:
Christine Fletcher
North Australia Research Unit
Australian National University
PO Box 41321
Darwin, NT 0811
Australia
Tel (08) 8922 0066
Fax (08) 8922 0055
E-mail
Christine.Fletcher@anu.edu.au

Health in the City: A History of Public Health
Liverpool, UK, 4-7 September 1997

This is the second conference of the International Network for the History of Public Health and the annual conference of the Society for the Social History of Medicine. This joint meeting will explore the history of urban public health from its origins to the present day by addressing a variety of key themes: the urban/rural divide - changing patterns of demography and public health; ‘in the beginning there was dirt and disease’ - origins of urban public health; moving people - moving diseases; comprehending the masses - ordering the public for the public health; and centres and peripheries.

For more information contact:
Sally Sheard
Department of Economic and Social History and Public Health
University of Liverpool
PO Box 147
Liverpool L69 3BX
United Kingdom
Tel (44 151) 794 5593
Fax (44 151) 794 4488

African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific
Canberra, 25-27 September 1997

The main themes for the 1997 conference will be Population and Health, and Australia in Africa. It will look at the questions of aid, investment, education, the environment and mining. The conference organisers also welcome papers on other African topics. Postgraduate students may offer papers to either the Postgraduates Workshop (24 September) or to the main conference.

For more information contact:
Chris McMurray / David Lucas
Graduate Studies in Demography
20 Balmain Crescent
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 2396 / 0555
Fax (06) 249 4408
E-mail
cxm300@coombs.anu.edu.au

Women: Living Well into the 21st Century
Newcastle, Australia, 7-8 September 1997

The conference aims to address the changing needs for health promotion in women of different age groups; to highlight successes including innovative programmes, for addressing the major preventable causes of physical and psychosocial morbidity; to identify gaps in effective health promotion for different age groups, where further reduction of preventable ill-health are warranted; and to identify the future challenges for women’s health promotion and suggested strategies for meeting these challenges.

For more information contact:
Dr Jill Cockburn
Hunter Centre for Health
Advancement
Locked Bag 10
Wallsend, NSW 2287
Australia
Tel (049) 246 329 / 257
Fax (049) 246 208 / 215
E-mail
jillc@wallsend.newcastle.edu.au

Environmental Justice: Global Ethics for the 21st Century
Melbourne, 1-3 October 1997

This conference will examine principles and practice of environmental justice. Themes include: before and beyond justice - divergent ethics and rationalities; alternative conceptions of justice and their implications for the environment; the just distribution of environmental quality among humans; justice to nature; local environmental conflicts and justice; different national responses to the Rio Declaration; national institutions for environmental justice; and global institutions for environmental justice.

For more information contact:
Nicholas Low
Architecture Building and Planning
University of Melbourne
Parkville, VIC 3052
Fax (03) 9344 7458
E-mail
n.low@architecture.unimelb.edu.au

APSA Annual Conference
Adelaide, 29 September - 1 October 1997

This is the annual conference of the Australian Political Studies Association. Possible conference themes include: Australian/New Zealand politics and public policy; international relations; gender and politics; and political philosophy and political theory. Special panels may include: the Howard Government - a mid-term assessment; reconciliation; Mabo; ATSIC and beyond.

For more information contact:
Department of Politics
Flinders University
GPO Box 2100
Adelaide, SA 5001
Australia
Tel (08) 8201 2186
Fax (08) 8201 5111
E-mail apsa97@flinders.edu.au

July 1997

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Australian Anthropological Society Conference

Townsville, 2-4 October 1997

The theme of the conference is Indigenous Societies and the Post-Colonial State. The plenary sessions include: indigeneity and the post-colonial state; money, land and the state; and practising anthropology and archaeology in the 1990s. Topics for panel sessions include: egalitarian forms; Pacific youth; archaeology, ethnography and interpretation; cosmology and ritual; early anthropologists in Australia; doing anthropology in and around Japan; indigenous objects, post-colonial peoples; human rights - what else is there?; and global bodies, local medicine.

For more information contact:
Rosita Henry
School of Anthropology and Archaeology
James Cook University of North Queensland
Townsville, QLD 4811
Australia
Tel (77) 814 966 / 814 855
Fax (77) 814 045
E-mail Rosita.Henry@jcu.edu.au
or Michael.Hollman@jcu.edu.au

The Fifth Women in Asia Conference

Sydney, 3-5 October 1997

The aim of this multidisciplinary conference is to promote the study of women in Asia by providing a forum for scholars from Australia and overseas for the presentation of their research. The conference is being jointly organised by ASAA Women's Caucus and the School of History, University of New South Wales. Group discussions and panels will be organised around six broad themes: the search for the individual; women in public/political life; women and literacy; women and the home; women and religion; and women travellers.

For further information:
Heather Barker
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
University of New South Wales
Sydney, NSW 2052
Australia
Fax (02) 9385 1566
E-mail h.barker@unsw.edu.au

Nutrition Networks '97

Adelaide, 16-18 October 1997

The goal of this conference is to bring together people dedicated to improving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander nutrition; and to share information, knowledge and skills for improving nutrition of Aboriginal people living the city, country or homelands. The theme of the conference is Sharing Good Stories; and the organisers welcome positive stories about the relationship between food, good health and well-being within a cultural context.

For more information contact:
SAPMEA Conventions
80 Brougham Place
North Adelaide, SA 5006
Australia
Tel (08) 8299 6060
Fax (08) 8239 1566

International Conference on Tourism and Gender

Davis, USA, 24-26 October 1997

The conference is co-sponsored by the University of California, Davis, International Geographers Union's (IGU) Commission on Gender and Geography; IGU Study Group on Sustainable Development, International Sociological Association and the Tourism Division of the California Dept. of Trade and Commerce. The conference will explore the global-local nexus in tourism relationships and identities, especially the ways in which gender intersects with questions of nationalities and citizenships, rights, race, class, sexuality and age vis-a-vis tourism consumption, tourism employment practices and production; gender and place specific tourist development; gender and the intersection of tourism with the globalisation of agribusiness and manufacturing; and gender aspects of tourism-related migration.

For more information contact:
Margaret Swain
Dept. of Anthropology
University of California, Davis
Davis, CA 95616
USA
Fax (1 916) 752 8885

4th International Congress on AIDS in Asia and the Pacific

Manila, 25-29 October 1997

The theme of the conference is Partnerships Across Borders Against HIV/AIDS. The various sub-themes include: why is HIV spreading in Asia and the Pacific? How are we dealing with the problem? What should be done? and What do we expect in the future? The conference is organised by the AIDS society of the Philippines and is sponsored by the AIDS society of the Asia Pacific, Department of Health of the Philippines and the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS.

For more information contact:
Congress Secretariat
4th International Congress on AIDS in Asia and the Pacific
2/F Physicians Tower
533 United Nations Avenue
Ermita, Manila
The Philippines
Tel (63 2) 533 8103 / 8105
Fax (63 2) 526 8130
E-mail aidsphil@philonline.com.ph

WebNet '97

Toronto, Canada, 31 October - 5 November 1997

This international conference is the second World Conference of the WWW, Internet and Intranet. This annual conference serves as a
multidisciplinary forum for the exchange of information on the development, applications and research on topics related to the Web. This encompasses the use, applications and societal and legal aspects of the Internet in its broadest sense.

For more information contact:
WebNet 97/AACE
PO Box 2966
Charlottesville, VA 22902
USA
Tel (1 804) 973 3987
Fax (1 804) 978 7449
E-mail AACE@virginia.edu

Featuring Paradise: Representations of the Pacific in Film

Honolulu, 11-13 November 1997

This is the 22nd Annual University of Hawaii Pacific Islands conference. The conference will look at how the Pacific and Pacific Islanders have been portrayed in feature films for the past 100 years. Concerned primarily with an historical overview and general patterns, rather than with isolated individual films, the five panels planned for the conference will focus on the themes of paradise, gender, race and class, violence and indigenous filmmaking.

For more information contact:
Letitia Hickson
University of Hawaii at Manoa
Centre for Pacific Island Studies
890 East-West Road, Moore 215
Honolulu, HI 96822
USA
Tel (1 808) 956 2652
Fax (1 808) 956 7053
E-mail ctisha@hawaii.edu

Forum’97: New Linkages in Conservation and Development

Istanbul, 16-21 November 1997

This conference is designed to review experiments in conservation and development over the past decade, highlight the most pressing practical problems in this emerging field, and facilitate the creation of North-South and South-South partnerships for mutual understanding and effective action. The conference themes chosen to raise critical and controversial issues include: culturally conflicting views of conservation; engaging communities in conservation and development; ethics and responsibilities in environmental action; conservation and development in war and peace; business as a partner in environmental action; and institutional pathways to sustainability. Forum’97 is an open and participatory conference in which representatives of donors, NGOs, government agencies, universities, grassroots organisations and community groups will be invited to define new approaches to critical issues in conservation and development.

For more information contact:
Conservation and Development Forum
PO Box 115531
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-5531
USA
Tel (1 352) 392 6548
Fax (1 352) 392 0085
E-mail cdf@tcd.ufl.edu

International Conference on Gender and Development in Asia

Hong Kong, 27-29 November 1997

The conference aims to bring together international scholars working on gender and Asian development, where interdisciplinary dialogues are most fruitful and needed. The conference will focus on: gender and political development including democratisation and political culture; gender and social change including culture and work; and gender, sex and violence including sex tourism, trafficking of women and sexual harassment.

For more information contact:
Ms Serena Chu
Gender Research Program

The Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies
7/F Tin Ka Ping Building
The Chinese University of Hong Kong
Shatin, NT
Hong Kong
Fax (852) 2603 5215
E-mail gendev@cuhk.edu.hk

6th National Women and Labour Conference

Geelong, 28-30 November 1997

The theme of the conference is Feminist Social Change Across the Generations: Diversity, Power, Communication, Strategies for Change. The conference aims to gather women together who are interested in improving the lives of all women in Australia, to share information and research and formulate strategies for change, to involve community workers, activists and academics, to form a national women’s organisation. The conference organisers are soliciting papers for presentation.

For more information contact:
Student Equity Officer and Administrative Officer
Australian Women’s Research Centre
Deakin University
Geelong, VIC 3217
Australia
Tel (03) 5227 2671 / 5227 2597
Fax (03) 5227 2534
E-mail fthyer@deakin.edu.au

Solar ’97

Canberra, 1-3 December 1997

This is the 35th annual conference of the Australian and New Zealand Solar Energy Society. The Conference will provide a forum to present new research results, exchange reports regarding the use of new methods and technologies in industry, encourage the transfer of technology from research into practice and discuss energy policy and politics. The deadline for submission of abstracts is August 1, 1997.
Regional and Urban Development Conference

Wellington, New Zealand, 8-12 December 1997

The focus of this international conference will be on the analysis of regional and urban development in the Pacific Rim, policies for stimulation and management of regional and urban growth; and practical issues involved in implementing regional development programmes. Of special interest will be recent and ongoing developments in Australia, New Zealand, South East Asia, East Asia, USA, Canada and Latin America as well as the islands of the Pacific.

For more information contact:
Dr Philip Morrison
Geography Department
Victoria University of Wellington
PO Box 600
Wellington
New Zealand
Tel (64 4) 471 5337
Fax (64 4) 495 5127
E-mail PRSCO15@vuw.ac.nz
Web http://www.rses.vuw.ac.nz/geography/conferences/PRSCO15
Book reviews

Matriliny and modernity: Sexual politics and social change in rural Malaysia

M. Stivens 1996, Allen and Unwin (Women in Asia Publication Series), ISBN 1 86373 892 4, 316pp., A$29.95

Maila Stivens' *Matriliny and Modernity* is an extraordinarily rich historical and anthropological examination of the centrality of gender in Malaysian modernity and the specificity of the agrarian transformations in the research site. It reflects years of scholarly engagement with debates concerning Malay(s)ia's history, capitalist development, gender and peasantry, and an intensely critical and comparative approach to social theory.

The original archival and ethnographic research was carried out in the district of Rembau, Negeri Sembilan, in 1975-76. This was followed by numerous return trips to Rembau and elsewhere in the peninsula, sometimes of many months' duration, throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Some readers may be familiar with aspects of Stivens' arguments through her numerous articles, but this book draws together the various strands of her work and is much more than the mere sum of the earlier publications. The book stands alone in terms of the breadth and depth of its analysis and critique of Malaysian modernity.

As Stivens discusses, most debates about modernity (and postmodernity) have been both ungendered and eurocentric, with the result that important histories and the many diverging processes of modernity, or more correctly modernities, have been lost beneath a plethora of problematic Western analytical categories and concerns. In that sense Stivens' book is a recuperation of one such strand of modernity, documenting the intricate, shifting, incomplete, competing and thoroughly gendered discourses that surround Malaysian 'matriliny' in Negeri Sembilan.

Two central arguments stand out. The first is that the 'matriliny', or more properly *adat perpatih*, of Negeri Sembilan (specifically of Rembau) has been reconstituted through the colonial and post-colonial periods, and not simply 'fossilised' or declined in the face of capitalist development as orthodox theory would have it.

Stivens draws upon exhaustive genealogical and Land Office data on villagers' land ownership, patterns of inheritance and land acquisition from three study villages to support her case. Women's access to land must be understood in the context of the colonial codification of land tenure which subsumed *adat* and the political power of *adat* officials to
that of the colonial administration. But, the resultant commoditisation and individuation of land titles was further complicated by restrictions stemming from *adat*, Islamic inheritance patterns, and a number of state-imposed plans for, and restrictions on, the productive activities of rural Malays. Stivens enriches her discussion with interlocking themes, such as the pivotal gendering of peasant-state relations (in all its colonial and post-colonial guises) in understanding inequalities and the declining rural economy of Rembau, and women's inability to take on the attributes of truly 'free' wage labour owing to their family obligations.

Stivens' second argument concerns the implications that matrilineal reconstitutions have for assessing Rembau women's autonomy (notwithstanding the problems associated with the very notion of female autonomy). She argues that Rembau women have accrued some social benefits in both colonial and post-colonial times as a result of the uneven penetration of capitalist development into village society. However, in the context of Malaysia's ongoing capitalist accumulation, tensions between reconstituted social forms (of kinship, *adat*, and femininities) and new economic forms (the rise of what Stivens calls the remittance family economy and the migration of the adult working population out of Rembau in the face of Malaysia's massive industrialisation) have put any advantages under increasing pressure. In fact, Stivens is less than sanguine about the future of Rembau women's relative independence and rights.

Stivens' book is textured with greater finesse than can be indicated in a brief review. Throughout the book she highlights the importance of *adat*, and the fascinating and complex positions which manifest a range of gendered interests in the face of massive social and economic changes specific to Rembau and some which are more generalisable to the rest of Malay(s)ia. Whilst there are clearly tensions between men and women, Islam and *adat*, young and old, modernist and traditional, there is no recourse to a simple alignment of Islam with modernity and men, and *adat* with 'tradition' and women. Competing forms of responsibility to kin, new forms of labour (particularly in the industrial and bureaucratic sectors) have given rise to new forms of femininity and masculinity, and new kinds of sexual/gender politics, throwing up new challenges for inter-generational relations between women and children as much as between women and men.

My reservations about the book are minor except for the fact that sometimes its very richness and density work against it, in that one volume cannot do justice to such complex material. However, this is an important book, that should appeal to readers from a broad range of backgrounds and interests. We can only look forward to future publications that will result from Maiä Stivens' penetrating study of gender and modernity.

Lucy Healey, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University

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**Globalization and its Discontents: The rise of postmodern socialisms**


Globalisation, along with citizenship, is likely the major item of discussion today - conferences, books and journals all take up the call. *Globalization and its Discontents* is a part of this story. Across the old Third World, into the First, radicals unite at least momentarily against neoliberalism. For they understand correctly that there is a hegemonic form of globalisation - talk, which is neoliberal. Social democracy, whatever its flaws, is on the defensive, and the general scenario is less than cheerful. These binds, according to Burbach, Nunez and Kagarlitsky, compel us to look beyond what the modern world - modernity - has bequeathed us, to search for new alternatives that are postmodern in the broadest sense of the word. The authors seek a 'postmodern marxism'; an interesting quest which will strike some as oxymoronic. But not this reviewer; I have myself written a book called *Postmodern Socialism* (1994), only what I take that to signify is somewhat different to what Burbach et al. strive for. Although they refer to postmodern socialism, it actually seems to be postmodern marxism they await. Why? Because among other things, they follow Trotsky's logic in identifying the present crisis of the organised left as one of leadership. My own sense, by comparison, would be that the very idea and identity of an organised left is now open to doubt. Leaders without armies, maybe; and countless millions of others just soldiering endlessly on.

Burbach et al. argue for a 'postmodern socialism' as the appropriate response to postmodern capitalism. By postmodern economies they mean the marginal processes which fill the gaps in the larger processes of transnational capitalism. As they put it, the 'most extensive of the postmodern economies consists of the informal sector - the ever more numerous street vendors, the flea markets, petty family businesses, and even garbage scavengers.' On a larger scale, another parallel economic sector is comprised of weak enterprises like steel and airline companies, that big capital sells off to the workers because of falling profits. Another sector consists of downsized victims who now subcontract. By this view these postmodern economies will ultimately become ascendant because global capitalism excludes more and more people. As the authors observe however, they disagree among themselves whether this process of postmodernisation represents something like the transition to socialism. Significantly, perhaps, it is the Russian - Kagarlitsky - who doubts that these postmodern economies will coalesce to form a new mode of production to replace capitalism, and is more sceptical about the role of social movements and cooperatives in this projected process.

The backdrop to this anticipation of the future, whether more or less statist, is in the extent of the present crisis itself. The authors paint a compelling picture of the suffering and
inequality which characterise the global situation today. Environmental degradation and marginalisation, starvation and violence all point in their eyes towards the prospect of systemic collapse. Again, the political logic implied here sounds resolutely Trotskyist - barbarism leads to socialism.

However, one thread of Trotsky's marxism especially pertinent here, if less than fully mobilised by the authors, is different. I am thinking of the idea of uneven development. For another possible interpretation of what they call 'postmodern economies' is that they are modern, as the informal sector has always held up modern capitalism. Or to use a different vocabulary, associated into the 1970s with the marxism of Louis Althusser, capitalism is less a mode of production than a social formation which combines different modes of production - modern, premodern and incipiently postmodern all at the same time. Put more plainly, the informal economy is functional to the operation of modern (or postmodern) capitalism; it holds it up, so there is no obvious reason to expect it to be somehow the harbinger of the new, not at least in terms of socialist expectations. Nor is there any obvious sociological reason why we should expect the marginalised and unorganised poor or outsiders to act as the now-missing proletariat and introduce postmodern socialism into this scenario.

The traditional marxist premises of the argument in this book run in tandem: search for the substitute proletariat, or locate the newly emerging mode of production. The authors form the participants in the global informal economy into a kind of wishful rainbow alliance. Yet as I mentioned earlier, if you read social formations as the units which make up the international or global system, this insistence on emergent modes of production is less than convincing. Perhaps the simple difference here is that I side rather with Gramsci's aporetic dictum, that the problem for us is that while the old is dying the new will not yet be born. For what it's worth, the argument I advance in my version of Postmodern Socialism is analytically and politically distinct. It suggests that the age of social democracy and therefore of socialism ran from about 1880 to 1980 and is now over. Socialists, in this view, can no longer anticipate socialism as an end or concrete utopia, but ought to insist on its permanence as a process of struggle without end, as Marx captured it, in the image of master and slave. Modernist socialism was actually highly traditional, at least in the sense that it viewed the end of history as possible, if not nigh. Postmodern socialists need rather to commit to socialism as an orienting goal and hope, not as an imaginary end. There is no end. For the meantime it seems to me to be less than useful, because it is excessively hopeful to imagine 'postmodern socialism' as a newly emerging mode of production or its attendant marginal bearers as the last vanguard. The dull compulsions of everyday life weigh too heavily for that. People solve only such prospects as they might set themselves.

Peter Beilharz, Sociology, La Trobe University

Australians and the environment

Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996, ABS Catalogue No. 4601.0, 409pp., A$44.00

This publication has been structured to focus on resource issues, with a major section in Part 2 presenting statistics on resource use and consumption. This is the second ABS compendium publication on environmental statistics. The focus is on the interaction between the environment, the economy and society. It does not make any judgements about the quality of the environment nor the appropriateness or quality of society's response to environmental issues.

The ABS is to be congratulated for producing an informative and comprehensive compendium of data that draws upon many sources as well as from ABS statistics. Because of its approach in targeting the main issues, and using the OECD's pressure-state-response model for reporting, the publication is an indispensable source of hard data for anyone with an interest in Australia's environment.

The state of the environment: Australia

CSIRO Publishing 1996, Collingwood, 500pp., A$49.95

In contrast to Australians and the Environment, this publication - The State of the Environment: Australia is a report card on the environment and makes no bones about the trouble that we are in. Anybody who doubts that great changes are needed in society and government, if we are to stop or just slow down the rapid decline in habitats and biodiversity and if we are to manage our renewable resources sustainably, would change their mind after just a browse through this large publication.

Seven expert advisory groups contribute to this publication with the assistance of referees and consultants and the work took two years to prepare. The report is not all doom and gloom; several aspects of the Australian environment are shown to be in good condition. Chapters cover sustainable development, human settlements, biodiversity, the atmosphere, land resources, inland waters, estuaries and sea and natural and cultural heritage.

A criticism of The State of the Environment: Australia is the need to link some economics into the analysis. The Executive Summary talks about changes needed in Australia's economic planning. We are in a market economy, not a command and control one, and it is about time that economic instruments were taking centre stage to generate some of the solutions.

For example, the report laments that electricity is becoming cheaper and this will increase consumption and CO₂ emissions. Nevertheless, one of the means of curtailing power consumption is marginal cost pricing. Peak hour
electricity can be charged at a higher rate because it costs more to produce than off-peak electricity. Such price instruments can reduce consumption. In the US, private electricity companies have discovered that it is better economics to try and encourage consumers to conserve electricity rather than to build new power stations. This is in contrast to our state-owned electricity utilities that have built more and more generating capacity (in order to lower prices through economies of scale) and have usually totally ignored demand management strategies.

Now that we know what the problems are we should start focusing on solutions.

PS: A hundred dollars well spent on two reference books.

Colin Hunt, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University

Islanders


Tory Island is ten miles from the northern coast of Ireland’s County Donegal and accessible only by boat. The climate is harsh, the seas often ferocious, and the residents generally very attached to their island lifestyle. However, by 1978 the cost of modernising and maintaining basic amenities for a few hundred inhabitants was deemed too costly by the Donegal County Council. In order to prevent Tory becoming a serious drain on resources, the Council planned to adopt a strategy used by other Irish councils to deal with off-shore islands when the cost of providing amenities became too great. That is, let the island’s roads fall into disrepair, claim it is too expensive to provide electricity or piped water, and then relocate the population to housing estates on the mainland. In Tory’s case the Council was even so provocative as to suggest that, when vacated, the island might be turned into a firing range, a quarantine station or a high security prison.

In 1980, a 64 year old Irish-born Jesuit priest returned home from a long stint in Zimbabwe and began looking round for a quiet retirement job and a place to learn his native tongue. He visited Tory Island. The rest of the story is just what you would expect a novelist to make from these ingredients, except that it is true. Islanders is Father Diarmuid O Peicin’s personal account of his arguments with Donegal County Council, of how he rallied the demoralised Tory fisherfolk and crofters and got them fighting to stay on the island, and how he travelled around Ireland, Europe and America enlisting important people and sponsorship to assist with the struggle. The subtitle of Islanders is The true story of one man’s fight to save a way of life and that is what it actually is, rather than a more comprehensive account of the island and the issues, which some readers might have preferred. Even so, this short book is thought-provoking and a good read. The wild beauty of Tory itself certainly shares centre stage with Father O Peicin as he journeys from office to office, lobbying prominent sons and daughters of Ireland, from the popular singing group Clannad to former US congressman Tip O’Neill, and even winning the support of his strongly anti-Papist countryman, Reverend Ian Paisley.

The story ends sadly, with the Church finally losing patience with Father O Peicin and subjecting him to a relocation of his own, to a diocese where he would be less conspicuous and less controversial. The reader is immediately cheered up, however, by an epilogue which explains that although cut short, his campaigning had been enough, and the islanders were permitted to stay. Tory Island now has a tourist hotel, a few home comforts and funding for the construction of a proper harbour, although not yet an airport. Also cheering are April 1997 press releases that the publishers have sold the film rights to Islanders, and Paul Newman is being considered for the lead. No matter who plays the lead, the popularisation of this drama will certainly set more people thinking about the very interesting and complex question it raises; ‘What happens to remote communities when they become too expensive to be supported by their local government?’

Christine McMurray, Demography, Australian National University
## New books

### Mental health of refugees

*WHO in collaboration with UNHCR 1996, ISBN 92 4 154486, Sw.fr.21 (developing countries), Sw.fr.30 (elsewhere)*

Although this book refers specifically to refugees and displaced people, it contains information, case studies and exercises which are useful for other health workers. Written in simple language it covers helping skills, common mental health complaints and their treatment, children and young people, the role of traditional healers, and helping people who have been tortured or raped.

### The Road to reform: Essays on Australian economic policy

*W. Max Corden 1997, Addison Wesley Longman, ISBN 0 582 80944 4, 296pp., A$34.95*

This book contains 18 essays on Australian economic policy written by one of Australia’s leading economists. Papers on Australian tariff policy written in the 1950s and 1960s and a review written in 1995 of the whole process of Australian trade liberalisation over 30 years are included in this collection. The Industries Assistance Commission and exchange rate flexibility are also discussed. A substantial section on macroeconomic policy discusses the relationship between unemployment, demand management and real wages, the implications of a tax-wage bargain with the unions, an overview of the whole Australian macroeconomic policy experience from 1972, and the significance of a current account deficit. The book also includes articles on the cost and measurement of protection and on the relationship between real wages, demand management and unemployment.

### Power, reproduction and gender: The intergenerational transfer of knowledge


As a contribution to the study of gender, power and reproduction around the world, this book explores issues of health, empowerment, sexuality and reproductive rights. Studying a wide variety of societies, the contributors investigate knowledge transfer inter- and intra-generationally in reproductive behaviour. Using participatory methods, they look at when and why people do change reproductive and sexual behaviour.

### Ecofeminism as politics: Nature, Marx and the postmodern


The book explores the philosophical and political challenge of ecofeminism. It shows how the ecology movement has been held back by conceptual confusion over the implications of gender difference, while much that passes in the name of feminism is actually an obstacle to ecological change and global democracy. Ecofeminism reaches beyond contemporary social movements, being a synthesis of four revolutions in one: ecology is feminism is socialism is post-colonial struggle.

### Gender in organisations

*Caroline Sweetman (ed) 1997, Oxfam, ISBN 0 85598 365 5, 64pp., US$12.95*

This book draws together the experience of organisations working to promote women’s full participation in the development process, looking at the obstacles that stand in the way.

### The Eco principle: Ecology and economics in symbiosis


This book explores why present economic and political systems are not working. It offers new perspectives for the application of ecological analysis to economic and social problems, explanations of the critical linkage between religious and social and environmental beliefs, and introduces the notion of the Eco to describe a world which in reality comprises inter-acting, dynamic and constantly changing systems.

### Sweet charity: The role and workings of voluntary organisations


This book addresses the changing world of charity in the United Kingdom: the skills needed to manage, fundraise, run a successful lobbying campaign or attract new work and the way in which UK charities will increasingly operate in a European environment.

### Human rights, culture and context


A world characterised by ethno-nationalist struggles, civil wars and political violence, has led anthropologists to examine in more detail the relationships between state and violence, ideas about ‘culture’, and the activities of human rights organisations. Drawing on case studies, this book documents how transnational human rights discourses and legal institutions are materialised, imposed, resisted and transformed in a variety of contexts.
The news media, civil war, and humanitarian action


In recent years, the three-way relationship between the news media, governments, and humanitarian agencies has been the subject of considerable comment, with the media often depicted as the causal link between a crisis and how governments and aid groups behave. This book looks at the way the three work together, acknowledging their different agendas, limitations, and constituencies, and identifying a common interest in improving the quality of interaction for the benefit of victims of civil war.

Contesting space: Power relations and the urban built environment in colonial Singapore

B.S. Yeoh 1996, Oxford University Press, ISBN 967 65 3085 9, 374pp., £27.50

The urban built environment of colonial Singapore is conceived as a contested terrain of discipline and resistance between a colonial institution of control - the Municipal Authority of Singapore - and the Asian communities who lived their everyday lives according to their own values, priorities and resources. The result was a built environment which embodied and expressed the tensions and negotiations between the different groups in their attempts to shape the city in their own image.

These theoretical perspectives are empirically developed in the book, with specific chapters on municipal government, housing regulation, sanitary surveillance, urban signification, conflicts over public space, and controversies over the sacred space of Chinese burial grounds.

Gender and catastrophe


Using a framework which uncovers the consequences of identifying women as simultaneously sexual objects, transmitters of culture, and symbols of the nation, this collection explores the gendered and gendering effects of violence against women in extreme situations such as major wars, genocides, slavery, the Holocaust, mass rape, and ethnic cleansing.

The challenge of sustainable cities: Neoliberalism and urban strategies in developing countries


This volume by urban planners and architects assesses the current state of play between urban theory, policy and practice in developing countries. It critically examines what is happening in cities in an era now dominated by neoliberal development policy, compares and contrasts the various policy approaches, and explores how they are changing the role of architects, planners and other professionals. It focuses on the principal issues that exist in urban environmental strategy, the spatial restructuring of cities, and the attempts to foster more participation in urban programmes and management.

Dams as aid

A. Usher 1997, Routledge, ISBN 0 415 15464 2, 228pp., £45.00

This book brings together key issues in the aid/environment/development debate, and addresses wider issues in the political economy of aid. Detailed analysis of dams and aid case studies are included, particularly on Nordic dams.

Classics in environmental studies: An overview of classic texts in environmental studies


This book is an overview of 33 of the classic texts in environmental studies, from which the editors have selected the most relevant passage and set within a historical perspective. This may be suitable as a textbook for environmental studies.

Trade and the poor: The impact of international trade on developing countries


This book examines North-South trade in commodities, manufactured goods, and services such as tourism. It looks at people who earn their living from involvement in the international trading system, and considers the role of transnational corporations, free trade zones, the international financial system, and institutions such as the World Trade Organisation. It also looks at alternative South-North trade and the potential constraints on South-South trade.

Timescales and environmental change


What is the importance of ‘time’ for the environment? This book encourages the reader to think about change and environmental issues in a new light through different timescales. Chapters include timescales and environmental change in West Africa, South Africa, India and other locations.
<table>
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<th>Title</th>
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<td>Global warming and global politics</td>
<td>M. Paterson</td>
<td>Routledge</td>
<td>0 415 13872 8, 256pp.</td>
<td>£12.99 (pb)</td>
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<td>Environmentalism and the mass media: The North-South divide</td>
<td>G. Chapman, K. Kumar, I. Gaber and C. Fraser</td>
<td>Routledge</td>
<td>ISBN 0 415 15505 3, 352pp.</td>
<td>£18.99 (pb)</td>
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This book attempts to explain the politics surrounding global warming by looking at the major theories within the discipline of international relations, and considering how these might be able to provide accounts of the emergence of global warming as a political issue. It discusses the dominant neorealist and neoliberal institutionalist models.

This book explores the reality of free trade and the increasing globalisation of the world capitalist economy for growing numbers of people - poverty and immiseration - particularly for those living in the Third World and the former Eastern bloc.

This book explores the new and very different era which capitalism has now entered with the collapse of the Soviet model, the triumph of the market and accelerating globalisation. The analysis addresses the increasingly differentiated regions of the South, the former Eastern bloc countries, and Western Europe. It rejects the apparent inevitability of globalisation in its present polarising form; it asserts instead the need for each society to negotiate the terms of its interdependence with the rest of global society.

This book shows how the North's view of environmentalism can be seen as re-colonialism by others, with a major gulf in understanding and priorities between the two. In India, the national project remains 'development' even if in the North there are new doubts and anxieties about 'progress'.

This book explores topics which are central to the education of development planners, in particular urban designers, engineers and architects, in a rapidly changing global environment, that has an increasing focus on the environment, gender, appropriate technology and human well-being.

Most of the chapters for this book were written following a series of training workshops on trade policy for Chinese officials held in Beijing in 1995. The papers have been prepared not only for trade policy training but also for a more general audience interested in WTO-related trade policy issues.
Empowering communities: A casebook from West Sudan


This is an account of the Kebkabiya project in West Sudan. The project began as an attempt to improve food security after a major famine, but has evolved over the years. Oxfam initially managed the project, but responsibility has been largely handed over to a community-based organisation. This account of the increasing involvement of the community, and the creation of democratic structures for project management, provides insights into how a participatory approach to development can empower communities, particularly poor women living within a strong patriarchal society.

Third World political ecology: An introduction


An effective response to contemporary environmental problems demands an approach that integrates political, economic and ecological issues. This book offers an introduction to a new research field that aims to develop an integrated understanding of the political economy of environmental change in the Third World. The authors review the historical development of the field, explain what is distinctive about Third World political ecology and suggest areas for future development. Clarifying the essentially politicised condition of environmental change today, the authors explore the role of various actors - states, multilateral institutions, businesses, environmental NGOs, poverty-stricken farmers, shifting cultivators and 'other' grassroots actors - in the development of the Third World politicised environment.

Civil society: Challenging Western models


This book argues that civil society should not be studied as a separate, 'private' realm clearly separated in opposition to the state; nor should it be confined to the institutions of 'voluntary' or 'non governmental' sectors. A broader understanding of civil society involves investigation of everyday social practices, often elusive power relations and the shared moralities that hold the communities together. By drawing on case materials from a range of contemporary societies, including the US, Britain, four of the former communist countries of Eastern Europe, Turkey and the Middle and Far East, the book demonstrates the contribution of anthropology to debates taking place throughout the social sciences; adding up to an exciting renewal of the agenda for political anthropology.

The Pacific Islands and the USA

Ron Crocombe 1996, USP and East-West Centre, ISBN 982 02 0116 0, US$35.00

The world's most powerful nation, and more than a dozen of the world's smallest nations in the Pacific have been interacting for 200 years. Beginning with the whaling in the 1700s, it has continued through many avenues: trade, investment, education, churches, media, diplomacy and strategic issues. As significant as the movement of the Americans to the Pacific is that of the 150,000 Pacific Islanders to the USA. This book documents the growing interaction of the Pacific Island nations with the US to the pinnacle of involvement in World War II. The importance of the US to the Pacific Islands remained high until the mid-1980s but has since declined on almost every dimension.

Being all equal: Individualism and Australian cultural practice


In a post-colonial age of globalising economies, the political quest for 'national' identity is increasingly urgent. This topical book traces the ways in which the Australian state and its people struggle to represent the social and cultural practices of everyday life in an attempt to derive meaning from diverse understandings of pasts, presents and futures. Class, gender and ethnicity are shown to underpin the popular debate, fuelled by shifting interpretations of egalitarianism and individualism.

Women-headed households: Diversity and dynamics in the developing world


This book examines the key aspects of the formation and survival of women-headed households in developing countries with reference both to global trends and to in-depth case studies of Mexico, Costa Rica and the Philippines.

Basics of environmental science


This book provides a concise non-technical introduction to the full breadth of environmental sciences. Each topic is presented within a strong, interdisciplinary environmental context at an introductory level. The book contains topical global case studies, summaries of key topics and up-to-date suggestions for further reading on each topic.
**The New World Order:** Sovereignty, human rights and self-determination of peoples


The end of the cold war has allowed for the prospect of a New World Order, in which the United Nations and other 'international actors' may return to their post-war mandate of maintaining international peace and security through collective action. This book addresses the central question of sovereignty under the new regime; which internal actions of states will justify intervention by the international community? The unifying theme of these essays - written from a wide variety of national and cultural perspectives - is the conflict between cultural relativism and human rights in the postmodern world. Eleven authors address these questions to determine the meaning and limits of national self-determination after the fall of communism.

**Gendered encounters**


This book makes a significant contribution to contemporary debates on 'globalisation', culture and gender. Focusing on intersections of the local and the global through the prism of gender, the contributors elucidate how translocal and transnational cultural currents are mediated by gender, how they reshape gender constructs and relations, and how they manifest and impinge on relations of power.

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**Newsletters and journals**

**Health Action**

This quarterly publication is published by AHRTAG, as part of its mandate to strengthen primary health care and community-based rehabilitation in the South. It contains feature articles on health issues in the South, a feedback section, and a list of book reviews and other resources. Subscription is free to readers from developing countries.

For more information contact:
AHRTAG
Farrington Point
29-35 Farrington Road
London EC1M 3BJ
United Kingdom.
Tel (44 171) 242 0606
Fax (44 171) 242 0041
E-mail ahrtag@gn.apc.org
Web http://www.poptel.org.uk/ahrtag/

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**Telecommunications Policy**

This international and interdisciplinary journal is concerned with the social, economic, political and regulatory aspects of telecommunications and information systems. It takes an academic and professional approach to issues such as competition and regulation; the standards setting process; telecommunications and economic development; and implementation of new techniques and services.

For more information contact:
Elsevier Science
PO Box 242
Northbridge, NSW 2063
Australia
Tel (02) 9958 4429
Fax (02) 9967 2126
E-mail freesamples@elsevier.co.uk

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**Our Place**

This is published quarterly and provides information on innovative appropriate and 'bush' technologies being used around Australia. It contains sections on technology, people and policy, a product review, and an update on the activities of the National Technology Resource Centre.

For more information contact:
The Centre for Appropriate Technology (CAT)
PO Box 8044
Alice Springs, NT 0871
Tel (08) 8951431 / 1800 817707
Fax (08) 8951 4333
E-mail catntre@ozemail.com.au

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**WorldViews**

This journal is published quarterly and aims to alert educators and activists to new resources related to issues of peace and justice in world affairs. It maintains a computer-accessible databank of information on organisations, books, periodicals, pamphlets, audiovisuals and other education/action resources.

For more information contact:
WorldViews
464 19 Street
Oakland, CA 94612-2297
USA
Tel (1 510) 835 4692
Fax (1 510) 835 3017
E-mail worldviews@igc.org

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**Journal of Poverty: Innovations on Social, Political and Economic Inequalities**

This journal aims to sensitise social scientists and practitioners to the varied forms and patterns of inequalities, new developments in cultural diversity, and interventions promoting equality and social justice.

For more information contact:
Journal of Poverty: Innovations on Social, Political and Economic Inequalities
PO Box 3613
Columbus, OH 43210 3613
USA
Tel (1 614) 292 6040

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July 1997
Peace Review

This quarterly, multidisciplinary, transnational journal focuses on the current issues and controversies that underlie the promotion of a more peaceful world. Peace research is defined broadly to include peace, human rights, development, ecology, culture and related issues.

Gender and Development

This journal, published three times a year, focuses on the connections between gender and development initiatives and makes links between theoretical and practical work in this field. Contributors are practitioners, activists, and academics from the South and North with particular expertise in aspects of gender and development. Each issue has its own focus and features articles, case studies, conference reports, book reviews, resources and interviews.

Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management

This journal is designed for managers and administrators of universities, colleges, vocational education and training institutes. It publishes accounts of practice from all areas of post-secondary education management including: alumni; faculty and departments; finance; fundraising; human resources; information technology; international students; media and public relations; plant and facilities; research; and student services.

Gender and Education

This journal is published three times a year. It disseminates feminist ideas through multidisciplinary and cross-national educational research on formal, non-formal and informal education, and pre-primary, primary, secondary and post-secondary schooling. Studies also address adult, community, further, vocational and higher education, post-experience professional development and educational gerontology.

Geographic and Environmental Modelling

This journal focuses on conceptual, mathematical, empirical and theoretical approaches to modelling social and spatial topics in a diverse range of disciplines including: anthropology, civil engineering, economics, history, political science, psychology, regional science, sociology and gender studies.

For more information on the above publications contact:
Carfax Publishing Company
PO Box 352
Cammeray, NSW 2062
Australia
Tel (02) 9958 5329
Fax (02) 9958 2376
E-mail carfax@ibm.net

Northern Analyst

This is the newsletter of the Northern Australia Research Unit. It has replaced NARU News, and is now mostly available on the Internet. Readers without Internet access can contact NARU for a hard copy.

For more information contact:
NARU
PO Box 41321
Casuarina, NT 0811
Australia
Tel (08) 8922 0066
Fax (08) 8922 0055
Web http://online.anu.edu.au/naru/Welcome.htm

Global Social Innovations: A Journal of the GEM Initiative

This free journal aims to share organisational innovations and practices among private voluntary organisations and NGO managers. It contains case studies of collaboration and innovation, GEM programme updates and an extensive bibliography.

For more information contact:
GEM Initiative
1600 Wilson Boulevard #500
Rosslyn, VA 22209
USA
Tel (1 703) 528 8200
Fax (1 703) 528 8209
E-mail gem@vita.org

Waterlines

This quarterly publication offers practical information and advice on providing low-cost water supplies and sanitation facilities in developing countries. Articles describe the problems faced by policy-makers, water practitioners, engineers and fieldworkers, and how these problems might be solved using practical and sustainable technologies.

For more information contact:
The Subscriptions Manager
Intermediate Technology
Publications Ltd
103-105 Southampton Row
London WC1B 4HH
United Kingdom
Tel (44 171) 436 9761
Fax (44 171) 436 2013
E-mail itpubs@gn.apc.org

Development

This is the journal of the Society for International Development (SID). It aims to be a point of reference for the dialogue between activists and intellectuals committed to searching for alternative paths of social transformation towards a more sustainable and just world. It explores collective initiatives at local, regional and international levels which promote sustainable livelihoods and aim to create accountable, equitable and democratic development practice.

For more information contact:
SAGE Publications
6 Bonhill St
London EC2A 4PU
United Kingdom
Tel (44 171) 374 0645
Fax (44 171) 374 8741
Monographs and reports

The State of the World's Children 1997


The State of the World's Children report from UNICEF has become the best-known and most widely used of all UN publications. The 1997 report focuses on the widespread problem of the hundreds of millions of child workers, with most of the work being palpably destructive to their schooling, recreation and rest. It explores some of the implications of a groundbreaking treaty drawn up at the international Convention on the Rights of the Child - now on the verge of becoming the first universal law - which posits that no child should labour in hazardous and exploitative conditions.

The report provides insights into the range of ideas existing on how to break the cycle of child labour and poverty, including information on and analysis of the state of the girl child.

Global Environment Outlook-1 Report


This report compiled by the United Nations Environment Programme provides a 'snap-shot of an ongoing worldwide environmental assessment process'. It 'describes the environmental status and trends in seven regions ... summarises developments over time in regional policy responses ... [and] concludes with an exploration, based on model analysis, of what we might expect in the future for a selected number of environmental issues if no major reforms are initiated.' An executive summary of each chapter is first presented, followed by the full report, which contains over 70 figures and 30 tables.

For more information contact:
Oxford University Press
Orders Department
2001 Evan Road
Cary, NC 27513
USA
Tel (1 800) 451 7550
Fax (1 919) 677 1303
E-mail orders@oup-usa.org

The impact of war and atrocity on civilian populations: Basic principles for NGO interventions and a critique of psychological trauma projects


New patterns of warfare mean that currently, 90 per cent of the victims of conflicts are civilians. This monograph is a critique of current methods of treating civilian trauma and argues that it is not appropriate to take Western psychological models and impose them on other cultures. Psycho-social trauma projects must be more culturally sensitive; relief workers need to be able to apply a thorough knowledge of the historical, social and political impact of the conflict they are dealing with.

For more information contact:
Relief and Rehabilitation Network
Overseas Development Institute
Portland House
Stag Place
London SW1E 5DP
United Kingdom
Tel (44 171) 393 1600
Fax (44 171) 393 1699
E-mail rm@odi.org.uk
Web http://www.uneworld.org
odi rm index.html

Pesticides and the immune system: The public health risks


This precise and readable publication offers highly relevant, if brief, analysis of the health effects of environmental pollution and policies. If taken into account by governments these facts should lead to more sustainable agricultural practices. The report's message is clear: there are grave risks to people and nature in the continuing use of pesticides.

Available from:
WRI Publications
PO Box 4832
Hamden Station
Baltimore, MD 21211
USA
Tel (1 410) 516 6963
Fax (1 410) 516 6998
E-mail chrisd@wri.org

States responses to domestic violence: Current status and needed improvements

Women, Law and International Development 1996, 151pp., US$10.00

What laws exist to address domestic violence? How effective have they been? What can be done to improve the situation? Answers to these questions and an overview of the current legal responses to domestic violence are provided in this report, which draws on both a review of the laws and a survey of women's rights advocates worldwide. It outlines international human rights' instruments that support the adoption of laws in this area, and provides a model for drafting legislation.

The report is also intended to serve as a resource for both governments and NGOs worldwide to advocate for specific changes in the treatment of domestic violence within their country's legal system.

July 1997
Investing in women: Progress and prospects for the World Bank


Complementing a 1995 review of the entire portfolio of World Bank projects, the report examines the Bank's overall record on gender and development issues. Based on interviews with staff and reviews of Bank documents concerning selected lending activities, specific chapters highlight promising projects on women in the context of population and health, education, agriculture and credit. They examine areas of unrealised opportunities in projects on infrastructure and employment generation for poor women. The report also identifies a number of cross-cutting issues and further challenges in the Bank's work to benefit women.

Both the above publications are available from:
Women, Inc.
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA
Tel (1 212) 687 8633
Fax (1 212) 661 2704
E-mail wink@igc.apc.org

Is anyone listening: Communicating development in donor countries


This report discusses the future directions that UNICEF may take in terms of its communication strategy. It argues that it is time for the aid community to address the problems it faces in using the media to portray its work. The report contains an excellent de-construction of 'copy' used by NGOs within their campaigns.

Postgraduate fieldwork in developing areas: A rough guide

E. Robson and K. Willis (eds) 1996, 2nd edition, DARC (RGS/IBG), £5.50 (plus p&h)

The first edition of this monograph aimed to provide useful hints and advice to postgraduate students planning fieldwork in 'developing areas'. Following the success of the first edition, a second edition has been produced which contains additional chapters on physical geography fieldwork, fieldwork 'at home' in Nigeria, and an updated bibliography and useful addresses list.

Available from:
Centre for West African Studies
University of Birmingham
Edgbaston
Birmingham B15 2TT
United Kingdom
Fax (44 121) 414 3228
E-mail R.E.A.Cline-Cole@bha.ac.uk

Family planning and reproductive rights: A feminist report


This report contains information on the provision of family planning services in eight countries from Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America. It looks at each country's family planning programme and the extent to which that programme makes women instruments of demographic population policy, and appraises the quality of care and adherence to reproductive rights in different family planning settings for each country.

Available from:
Zed Books
7 Cynthia Street
London N1 9JF, UK
Tel (44 171) 837 0384
Fax (44 171) 833 3960
E-mail sales@zedbooks.demon.co.uk

An urbanising world: Global report on human settlements 1996

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (HABITAT) 1996, Oxford University Press, A$44.95

This report provides a comprehensive review of conditions and trends in cities and other settlements around the world; and of the urbanisation process through which more than half the world's population will soon live in urban centres. The report outlines both the positive and negative aspects of this increase in urban population and its main conclusion is the importance of good governance in cities. It describes how cities have great potential to combine healthy and safe living conditions, cultural riches and environmental advantages.

Caring for the future

Independent Commission on Population and Quality of Life 1996, Oxford University Press, A$16.95

This timely report examines the challenges that face all countries, both rich and poor, in the last years of the twentieth century. It outlines a radical agenda to confront the economic, human and environmental crises facing the world today.

Facilitating foreign participation in privatisation


This paper presents best practices in successfully structuring and managing privatisation with foreign investment, describing the full cycle from development of a general policy framework to the actual divestiture procedure. The authors focus on the privatisation programmes in Argentina, Ghana, Hungary, Mexico, Mozambique, Peru, the Philippines, and Poland.
Promoting a high savings rate is high on the World Bank’s agenda for promoting national income growth. This study surveys broad saving trends worldwide, summarises current knowledge about savings and consumption, identifies main unresolved issues and outlines the major policy issues to be researched. The monograph includes case studies from Sub-Saharan Africa, China, Colombia, India, Mexico and Pakistan.

Fostering riparian cooperation in international river basins: The World Bank at its best in development diplomacy


This report describes the World Bank’s successful interventions in three international basins - the Indus, the Mekong and the Aral Sea - to foster riparian dialogue, cooperation and agreements. It highlights the Bank’s successes in these basins as model strategies to follow for avoiding the adverse impacts that riparian conflicts may have on economic development in other regions.

The legal framework for water user’s associations: A comparative study


This monograph presents a comparative study of the legal framework for water user’s associations (farmers organised to manage irrigation systems and charge for water use) in Colombia, India, Mexico, Nepal, the Philippines and Turkey. Building on the theory that participation of farmers in managing and operating parts of an irrigation system will result in an optimum use of water, the document analyses in a comparative manner how each of these countries addresses the basic aspects related to the establishment and functioning of such associations.

The above publications are available from:
Distribution, World Bank
Tel (1 202) 473 1155
Fax (1 202) 522 2627
E-mail book@worldbank.org
Web http://www.worldbank.org

Australian energy consumption and production: Historical trends and projections to 2009-10


This report contains detailed data on energy consumption, production and trade since 1973-74, together with projections to 2009-10. All energy types, states, internal territories and sectors are covered by the report. It also contains information on two key issues: trends in energy efficiency; and trends in greenhouse gas emissions from the energy sector.

Australian mineral statistics

ABARE 1997, ISSN 1325-8923, A$40.00

This quarterly report is designed to meet the need for information on minerals production, trade and prices. It provides up-to-date national mineral statistics, indexes and graphs of Australian mine production and export prices and a graphical summary of mineral exports.

Available from:
Europa Publications
18 Bedford Square
London WC1B 3JN
United Kingdom
Tel (44 171) 580 8236
Fax (44 171) 637 0922

The Far East and Australasia

L. Daniel (ed) 1997, Europa Publications, ISSN 0071-3791, £205.00

This report provides an in-depth regional study of economic and political developments in the Far East and Australasia. This edition covers the future transfer of Hong Kong’s sovereignty from the UK to China - the history behind it, current economic figures and the implications this change may have. Individual country chapters cover geography, history and economy; a statistical survey with figures on area and population, agriculture and industry, transport, finance and tourism; and a directory of contact names and addresses, from the areas of government, the press, education and finance etc. There is also a section that provides an overview of the region.

Available from:
Europa Publications
18 Bedford Square
London WC1B 3JN
United Kingdom
Tel (44 171) 580 8236
Fax (44 171) 637 0922
Working Papers

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

African Department


Asia and Pacific Department

WP/97/04 Martin Muhleisen, Improving India's saving performance, 1997

WP/97/36 Robert Dekle and Mahmood Pradhan, Financial liberalization and money demand in ASEAN countries: Implications for monetary policy, 1997


WP/97/56 Tamim Bayoumi, Explaining consumption: A simple test of alternative hypotheses, 1997

Office in Geneva

WP/97/55 Piritta Sorsa, The GATS agreement on financial services: A modest start to multilateral liberalization, 1997

Policy Development and Review Department

WP/97/24 A.R. Boote and Kamau Thugge, Debt relief for low-income countries and the HIPC initiative, 1997

Research Department

WP/97/37 Stephen S. Golub, International labor standards and international trade, 1997


Available from:
International Monetary Fund
Publication Services, Catalog Orders
700 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20431
USA
Tel (1 202) 623 7430
Fax (1 202) 623 7201
Email pubweb@imf.org
Web http://www.imf.org/

Australian National University

Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research (CAEPR)

I. Anderson and W. Sanders, Aboriginal health and institutional reform within Australian federalism, October 1996

J.C. Altman, Aboriginal economic development and land rights in the Northern Territory: Past performance, current issues and strategic options, December 1996

J.C. Altman and B. Hunter, Indigenous poverty since the Henderson Report, April 1997

Available from:
CAEPR
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 5111

North Australian Research Unit

Discussion papers

No. 6/1997 Harry Allen, Autonomy, mutuality, hierarchy: Pervasive qualities in Aboriginal economic life

Report series

No. 2/1997 Greg Crouch, Indigenous organisations, funding and accountability: Comparative reforms in Canada and Australia

National Centre for Development Studies

PPP 20/1997 Ila Temu ed) Papua New Guinea: A 20/20 vision

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies

No. 3/1996 Hossain M. Manir, Foreign trade elasticities for Bangladesh

Available from:
Bibliotech
ANUTech Pty Ltd
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 5662
Fax (06) 247 5088
Web online.anu.edu.au/naru/narupub.htm
external/pubs/CAT/wp.cfm

University of Adelaide

Centre for International Economic Studies


For more information contact:
Centre for International Economic Studies
University of Adelaide
Adelaide, SA 5005
Australia
Tel (08) 8303 4712
Fax (08) 8223 1460
E-mail cies@economics.adelaide.edu.au
Web http://www.adelaide.edu.au/cies/
Institute of Social Studies, The Netherlands

Masters Program in Population and Development

This course is designed to develop the theoretical and methodological skills needed by those who wish to integrate population concerns into the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes that promote social well-being. It explores, both the determinants of size, structure and distribution of populations and their consequences for development strategies, social provisioning in the areas of health and education, demands on environmental resources, and the protection of livelihoods in developing countries today and in the future. The course is intended to train mid-career officials and senior professionals in both government and non-government organisations, as well as technicians and academics who are involved in the formulation and implementation of population related policies in developing countries.

For more information contact:
The Academic Registrar
c/o Office of Student Affairs
Institute of Social Studies
PO Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

University of London

Institute of Child Health

MSc and Diploma in Mother and Child Health

This internationally acclaimed course has been restructured into key modules: Epidemiology and Health Information Systems; Child Development and Nutrition; Women's Health; Social Sciences and Health; and Management and Health Service Delivery. The course starts in October and finishes the following July (Diploma) or December (MSc). The course includes an overseas research project (Masters only) and UK community health experience, and is designed for experienced health professionals from developing countries.

MSc in Community Disability Studies

This full-time course is designed for people with experience in community-based rehabilitation and disability programmes in developing countries. Students are prepared to initiate research and evaluate programmes for disabled people in the community. Since the course is multidisciplinary, participants from a variety of different backgrounds are eligible, including those with medical, therapy, community
health, sociology, social work, special education and community development backgrounds. Applicants should normally have a first degree in a health discipline, social science or allied subject, recognised by the University of London; experience of working with disabled people, and a good command of the English language. Disabled people with relevant experience are especially welcomed.

Short courses

These are designed for health workers who work or are intending to work overseas. The courses provide critical reviews of priority issues in Primary Health Care and Maternal and Child Health with particular emphasis on recent developments. In addition to formal teaching and seminars, time is spent in small group discussions drawing on the experience of participants. The immense field experience of the Centre's staff is complemented by visiting resource persons. Particular emphasis is given to problem solving and appropriate activities with limited resources. The following short courses will be offered in 1998.

Management Skills for Project Leaders in Developing Countries

Certificate Course in Breastfeeding: Practice and Policy
(June/July 1998)

For more information contact:
The Continuing Education Office
Institute of Child Health
30 Guilford Street
London WCIN 1EH
United Kingdom
Tel/Fax (44 171) 829 8692
E-mail cont.edu@ich.ucl.ac.uk
Web http://cich.ich.ucl.ac.uk

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Development Bulletin 42
Organisation profiles

Lihok-Pilipina Foundation, Inc.

Lihok-Pilipina is a foundation of gender sensitive individuals working towards building communities that are dynamic, non violent, viable, effective and self-reliant. The Foundation started in 1985 with the provision of a loan scheme for setting up small business. Two years later, the activities were institutionalised and its programmes subsequently evolved from issues/problems encountered in the process. The Foundation currently runs several programmes and activities including: credit and livelihood; human resources development; women’s integrated support and crisis center; and projects for water and sanitation.

For more information contact:
Lihok-Pilipina Foundation, Inc.
102 P.Del Rosario Extension
Cebu City 6000
Philippines
Tel (63 32) 96628 / 75087

WomanSource

This is a documentation centre created to support the specific needs of the international women and development community. It houses a women and development collection and provides quality, up-to-date and thought-provoking materials for policy makers, programme planners, field workers, trainers, and community activists working on women’s issues in Asia and the Pacific, Western Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. WomanSource is set up to link users with other libraries and organisations worldwide. The group’s materials are in English, Spanish, and French, and its subject strengths include gender analysis, environment, human rights, violence against women, appropriate technology, and social conditions.

For more information contact:
WomanSource
International Women’s Tribune Centre
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA
Tel (1 212) 687 8633
Fax (1 212) 661 2704
E-mail iwtc@igc.apc.org
**Australian APEC Study Centre**

In 1995, the Australian government awarded the Australian APEC Study Centre to a consortium consisting of Monash University and the University of New South Wales. While the Centre is physically housed at Monash University, various APEC programmes are run out of both universities. The Centre also works in cooperation with international universities and other APEC Study Centres. The primary objectives of the Centre are to:

- inform the broader Australian community of the growing importance of economic development and relations in the Asia-Pacific region; and
- develop programmes which strengthen links between academic, government and private sectors in Australia and the region regarding matters of importance to APEC.

Over the past two years, the Centre has developed the following programmes to achieve its objectives:

**The Information Program** - The Centre is the leading source of published information on APEC in Australia. The Centre maintains a library and databases on APEC materials and can also speedily acquire any published material on APEC;

**The Studies Program** - The Centre manages exchange programmes, courses, conferences and seminars on APEC-related matters;

**The Publications Program** - The Centre publishes and distributes information and research on APEC throughout academic, government and private sectors in Australia;

**The Business Program** - The Centre has links with the private sector and runs programmes to inform Australian business about activities and events in APEC; and

**The Consultancy Program** - The Centre undertakes projects of research and public policy interest for private sector and government clients.

The Centre is funded by the Australian Government, through the Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DEETYA), and Monash University as well as from consultancy contracts.

For more information contact:
The Australian APEC Study Centre
Monash City Offices
Level 6, 30 Collins Street
Melbourne, VIC 3000
Australia
Tel (03) 9903 8757
Fax (03) 9903 8813
E-mail apec@arts.monash.edu.au
Web http://www.monash.edu.au/ausapec

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**Centre for Pacific Studies**

The Centre for Pacific Studies at the University of Nijmegan (The Netherlands) was established in 1991 to replace the Centre for Australian and Oceanic Studies. The Centre has an interdisciplinary character and covers South East Asia and Oceania, including Australia and New Zealand. The staff consists of anthropologists, development sociologists, geographers, historians and linguists at the University of Nijmegan and at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegan.

The Centre aims to advance basic and applied research in the regions of interest, by offering regular courses and coordinating teaching programmes within its fields of interest. Furthermore, the Centre provides a platform for discussion, exchange of information on ongoing research, and organises workshops, conferences, seminars and exhibitions regularly.

For more information contact:
Centre for Pacific Studies
University of Nijmegan
PO Box 9104
6500 HE Nijmegan
The Netherlands
Fax (31 24) 361 1945
E-mail csacps@maw.kun.nl or u211312@vm.uci.kun.nl
Web http://www.kun.nl/cps/

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**SANHITA**

Sanhita - a gender resource centre - was born out of the need for information sharing and networking among grassroots organisations working towards empowerment of women. It aims to collect, document and disseminate information on gender and other related issues as it believes that information can be a powerful tool for empowerment, if it is clear, comprehensive and highlighted in a way that brings out the complexities involved. To this end, it organises training workshops to promote gender sensitisation among development workers, students, government officials, media professionals and other interested groups and individuals. It also contains information databases, resource directories and local referral services.

SANHITA networks with other NGOs at local, national and international level and is currently in the process of creating a development library on gender issues.

For more information contact:
c/o Sanlap
89B Raja Basanta Roy Road
Calcutta 700 029
India
Tel (91 33) 466 2150
Fax (91 33) 473 0687
Materials

The World Guide 1997/98

*Internationalist Publications 1997, ISBN 1 869847 43 1, 624pp., £39.95 (pb)*

The latest edition of this reference book offers detailed coverage of more than 200 countries and nations, plus analysis of topical global issues. The Guide compiled by The Third World Institute offers: up-to-date information on 235 countries arranged alphabetically for easy locating, with supporting charts, statistics and maps; profile of each country including its environment, politics and social setting; key facts and indicators on literacy, trade, employment, health, schooling, energy use etc.; and an in-depth analysis of key global issues such as debt, trade and social development.

Understanding global issues

This series of authoritative introductory-level briefings examines key global issues. Each subject is analysed from an independent point of view and facts are presented accessibly with clear use of maps, diagrams and illustrations. Topics covered include: Amazonia; the battle for water; China; fairer global trade; healthy cities; renewable energy; United Nations; and world population.

Available from: Oxfam Publishing
BEBC Distribution
PO Box 1496
Parkstone
Poole, Dorset BH12 3YD
United Kingdom
Fax (44 1202) 715 556

The UNFPA directory of training courses 1996-97

The directory contains a listing of 81 organisations worldwide offering 226 courses on population activities.

For more information contact: UNFPA
220 East, 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017
USA
Tel (1 212) 297 5020
Fax (1 212) 537 6417

AIDS in the Pacific: Cause for concern

This 38-minute video takes a regional look at efforts to educate the public about AIDS, in several Pacific Island countries - Tonga, Western Samoa, Papua New Guinea, Marshall Islands and Fiji. The major message of the video is that preventing the spread of AIDS is not only the responsibility of the governments of these countries but equally so of the Pacific Islanders themselves.

For more information contact:
Pasifika Communications
5 Bau Street
GPO Box 15890
Suva
Fiji
Tel (679) 307 000
Fax (679) 307 222
E-mail pasifika@is.com.fj

How to implement an environment management system

This manual describes the necessary management elements that an organisation should use to achieve effective management of the environmental aspects of its activities, products and services. By following the ISO14001 standard, organisations can develop a blueprint of the essential components necessary for a complete EMS, and specific requirements as to what should be included in each of those components.

For more information contact:
Hallmark Editions
PO Box 84
Hampton, VIC 3188
Australia
Tel (03) 9555 7377
Fax (03) 9555 7599
E-mail hallmark@peg.apc.org

Directory of financial aids for women 1995-97

This directory offers descriptions of more than 1,500 funding programmes offering billions of dollars in financial aid set aside specifically for women.

For more information contact:
Reference Service Press
1100 Industrial Road
Suite 9
San Carlos, CA 94070-4131
USA
Tel (1 415) 594 0743
Stepping stones: A training package on HIV/AIDS, gender issues, communication and relationship skills

This training package consists of a 240-page manual with numerous exercises involving roleplay and other participatory methods of group learning; and a 70-minute video, filmed in Uganda, consisting of 15 short clips to stimulate group discussion. The workshop sessions are held in four separate peer groups, based on age and gender, each with their own trainer. The manual is available in English and French; the video is also available in Luganda and Swahili.

Broadening the front: NGO response to HIV and AIDS in India

Although developed for use in India, the 66-page booklet will be useful to NGOs and community groups in other countries. The case studies of people and programmes, and the innovative Study Guide will help readers to: examine the implications of HIV/AIDS for their own organisations; develop effective strategies for HIV awareness and prevention; respond to the needs and problems of HIV-positive people; and prepare communities to cope with the sensitive issues and complex challenges associated with HIV/AIDS.

The above resources are available from:
Teaching-aids at Low Cost (TALC)
PO Box 49
St. Albans
Herts, AL1 5TX
United Kingdom
Tel (44 1727) 853 869
Fax (44 1727) 846 852

Dictionary of trade policy terms

Walter Goode 1997, CIES, ISBN 0 86396 397 8, 297pp., A$13.95

This dictionary provides comprehensive information on common and not-so-common terms used in trade policy circles. The vast majority of the entries contain bolded cross-references to other entries. A list of acronyms is contained in an appendix for quick reference, together with summaries of the GATT and the General Agreement on Trade in Services.

For more information contact:
Centre for International Economic Studies
University of Adelaide
Adelaide, SA 5005
Australia
Fax (08) 8223 1460
E-mail cies@economics.adelaide.edu.au
Web http://www.adelaide.edu.au/cies/

Internet-based international conflict initiatives clearinghouse

This is an Internet-based listing of archives of current initiatives in conflict resolution throughout the world, set up by the Institute of World Affairs. IWA regularly seeks information from various organisations. This is then compiled into an easily searchable and viewable format on their bulletin board service, which is available to anyone with Internet access. Also included is the membership directory of NICR, an international network of individuals and organisations devoted to interactive conflict resolution projects. The ICIC is searchable by keywords, dates, organisations, names etc.

For more information contact:
ICIC
1321 Pennsylvania Avenue S.E
Capitol Hill
Washington DC 2003-3027
USA
Tel (1 202) 544 4141
Fax (1 202) 544 5115
E-mail icic@iwa.org
Web http://www.iwa.org/iwa

StudyLink Australia

This programme using advanced multimedia technology has been designed to promote Australian education to international students throughout the world. It allows users to quickly narrow down more than 8,500 courses to a short list appropriate to their abilities and preferences; provides information on more than 200 institutions; is available in six languages; and is cross-platform (PC and Mac). An interactive version of StudyLink Australia will soon be available on the Internet.

For more information contact:
IDP Australia
Giles Court
Deakin, ACT 2600
Australia
Tel (06) 285 8222
Fax (06) 285 3036
E-mail info@ccmail.idp.edu.au

UniWorld database

This database provides general, social, economic and environmental statistics for countries around the world in a clear and compact format. The database is based on the United Nations publication The World Statistics Pocketbook.

For more information contact:
UniWorld Software Project
PO Box 10363
London NW2 2ZVN
United Kingdom
Electronic fora

The Gender and HIV/AIDS E-mail Network

This Network was launched on the International Women’s Day on 8 April 1997. It is supported by UNIFEM and UNAIDS.

To subscribe send an e-mail message to:
gender-aids@lists.inet.co.th
The message should contain:
your name, e-mail address, name of your organisation and short description of why you wish to subscribe.

SOCIAL-CLASS Mailing List

SOCIAL-CLASS is a moderated mailing list that aims to provide an active forum for scholars to discuss ideas and research on the role of social class in contemporary societies. It seeks to promote discussion concerning the uses and merits of both traditional and alternative perspectives (Marxist, Weberian, race/class/gender, postmodern, other), and welcomes insights based on statistical research, ethnography, content analysis, historical research or other methodologies.

To subscribe send an e-mail message to:
listserv@listserv.uic.edu
Using the text:
SUB SOCIAL-CLASS followed by first name, surname and school.

CONTENT

CONTENT welcomes discussion of the theoretical, methodological and technological aspects of quantitative analyses of texts and images. Appropriate topics for discussion on content analysis include: software and hardware; research design; statistics; teaching; and its role in an era of electronic information flows and interactive media. Members receive Publication Alerts (timely summaries of noteworthy publications) and a comprehensive bi-monthly bibliography.

To subscribe send an e-mail message to:
listproc@listproc.gsu.edu
Using the text:
subscribe CONTENT followed by your name.

NSWPH-ANNOUNCE

This is a moderated Internet mailing list operated and maintained by the Public Health Division of the NSW Health Department. It is designed to keep you informed about: the release of new editions of the NSW Public Health Bulletin; the release of other NSW Health Department publications; updates and additions to the NSW Health Department web pages; and forthcoming conferences and other events relating to public health in NSW.

All messages to the list have to be approved by the list owner before circulation to list members.

To subscribe send an e-mail message to:
listproc@phweb.doh.health.nsw.gov.au
Using the text:
subscribe NSWPH-ANNOUNCE followed by your firstname and surname

SEA-SPAN Global Change Network

SEA-SPAN or the Southeast Asian Science-Policy Advisory Network in Global Environmental Change is an evolving network of people from diverse backgrounds who are motivated to improve the links and understanding between policy and scientific communities in South East Asia. The primary focus is on the challenges of living with global change, but overlaps with many related issues of sustainable development, conservation and environmental security. The activities supported by SEA-SPAN on the Internet include an electronic discussion list (SEA-SPAN-L). The SEA-SPAN initiative is one of the activities developed and coordinated by BIOTROP-GCTE Southeast Asian Impacts Centre (IC-SEA).

To join SEA-SPAN please send a message to:
Louis.Lebel@dwe.csiro.au
Please also include a brief background/profile of your interests. Alternatively you can join on the IC-SEA home page:
http://www.bogor.info.net.id/biotrop/icspan.htm

Global Supporter Network

This electronic mailing list is maintained by World Vision. The list provides a forum for discussion on various issues among the supporters of World Vision around the world. It also allows coordinated responses to action on important issues as well as a medium for networking.

To subscribe send an e-mail message to:
listproc@solar.rtd.utk.edu
Using the text:
subscribe w-vision followed by your name
To post a message on the list, send your e-mail to:
w-vision@solar.rtd.utk.edu
WomenWatch

WomenWatch is an initiative of UNIFEM, the Division for Advancement of Women (DAW), and INSTRAW, and is aimed at empowering women through the use of electronic communication technologies. It is a gateway to UN information and data on women worldwide and an evolving forum on global women’s issues in the follow-up to the UN Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, and other UN global conferences. WomenWatch links the websites of DAW, UNIFEM and INSTRAW. The site is accessible at:

http://www.un.org/womenwatch

Drug and Alcohol Studies (DAS-L)

The purpose of the DAS-L list is to facilitate discussion about ongoing and current studies of drug and alcohol abuse and treatment. It is hoped that this would will be a multinational and multidisciplinary forum for discussions, as well as a valuable resource tool for those engaged in the treatment of drug and alcohol problems.

To subscribe send an e-mail message to:
majordomo@udel.edu
Using the text:
subscribe DAS-L followed by your e-mail address.

Reproductive Health List: REPRO-HLTH-L

REPRO-HLTH-L is an electronic mail list designed for discussion of reproductive health issues. This forum will allow participants to engage in a frank discussion on the issues, technical challenges and lessons learned in reproductive health. Participants are encouraged to discuss and disseminate information relevant to reproductive health topics and to share items such as bibliographic citations, book reviews, meeting announcements, new research findings, etc. Information will be archived and is available for later use. In doing so, a resource directory on reproductive health issues will be created. Topics to be discussed will be limited to the following: family planning, STDs/HIV/AIDS, breastfeeding, safe pregnancy, adolescents, nutrition and female genital mutilation.

To subscribe send a message to:
listproc@info.usaid.gov
In the message type:
subscribe repro-hlth-l <your name>
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Style

Quotation marks should be double; single within double.
Spelling: English (OED with 'ise' endings).

Notes

(a) Simple references without accompanying comments to be inserted in brackets at appropriate place in text, eg. (Yung 1989).
(b) References with comments should be kept to a minimum and appear as endnotes, indicated consecutively through the article by numerals in superscript.

Reference list

If references are used, a reference list should appear at the end of the text. It should contain all the works referred to, listed alphabetically by author's surname (or name of sponsoring body where there is not identifiable author). Authors should make sure that there is a strict correspondence between the names and years in the text and those on the reference list. Book titles and names of journals should be italicised or underlined; titles of articles should be in single inverted commas. Style should follow: author's surname, forename and or initials, date, title of publication, publisher and place of publication. Journal references should include volume, number (in brackets), date and page numbers. Examples:


Publication/resource listings

An important task of the Network is to keep members up-to-date with the latest literature and other resources dealing with development-related topics. To make it as easy as possible for readers to obtain the publications listed, please include price information (including postage) and the source from which materials can be obtained.
Australian Development Studies Network
The Australian National University
Canberra ACT 0200
Telephone 06 249 2466
Facsimile 06 257 2886
e-mail devnetwork@ncds.anu.edu.au