**international social science council/conseil international des sciences sociales**

**Comparative Research Programme on Poverty**

# THE POLYSCOPIC LANDSCAPE OF POVERTY RESEARCH

## "State of the art" in International Poverty Research. An overview and 6 in-depth studies

*Report prepared for*
*the Research Council of Norway*

by

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# Preface

In August 2004 the Research Council of Norway announced tenders for a "State-of-the-art" report within international poverty research, with special focus on institutions and rights. The Research Council wanted the report to give an overview over what is the present state of knowledge in the field, indicate where the frontiers of research are, identify what the most pressing needs for new knowledge are, and suggest how Norwegian expertise can contribute to poverty research in the South. The size of the report is limited to 100 pages.

The Comparative Research Programme on Poverty (CROP) was successful with its tender. The contract (Project No. 168080/S30) with the Research Council was signed by both parties during the second half of October 2004, and the contract period was set to 4 months. The final report was to be delivered 1.05.2005 at the latest.

The project description provided by CROP for the tender competition takes as its starting point that, within the framework of such a report, it is at present not possible to give more than a limited overview of the frontiers of international poverty research. Poverty research comprises a vast area of different scientific disciplines and interdisciplinary approaches, within clearly opposing paradigms. No common platform has been established for the scientific evaluation of the field in general, and the validity of presented research results is often difficult to judge as some of the research is mixed with political interests and/or particular moral values.

In this situation CROPs proposal was to use its own knowledge base to

1) give an overview of where a selection of major approaches to poverty research are presently located in the field of international science and present some of the current paradigmatic approaches, and
2) single out five topics for in-depth case studies to present frontiers of research within different areas of international poverty research and define new questions to be explored, and
3) use this material to say something about what are the most pressing needs for new knowledge in international poverty research and how this may be reflected in future studies in the South.

The project is designed to meet the requirements of the Research Council which is to focus on institutions and rights and contribute to knowledge development of special importance for poverty reduction and national welfare strategies in the South.

CROP hereby presents the Report from the project. It has been developed in close co-operation with scholars in the South and other members of the CROP international network of poverty researchers, see Appendix B. Very special thanks go to the main collaborators who have taken charge of the case studies. The results of their work appear in chapters IV-IX.

CROP, however, bears the sole responsibility for the contents of the Report.

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Bergen, 30.04.2005

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# I

# Introduction

## Else Øyen

The challenge of this Report is to point to some of the major trends in poverty research and to identify promising research results that might form a useful base for further research on causes, processes and formations of poverty in the South. Such an overview is one of several tools needed to improve poverty research.

The Report has not been easy to write. It would be easier to write a report on the-state-of-the-art in non-poverty research. The non-poor are fewer in number, more visible, better and more adequately researched, and as a group likely to be more homogenous than the poor. Still, nobody would ever expect such a report to be complete and satisfactory.

One of the problems with a report on the-state-of-the-art in poverty research lies with the concept of *poverty*. Poverty is an umbrella concept embracing the future, past and present lives of millions and millions of people. It is a concept developed by the non-poor. Its generality serves to create distance and avoid individualising. As a specific research tool it is of little use. However, it is being used in research and political action, and somehow or other we therefore have to relate to it.

Some of the major factors that have an impact on a report on the-state-of-the-art on poverty research can be listed as follows:

- Poverty is an extremely complex phenomenon that can not be described or understood through a limited set of variables or a fixed context.
- Causes and manifestations of poverty are found on the micro, meso and macro level in a huge diversity of cultural settings.
- The present overall picture of poverty research is a conglomerate of basic and applied research of varying quality, political statements and moral beliefs that at times are used interchangeably.
- Research has tried to find its way through this mass of complexity by sorting out certain variables for inspection, follow a limited set of causal factors and concentrate on certain strategies for poverty reduction. As a result research reports, however scientific and thorough their approaches, can only present a limited and skewed picture of reality. These factors influence a presentation of the state of the art.
- During the last decade or so research on poverty and research induced poverty papers and reports on poverty issues that present partial research results have increased at such a rate that it is not possible to give a full overview.[1] The picture is such that the frontiers of all this activity stretch out in many different and incoherent directions. While this can be considered a bonus for a blossoming field of research that has not yet found its foci, it is a drawback for those who expect a well drawn up frontier of research.

- There is no logical guide through this mass of information and what should be given priority in a limited report on the state-of-the-art in poverty research.
- Poverty reduction covers a very large arsenal of strategies directed at poverty phenomena, based on verified and assumed causes. Research on poverty reduction has become such a vital part of poverty research that it is at times difficult to distinguish analytically between the two.

The Report consists of four parts. The first is a layout of what can be called the polyscopic landscape of poverty research. It outlines the directions that some of the major actors in poverty research have taken and points to some of the current trends in poverty research. The second part is a discussion of methodological issues involved in poverty research that need to be clarified if poverty research is to move ahead. In themselves these issues are important researchable topics. The third part consists of a set of 6 in-depth studies where the more precise frontiers of research are elucidated in relation to specific arenas where poverty formation plays an important role. The studies purport to show 6 different approaches to poverty. Two of the studies are regional, and a third is narrowed down topically. A fourth study is set within one of the disciplines; the following study is based on an international move to eradicate poverty, and the last concerns poverty as seen from a Scandinavian angle. Six different approaches with six very different theoretical frameworks and analytical tools have as their common denominator a scientific approach to poverty that can provide new understanding.

The first study is on poverty research in Latin America which is distinctly different from poverty research elsewhere. Latin America has the largest economic disparities between people anywhere in the world and a framework of inequality dominates poverty understanding. Studies are abundant and the literature is rich. The chapter describes dominant themes of social policy and poverty studies during the 1980's, and characterizes the hegemonic regional welfare paradigms developed during the 1990's. At the end the authors present the emergence of new perspectives that point toward the construction of an alternative paradigm. Theoretical and methodological questions are raised, and research tendencies related to the understanding of poverty in a Latin American context receive particular attention. This is the first attempt to write a comprehensive state-of–the-art paper on the frontiers of poverty research in Latin America.

The second study sets poverty research in a historical context and shows how the special political regime of apartheid in South Africa impacted on poverty research. The early ties between bureaucracy and the academic community marked by control have continued but now as fruitful co-operation producers and users of poverty research.

The third study moves straight into one of the current and well researched discussions on the relationship between water for productive and reproductive purposes and poverty. This is one of the areas where frontiers of poverty research can be identified clearly.

The fourth study is set within a non-poor country (although a large part of its population live in poverty). The examples used are national but some of the principles used in the legal language are universal and have an impact on poverty formation wherever they are put to use. Legal discourses define people in and out of categories, seemingly neutral but often without the necessary understanding of the more subtle discriminatory consequences of these actions.

The fifth study looks at the conceptual and operational linkage between human rights and poverty reduction world wide. The different rights and their roots, intentions, interrelationships and likely future development are discussed.

The sixth study examines different social policy principles and programmes that have shown to be effective in reducing inequality and poverty in mature welfare states. By focusing on Scandinavian experiences and the non-contributory, universal transfer systems, the question is raised as to whether the success of these principles for poverty reduction can be effective and feasible also in countries in the South. Various contextual preconditions for universal social policies are considered within this framework.

The last part of the Report discusses poverty reduction as a goal for poverty research and provides inputs to a future agenda for poverty research. Included is a discussion on the potential for the involvement of Norwegian expertise in further research on poverty in the South. Appendix A provides an overview of institutions working with poverty research and related research.

CROP chose a different focus for its first project on the state-of-the-art in poverty research (Øyen, Miller and Samad 1996). In the first half of the 90's groups of social scientists from different regions world-wide were invited to write on where the frontiers of poverty were at the time. They were asked what kinds of research questions were raised, what kind of methodologies, concepts and theories were used in their regions, and where the likely trends in poverty research was headed. In spite of communication difficulties it was still possible to make a reasonably fair presentation of poverty research. In spite of the proliferation of poverty studies since then it is still possible to use the same procedure. This is made possible by increased facilitation of communication and an increasing number of experts who know the field well. Within the present Report certain choices had to be made and a lower level of ambition instilled. If every one of the actors mentioned in the following chapter on the polyscopic landscape of poverty research were to be treated fairly in a state-of-the-art publication, the character of this Report would have been quite different.

## Reference

Else Øyen, S.M.Miller and Syed Abdus Samad (eds.) (1996) *Poverty: A Global Review. Handbook in International Poverty Research*, Oslo and Paris: Scandinavian University Press and UNESCO.

## Note

[1] A search in Questia Online Library gave 74561 hits on poverty, out of which 37890 were books and 16187 were journal articles.

# II

# The Polyscopic Landscape of Poverty Research

**Else Øyen**

The understanding of poverty is in the eyes of the beholder. Different actors see different things, emphasize different aspects and develop different paradigms of poverty understanding according to their discipline, position or vested interests. A researcher tries to gather as much relevant information as possible and to see the actual research question from as many angles as possible. When information becomes overwhelming and relevance takes on still new meanings, the researcher finds himself/herself in a polyscopic landscape.[1] Poverty research and semi-research mixed with political and moral interpretations, provides the perfect example of a polyscopic landscape.

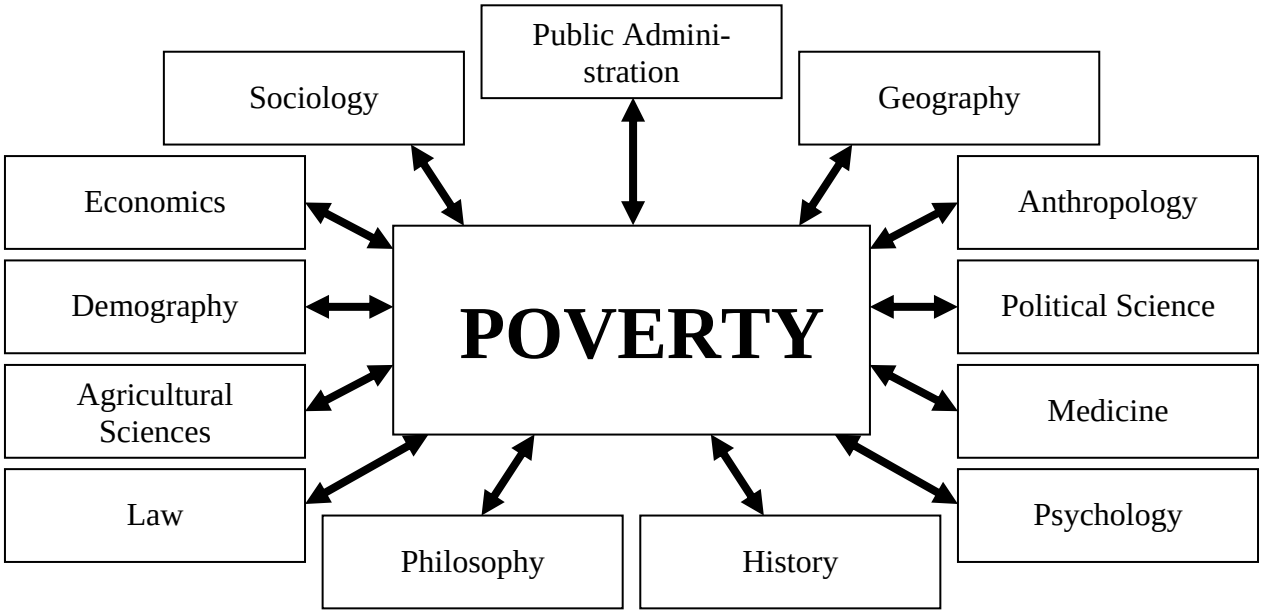
The overview below describes some of the directions different approaches to poverty have taken. The emphasis is on poverty research undertaken in the South and on the kind of poverty research outside the South which is likely to have had an impact on poverty research in the South.[2]

## 1. Disciplinary Approaches

Many of the disciplines within the social sciences and several outside the social sciences have incorporated poverty as a research topic, some of them fairly recently and some through a well established tradition. As could be expected, the disciplinary approaches to poverty understanding are coloured by the discipline's theories, methodologies and previous research. The understanding of poverty is fitted into the dominant paradigms of the discipline.[3] It follows from this that the frontiers of poverty research follow closely the state-of-the-art within the discipline in question. So far there have been few successful attempts to integrate different disciplinary approaches in a theoretical and coherent manner.

Figure 1 visualises some of the most important disciplines in the landscape of poverty research.

**FIGURE 1:** MAJOR DISCIPLINARY ACTORS IN THE LANDSCAPE OF POVERTY




The disciplines with the longest tradition in the study of poverty are economics and sociology, and to a certain degree also demography and agricultural science. As a result paradigms from these disciplines have been dominating in academic and political understanding during the last 3-4 decades. Key words like “economic growth”, “capitalistic exploitation”, “population control” and “the green revolution” are indicators of significant paradigms that spell out in detail causes and consequences of poverty.

*Economics* is about the distribution of material resources and the effects of different distributions. The poor are by definition at the lower end of the distribution curves and this “default” has received much attention in the discipline. Within economic models it becomes important to calculate the size of the problem, and effort is invested in measuring poverty in different ways and in analyzing the conditions under which changes occur. Hereunder, also extensive research on the effects of different thresholds for subsidies to the poor. The notion of poverty reduction plays an indirect role when research is focussed on employment opportunities for the poor, access to the market, and microcredit schemes as a means to increase individual and household resources. Questions are raised as to whether the very poorest are able to profit from these measures and generate an income. Concepts like human capital, capabilities and social capital (see below) represent a widening of the more traditional economic definition of poverty. Development economics is a major approach within the discipline and the early days of the crude “trickle down” effect have been supplemented by the impact of social variables. For example, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has made poverty reduction an overarching goal. The ADB publication on “The New Social Policy in Asia” (in partnership with the World Bank) is a blueprint for which contexts and variables to take into account to achieve this goal. The economic understanding of causes and remedies of poverty dominates the many case studies. Issues such as the impact of local culture, processes of exclusion, gender, civil society, citizenship and public consent are treated partly as issues

directly linked to poverty reduction, partly as a function of economic issues related to poverty reduction (2000). Critical voices have been raised in particular to economic growth as a major vehicle for poverty reduction and the assumption that more growth translates into increased poverty reduction. Growth is related to inequity and equity is related to poverty reduction, and those relationships do not necessarily work in favour of the poor (Vandemoortele 2002; see also Chapter IV). Microcredit which has been launched as one of the most promising poverty reducing schemes is also under heavy critizism. It tends to reach the "better off" poor rather than the vast majority of poor households, and it does not necessarily offer the most desirable financial products (Morduch, 1999). Kanbur has written on the explicit and implicit disagreements in economic approaches to poverty reduction strategies and has put forward a categorization of persons involved in the dispute. One divide is found between those at the more academic end of the spectrum and those at the policy end of the spectrum (2001). Another divide is between conservative and radical economists, a divide which is also found throughout all the other social sciences in their analysis of poverty.

*Sociology* is the discipline most closely associated with social problems and numerous qualitative and quantitative studies of deprivation, marginalisation, exclusion, the life of the underclass, inequality, skewed distribution of resources, and the like flourish on the micro as well as the meso and macro level. Within the Nordic welfare states the national level of living studies became influential (see below) and large-scale research programmes on different aspects of the welfare state and deprived populations have dominated the research agenda (Chapter IX). The notion of citizenship and the inclusion of all citizens in the society, also the poor, was brought to the fore by Marshall, (1950; 1964) and became a cornerstone of modern poverty research. Studies comparing quality and extent of citizenship, where one criteria is the rights of the poor, have followed up on this. A comparison between citizenship in Europe and the United States focuses on "new poverty" (Lawson and Wilson, 1995), while UNDP developed indicators built on the same framework to make mass poverty in the South visible (see below).

*Administrative sciences* have a traditional close affiliation with the bureaucracy and much of the research is carried out for the benefit of the administration. In poverty research, as well as in social administration and social policy research, a major focus has been on efficient delivery of services, evaluation research and the role of the professions in poverty reducing activities (Chambers, 1997). Britain has the longest tradition for this kind of poverty research.

Important contributions from *psychology* come from research on coping strategies and detailed descriptions of what a life in poverty and deprivation means to the individual and his/her internal and external relations (Narayan, 2000). Coping is an umbrella concept for a wide variety of strategies to meet sudden and unexpected poverty. As for example the way small farmers tackle unexpected and crippling drought and the way slum-dwellers behave living with a permanent poverty that calls for both daily challenges of survival and flexibility when new opportunities arise. The concept caught extra attention when sudden changes in the former Soviet economy created mass poverty among the former middle class that was forced to develop coping strategies not considered previously (Lokshin and Yemtsov, 2001). Most of the coping strategies are contextual and situational, but some are also almost universal in character. As for example the reluctance of poor and marginalised people to get involved in institutions created by the non-poor, such as the bureaucracy, police and courts (Narayan, 2000).

In the past *political science* has been remarkably absent from poverty research. With the recent emphasis on poverty internationally and nationally, political scientists have entered the field, too. Studies of mass movements, civil society and democracy formation (Good,

2001; Kerapeletswe and Moremi, 2001) are now directed towards the poor. Studies of the development of national and international actions for poverty reducing interventions have become part of the research agenda (Kanji, 2001; May, 2001). A group within CROP has worked on a project on "The Role of the State in Poverty Reduction" and analysed the potential and boundaries of state responsibilities for citizens living in poverty. The first study analysed Southern and Central African states (Wilson, Kanji and Braathen, 2001). The second study focuses on Latin American states (Cimadamore, Dean and Siqueira 2005 forthcoming), (see also Chapter IV). A recent study on famine tests the theoretical concepts developed by Amartya Sen on entitlement, capability and public action on an empirical study on poverty, drought and malnutrition in an Indian state. The role of the bureaucracy and the politicians responsible for drought relief is analysed (Banik, 2002). Welfare state research is central in political science, increasingly so with comparative studies. Although poverty does not feature prominently, political institutions and policies designed to increase welfare for sections of the population or the entire population, do incorporate poor people (Kuhnle, Kwon, Selle and Prakash, 2003).

*Law* has taken human rights to its heart, partly as a follow-up of developments in international fora which emphasize human rights. Part of the research agenda links human rights to individual poverty reduction (see Chapter VIII). A group within CROP has worked on the project "Law and Poverty" during the last 7 years analysing how poverty is treated within different legal systems and how poverty does, or does not, influence poverty formation and poverty reducing strategies (Kjønstad and Veit-Wilson, 1997; Kjønstad and Robson, 2001; Van Genugten and Perez-Bustillo, 2001; Williams, Kjønstad and Robson, 2003; Williams 2005 forthcoming) (see also Chapter VII).

It can be argued that *anthropology* has studied poor people throughout the life of the discipline, as for example through research on production systems, management of natural resources and land tenure. Here marginalised people as well as people in control of resources come to the fore as actors in the system. More often theories within anthropology are tried out in the studies and only part of the research is linked directly to the understanding of poverty formation. Qualitative research embedded in anthropological methodology provides unique insights into the lives of poor people, and local in-depth studies supply the cultural contexts in which poverty is formed. Indigenous knowledge as a necessary precondition for understanding poor people is stressed by both anthropologists and social scientists living in the cultures and slums where research is being undertaken (Mammo, 1999). However, the many small regional studies pertaining to poverty have not been brought together to form a more coherent larger picture of the processes of poverty formation, and how the empirical variations in cultural contexts in which poverty is found can be brought to bear on a fuller understanding of poverty. The best known example on poverty directed anthropological research is probably the tradition created by the Mexican Oscar Lewis and his "Culture of poverty" (1966) who argued that poverty was transferred from generation to generation as "common adaptations to common problems". In good academic tradition this was first considered a break-through in poverty research and then heavily criticised. Criticism was partly due to the passive role allocated to the poor, partly due to the still more fluid spatial borders in which culture is being transferred. The concept became part of the political battle between political right- and left-wingers in their struggle to define poverty and shape the public image of the poor (McNeish, unpublished manuscript). Later the notion of a culture of poverty was brought back in a reformulated version where the poor are seen as active and creative in their adaptations to daily hardships (Chambers, 1997). Race and ethnicity play a significant role in anthropology (Eversole, McNeish and Cimadamore, 2005), and recent anthropology has made the link also to human rights through "cultural rights" (see Chapter

VIII).

*The medical profession* has the longest tradition for involvement with poor people and research on the improvement of their health, but the emphasis has not been on more broad-based research linked to poverty. Poverty as a cause of ill health has been taken for granted and the different constituents of poverty have seldom been brought into the picture in the clarification of causal links (see also WHO below). Poverty is defined *per se* as some kind of illness, a mortality rate, or a need that can be satisfied with medical input. In a recent report (Global Health Research, 2004) it states that global health research is an important tool to "fight poverty" and "Research that reduces the burden of poverty-related health problems --- should therefore have priority". To reach this goal only indirect notions of poverty are outlined, such as the need to construct the delivery of health care with measures of "equity, accessibility and affordability" and "trustworthiness" (p.17; see also Lancet 2003). The poor in general need a health care with these characteristics more than the remainder of the population. Such a model can also be considered as part of a desirable standard health service.

*History* has provided detailed case histories on poverty formation over time, on the national as well as the local and individual level. The major problem is of course that data about poor people in general is scarce, and even more so in the South where written sources from the past are the exception. This is demonstrated in Iliffe's classical analysis "The African Poor" (1987) where poverty and the lives of poor people are described in several countries. All available sources are explored and led to new insight and new questions asked. At the same time, some of the issues raised were alien to African cultures because they were framed within a European context. In particular, the interpretation of poverty was seen with British eyes and lack of commodities in African villages was perceived as a sign of severe deprivation and an indicator of mass poverty. This situation of paralleling dissimilar phenomena is not uncommon when researchers from the North carry out research in the South. As colonialism subsided the crop of indigenous historians has grown and the African past is being reconstructed. Studies have flourished during the last couple of decades, some within the established historical tradition, others within a more open orientation where room is also given to social sciences and the humanities (Zewde, 2003).

Each of the different disciplinary approaches has its own understanding of poverty. They have formed their specific bonds of theory, methodology and past experience between their discipline and the poverty phenomena. Poverty is only one of many other topics being studied. To the extent it is being studied it is not necessarily poverty as such that is being studied. It is more the use of the different tools of the discipline that are being tested out.

Actually, it can be argued that any theory from Nietzsche to Foucault can be used to analyse one or another aspect of poverty. The poverty phenomenon is so complex and comprehensive and covers so many dimensions of human and social behaviour that almost any theory relating to human beings can add to a fragment of poverty understanding.

As with all kinds of analysis of poverty, disciplinary or not, the picture is incomplete. Only fragments are presented. If a more complete picture is to emerge some of the disciplinary bonding needs to be loosened and new links established. That is a research challenge in itself.

Two important publications on famine can exemplify the dilemma. They appeared at almost the same time. The historian Iliffe writes on famine in Zimbabwe (1990) while the economists Dréze and Sen write on famine in India (1989). Both publications are written in what could be termed the traditions of their disciplines. Imagine the kind of comparative research three such eminent scholars could have produced if their academic resources had been pooled.

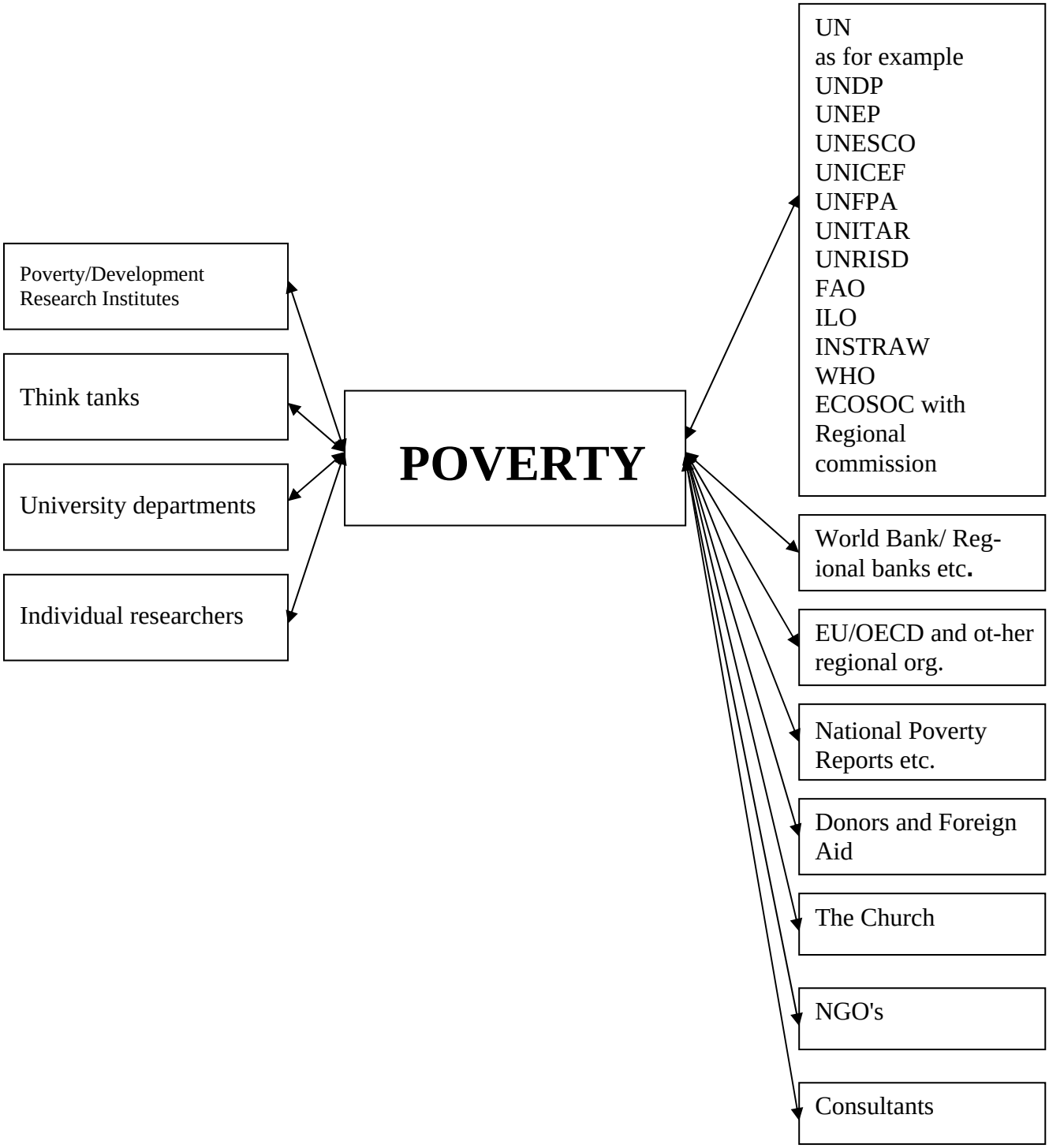
One example of multi-disciplinary co-operation might show the way forward. The hitherto so dominant paradigm in agricultural science of “green revolution” was for a couple of decades seen as a major poverty reducing mechanism. Since then it has been questioned and reformulated several times. One study showed that the carbohydrate-rich plants of the green revolution resulted in dramatically lower iron density and anemia among poor women due to the lack of zinc and micronutrients in traditional plants (Ross Welch, Proceedings 2004). The former focus on a few high-yielding energy rich plants has now been shifted to a manifold of local plants containing minerals and micronutrients that benefit small farming and poor people with deficiency diseases. Here medical knowledge has been twinned with knowledge about agriculture, local culture and rural poverty formation. The project has closed some of the knowledge gaps in the nutrition chain from geology to intake of food and poverty reduction. Next step towards further poverty reduction contains at least three kind of strategies directed at small scale farmers and some of the 3 billion people who suffer from the effects of micronutrient deficiencies. Transfer and translation of scientific knowledge about production processes that at the onset are very complicated into practical knowledge to inform people who might not be able to read or change traditional practices. Access provided to simple technology that will help in the adaptation process of new knowledge. Development of new plants that will increase further the nutritional value for poor people who have no other nutritional options (Hans Peter Andersen, Proceedings 2004). Others might add to those strategies an economic analysis of the market for the local plants to see how income can be generated to overcome more than immediate hunger and malnutrition among small farmers.

## 2. Approaches by Other Actors

There are many other actors in the poverty landscape besides those found in these and other disciplines. Some are producing basic research full time, others are producing applied research stemming from basic research, while still others are using research results in new constellations that bring forward interesting additional knowledge. Some of this activity is performed according to normal scientific criteria, while some of what is presented as research is infected with political and moral views and/or based on incomplete or even faulty data. It seems that there is more of the latter than of the former. If unacceptable research is to be sorted out from acceptable research every study and report needs to be scrutinised. Since the numbers of studies and “studies” internationally have increased enormously during the last decade, this task is not possible within the given limits.

Figure 2 provides an overview of some of the central actors with an impact on poverty understanding, although poverty formation and poverty reduction may not be at the core of their activity. They are roughly and arbitrarily divided in two with research institutions on one side and other important actors on the other side. However, an actor as for example the World Bank has a dual role. It produces some high quality studies on poverty but its primary role is not that of a research institution. While UNRISD might well be placed among the research institutions.

**FIGURE 2:**
SOME ACTORS WITH RESEARCH BASED ACTIVITY IN THE LANDSCAPE OF POVERTY




As discussed elsewhere development research is not synonymous with poverty research (Øyen, 2002a). Development research is a much broader field where poverty formation and poverty reduction may or may not be considered directly. Some of the research

taking place in university departments and research institutes that traditionally were turned towards development research can be defined as poverty research. The tendency has been that direct poverty related research has moved up on the agenda in the last few years (see below and Appendix A). University departments and research institutes do basic and applied research (although the distinction is not always easy to make) and consultancies take up a still larger part of their portfolio. This implies that external demands set the agenda for the directions of research, and problematic poverty issues as perceived by the administration, politicians, public opinion or dominant discourses indirectly decide current frontiers of research. Also, it implies that short term contracts shift the research agenda faster than a basic research agenda does.

The major part of the university departments and research institutions are located in the North and the major part of resources and scholars on the poverty arena are located in the North (see Appendix A). Therefore, it is not surprising to note that an overwhelming part of the total amount of research is directed towards poverty in the North. Likewise, it may not be surprising that many Northern scholars and other actors on the poverty arena, when doing research in the South tend to bring along their own concepts and term their hypotheses and results within a Northern framework.

Some research institutions are firmly based within one of the disciplines. But many are, if not inter-disciplinary, then multi-disciplinary, embracing economists, political scientists, anthropologists and sociologists under one roof, sometimes adding the odd historian or philosopher. Other research institutions are directly problem-oriented, in particular those located in those parts of the South where tertiary education is problem-oriented rather than strictly organised within disciplines.

The entire UN system and the World Bank have put poverty reduction, (or even poverty eradication, cf. the UN Social Summit, Copenhagen 1995), high on their agenda and different UN agencies initiate basic and applied research within their own systems as well as outside their systems. All this activity has an impact on how poverty is viewed and how poverty should be reduced.

More than any other actors UNDP and the World Bank have influenced the poverty research agenda world-wide, through their yearly reports and extensive lobbying (Human Development Reports 1990-2004; World Development Reports 1978-2004).

FAO has put its mark on rural poverty research pointing to the structural differences between rural and urban poverty and the need to create different research agendas and different strategies for poverty reduction among the rural poor as compared to those forwarded for the poor in the city slums (Rural Poverty Report, 2001).

UNICEF has its own research centre which has produced a rich literature on the conditions of children deprived of care, nutrition, rights etc., the latest being a study on poor children in rich countries (Innocenti Report Cards, 1989-2005, UNICEF; and Child poverty in rich countries, Innocenti Report Cards, 6:2005, UNICEF).

UNESCO has a programme on human rights and poverty based on a mixture of basic research and action research (see Chapter VIII). The organisation is a major mover on research on primary education in the South with particular emphasis on poor children.

The focus of ILO is on labour conditions and the need to enforce labour legislation and the protection and rights of workers worldwide. ILO has its own research facilities (International Institute for Labour Studies; ILO Bureau of Statistics). Research on those marginalised from the labour market or working under intolerable conditions is one important dimension in ILOs research on poverty (Ferge, Tausz and Darvas, 2002).

WHO has developed important research tools such as a searchable data base containing all its publications back to 1985 (WHOLIS) and a statistical package on medical information worldwide (WHOSIS). A tentative search provides more than five hundred hits on poverty but the poverty definitions seem to be fairly rudimentary. They do not match the sophisticated medical definitions of health. WHO has taken major action on diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria which are typical poverty related diseases and integrated in mass poverty. WHO is pushing for health issues such as HIV/AIDS and epidemic diseases in the South to become integrated into the poverty research agenda. Those initiatives are partly based on WHO research or external research, partly on political goals as to what needs to be done.

CEPAL plays a major role in poverty research in Latin America and the Caribbean (see also Chapter IV). Long-term series of statistics on different aspects of living conditions in the countries of the continent are compiled (Statistical Yearbook for Latin America and the Caribbean 2004 and previous years) and used among other things to analyse changes in income distribution and poverty over time. The impact of national policies and external forces on poverty formation are described and commented. Growth projections are provided and, as part of a recent trend, a cautious prediction is made that the MDG goals may be reached by 2015 (Social Panorama of Latin America 2004).

Although 57 million people in the EU live below the official poverty level, the term poverty is not a central concept used on the EU research agenda. Preference is given to the term 'exclusion', a term that embraces all kinds of marginalisation, including the poor, and to welfare and social policy within the EU (Gallie, 2004). An exception is a major EU program on 'life science, genomics and biotechnology' which outlines a research strategy to combat poverty related diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis (European Commission - Research: The Sixth Framework Programme (2002-2006)).

The main objective of the OECD is to cater to the economic and social interests of its members. Those interests also include a keen eye on the development of poverty and related issues in the South and have resulted in statistical data of high quality and research reports. OECD has made a research tool available online and searchable of this material including related material from other sources (SourceOECD). OECD made an attempt to unite its members into a joint programme for poverty reducing strategies in the South, including research. Concerted efforts in policies and financing in order to strengthen and co-ordinate aid was the major goal to meet the criticism of fragmented aid, parallel targeting and increased burden of reporting for the recipients (DAC Guidelines for Poverty Reduction 2000). The push for more formal co-ordination was only partially successful, but it might have helped increase informal co-operation among the donors. Traces of the DAC influence can be seen in the use of the OECD/DACs checklist for "Policy Coherence for Poverty Reduction" in several national poverty reports, including the Norwegian poverty reducing plan for the South where it appears as an appendix (Regjeringens handlingsplan for bekjempelse av fattigdom i sør mot 2015, 2002).

National poverty reports or plan-of-actions for poverty reduction are in progress or being initiated in many countries. In the North it means that donor countries make plans for what they believe are the major poverty problems in the South and how they should be reduced. In the South the national reports analyse their internal poverty problems and set priorities for poverty reducing strategies and how they should be implemented. Some of this activity is research based, most is not. (See also comments on PRSP below).

The Norwegian plan-of-action "Fight against poverty" is ambitious and all-embracing (2002). Poverty is defined widely and poverty reducing strategies cover a wide array of

measures from direct aid to trade policy, anti-corruption, good governance, human rights, democracy, economic growth, environmental concerns, new alliances, etc. The vocabulary of the World Bank and OECD can be seen throughout and the attainment of the MDGs have a prominent place. No attempt to prioritise is put forward. In the text the document is presented as a framework rather than a plan-of-action. The 16 most important causes of poverty are listed (p.16). Roughly classified, 13 of these causes are internal, that is, nestled in the poor countries, while 3 are external and due to outside forces. It is difficult to assess how much of the document is research based. Traditionally there are close ties between research institutions and ministries in Norway and information flows easily between bureaucrats and researchers. Studies and research results appear in the document without references, in short versions and used as illustrations of political aims. On the one hand, it adds to the broad-based approach to poverty and a visionary thinking that is lacking in most other national poverty reports outlining poverty reducing strategies. On the other hand, the level of precision forfeits the usefulness of research in outlining efficient poverty reduction. The need for research is mentioned in two sentences only (p.16 and p.58).

A wide spectrum of NGOs produce research or solicit research of relevance for their particular field of interest, as for example Oxfam and CARE, while other NGOs use research results of relevance for their aims and thereby disseminate research and influence discourses on poverty.

The Church has an important role in this landscape, both in discourses on morals and values and on for example research on the extent and depth of poverty not only in the South but also in the North.

A massive number of consultants work for organisations like the many actors mentioned above, and pour out reports of varying quality that are often treated as bona fide research. Not all those organisations have in-house research expertise to judge the quality of the work of the consultants. Therefore, recommendations for poverty reducing strategies from the consultants are in cases implemented uncritically.

## 3. Examples of Dominant Approaches in Poverty Research

Some research paradigms have a merit in themselves as structures on which to link researchable topics and develop new questions that push the understanding further. They come to the fore through their intellectual strength and coherence. Other paradigms become dominant in the sense that they influence research because their promoters manage to gain visibility and political influence. That does not mean they provide the best theoretical frameworks for research. Still, they inspire research due to their high profile and on their edges are found a prolific research literature.

Poverty research has not seen dramatic paradigmatic changes where new discovery suddenly brings about new insights and shifts the focus. Rather, it can be said that much of the research and semi-research carried out by the many actors in the landscape of poverty has found its focus only in the sense, that certain ideas or disciplinary paradigms or financial carrots point out the direction. Indirectly a mental co-ordination is taking place. In the fuzzy field of poverty understanding some actors are pushing their paradigms harder than others, and some paradigms fall in more fertile soil than others. Poverty research lies in a political minefield and choice of paradigm carries political implications as well as financial and professional rewards.

There are probably few research arenas that are so influenced by ‘external’ demands as poverty research. Choice of research interests are influenced by political events, attention

created by mass movements, new drives for social change, wars and natural catastrophies. The public attention shifts and new research initiatives are created in the wake of the public eye.

The World Bank paradigm of economic growth as a major poverty reducing strategy has dominated research as well as the policies of political actors in the North and the South (see for example Regjeringens handlingsplan for bekjempelse av fattigdom i sør mot 2019, 2002; OECD DAC Guidelines on Poverty Reduction, 2000). The paradigm has spurred massive research in favour of the paradigm and the development of tools needed to sustain the paradigm. The most visible example is the extensive research on how to count the number of extreme poor in the poor part of the world. Numbers are needed to prove the thesis and a sizeable part of current research energy is invested in different measures for counting the poor and comparing numbers. But the paradigm with its different versions and offshoots has spurred also research questioning its efficiency as a poverty reducing strategy and the quality of its poverty definitions. The more critical kind of research is on the increase and, as it seems, the increase has come in particular in those parts of the world where the World Bank policies have been implemented (see Chapter IV). Criticisms are voiced also within the economic discipline and adjacent territory (Kanbur, 2001). The World Bank paradigm, both in its original and extended form (Attacking Poverty 2000-2001), is probably the most dominant in poverty research today, not necessarily due to its explanatory strength but rather to the prevailing political position of the Bank. The introduction of the PRSPs (Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers) by the World Bank and IMF was an acknowledgement that the poverty definition needed to be expanded further and that a larger part of the population should be involved in the politics of poverty reduction. Low-income countries were invited through a 'participatory process' to put forward plans on how to prioritize the use of government and external resources for social policies and for programs to promote growth and reduce poverty. The first and second generation of PRSPs were not successful, neither as a participatory process, nor in putting forward genuine plans for poverty reduction. Since then new actors have entered the third generation and the implementation of PRSPs has become a research topic both within and outside the Bank.

If new and powerful influences on the direction of poverty research were to be ranked, the UNDP framework for human development and the operationalisation of indicators on the national level, would probably come in as a good number two (Human Development Reports 1990-2004). The Human Development Index (HDI, see http://www.hdr.undp.org/docs/statistics/indices/technote for precise construction of the indices) is a tool for the classification of poverty as a multi-complex phenomenon. The index was developed as an antidote to the reigning concept of economic poverty and incorporates indicators of life expectancy, knowledge, standard of living and social exclusion (HDI-2). The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) incorporates also political and economic participation and power over economic resources. The HDIs are placed within the paradigm of human development and rank countries according to their fulfillment of the goals built into the indices. The new approach was welcomed both research-wise and politically. It fell into fertile soil. This was partly because the indices arrived at a time when poverty research in poor countries was still weak and they seemed simple to apply (although their database is still incomplete). Partly, because they appealed to the more radical part of the researchers who were dubious to the World Bank approach. Partly because they fitted into the thinking of donors and recipient partners alike as the indices ranked countries according to need. Partly, because they were closely followed up by national UNDP reports. As a result the UNDP discourse came to dominate research on poverty in poorer countries. One of the major authors behind the Human Development Reports became worried about the success and stressed that

the use of indicators in the HDI such as health and education did not provide a full understanding of the "broad and complex nature of human development". While simplification was necessary poverty should be understood as including also human freedom and dignity in the capability framework of Amartya Sen (Fukuda-Parr 2001).

The introduction of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) provides another example of how a political decision turns a large amount of research expertise, organisational attention and financial resources into a new direction. The United Nations in 2000 unanimously adopted the Millennium Declaration with a set of quantified, time-bound goals for development in the South (and interestingly enough also in the North), to be achieved before 2015 (http://www.developmentgoals.org). Among the ambitious goals is to "eradicate extreme poverty and hunger" by halving the proportion of people whose income is less than $1 a day (PPP) and halving the proportion of people who suffer from hunger. Poverty and hunger are operationalised, the first through economic and consumption measures, the latter through indicators for weight and dietary consumption. Note the discrepancy between the term 'eradication' and the proposal of a fifty percent decrease in poverty. The other indicators of the MDGs relate also to individual needs such as primary education, employment, participation, child mortality, maternal health and access to safe water. The last of the 8 major goals is somewhat out of tune with the rest. It is to "Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system". In spite of encouraging reports from the World Bank and UNDP (http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/reports/index.htm) the prospect of reaching the goals before 2015 is doubtful. Pogge challenges the Bank prognosis with population data and argues that even if the goal of halving the proportion of people whose income is less than a $1 a day by 2015 is reached, it will be due to demographic changes (2004). The aggregate data presented by the World Bank are also questioned (Besley and Burgess, 2003). While a poverty definition of 1$ a day is more manageable than more complex indicators, it is neither a valid nor a reliable measure of poverty. Even in the poorest countries an increase of an individual income to a dollar a day does little or nothing to poverty reduction, not to say eradication.

Gender as a research issue is another example of the impact of external forces on the poverty research agenda. When discrimination of women and girls in almost all walks of life first entered the radical women's movements in the North and later the political arena in the South, gender research increased. Gender became one of the major variables to be taken into account in all kinds of poverty research and politically correct documents. While the other examples mentioned above came as a top-down approach, gender came as a bottom-up approach.

In the following a few examples of other current research approaches are added to further demonstrate the diversification in the understanding of poverty. They can be considered only singular bricks in the complicated jigsaw puzzle of an unfinished picture of poverty and poverty reducing measures. Each and every one deserves the same in-depth presentation as is done of the 6 topics in Chapters IV-IX.

*Who are the poor/how do they behave*: The major part of the research literature on poverty is about poor people. Their living conditions are described in detail, including particulars on medical status, nutrition, economic situation, family life, education, network, criminal activity, relation to public institutions, physical environment, race and ethnic affiliation, victimisation, cultural setting, moral behaviour, coping strategies, consumption patterns etc. The mass of information is based mainly on limited geographical studies from which a more universal picture of living conditions of poor people in the South is teased out

and presented in more generalised terms, as for example life in the slum, generational poverty, transfer of epidemics, migration patterns, etc. The strong focus on the poor and their livelihoods in the early years of poverty research fits well with the notion that causes of poverty are to be found among the poor and poverty reducing measures need to be targeted.

*Basic and extended needs*: A large literature discusses issues such as what minimum of needs a human being must have in order to survive physically; if a hierarchy of needs can be established (Maslow, 1970); the physiological needs as compared to psychological and social needs; the extent of needs for functioning in a society; and relative individual needs in relation to the surrounding society. Much of the discussion has been linked to discussions on how much aid a society needs to provide for its citizens. Doyal and Gough (1991) set the subject in a global perspective and discuss what kind of moral, political and economic institutions are required to efficiently meet the needs of the poorest part of the world's population. One of the recommendations is for a global authority with the right to enforce need satisfaction. The answer is of relevance to current human rights discussions.

*Human capital*: The emphasis on improving the economic situation of the individual poor points in two major directions: the failure of the labour market to incorporate the poor in the labour force (including the need for economic growth to expand the labour market) and the need for investments in human capital to better synchronize the labour force and the labour market. Primary education and primary health care have become two of the pillars to build on, supplied with vocational training, and a major part of foreign aid is turned in that direction. Poverty research has followed this development. It includes studies of the efficiency of different kinds of human capital leading to employment and participation in society, processes of inclusion and marginalisation of the poor, institutionalisation of human capital formation, etc. The American 'war on poverty' in the 60es was initiated within this framework. In one of the major research programmes (the New Jersey experiments) different incentives and investments in human capital of poor ethnic groups were tried out to measure the impact on the willingness and capabilities of poor people to enter the labour market (Møller Pedersen, 1981), and for poor children to enter school. The research focus was on the poor and not on the surrounding society. As it turned out, the non-poor society was not ready for integration of the poor in spite of their new skills and increased human capital (Moynihan, 1968).

*Access to resources:* With new definitions of poverty come new areas of research to explore the consequences of poverty formation. When poverty became defined as deprivation of a combination of several resources besides economic resources, there followed the need to understand what kind of other resources had an impact on poverty reduction. Including the extent of resources needed to move out of poverty and how such resources could be accessed. The Scandinavian level of living studies based on the early work of Titmuss (1950; 1964; see Chapter IX)) were pioneering. Studies on basic needs were revised and extended, dimensions from works on human capital were added, as were dimensions of peoples' life spent outside the labour market. Dimensions from what was later renamed social capital were included. (Johansson, 1970;Allardt, 1975; NOU 1976:28). Information on everyday life in Scandinavia became public property through the national Bureaus of statistics that took over the collection of the level-of-living data. Through this process deprivation of certain groups became visible and the push for social policies to close the access gaps expanded. Scandinavian bureaus of statistics (and Norwegian FAFO) have continued this kind of data collecting in countries in the South. Databases on level-of-living indicators are organised and adjusted to regional cultures and needs.

*Social policies*: A major part of poverty research takes place under terms like social policy research, research on interventions and safety nets, and evaluation research. Some of

this research is directed towards the poor, depending on the definition of poverty chosen. With increasing growth in local and national poverty reducing activities has come a wave of research focusing on the adequacy of programmes for poverty reduction. In focus is costing and output, best practices, sustainability and institutionalisation, the political climate before and after the implementation of the programme, followed by methodological discussions on evaluation and measurements. The international agenda for poverty reduction in the South has produced an array of programmes financed by foreign aid that stimulate further this kind of research.

*Gender/elderly/children/disabled/minorities/indigenous peoples:* All through the time when mass poverty has reigned, specific groups have been singled out as particularly deprived and therefore needing more attention and aid than other poor groups. At times it is the poorest of the poor who are targeted by policies. At other times certain interest groups have managed to make the groups they defend stand out as morally deserving of special treatment. Whenever special groups have been singled out for attention researchers have followed up with studies bringing in more information. Or the other way around - when research has made a group more visible it increases the probability that measures targeting this special group will be introduced. A major part of present poverty research is so specialised in studies of specific groups of deprived people that each research field takes on the character of a sub-discipline.

*Social capital:* The notion of social capital is fairly recent (whether to give credit to Coleman (1988) or Putnam (1993)), although the content of the term is and has always been an integral part of sociology. Social capital has been hailed as a new tool for poverty reduction. It is a relational variable, and in its simplest form it can be said that an individual acquires social capital through participating in informal networks, registered organised associations of diffeent kinds and social movements. Social capital is the outcome and sum of these experiences. (For a more sophisticated presentation see Woolcock (2002)). The introduction of social capital can be seen as a response to a definition of poverty as a function of exclusion and lack of power to influence own life situation. However, if the social capital of poor people is to increase significantly it presupposes either institutional innovation or that poor people are allowed entry also to the networks of non-poor people. There is no empirical evidence that the latter is the case (Øyen, 2002).

*Globalisation/globalised actors:* Causes of poverty and strategies proposed for poverty reduction are becoming increasingly global. Material and immaterial interaction between North and South, between nations, between formal and informal groups, may all have an impact on poverty formation, the extent of which is not known. So far much of the research is theoretical. Empirical studies are limited, not in quantity but in extent due to frameworks that can not integrate the mass of relevant variables. Theories on the consequences of a changing world economy are in the foreground. The the impact of elements such as trade restrictions, export of natural resources, import of manufactured goods, national protectionism, subsidies and import taxes, employment and use of cheap labour, migration, the role of international actors, transfer of capital etc. are interpreted as divergently as respectively major poverty reducing strategies and major poverty producing forces (Reinert, 2004). Global medical research has been less disputed. Although controversial in some of its methods, it has been seen mainly as a social good also for poor people.

Key words like the role of the state, democracy, good governance, security, post-colonialism, debt relief, foreign aid, economic growth, pro-poor growth, capitalism, social costs, justice, inequality, underclass, discrimination, empowerment, environment, peace building, partnership, social responsibility, non-governmental organisations, mass movements, capabilities, participatory budgeting, and many, many more are part of the current debate about what poverty is and how poverty reduction can be tackled.

Researchers working within some of these approaches are now forming their own schools, networks, associations, newsletters etc. around their specific approach. The outcome of all this activity for poverty research and mass poverty reduction is difficult to judge at present.

## 4. Institutions Involved in Poverty Studies

Appendix A provides an overview of a whole range of institutions that in one way or the other have an impact on poverty research in the South. Some of the institutions produce the kind of poverty research that today is up front and set the standards for poverty understanding internationally. Others make use of poverty research results and spread them throughout political channels to turn them into interventional programmes to reduce poverty. Some institutions mix the two approaches and term them applied poverty research. Still other institutions work within development paradigms as an indirect approach to poverty research and poverty reduction. While some are teaching departments with students writing their theses as contributions to poverty research.

As mentioned in the introduction to the list of institutions presented (Appendix A), the list is heterogeneous and incomplete. Only an imperfect and superficial analysis of the goals, contents and extent of actual poverty research of the many institutions has been performed, based on the institutions own presentations on the Internet. A more thorough investigation including a review of actual research output would result in a different list. Still, the list is useful in the sense that it is an indicator of the variety of approaches to poverty and the interest that poverty generates among scholars world-wide. It is also a useful list from which to orient oneself when seeking partners for collaborative and comparative research on poverty. Many of the institutions publish their own newsletter and/or series of papers, and some have their own journals or book series. The sum of all this information is enormous. The tendency is that research results from the North are more visible and accessible, through databases, libraries, bookshops and the dominant course of events where scholars in the North cite research produced in the North.

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## Notes

[1] Polyscopy is a new concept developed by Dino Karabeg, Department of Informatics University of Oslo, Norway.
[2] It is with great regret that I offend colleagues and institutions engaged in poverty research by omitting their names and important research production in this first and fragmented overview. This time contractual limits of space (max. 100 pages) and time (4 months) did not allow for presentations of the richness of their work. All our readers are invited to comment on any part of the Report and fill the many gaps with new information. Please write crop@uib.no
[3] The term "paradigm" is used loosely here.

# III

# Methodological Issues of Importance to Further the Scientific Development of Poverty Research

## Else Øyen

## 1. Conceptual Challenges

The basic challenge in poverty research is to keep on trying to operationalise the complex phenomenon called poverty and to try to get closer to a more valid and reliable understanding. This is an unending process.

The poor do not do research themselves (in spite of participatory approaches and the like). They provide the raw data and process those data to describe their reality for the researchers to use. The researchers formulate concepts to encompass that reality and bring it into their framework of poverty understanding. The CROP Glossary identified a toolbox of close to two hundred definitions of poverty (Gordon and Spicker 1999). The general impression is that the richness of the toolbox has not yet been brought to full use in poverty research. Standard definitions dominate the studies and are at times used uncritically or changed to fit a political aim (St. Clair 2003 and 2004).

The description of the polyscopic landscape of poverty research demonstrates at least three trends in the understanding of poverty. The major trend is that disciplines and actors use concepts for the understanding of poverty and poverty reduction, as an integral part of their disciplinary or organisational position. This is not surprising. It narrows down the analysis and prioritises certain aspects of poverty while other aspects are systematically ignored. Another trend is that a few concepts dominate the understanding of poverty and poverty reduction. Throughout changing discourses and policies some concepts seem to be more persistent than others, no matter the context in which they are used. A third tendency is that the same concept used to describe poverty and poverty reduction is given a different content in many of the studies. On the one hand it makes comparisons between studies invalid, thereby diminishing learning effects. On the other hand one can ask why a new content is introduced for a certain definition. When is it due to innovation and when to incomplete knowledge? Fukuda-Parr 'rescues' the concept of human development and sets the record straight when she describes how it has been used in the *Human Development Reports 1991-2001* and shows how it can be developed further (2002). Amartya Sen's capability approach has spurred a huge literature on how the concept can be interpreted, reinterpreted, used and misused.

Another set of challenges is to understand better the analytical links between different poverty concepts. Some concepts come in clusters and are related because they contain some of the same elements. Others are thought to be related because they cover the same needs or are developed within the same paradigm.

Other challenges are to understand better the impact of using certain definitions in poverty research. Studies become coloured by the concepts used. If another concept had been used in a study it might have contributed to a change in the outcome of the analysis. This might have changed the course of a poverty reducing strategy as well.

Still another set of challenges is to understand better why certain concepts are given priority and what kind of political and intellectual power they give the stakeholders. Whose definitions of poverty and whose understanding of poverty count? Why do some discourses become more important than others? How are certain discourses used to control redistribution of public resources and set limits for transfers to the poorer segment of a population? Some poverty concepts are used rhetorically and uncritically transferred to the scientific arena. At the UN Social Summit in Copenhagen in 1995 the participants signed a document agreeing on "a global commitment to eradicate poverty". Nobody at the Summit objected and in later documents from the UN 'eradicate' had become the new mantra (ADB 2000; Øyen 1999). Not then, and not later, has a discussion emerged on what it means to eradicate poverty, what kinds of poverty need to be eradicated, and how much poverty should be done away with before poverty can be said to be eradicated. In documents on the Millennium Development Goals the MDGs are purported to be an instrument for poverty eradication, although at best the aim is to do away with up to half of some limited forms of poverty before 2015 (see Chapter II.3). The word 'eradication' is used as a political instrument. It conveys power, determination and moral responsibility. Mafeje, a central African scholar, sees the concepts of 'poverty alleviation' and 'poverty reduction' as "a rationalization for the adoption of ameliorative policies by the developed countries ---- (and as) a perverse reaction because it evades the problem of uneven development among nations and within nations". He also strongly defends the use of eradication of poverty as a scientific concept (2001:19).

When concepts that are meaningful to the researchers are fed back to people, poor or not, they may not be meaningful to them at all. This does not mean the researchers have done a bad job. It is more likely that the researchers have caught only part of the reality of poverty, while the people studied want to recognise the entire reality. Alternatively, concepts are new and carry no meaning for the uninitiated. When poverty reducing measures are introduced they carry with them a vocabulary that needs interpretation in order to be understood. In countries with many languages, as for example Vietnam with more than sixty languages, it is reasonable to expect that a concept changes in content when translated, again and again into different languages, if it is translatable at all. This is a dilemma for the researcher and it becomes tempting to retreat to standard definitions of poverty. In Norway, the experience is different. The word 'fattigdom' (poverty) is used indiscriminately for all kinds of deprivation, national and international. The word 'fattigdom' does not distinguish between poor people in the South and 'poor' people in the North, although the latter can hardly be called poor by Southern standards. In the Norwegian language they are all 'fattige', whether living in a slum in a poor country with no access to health facilities, schools, clean water, work, proper food and shelter, or as a Norwegian family with access to all these facilities but with a low income that does not allow full participation in society. Different vocabularies have been tried to describe this incongruous phenomenon but so far without success. Examples of other concepts that need clarification are development versus poverty, the needs of poor nations versus the needs of poor people, and poverty eradication versus poverty reduction/alleviation. These concepts are often used as if they were interchangeable. Development research is not the same as poverty research. It has a much broader focus and to the degree that poverty reduction or the needs of poor people are taken into account, they are seen rather as results of actions directed towards development than of actions directly aimed at poverty reduction. If poverty research is the major aim different concepts and theoretical frameworks must be brought in.

The same kind of reasoning goes for the distinction between poor nations and poor populations. The analysis is different when a poor nation is the analytical unit and when a poor population is the analytical unit. Much foreign aid and many recommended aid policies do not take this distinction into account and rely on a trickle-down effect to help the poor.

Pro-poor growth is another of the many concepts that have made an impact on poverty research without having clear content (Klasen 2004). There are plenty examples of this type. The sharpening of the analytical tools is a major challenge in poverty research.

## 2. Poverty Reduction as a Goal for Poverty Research

It is legitimate and considered morally commendable for a poverty researcher to say that he or she is doing poverty research to contribute to poverty reduction. It seems to be less legitimate to make a claim for basic research and to do poverty research because it is an interesting and challenging field of study. This is an issue often brought up among poverty researchers. Poverty research has been linked to notions of moral obligation to do research that is useful and to finding the best means of reducing poverty.

While we all have our motives for what we are doing, the relevant question here is if individual motives, or the motives of those initiating or commissioning the research, have an impact on the choice of research problem, methodology, data or hypotheses.

Donors have the right to decide how the money they allocate for research should be used and who they choose to do the research. It means the donors have a direct impact on the choice of research problem. Indirectly they might have an impact also on the methodology and hypotheses raised when choosing researchers located within a certain paradigm. But do donors know best what kind of research is needed to obtain poverty reduction? Are political documents on pro-poor actions useful as guidelines for poverty research aimed at poverty reduction? Are the current discourses on poverty reduction the best indicators as to what kind of research is needed for poverty reduction? Or are they already outdated when they peak in the public arena, cf. the discussion on the MDGs?

Basic research is a prerequisite for good poverty reduction. How and when can basic research be turned into useful knowledge for poverty reduction? What are the demarcation lines between basic poverty research where knowledge is accumulated simply because it is lacking, and applied research where incomplete knowledge is turned into political interventions?

The discussion is relevant for all sciences but it takes on an extra quality in poverty research where the wrong action may be harmful to poor people.

## 3. Ethical Issues in Poverty Research

Poverty research is special in the sense that it involves research on a population that is often marginalised, vulnerable and unable to defend its own interests. One of poor peoples' avenues to visibility goes through research. That gives researchers a special responsibility, both in the behaviour vis-à-vis the individual poor persons and in the way research is undertaken and presented. When researchers are commissioned to do research for poverty reduction or evaluation of ongoing poverty reducing programmes, the results of such work might have a direct impact on the lives of poor people which makes the demands on responsibility even stronger. Responsibility is a moral issue for which guidelines are difficult to establish. But responsibility can also to be translated into the strict adherence to the same

scientific criteria as used in any other field of study. There are too many studies on poverty that do not follow ordinary scientific routines. This is probably because "common knowledge" indicates that less stringency is required to undertake arduous work in questions where the answers are already believed to be known.

In other areas of research the people being researched will often have an opinion on the research being performed and the outcome of the studies. The researchers will get feed-back on the results of their study from the people who have an interest in the outcome of the study. In general, poor people will have less social capital with which to interpret and mobilize against undesirable research and discourses defining their lives. This may be one reason why so many low quality studies have entered the field of poverty research. Another reason is the lack of expertise in judging the quality of the studies among those commissioning and using the results of the studies.

As said before, poverty research is wrapped into a moral and political field of interests vested in poverty understanding, poverty reduction and poverty production. Ethical issues are increasingly being raised, both concerning the nature of intrusion into the lives of poor individuals; how moral conceptions of poverty and the poor are formed among those who have an impact on decisions (Moore and Reis 2005); the unethical use of inadequate concepts; the critical role of the researcher when faced with inadequate paradigms for poverty reduction (Pogge 2003). A new field of development ethics sets its priorities as the recognition of value issues and critical and rational thinking about ethical alternatives in development and poverty reduction (www.development-ethics.org).

## 4. Poverty Research as a Long-term Project

Poverty research as an academic field is relatively new and few universities offer courses on multi-disciplinary theories of poverty formation and methodologies specific for poverty research. Theory building is fragmented and data are insufficient and often difficult to access. There are still enormous gaps in our knowledge about methodological and theoretical issues concerning poverty.

For those who set out to do poverty studies too few building blocks are available. The theoretical and historical base for the field has not yet been assembled and integrated, and the collection of new data is time-consuming and at times difficult to access. To establish new knowledge about poverty that is reliable and valid is a long-term project. It is also an investment in future applied research. The rapid short-term studies so often demanded by decision-makers lack basic research as a prerequisite for good poverty reduction.

Doing poverty research is also a matter of trust: trust in relation to poor people who have little reason to trust researchers coming from outside; trust in relation to authorities who are used to see poverty in the light of political and moral tensions; trust in relation to those who prefer rapid semi-research to basic poverty research; trust to obtain sensitive data. It takes a long time to establish trust in a field of research that is not really accepted yet as a trustworthy part of science.

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# IV

# Research Horizons: Poverty in Latin America[1]

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## 1. Introduction

Discussing vanguard studies of poverty in Latin America means simultaneously considering constraints a globalized economy places upon heterogeneous developing societies[2], and analyzing possibilities for reestablishing institutional mechanisms that will rebuild social bonds, permitting social integration, and social and human development; all in contexts historically characterized by high indices of poverty strongly related with social inequality, unemployment, under-employment and social exclusion.

This work intends to map areas of thematic interest, theoretical and methodological questions, and research tendencies related to the understanding of poverty on a regional level. It does not attempt an exhaustive review of the enormous array of scientific and institutional texts produced in the field; rather, it offers an outlook based on our own viewpoints.

As a starting point we assume that during the last ten years a residual[3] welfare paradigm[4], normatively impelled by multilateral agencies, has become hegemonic and that, throughout this period, both research agendas about poverty and social reforms have been dominated by said perspective. However, we will attempt to show that a counter-current of critical reaction has grown which has gradually moved toward new perspectives that have passed judgment on the conception that poverty is based on individual failure and have criticized social assistance policies based on that assumption, opening a wider field not only for future studies, but for new proposals.

Without a doubt, analyses of situations of poverty, exclusion or social disengagement are central to Latin America's political agenda. The importance of these matters has grown as social costs of the old industrialization model have been further burdened – not only by costs derived from establishment and expansion of the new growth model, but by a lack of social protection proposals compatible with citizens' rights and projecting beyond critical concerns[5].

The political agenda for the majority of the region's governments has tended toward a social reform project led by large international financial institutions[6] (IFI) operating on a regional scale. In that context, horizons for social integration have been downplayed and no attempts made for developing efficient mechanisms to redistribute the new model's economic and social costs[7].

Academic and technical discussion on this theme has tended to be dominated by criteria set forth by the *Washington Consensus*[8]. In this framework, IFI, as well as governments and experts in close agreement with such institutions, have centered their studies or actions within a theory of "minimalist" social policies and instruments of investment in human capital. (De Ferranti, 2000)

Substantive advances have been gained on various levels, such as: proposing new concepts regarding emerging social issues; improving poverty measures and including new indicators to diagnose differential states of poverty; and conducting in-depth studies of traditional social services policies which involve defining their deficiencies or inadequacies[9].

However, since the end of the decade of the 1990's, an intense conceptual debate has begun, marked by the generation of empirical data which supports not only a growing social disillusionment but the necessity of making way for new theoretical and practical approaches, capable of explaining why promises of economic growth, employment and reduction of poverty have not been met by processes of economic stabilization and adjustment nor by democratic reforms.

It should be remembered that following dictatorial periods, or those dominated by what was virtually one-party rule, Latin America has advanced notably in expanding democratic liberties (especially from a legal viewpoint), but at its heart this has generated a paradox: Latin American democracies have shown themselves to be ineffective at answering the old and ongoing social question; the persistence of poverty and serious inequality that indicate deficits of social citizenship as well as of individual entitlements to socio-economic rights in the region (see Chapter VII)[10].

Nevertheless, it is possible to distinguish some avenues taken toward new and complex research agendas which indicate construction of an alternative welfare paradigm, aspiring to serve as a conceptual and methodological platform for advancement – not only in comparative analyses capable to take in to account the acute differences between countries in the area, but for designing an economic model that pursues productive growth, compatible with expansion of formal employment and a new generation of social policies, at whose center might be found the problem of socioeconomic integration and social rights and entitlements (see Chapter VII) for the poor and excluded.

In that context, our work will address four topics:

- Dominant themes of social policy and welfare studies during the 1980s.
- Characterization of the hegemonic regional welfare paradigm, developed during the nineties[11], and its consequences for the scientific thinking about poverty and the policies developed to reduce it.
- The presentation of a wide range of studies that addresses poverty and where realized under its influence.
- The emergence of new perspectives present in various studies and documents that point toward the construction of an alternative paradigm based on the idea that poverty is systematically produced by economic structures and the idea that a more democratic and inclusive social agenda is needed in order to overcome poverty.

## 2. Studies during the Eighties: From Crisis to Adjustment

In Latin America during the fifties and sixties the CEPAL theory (Spanish acronym of the Economic Commission for Latin America) became the obligatory point of reference for all those countries which tried to industrialize by orienting themselves to the internal market (Faria 1978, Tepichín 1998, Rodríguez 1984). CEPAL addressed poverty assuming that it would gradually be resolved through societal modernization or the increasing incorporation of the poor into the system of wages and the coverage by social protection institutions.

However during the decades of the 1960's and 1970's such vision was strongly questioned, both by groups of critics within the organization itself and by theories of

dependency and marginality. The heterodox core centered its criticism in the incapacity of the import substitution industrialization (ISI) model to socially integrate the rural poor, to prevent the rise of urban poverty, unemployment and underemployment; to reduce inequality in the distribution of wealth and income, or promote social development. (CEPAL 1961: 11; Faria 1978: 22; Cardoso and Falleto 1978; Nun 1969; Quijano 1969).

When the 1980's arrived other criticisms, of orthodox market-centered perspectives, were added. Arguments against the substitution model became notably more forceful during the debt crisis, beginning in August of 1982 with Mexico's suspension of payments. Pro-market criticism directed its attacks toward macroeconomic imbalances generated by excessive State intervention, and the protectionism implicit in the substitution model; liberals especially, criticized the inflationary tax which directly affected the poor[12].

Starting in the eighties the "Washington Consensus"[13] replaced CEPAL's structuralism as a conventional frame of reference for economic and social policy studies and proposals in the region. This new consensus has had as its central purpose the construction of free market societies, open to global economic flows. In that context it has addressed not only the resolution of imbalances provoked by the old ISI model, but the recommendation for compensatory measures to attenuate the social costs of adjustment processes.

The new conception has assumed:

- That only macroeconomic balance may permit correct functioning of the market and avoid inflation.
- That the external vulnerability of Latin American economies does not derive from its subordinate position in world trade[14], nor was it the product of contradictions in underdeveloped capitalism[15]; it is rather the result of excessive protectionism characterized by the ISI model, which creates a productive sector that is neither competitive nor profitable, nor capable of achieving the generation of sufficient and sustainable reserves.
- That said reserves may only be obtained through exports and not through external debt. (World Bank 1988, Kerner 2000, Williamson 1990).

These criteria became the backdrop for the majority of social policy studies in Latin America. Thus, works were undertaken from the beginning to explore the financial processes which gave rise to the 1982 crisis, with others attempting to explain and resolve it. Among those first studies, the most significant analyze debt processes which increased the regional economies' structural weaknesses during the 1970's[16], and led to the phenomenon of "debt autonomization"[17] (Ros 1987; Whitehead 1979; Fishlow 1991; Thorp 1991; Devlin y Ffrench Davis 1995; and Thorp 1998).

For their part, the second group of studies adopted a perspective which reacted critically to the strategy of industrialization via import substitution followed by most of the countries in the region, intellectually influenced by structural approaches of the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL). In this area, the most influential points of view were presented in official World Bank documents and in publications by the Washington Consensus' principal authors, underlining the exhaustion of the strategy based upon internal market expansion, and the failures of nationalist and populist regimes[18] (World Bank 1990, 1994, 1995, 1997, Edwards 1995, Williamson 1990).

Still, it would be an error to consider that this orientation, present in many works by scholars linked to various international agencies, was passively accepted by Latin American intellectuals, who in general recognized the need for adjustment processes but reserved

criticism of their implementation. In this area there exist abundant examples, among which are studies done by Urrutia (1993), Fernández (1996), Ffrench Davis (1996), Thorp (1998) and a long list of others .

We might remind ourselves that during those years intense processes of political liberalization and democratization were occurring, protagonized by numerous social movements. In some countries like Brazil that context gave rise to a group of studies on equal rights and access to citizenship that defied the orthodoxy of multilateral agencies, proposing new directives for adjustment policies (Calderón 1997, 1999; Ivo 2001).

## 3. Structuring a Residual Welfare Paradigm

As the nineties began, the topics of persistence and even exacerbation of old problems of poverty, social inequality and exclusion resulting from stabilization and structural adjustment policies, obliged the international financial agencies themselves to recognize the necessity of confronting them through social reform. This readjustment led to the progressive constitution of a new social welfare paradigm, connected with the Washington Consensus, impelled by the World Bank (WB) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and enthusiastically approved, though in different ways, by many governments[19].

It could be said that the end of the regional attempt to achieve a national form of modernization[20], also marking the decadence of the distributive coalition which sustained an industrialization project founded in the internal market[21], unleashed a crisis for the old Latin American welfare paradigm[22], whose coordinates were formal employment and social security (Barba 2003).

As a result of the external public debt crisis and the necessity for Latin American countries to reopen financial flows by renegotiating new payment conditions with their creditors, the region's nation states weakened and it became virtually impossible to maintain social policies based on a growing fiscal and budgetary deficit.

In the new setting, international financial institutions were transformed into the principal actors for charting and negotiating a new regional social agenda[23]. That has not meant, however, that nation states have been incapable of proposing alternatives or of negotiating limits to adjustment processes[24].

In stabilization and adjustment, work was divided between the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the IDB. The first has been principally involved with economic stabilization and the second and third have so focused on structural adjustment for the middle- and long-term (Román 1999), as to suggest, induce and negotiate the new social agenda, which has eventually crystallized into a residual paradigm for regional welfare[25] (Barba 2003).

In the first generations of structural adjustment policies, reform for social policies was not considered central; they were conceived only as compensatory mechanisms to soften the costs of adjustments. Later, in the 1990's, it was especially the World Bank which developed theoretical schema for integral reform of social policies, with an orthodox and "rigorous" stance. From this viewpoint, social policy "is based upon minimalist principles" and the State's function is only "to complement the markets", concentrating its response to social risks in facilitating market security or self-protection of individuals and homes (De Ferranti, 2000: 46).

In the new paradigm the Nation State has stopped being the only line for demarcation of welfare options, international financial institutions have become crucial actors in the

design, financing and evaluation of social programs and policies (Barba 2003). Such paradigm also distinguishes by its respect for the free workings of the market, and for attributing to it the main role in production and distribution of social welfare, which conferred it a residual status – clearly expressed in its tendency to consider economic growth as a fundamental mechanism for reducing poverty.

This status is confirmed by:

a) The new role attributed to the State as *guarantor* of macroeconomic stability, which has subordinated social policy to fiscal and budgetary discipline.
b) The fact that extremely poor and vulnerable individuals are now considered as basic social references of social policy, displacing formal workers organized in unions[26].
c) The tendency to reduce "social issues" to problems of extreme poverty and social vulnerability[27], leaving the construction of social citizenship aside[28].

# 4. Studies under the Residual Paradigm

Under the umbrella of this new paradigm, the mainstream of studies on poverty and social policy at a regional level, basing themselves on the normative suppositions of international financial institutions, have grouped themselves around two major topics:

- On the one hand, the establishment of a new regional social reform agenda.
- And on the other, evaluation of compliance by various Latin American governments.

Still, this does not deny that a critical reaction has arisen to newly proposed institutional devices, and to conceptual reaches for the residual regionalized paradigm[29].

## 4.1 The Residual Social Agenda

In this sphere and from a normative viewpoint[30], one touchstone has been world development reports published by the World Bank, particularly since 1990, which for the first time made poverty and strategies for overcoming it, firm priorities for this financial institution.

Later reports gave the center of attention to different topics, such as: the problem of governability for adjustment processes[31]; the need for reforming social security institutions to raise levels of internal savings; the need for making labor markets more flexible; the demands for diminishing social inequality, recognized as tending to limit economic growth; and the commitment to achieve sustained growth in order to reduce social vulnerability (World Bank 1990, 1993, 1993 a, 1993 b, 1994, 1995, 1997 y 2001).

The central stance in these documents has been, of course, to give economic growth a crucial role in reducing poverty, seeing it as the generator of opportunities for individual incorporation into the market[32]. This point of view has been accompanied by reduction of state responsibility and the opening to a new role for civil society organizations (Ivo 2001, 2003).

This focus has crystallized in a series of recommendations to Latin American governments:

- To target public action upon the poorest individuals[33].
- To decentralize health and education services.
- To invest in human capital and social infrastructure.
- To underscore the vulnerability of the poor to economic cycles and give a central role to the endowment of assets for protecting them in times of crisis.

- To guard against volatility with countercyclical macroeconomic policies, especially with savings during growth periods.

The IDB has joined the World Bank in emphasizing the need for Latin America to undertake privatization of public assets as well as trade, fiscal and financial reforms, and reforms to social security and labor market systems, in order to favor market rationality and resource allocation. In the same manner it has promoted decentralization of social services, targeting programs directed to the poorest, and creation of social investment funds (IDB 1996; 1997; IDB/UNDP 1993).

The IDB has also assumed that the key for reducing poverty is economic growth, but greater sensitivity has been shown to the differential impact of distinct growth styles upon employment, equality and poverty, thus highlighting times when this is obtained through an intensive use of unskilled labor[34] (IDB 1997). A fundamental contribution to the residual paradigm is the recommendation for creation of minimal countercyclical safety nets, in order to confront vulnerability in those existing above the extreme poverty line (IDB 2000). Such recommendation was later accepted by the World Bank (World Bank 2001).

## 4.2 The Study of Unfolding Social Reform

### *4.2.1 During the first half of the 1990's*

In accordance with data contributed by the Economic Commission for Latin America, and Latin American Sustainable Development Center (CEPAL-CLADES are their respective Spanish acronyms)[35] (1995), it appears evident that during those years studies of poverty and social policy were clearly marked by proposals from the aforementioned international financial agencies.

Innumerable works tended to focus on just a few countries,[36] and on four main themes, each of which addresses specific problems:

- The first continued works begun in the 1980's, referring to *social adjustment costs*[37].
- The second, even more important and central, related to the *problem of rising poverty* on a regional level[38].
- The third referred to the topic of *employment*[39].
- The fourth directed itself to the study of performing *social services* in the context of the crisis and adjustment and of decentralization proposals[40] (CEPAL-CLADES 1995).

### *4.2.2 During the second half of the 1990's*

According with the above tendencies, many books and chapters were published by authors recognized as having great academic prestige or as being international advisors. These publications related clearly with earlier-noted agendas of adjustment and social reform, but were generally characterized by their attempts to adapt, measure, evaluate and critique the Washington Consensus.

Among the predominant topics in those works, addressed from different theoretical perspectives, the first to stand out were analyses of the effects of stabilization and adjustment or the new economic model for income distribution, poverty and employment in Latin America[41].

Secondly, particular studies of social policies and programs for reducing poverty[42]; regional evaluations and comparisons of the evolution of social spending [43]; documents and

works on the targeting of social programs and decentralization of social services[44]; specific works and evaluations of social investment funding, workfare programs and social protection nets[45]; comparative studies of social policies[46]; comparative studies of social security reforms[47]; and approaches to the need for active social policies in the context of adjustment processes[48].

A notable quantity of texts has also been produced on specific programs for combating poverty; one relevant example is the case of the Mexican program christened as "Progresa" (Progress), a Spanish acronym for Educational, Health and Nutrition Program, later known as "Oportunidades" (Opportunities), which was distinguished for having been presented as a paradigmatic innovation at the regional level as it made more technical[49] and indirect the targeting process and was explicitly based in the theory of human capital[50].

The great critical richness of works on the course of social reform processes proposed by the World Bank and IDB permitted the rise of an ever-larger body of studies which tended to disengage from the mainstream: these could be considered as emergent initiators of alternative approaches.

## 5. Opening of the Multiparadigmatic Phase

Review of the most recent regional data[51] on performance of Latin American economies throughout the decade of the nineties permits an understanding of the intense search for conceptual alternatives that have unfolded in recent years, giving way to an intense polemic in the region. It is increasingly clearer that poverty reduction and social inclusion are immersed in a problematic context of democratic advancement, structural reform of the economy and reduction of the State's intervention capacities.

This search has coincided with a change in ways of observing the social question at an international level[52] which offers a deeper understanding of the challenges which should be taken in to account in constructing a new agenda, and concrete strategies for confronting them. In Latin America some important challenges are:

- To move social policies forward, going beyond the idea of poverty based on individual failure, and beyond the conception that the role of the state is barely to invest in human capital, and to reallocate resources for the poorest in order to allow them to take advantage of the opportunities that the free market offers.
- To rebuild social protection systems based on the principle of public institutionalized responsibility, capable of developing universal policies[53] which could be reinforced instead of replaced by targeting ones[54], and oriented toward the construction of social citizenship, social rights and individual entitlements for the poor, instead of strategic assistance for specific groups situated under the poverty lines[55].

It is clearer now that adjustment processes and the economistic paradigm, which considers economic growth and the free market as having the central role in generating social welfare, are closely connected with deepening inequality, exacerbation of poverty, exclusion and social vulnerability. Countless debates have arisen which underscore the limited and exclusionary character of said model[56] (Ivo 2003 a, 2004, 2004 a).

In this context, social issues have been relocated within the contexts of economic, social and human development, placing at the center of international intellectual and political debate such important topics as: distribution of economic and social losses and gains produced by globalization; persistence of extreme poverty; growing unemployment and international migration; persistence of severe inequalities in the distribution of income and

wealth; the lasting nature of gender inequality; accentuation of social risks for poor youth and women; the increase of crime and violence; discrimination against racial or ethnic minorities; the inapplicability of citizens' rights to the poor, and the great challenges involved in achieving sustainable development[57].

These impulses, together with the generation of key social indicators and the evaluation of multiple national experiences, have nourished studies in Latin America which assume social welfare as the product of a complex interaction between the market, social policies, family and community strategies, and which question the intent to approach our region as a single entity. They have likewise influenced the outlooks of those questioning the supposition that economic growth *per se* is a panacea for resolving poverty and inequality, and the focus of those who do not accept that the only way open for facing social problems is to reform social policies based in the residual paradigm.

On a regional scale, more and more arguments have arisen arguing that is necessary to go beyond the limited strategies and objectives for reducing poverty and seeking sustainable economic growth proposed by international financial institutions[58]. Such arguments recommend instead connecting poverty to different class of objectives such as attainment of full social development or consolidation of citizenship and social, economic and cultural rights for the poor, as well as the widening of democratic relations.

In that sense, an evident challenge has been to go beyond the tendency to consider poverty reduction and economic growth as existing in different spheres from citizenship and social, economic and cultural rights; redefining poverty as a problem with political, cultural and legal dimensions (Barba 2003; Ivo 2003, 2004; Sojo 2003).

### 5.1 New Perspectives

Despite years of stagnation in the face of the World Bank's hegemony, the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) has managed to recover an important role in the opening of alternative approaches to social issues on a regional level.

Notable are the proposal for a "productive transformation with equity", at whose core is the idea of the quality of growth, and the rejection of separating social policy from economic policy (CEPAL 1990, 1992, 1997, 1997 a, 2000). A work entitled *Equity, Development and Citizenship* (CEPAL 2000) insists that it is indispensable for the region to universally promote economic, social and cultural rights (known by the Spanish acronym DESC), which place the gradual construction of social citizenship on the core of an alternative social agenda, and breaks with the opposition between universality and targeting[59] (CEPAL 2000).

On the other hand, many authors[60] have used various forums to sustain the necessity of recognizing that "social issues should be at the center and not on the periphery of the development discussion" [61] and that processes of integration and social welfare may only be reached by adding to governmental capacity[62], with market performance[63]; and with the solidarity potential of social capital[64] (i.e. Barba 2005 a; Ivo 2003, Sojo 2003). This focus has outlined the central topic of social development as being a fundamental component of economic development and has led to the proposal of social policy alternatives (i.e. Sojo, ed., 2002; Franco and Sáiz 2001; Franco 2002).

This return of social as a central issue that must not be reduced to poverty has been accompanied by an opening of research which extends beyond the parameters established by the residual paradigm[65]. Among others, there have been economic and social history studies

throughout the region (Thorp 1998) and historical studies of social policy in specific countries such as Mexico (Barba 2003, 2004 a, 2005 b; Ordoñez 2002). There have also been attempts at systematizing the social policy paradigms which have prevailed in Latin America (Barba 2002, 2003; Ivo 2003; Fleury 2004; Franco 1996; Raczynski 1999; Salama 1999, Valencia 2000).

In the same vein are articles and books published by various authors who address the problem of lacking of human, economic, social and cultural rights, and the necessity of constructing social citizenship in the region. A need has been stated for revising the meaning of this concept for Latin America, where the sequence of implementation and exercise of civil, political and social rights has not followed the pattern which Marshall assumed as universal. At any rate it has been assumed that citizenship indicates advances in the recognition of "others", *particularly the poor*, as subjects with valid interests, pertinent values and legitimate demands, translating into social and political integration processes which rest on more equitable economic strategies, capable of incorporating the whole of society at the dynamics of economic growth (Calderón 1999; Duhau 1997; Fleury 2004; Gacitúa and Davis 2001; García Canclini 1995; Hopenhaynd 2001; Lautier 2001; Pérez 1997; Perry 2001; Sojo 2001, 2002 a, 2003; Sojo ed., 2002; Sojo and Pérez 2002; and Ziccardi 2001).

These studies of social citizenship are closely related to the argument over citizens' participation in social policies, incorporation of civil societal organizations and the close relationship between democratization, emergence of active social actors and the enforcement of economic, social and cultural rights. Some analyses have highlighted the incorporation of civic participation and of civil societal organizations as a mechanism for reducing the State; others, contrarily, place civic activism or building social subjects in relation to public institutions that have to be consolidated (Canto, 2002; Dagnino, 2002; Ivo, 2004; Jarquin and Caldera, 2000; Telles 2001; Ziccardi, 2004).

These approaches link with studies of the various types of social exclusion prevailing in the region and their historical interaction with different growth models which have been adopted during different moments. Particularly important is the affirmation by authors such as Rolando Franco (2002) or Figueroa (2001) that universalistic policies in Latin America have been traditionally exclusionary for groups with the least income and those with indigenous blood or African heritage, and that positive discrimination or affirmative action are required to overcome such exclusion[66]. This may simply imply that targeting can serve as an instrument for reaching universal coverage, (Franco 2002, Gacitúa and Sojo 2000; Sojo 2003) although we may not ignore criticisms by those who question the redistributive capacity of targeted policies when they do not contribute to creating citizenship but to establishing new client-based or populist patterns, or contribute to maintain states that lack citizen input (Barba and Pozos 2003, 2004; Calderón 1997; Fleury 1997, 1999, 2004; Ivo 2001, 2003) (see Chapter IX).

Another emerging theme is transnationalization of social policy and its domestic mediation. In this area, the discussion of social reforms, as proposed by the World Bank and IDB, and their differential effects for the diverse types of welfare regimes historically constructed in the region is very important (Barba 2003, 2004 a, 2005 b, 2005 c; Filgueira 1997; Huber 2004; Lerner 1996; Vilas 1996). This theme is intimately connected with the construction of typologies and the proposal for methodologies to analyze regional-level policies, as well as for the realization of comparative analyses of social reform process in general, or pension system reform in particular, among the region's different countries; and between Latin America and other regions on the planet (Barba 2003, 2004 a, 2005 b, 2005 c ; Cruz Saco and Mesa Lago 1998; Filgueira 1997; Fleury 1997, 1999; Lautier 2001; Mesa Lago 2001; Valencia 2002).

## 5.2 Poverty: New Viewpoints

### *5.2.1 Fine-tuning the Residual Paradigm*

Given poverty's persistence, normative frameworks proposed by international financial institutions have undergone important modifications in order to assimilate the phenomenon's growing complexity. The most important change has been the tendency to incorporate elements which give flexibility to the economicism and reductionism which continue as the paradigm's nuclei.

The intent has been to go beyond the dimension of insufficient income levels, incorporating key variables such as capacities deprivation (Sen 2000) which underline the necessity of supporting the poor with satisfaction of their basic needs (education, health, nutrition) in their transformation into active subjects. As is well known, this viewpoint crystallizes around the perspective of human development[67] promoted by the UNDP starting in the nineties[68].

In this context, there is growing emphasis on the central role of the poor's economic, social and cultural "assets" which permit them to confront constant economic crises, natural and family catastrophes; as well as to fortify their social integration, through utilization of self-organized capacities for entering the market and becoming citizen-consumers (World Bank 2001; Schteingart 1997; Moser 1996; Salazar 1998).

Research projects have even been undertaken in order to recover the poor's voice, to grasp what poverty means to the poor themselves; considering them as subjects capable of communicating the experience of poverty[69] (Narayan and Petesch 2001, 2002). Simultaneously with this perspective, many authors have concluded that social capital, confidence and solidarity networks positively and significantly influence economic and social development, as well as equity and democracy (Baas 1997, Bullen and Onyx 1998, Kliksberg and Tomassini 2000).

Another topic that has been widely addressed is that of governance, a dimension which reinforces the need to develop intermediary mechanisms between civil society and the State, for encouraging social participation, political decentralization and ways of achieving "good government" (which takes transparency, combating corruption, efficiency and competition as the state's imperatives) (Osmond 1998).

Finally, it is important to mention gender studies that addressed the feminization of poverty, arguing that households headed by women are more likely to be poor than those headed by men[70] (Leon and Parker 2000, López y Salles 2000).

In summary, we may speak of the paradigmatic fine-tuning that favors social redesign from a liberal perspective, and expresses the need to surpass the purely economistic focus on poverty.

### *5.2.2 Criticism of Adaptations*

However, even this attenuated version of the residual paradigm has been criticized by a large number of the region's authors; because it preserves the idea of poverty as a phenomenon fundamentally imputable to individual conditions, as well as for the normative and diffuse character of concepts constructed to consider non-economic aspects of poverty.

Some criticisms have been made of notions such as "governance" and "social capital". It has been said, for example, that both perspective make an abstraction of the historic and

sociocultural conditions by which actors develop their practices and strategies, obscuring dimensions like social conflict, and contradictions of the dominant distributive model (Melo 1995, Ivo 2001).

The critics of social capital perspective argue that frequently those who use such category fail to consider unequal distribution of social assets and some of the negative effects of social capital, such as utilization of confidence networks to benefit criminal groups, and they also argue that blindness may lead to a romantic communitarian perspective (Arriagada 2003, Salazar 1998, Ivo 2001).

Similarly, concrete studies of local governance have shown limits to the decentralization process, institutional fragility in the local sphere, and the nature of the prevailing political culture. One underlying hypothesis is that the characteristics of relationships between State and society are not founded only in formal terms: the efficiency of policies, particularly social policies, rests in good measure upon the political capacities of social actors and upon practices inherited from previous institutions (Arrecht 1996; Boschi 1999; Ivo 1997, 2003 a; Lavinas 1998; Souza 1997 a).

Criticisms have also approached one of the core elements of the residual paradigm: targeting. They address the redistributive insufficiencies of targeted social policies, especially when these are not linked to goals for universalized social rights; as well as their implied depoliticization, segmentation and mediatization of distributive conflict processes (Valencia *et al* 2000).

It is also argued that within the scope of dual welfare regimes the accent on targeting policies, some of them directed at those long-excluded, may provoke greater social fragmentation: attributable as much to simple "errors of exclusion" due to program design, as to political decisions or budgetary restraints. These "errors" lead to the formation of exclusionary pockets, which Lautier says produces a kind of "no man's land" (Barba 2000, 2003, 2004; Boltvinik and Cortés 2000; Filgueira 2000; Lautier 2001; UNDP 2004; Raczynski 1995; Valencia, 2000).

### *5.2.3 Alternative Approaches*

An increasingly large group of Latin American authors recognizes that poverty is not only a state of deprivation motivated by difficult access to income opportunities, but a result of structural wealth- and income-distribution patterns. This has led to consideration of those individuals traditionally excluded from the labor market, along with those who face precarious employment situations and low wages because of informality, under-employment and unemployment. Which brings up a very important theme: in many cases formal jobs, especially when they are unskilled, are not a sufficient guarantee for overcoming poverty (Barba 2003 a; Barba and Pozos 2005; Figueroa 1996; Franco and Di Filipo1998; Pozos 2003; Reynolds 1996; Román 2003; Rosenthal 1996; Salama 1999, 2004).

In this area, analyses of poverty and inequality have tended to incorporate various categories which take into account the structural bases for poverty and inequality in the region, such as:

- *Structural poverty* associated with the failure of old social protection models[71] and political, social and cultural factors unique to the history of each society, which continues to make difficult economic modernization compatible with greater equity and social democracy (Barba 2003, Diniz 1997, Fleury 1998, Ivo 2002, Lautier 2001, Nunes 1997, Sojo 2001);

- *The new poor*, a concept again addressed in Latin America and particularly in Argentina, to refer to impoverishment of large sectors of the middle class; a product of the employment crisis created by the new regional economic model, which translates into loss of income and social security coverage (Caputo 2004).
- *Social and labor exclusion*, concepts which now not only allude to old cultural and political tendencies associated with authoritarian regimes and development models predominant in the seventies[72], but to the fact that exclusionary tendencies still tend to predominate in the region, affecting those who might join the workforce because of the formal employment crisis[73], the emergence of structural unemployment[74], and the persistence of an economy of poverty (Sojo y Pérez 2002).
- *Impoverishment*, a concept which notes the need to overcome the static effect generated by excessive emphasis on studies of poverty-line measurements, bringing the procedural dynamic; and the region's economic volatility, which has forced countless households into conditions of severe vulnerability – slipping in and out of poverty at frequent intervals –, into the concept of poverty itself (Salama, 1999, Toye, 2004; Valencia, 2003).

There have also arisen proposals which tend to highlight the possibilities of mobilization for political and social agents, and legitimization of political action in microsocial spheres, taking as their starting point the idea of solidarity, which may serve as a basis for a new political culture (Draibe 1994, Eguia 2004, López and Salles 2000).

Similarly, there are notable works directed toward analyzing the formation and reach of public arenas such as citizens' councils and local development, studies on the role of the third sector in implementing projects, and so on (Landim 1999; Jacobi 2000, Ziccardi 1995, 2001, 2004).

In this area, a series of studies stands out which explores existing relations between poverty and citizenship, both from the perspective of social movements and civic participation in social policy, and from that of social rights and the dilemmas that the civic relationship and poverty imply for building democracy in the region (Doimo 1995; Ferreira 1999; Jacobi 2000; Gohn 1995, 2000; Jelin 1994; Sherer-Warren 1993, 1999, 2000, 2003; Telles 2001; Teixeira 2001; Ziccardi 2001, 2004).

However, from a theoretical viewpoint, in accordance with Chanial (1996, 2004), the new social question supposes a choice between three different paradigms: the contractual, formulated by Rosanvallon (2000), which places the right to work as a central and fundamental mechanism for social and wage-earning integration; the paradigm of rights defended by Ferry (1995, 1996), among others; and the third, that of unconditional and civic assistance, unconnected to labor activity[75] (Caillé 1987, 1992, 2000).

In Latin America this area has just begun to be investigated, particularly around two themes: the economy of solidarity (Singer 1997, 2002), and unconditional income-transfer programs. (DFID 2003) In both cases there are underlying criticisms: for the first it has been shown that supporting these kinds of small economic activities is risky in social terms, because for one thing, they may mask the transfer of business risk to workers. (Lo Vuolo 2001) They may also ignore the fact that, regionally, differences between micro and small business and self-employment are very subtle. In the second instance it has been demonstrated (Théret 1994) that to the degree that these programs avoid discussing causes of unemployment and social exclusion, they may end up assuming neoliberal presuppositions to create fictional rights.

## 6. Towards a New Generation of Studies

Beyond the definite advances registered in the social agency realm, which must no doubt be taken to deeper levels, it is clear that structural problems exist which may not be solved solely at the level of basic solidarity or micro projects. That means that it is necessary to go beyond the micro social perspectives and individualistic theories, towards macro social perspectives based on structural approaches.

Any attempt to deepen studies about poverty should be based on a broad assumption: poverty is such a complex phenomenon that it must to be studied from a interdisciplinary perspective and constructed as a scientific multidimensional object. Certainly, it doesn't implies that all dimensions should or could be studied at the same time, but that it is necessary to consider procesual aspects, to rebuilt historical trajectories, to determine how different dimension relate to each other, developing different theoretical and methodological approaches to generate empirical data about qualitative an quantitative aspects, constructing concepts to address structural aspects, agency, institutional factors, types of policies, poverty paradigms, etc.

We should underscore multidimensional approaches which address poverty by linking the economic, political and social spheres; as well as comparative perspectives based on the study of local, national and global interrelationships. These may aid in understanding regional heterogeneity, which both demands and permits distinct social agendas for Latin America's different types of welfare regimes (e.g. Astorga y FitGerald 1998; Barba 2003; Filgueira 2000; Sojo 2003).

What is also required is construction of universal sustainable social policies with greater links to economic policy and the general role of the State; at whose heart should be not only the problem of creating quality jobs and wide-ranging income opportunities, but the further edification of social rights, entitlements and citizenship for the poor. This is surely a subject to be further explored.

We need to highlight the impact of process of exclusion from formal quality jobs and from social protection over poverty; also it requires developing methodological mechanism to address qualitative aspects, as well as new theories and methodologies for thinking and measuring poverty based on dynamic approaches.

Also needed are historical studies which permit reconstruction of the genesis of social questions and their relation to various dominant ideas of poverty in Latin American societies. Long-range studies will be required which analyze historical practices and perceptions for confronting poverty, in the manner of Castel (1995), or Geremek (1998). In Mexico and other parts of Latin America, some researchers have taken the initial steps in undertaking this task (Barba 2003: T.III; González Navarro 1985; Thorp 1998; Ordoñez 2002).

Qualitative perspectives which study changes in households throughout Latin America, and their relationship with productive practices and survival strategies, will also be required; as well as studies of social representations of poverty and inequality, and social practices related with these themes.

Also needed are studies of aging and the vulnerability of homes with elderly residents; studies of household vulnerability in general and in households headed by women. Institutional studies are wanted, to analyze construction of welfare agencies from startup through incorporation or coverage, and the standards and mechanisms of inclusion and

exclusion for assistance; as well as studies of institutional continuities and discontinuities, in the framework of residual conceptual hegemony.

There should be systemic approaches as well, which analyze the hybridization of universal models with targeting strategies, market economies with non-market-based practices. Or studies which examine transitional processes for one paradigm's dominion over another, and analyze its hold on institutions. Interdisciplinary approaches are also required, to go deeper into the relationship between inequality, employment and poverty in different types of regional welfare regimes.

We might recall that in recent decades the region has securely stood as the zone with greatest inequality in the world. This demands elucidation. What is the threshold for tolerance or acceptance of inequality, misery and poverty in Latin American societies? How to incorporate this sociocultural element into actions for overcoming poverty?

Finally, an extremely important topic is the construction of social and political coalitions to promote a more democratic and social agenda, and to lend historical supports to new universalistic welfare paradigms at a regional level.

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## Notes

[1] This work has taken as its starting point work conducted by Barba (2004)

[2] From a social perspective we can talk of the existence of disparate realities in Latin America, which produced the creation of three types of welfare regimes during the industrialization by substitution of imports phase (1950-1982): the universalistic, the dual and the excluding regimes. The first one, developed in Uruguay, Chile, Argentina and Costa Rica, presents important inequities from the point of view of the social protection it offers, but it covers nearly the entire population in terms of basic education, health care and social insurance, it could therefore be described as a sort of "Modest Welfare State". The second one was developed in countries such as Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Brazil, and is defined by the fact that primary education and certain types of health care (particularly first level services) is in the process of universalization, whereas as secondary and higher education, social insurance and other benefits accrue only to the modern, formal urban sectors of the population, while the rest of society is excluded (particularly peasants, and workers of the informal sector), so this regime can be considered as an "Incomplete Conservative Welfare State". Finally, the excluding regimes prevails in Central America, with the exception of Costa Rica and Panama, as well as in southern countries such a Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. They are characterized by the existence of precarious, fragmented and excluding social services systems, which can be considered as "States of Social Unease" (Barba 2003).

[3] According to Esping-Andersen (1990) there are three types of welfare regime; the *liberal* or *residual*, the *conservative* or *corporative*, and the *institutional* or *sociodemocratic*. The *liberal* or *residual* regime, based on the historical experiences of countries as the United States, Australia, Canada or New Zealand and later the United Kingdom, assumes that the majority of the population may contract for its own social security and thus the State should only support that residual group of persons who are incapable of watching out for their own welfare, that is, the very poorest (Esping-Andersen 1990: 26).

[4] *Welfare paradigms* can be seen as basic opposing images over welfare and poverty shared by or refused by communities of social scientists, as well as by social agencies and institutions, national and international actors, and elites of technocrats and politicians, that define which social issues to address, which questions must be answered, which theories and methodologies should be used to answer them, as well as which rules must be followed to establish the parameters for decision making and for designing social policies (Barba 2003).

[5] The protectionist experience left an unfavorable social balance, as is well-known, given that welfare was distributed in a highly unequal manner in a large proportion of the continent's countries, but the current model is

not redeeming the historic social debt. On the contrary, available data shows greater deterioration in the population's quality of life, particularly in traditionally excluded sectors and those considered as vulnerable (CLACSO 2003).

[6] Such as the World Bank (WB), the Inter American Development Bank (IDB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

[7] To conceive of "civil society" as a panacea for solving serious problems of social and economic exclusion in the region has resulted in a politically profitable discursive strategy, committed only to uniting "good intentions". Similarly, the transfer of responsibilities and functions to local governments has not been accompanied by the granting of greater resources – financial and human – which would permit them to undertake effective local social action, capable of lowering the high poverty indices recorded in our countries (CLACSO 2003).

[8] The Washington Consensus was built during the eighties by international financial institutions (WB, IMF, IDB), the legislative and executive powers of the United States of America, financial investors, high-level government functionaries (particularly finance ministers) of Latin American counties, and international advisors (such as Jeffrey Sachs, Sebastian Edwards and John Williamson). Williamson originally coined the phrase in 1990 "to refer to the lowest common denominator of policy advice being addressed by the Washington-based institutions to Latin American countries as of 1989" (Williamson 2000) These policies were: (1) fiscal discipline, (2) a redirection of public expenditure priorities toward fields offering both high economic returns and the potential to improve income distribution, such as primary health care, primary education and infrastructure, (3) tax reform (to lower marginal rates and broaden the tax base), (4) interest rate liberalization, (5) a competitive exchange rate, (6) trade liberalization, (7) liberalization of inflows of foreign direct investment, (8) privatization, (9) deregulation (to abolish barriers to entry and exit), (10) secure property rights (Williamson 1990).

[9] These advances have emerged in a way that is generally unarticulated. On the one hand, new conceptualizations of old and new social problems have generally set aside the methodological efforts which would offer empirical support. On the other, an "arsenal of indicators" has been constructed which is presented as expert discourse, with few theoretical references. This panorama becomes that much more serious when we analyze the utilization of multiple social services diagnostics, concerned only with the area of reference (education or health) and ignoring abovementioned advances made in thematic fields (CLACSO 2003).

[10] A symbol of this disillusion is represented in the recent UNDP report, 2004, which incorporates Guillermo O'Donnell's theoretical reflection on democracy (UNDP 2004).

[11] Located under the umbrella of the Washington Consensus.

[12]An ample theoretical genealogy for these discussions of poverty may be seen in Tepichín (1998), with another briefer version in Barba and Valencia (1997).

[13] This consensus was already explained in note 7.

[14] As set forth by CEPAL.

[15] As propounded by dependence and marginality theories.

[16] Said studies revealed that during those years many Latin American economies opted to take on debt instead of making fiscal reforms, encouraging internal savings or heeding warnings by various economists on the imminence of serious economic problems caused by prevailing sectoral imbalances or limited market share. This type of study also explored very significant changes in the nature of the debt, which stopped being long-term and multilateral to become short-term and based in bank loans. They also indicated that use of credit was unproductive, as an important part of resources were used for imports, for financing capital flight, for pharaonic projects – poorly conceived and capital-intensive, as well as for rising participation by public sector businesses in public spending.

[17] Financial vulnerability allowed debt service to create a vicious circle, demanding more external credit simply to comply with prior commitments; debt feeding itself and generating severe social effects (Salama, 1989).

[18] According to these agencies and authors, the only open course for all Latin American countries was to take advantage of natural resources and export manufactured goods in order to find an advantageous means of entering the international market. Those analyses highlight the necessity for the State to focus itself upon creating an institutional setting favorable to the free market, which would maintain fiscal discipline, create an opening in the economy, promote foreign investment, privatize assets, deregulate markets and respect property rights in an unrestricted manner.

[19] Barba (2003) as well as Huber (2004) insist, with reason that "constellations of domestic political power had a profound moderating effect" on adoption of structural adjustment programs as well as subsequent reforms to social policy. Economic liberalizations and social policy reforms amicable to the market were not brought about in the same way, nor with the same depth, in Latin America.

[20] After the economic crisis which devastated the Southern Cone in the beginning of the 1970's and spread to the rest of Latin America following the 1982 external debt crisis.

[21] This included middle class sectors, organized workers, public employees, national and foreign industrialists, politicians and nationalist public functionaries (Barba 2003).
[22] This was made more acute by the financial crisis in the region's social security systems.
[23] Their new role derives not only from a capacity to offer "fresh" resources to debtor countries in exchange for application of adjustment policies, but in the granting of enormous accumulated technical expertise (Filgueira, 1997).
[24] In fact, Mexico's own experience indicates a great capacity for innovation, since at certain times nationally-designed social programs have been taken up by the WB and IDB as examples to follow. Such is the case with Mexican social programs like those known as "Pronasol" and "Progresa" (which is now called "Oportunidades").
[25] For its part, structural adjustment for the middle- and long-term at a regional level, with the WB and IDB in charge, reveals processes for liberalizing internal and external markets and political, labor, trade, industrial, financial sectors – and also, starting in the nineties, reforms to pension systems and the design, financing and evaluation of social programs (Barba 2003).
[26] During the age of the import substitution industrialization model (1950s-1970s), in Latin America only state workers and formal unionized workers had social security coverage, while rural population and the urban informal workers where not taken in to account by social policy, and were excluded from social citizenship (see note 27).
[27] Although until 1982 social issues used to be focused and structured around labor.
[28] Such concept was elaborated by Marshall (1950). For a discussion of its use in Latin America see: Sojo (2002, 2003).
[29] This topic will be addressed in more detail in section V, titled, "The opening of the multiparadigmatic phase".
[30] From the time of the 1982 external debt crisis, World Bank and IDB proposals have taken on a normative character because compliance with them has generally been established as a condition for access to international financial institutions in many countries' renegotiations of their external debt, or for receiving new credit from private banks (Lautier 2002).
[31]A theme established prior to the 1990's, via concepts of governance and governability. The World Bank has supported the *Global Urban Research Initiative* network, coordinated by Richard Stern of the University of Toronto, which has drawn critical reflection to those concepts, especially that of *urban governance* (Stern 1997). Two works critical of these topics were published by Anete Ivo (1999, 2001).
[32] Institutions such as the World Bank are not necessarily homogenous, though they may be distinguished by a hegemonic current.
[33] The intention was to reduce social expenditure.
[34] A report of the IDB compared two cases: Costa Rican and Brazilian. In the former, big investments where done in social sectors putting first intensive use of unskilled labor, and the outcome was an important reduction of poverty level (two thirds), at the same time the income per capita grew 70%. In the later where the strategy was based on skilled labor, growth rate was two times bigger, but poverty level only reduced 45% (IDB 1997: 3).
[35] *Thesaurus* of social issues addressed in documents published by national, regional and international organisms, as well as by individual authors.
[36] The principal countries were Chile, Argentina, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Colombia, Brazil and México (CEPAL-CLADES 1995).
[37] Shown in works whose titles treated such aspects as: the social effects of opening; the calculation and management of social debt; the costs of structural adjustment; the processes of adjustment and social development; or the impact of adjustment policies on rural poverty.
[38] Included such questions as: suitable methods for measuring total, urban and rural poverty; appropriate policies for eradicating poverty; creation of social typologies for the population in a condition of poverty; State reform to combat poverty; and social spending as a mechanism for using targeting against poverty.
[39] Aspects considered were: the impact of adjustment policies on employment and income; economic restructuring and labor markets; and links between education and formal employment.
[40] This included such issues as: evolution, coverage, efficiency and equity in the health and education sectors; creation of trustworthy social statistics; and systems of measuring the quality of services.
[41] i.e. Altimir 1995, 1998, 1999; Berrand 1998; Boltvinik 1998; Bulmer-Thomas 1997; Carvalho 2003; Cieza 1999; Contreras 1999; Cortázar 1999; Destremau and Salama 2002; Edwards 1995; Feres and Mancero 2001; FitzGerald 1997; Ganuza and Morley 1998; Golbert and Kessler 1996; Henriques 2000; Lavinas 2000; Lordoño and Székely 1997; Lustig 1997 and 2000; Morley 1995 and 2000; Núñez 1995; Ortega 2002; Rocha 1995, 1996, 2000, 2003; Salama 1999; Sunkel 1999; Tokman and O'Donnell 1999; Tokman 1997, 1999; Valladares and Coelho 1995; Vilas 1999; Weller 2000, 2000 a; Ziccardi 2001.

[42] i.e. Barba 1995, 2000; Barba and Pozos 2003, 2004; Boltvinik 1998; Colbert and Kessler 1996; Fleury 1998; Gacitúa, Sojo and Davis 2001;Hicks and Woodon 1999, 2001; Lavinas 2004; Valencia *et al* 2000.
[43] i.e. CEPAL 1992, 1997, 1999, 2001 a; Cominetti and Ruiz 1998.
[44] i.e. Arretche and Rodríguez 1998; Boschi 1999; Gropello and Cominetti 1998; Lacabana and Maingon; Lavinas 1998; Melo 1997; Raczynski 1995; Souza 1996, 1997.
[45] i.e. Gallart 2001; Lustig 1997; Ravallion 1998; Schteingart 1999; Subbarao 1997.
[46] i.e. Schteingart 1999 a; Zahler 1983 (included in this section because it escapes the dominant themes of the first half of the decade).
[47] i.e. Castiglioni 2000; Cruz-Saco and Mesa Lago 1998; González Tamez 1998; Holzman 1997; Huber and Stephens 2000; Isuani and San Martino 1998; Mesa Lago 2001.
[48] i.e. Albánez 1993 (also includes because it escapes the dominant themes of the first half of the decade).
[49] Indirect targeting is based on technical expertise. In fact the identification of beneficiaries requires developing poverty lines, profiles, measurements, etc.
[50] In Valencia, 2003, there is found a synthesis of studies and evaluations on "Progresa-Oportunidades".
[51] Said data, fundamentally generated by CEPAL, indicates that the region's countries are today, more than any other time in history, facing their greatest challenges as regards poverty, as well as rising problems of unemployment, underemployment, informal labor, inequalities and exclusions for reasons of gender and age, and public insecurity (CEPAL 2001; CEPAL/UNICEF 2001; Gacitúa, Sojo and Davis 2000; Weller 2000 and 2000a).
[52] Castel 1995; Esping-Andersen 1987, 1990, 1996, 1999; Lautier 1995, 2001, 2002; Rosanvallon 2000; Théret 1992, 1994.
[53] Particularly in those countries with sufficient national resources to guarantee the minimum requires for each inhabitant, and where poverty is therefore the result of an inadequate distribution of resources (Rocha 2003).
[54] This issue is also discussed in this text in the chapter written by Nanna Kildal.
[55] Of course that has leaded to a very interesting debate about which is the most suitable paradigm for the region: the contractual paradigm, the paradigm of rights, or the paradigm of donation. This discussion has also leaded into three proposals: the economy of solidarity (Singer 1997, 2002); unconditional income-transfer programs (see Nanna Kindals chapter), and guarantees of welfare minimums (Cepal 2000).
[56] The central nature of these roles are shown in studies and international meetings promoted by UNDP, in CEPAL reports, and also in the production of new indictors for measuring poverty, human development, etc.; which advance the concept of welfare along with ideas of equal opportunities, quality of life, and citizens' rights – especially civil, human and social (CEPAL 1990, 1992, 1997, 1997 a, 2000, 2001; PNUD 1998, 1998 a, 1999, 2004).
[57]This alternative vision has been expressed in the view of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which speaks of "globalization with a human face", demanding that policy-makers pay greater attention to violations of human rights inequalities within and between countries personal, national or regional marginalization; societal instability and the vulnerability of the poorest; destruction of the environment and of course, more attention to poverty and privation. The same classes of ideas are found in exhortations by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, which warns that faith in unregulated markets providing the best possible setting for human development has been excessive and has led to unsustainable levels of inequality and misery, demanding work toward a new equilibrium between public and private interests (UNRISD 2000).
[58] These institutions are also advisory, aid, and expert knowledge producers.
[59] Background for this new current is based primarily in the first half of the 1990's, when according to CEPAL-CLADES (1995) several countercurrents arose, such as: the study of policies directed to human development; proposals of social policy typologies; studies on social policy evolution in the context of political democratization; analyses of social policy ruptures and continuities; publication which objected to the separation of social policy from economic policy; works discussing ways of promoting economic, social and cultural rights, and monographs exploring the social policies needed to encourage environmental sustainability.
[60] i.e. Barba 2002, 2003, 2005, 2005 c; Barba and Valencia 1997; Franco and Sáinz 2001; Franco 2002; Fleury 1998; Lautier 2001; Sojo 2002 a, 2003; Stalling and Weller 2001; Sunkel 1999; Théret 1992, 1994; Ziccardi 2001.
[61]It is necessary to revise empirical evidence with this in sight, because it shows that in Latin America and the Caribbean overcoming poverty and reducing inequality will not be achieved by concerning ourselves solely with reaching sustained economic growth, as has been postulated by the World Bank's orthodox stance and defended by many national government functionaries.
[62] Through public policies, particularly social policy.
[63] Through production and distribution of wealth.

[64] To this perspective should doubtless be added the role played by different types of international agencies, not only in financing but in the production of knowledge relevant to social development.
[65] The work here presented considers itself to be part of this alternative and widening current. See also Nanna Kindals chapter in this report.
[66] In order to go deep in this issue we suggest reading the chapter written by Nanna Kindal where universalism, targeting and contribution are discussing.
[67] This also includes aspects such as: political liberties, the guarantee of human rights and opportunities for individuals and citizens to exercise creativity.
[68] In 2004, inspired by conceptual relations between development and liberty proposed by Sen, the UNDP published the report el *La democracia en América Latina. Hacia una democracia de ciudadanos y ciudadanas*, (Democracy in Latin America. Towards a democracy of men and women citizens) starting from the theoretical input of Guillermo O'Donnell. From this conception of integral citizenship, incorporating full recognition of civil, political and social citizenry, the UNDP prepared a regional balance sheet and concluded that the principal challenge for Latin American democracies was a deficit in social citizenship, with special reference made to levels of poverty and inequality. It should be remembered that Latin American societies are the most unequal in the world, and that the population of poor Latin Americans was calculated at more than 225 million people in 2003; in the region a very particular triangle, that of electoral democracies coexisting with high poverty and acute inequality, has developed (UNDP 2004).
[69] This inquiry was incorporated into the World Bank's 2000-2001 Report (2001) and among its outstanding features are: the vulnerability of the poor, their isolation when it comes to decision-making and their chronic lack of power to participate and be taken into account by public authority.
[70] However, Araceli Damián argues that, considering recent data of CEPAL, the idea that households headed by women are more vulnerable than the ones headed by men should be reconsidered (Damián 2004).
[71] Associated with the restricted character of old regional social protection systems which in many cases protected the sector of formal workers within the wage-earning regimen, reinforcing the reproductive model of the *breadwinner* (translating into a substantial gender inequality), and excluding those in the informal sector, the majority of those laboring in the agricultural sector, and the indigenous and African-American populations (Barba 2003, 2005 b; Figueroa 2001, Sojo 2001).
[72] Some Mexican and Brazilian authors stress the authoritarian, clientelist and corporative heritage in relations between State and society, as the product of a long history of slavery and *latifundio* (oppressive colonial systems) which cemented relations that were profoundly unequal, vertical and hierarchical; they also highlight the centralist, patrimonial and authoritarian nature of the populist Latin American State, which led to exclusionary social security policies (Barba 2003, 2004; Boschi 1991; Carvalho 2000; Diniz 1997; Fleury 1998; Nunes 1997; Ordoñez 2002; Reis 1995). Others underscore the long history of open or covert discrimination against most indigenous groups in the region and the social exclusion of the great mass of non-landowning rural families, many of whom may be seen as having been forced to migrate to urban centers, or to other countries. Said heritage has encouraged high regional inequality and geographic distribution of both poverty and resources (Geandreau 2001).
[73] This dimension involves precariousness of wages and labor deregulation.
[74] Borne not only of labor market adjustments but of the new economic model and its inability to generate sufficient employment (Tokman 1998; Stallings and Peres 2000; Weller 2001).
[75] The former and the later correspond to the conservative and the social democratic regimes mentioned by Esping-Andersen (1990, 1996, 1999).

# V

# Poverty Research in South Africa: 2000-2005

## Francis Wilson

## 1. Historical Context

Despite its many twentieth century faults as one of the epicenters of racist capitalism and the home, after 1948, of full-blown apartheid, South Africa had a remarkably good track record---long before Nelson Mandela became president of a democratic country---for serious research into poverty. As early as 1908 the government of the day received the Report of the Transvaal Indigency Commission which it had appointed to investigate both the causes and ways of dealing with the problem which was to plague all governments for the next century: Poverty (Wentzel 1982). But in this case, as it was responsive almost entirely to white voters, the government was concerned exclusively with white indigency: the poverty endured by whites who, pushed from the land by a variety of forces, and lacking both education and the will to acquire it seemed destined for a life of unemployment and misery. This focus on white poverty was to continue for another generation including the 1930s when with the double blows of drought and depression the work of the (first) Carnegie Commission hammered home the seriousness of the problem as it affected Whites (Grosskopf et. al. 1932). Despite its severe racial limitations the Commission made an important intellectual contribution to the understanding of poverty around the world. For the five reports---economic, psychological, educational, health and sociological— provided a holistic analysis of the problem which did not confine itself to the narrow parameters of those who tend to simplify their understanding to single dimensions.

Whites were rescued from their distress by the combination of an economy expanding rapidly under the twin forces of gold price increases and the demands of the second world war and a government increasingly determined to protect them at all costs. Indeed, one way of interpreting the policy of *apartheid* as introduced in 1948 and the decades that followed, is to see it as a highly effective an anti-poverty program….for whites only.

But even before apartheid was introduced serious work, focusing on black poverty, was being published. Perhaps the two most effective of these were W. M. MacMillan in Complex South Africa (1930) and Leo Marquard (writing then as John Burger) on The Black Man's Burden (1943). At the same time the University of Cape Town sociologist, Edward Batson, was undertaking careful statistical measures of the Poverty Datum Line as it affected those living in the slums of the city (Batson 1942), whilst a good deal of writing, lead by the South African institute of Race Relations, sought to focus on the issue (e.g. Jones and Hoernle 1942).

A new thrust emerged at the beginning of the 1980s when the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which had funded the legendary Commission into white poverty, was persuaded by a number of South Africans to support a second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development. The Inquiry ran right through the last decade of apartheid and involved some

450 active researchers. Over three hundred working papers were written and a number of books published in a process that put black poverty onto the national agenda in a way that had never happened before. But nobody foresaw that the final report (Wilson and Ramphele 1989) would be published only months before the dramatic decision to release political prisoners and to begin the public negotiations that would lead to the birth of a democratic society.

Even before the democratic government took office an ANC-COSATU delegation of politicians and trade-unionists, in a visit to Washington early in 1992, asked the World Bank to focus on poverty in its work on South Africa. This request (supported by the governments of Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway) led to a fruitful collaboration between the Bank and South African academics who undertook the first statistically rigorous, nationally sampled, integrated household survey which provided a wealth of data that was available to the new government within months of its coming to power in May, 1994 (Saldru 1994).

And the government, responding to the urgent needs of its electorate, made clear that the attack on poverty was to be its primary objective. In the years that followed, most of the research work focused on analysis of the data garnered by the Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (PSLSD). But during the 1990s the South Africans, most of whom did not have the necessary econometric skills nor mastery of the new computer-based statistical packages, lagged behind their international OECD colleagues who, making use of the democratic openness in making the data immediately available on the Web, produced a wealth of papers with invaluable insights (list available on: www.cssr.uct.ac.za/datafirst.html). But the South Africans were busy catching up and by 2000, with the generous help of colleagues, particularly at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, they had mastered the new techniques. At the same time they were developing their comparative advantage in producing interesting new data both at national (governmental) and at local (university and research institute) level.

## 2. The Past Five Years

Thus the new century began with an academic community, located not only within the universities but also in parts of government and in independent research entities, highly focused on problems of poverty and with an enviable capacity both to generate data and to analyse it. The first major book to be published (May 2000) was a collection of essays written as a report, on Poverty and Inequality, to the Office of the Deputy President. It was widely seen as the most comprehensive documentation and analysis of the problem since the Carnegie Inquiry which had been conducted during the hey-day of *apartheid.* Its commissioning in 1997 was indicative of the seriousness with which the new government, not least Thabo Mbeki—then Deputy President and soon to be President---viewed the matter and its willingness to draw the academic community into the process of thinking about strategies to deal with it.

Another measure of the fruitful collaboration between State and Ivory Tower was the joint funding by the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC) and the South African Department of Labour of a project to analyse the links between poverty and the workings of the labour market. For the South African academics involved this was not only a heady experience but a precipitous climb up a steep learning curve, none of which would have been possible before the political revolution of 1994. It started with a training workshop in Kampala, Uganda in 1997 when the South African team (who thought they knew a good deal about their own country) realized the shortcomings in the existing South African literature.

Subsequent support by African academics in the AERC, labour economists based at Cornell in the USA and collegial criticism at workshops in Accra, Cape Town and Nairobi enabled the authors to write what was immediately recognized as '*the* major reference work on labour markets, poverty and inequality in South Africa' (Bhorat et. al. 2001).

Academic mapping, analysis and strategic thinking is one thing; but effective action to change a deeply entrenched reality is quite another. And so one dimension of research in recent years has been concentrated on trying to find out the extent to which the pro-poor objectives and policies of the post-1994 government have made a difference to the lives of the 40% of the population enduring poverty. Three reports analyse the first decade of democratic governance (PCAS 2003; UNDP 2003 and Brown and Folscher 2004). Using the Economic Transformation Audit of the independent Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (Brown and Folscher available at www.transformationaudit.co.za) we find two contradictory processes to have been at work. First, after considerable effort by the national government, there is clear evidence of the roll-out of infrastructure for the provision of basic services. In the five years 1996-2001 the most dramatic change, visible all over the country at night, was the increase in the proportion of household with access to electricity for lighting from 58% to 70%. Despite strenuous efforts by the relevant Department the proportion of households with piped water (into the home, the yard or within the village) increased only from 80% to 82% with most of those without water being in deep rural areas where women continue to expend great time and energy meeting the most basic of daily needs. But whilst the government was focusing attention on the energy and water needs of the poor there were two areas where some people, at least, seem to have been moving backwards. Until the national road-audit is published there is no hard information on the country's transport system but anecdotal evidence (and personal experience) suggests that the deterioration of roads in both the commercial farming areas of the country and, even more, around the rural villages in the old (and still densely populated) Reserves or Bantustans has widened the gap between rich and poor, urban and rural in the new South Africa. It is certainly a matter which is perceived by the rural poor to be in urgent need of attention. The second area where the gap was clearly widening was in the field of employment. Using the narrow definition, and excluding all those wanting work if they had not looked for it in the four weeks prior to the interview, the rate of unemployment increased between 1995 and 2002 from 17% to 29% of the economically active population. In terms of the wider and, in many ways, more accurate definition which includes those wanting work even if they have not actively looked for it in the past week, the level of unemployment rose from 30% to 41%. For government which had worked very hard at expanding the economy and where the numbers employed had risen substantially from 9.6 million to 11.3 million this was a bitter pill to swallow but the increased joblessness arose from the fact that the economically active labour force, which is affected by the twin rates of population growth and labour force participation, grew even faster over the years 1995-2002 (Brown and Folscher 2004 p.106) not least because an increasing proportion of the population wanted to work.

A whole range of work on the problem, ranging from issues of definition and measurement to strategies for dealing with the problem has been done in recent years. The two most useful overviews are probably those by Jeff Lewis of the World Bank (Lewis 2001) and the Knight-Kingdon team in Oxford (Knight and Kingdon 2004) but a lot has been written in South Africa itself, not least about the search for solutions. However much work remains to be done about the problem which, if not solved, threatens to undermine the miraculous transformation of the past decade. For any modern society with an unemployment level of 41%---or 29% for that matter--- is simply unsustainable in the long run. The cleavages between the haves and the have-nots become too wide and deep to bridge and society loses its ability to cohere. The fact that---despite all policies to the contrary--- the Gini

coefficient, measuring the level of inequality in South Africa, rose from 0.68 in 1996 to 0.73 in 2001 (Leibbrandt et. al. 2004 p.74) is deeply worrying.

But, of course, unemployment, crucial though it is, is not the only dimension of poverty. And research during the 21st. century has focused on a whole spectrum of issues that fall within the realm of poverty analysis. How then does one keep tabs on all the work that is being done in universities and research institutes around the country? The best place to begin is with the Southern African Regional Poverty Network which was set up early in 2003 as an independently managed web-site (www.sarpn.org.za) "connecting people, ideas and information to fight poverty". The purpose of the SARPN is 'to provide a facility for raising the level and quality of public debate on poverty across the 14 countries of the Southern African Development Community.' The network is only two years old but it seems to be succeeding admirably in making readily and quickly available a wide selection of relevant documents, ranging from the speeches of Trade Unionists and Ministers of Finance to the meticulous consideration by econometricians of the reliability of the data being used for statistical analysis. The home page of the site provided a long chain of links all over the sub-continent including a special section focusing on the most recent thinking about poverty in South Africa. Elsewhere on the site it is possible to pull down, country by country, relevant articles written over the past five years.

For South Africa there are more than 100 articles listed, ranging from Michael Aliber's *Study of the incidence and nature of chronic poverty and development policy in South Africa: An overview* published in May 2001 through to the April 2005 set of speeches by President Thabo Mbeki and the General Secretaries of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and of the SACP to the annual congress of the South African Communist Party. In between, the themes covered include the role of the state in alleviating poverty with special focus on macro economic growth policy, housing, free basic services and three aspects of social security, namely pensions, the impact of the extension of the child grant and the pros and cons of introducing a Basic Income Grant. Thus, for example, Servaas van der Berg published a paper (V. d. Berg 2005) on the incidence of fiscal expenditure in South Africa, comparing the changes between 1995 and 2005. Michael Samson and others assessed (Samson 2004) the social and economic impact of South Africa's social security system whilst Francie Lund, evidence from recent studies in KwaZulu-Natal, reflected on the efficacy of social safety nets in protecting people from the consequences of unemployment (Lund 2004). David Hemson of the Human Sciences Research Council wrote about how the government might overcome the backlog in providing free basic services (Hemson 2004) whilst Helen Meintjies of the Children's Institute asked some searching questions about social security provisions for orphans in the context of the country's AIDS pandemic (Meintjies 2003). At the same time Anne Case and others used the statistical evidence from KwaZulu-Natal to analyse just how far the child support grant was reaching into households of the poor (Case et. al. 2003). And, in the stories behind the numbers, V. d. Berg and Burger (2002), investigated efforts to deliver services to South Africa's poor. One contribution to the lively debate about the wisdom or otherwise of introducing a Basic Income Grant, currently proposed, by Pieter le Roux and others, at R100 (approx. $17) per person per month for everybody, was an empirical assessment by Haroon Bhorat (2002) of its possible impact.

Further themes, amongst others, covered in the writing listed in the poverty network include the whole problem of social exclusion and chronic, or persistent, poverty with significant articles by Andries du Toit (2004) and by a powerful team of Michelle Adato, Michael Carter and Julian May (2004). The importance of food security, with an examination of key policy issues, was highlighted by Michael de Klerk (2004) whilst Charles Machethe--- drawing on field-work he and others had done in the irrigation areas of the Olifants River

Basin of Limpopo Province--- examined both the current reality and future potential of small-scale agriculture in alleviating poverty in the former apartheid 'Homelands' or 'Reserves' of South Africa (Machethe 2004).

For the traveler in cyber-space, wishing to learn more about poverty research in South Africa, the next stop after the SARPN is the CSSR: the Centre for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town (www.cssr.uct.ac.za). Established in 2001, with generous core funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and in close collaboration with the Institute of Social Research at the University of Michigan, the CSSR has been built on the solid foundations of empirical research laid at the university in the fields of anthropology, economics, sociology and other social sciences during the previous half century and more. Founded with the specific aim of fostering inter-disciplinary empirical research with a hard cutting edge of good statistical data the CSSR, with its constituent units, has rapidly established itself as a hive of intellectual activity. By the end of 2004, some 100 working papers had been published, forty of them in 2004 alone. Not all were focused on poverty but many were highly relevant and almost, though not quite, all contained rigorous econometric analysis based on new, carefully collected, data. They included an examination of financial services available to the informal sector of the South African economy (Ardington and Leibbrandt 2004), the impact of health on poverty (Godlonton and Keswell 2004), an uncovering of the links between migration, poverty and health in Cape Town (Ndegwa et. al. 2004), an examination of the contrast between policy expectations and programme reality in the field of public works and an anthropologist's re-consideration of African kinship and western nuclear family systems as embodied in modern black households in Southern Africa (Russell 2004).

And a large number of papers on HIV/AIDS. In 1986 a study of gold miners in South Africa found an overall HIV prevalence rate of 0.5%. Fifteen years later, in 2001, it was estimated to be approximately 30%. In the country as a whole, using data gathered from pregnant women attending state-funded pre-natal clinics, the prevalence rate has risen from less than 2% before 1992 to 25% in 2000 (Wilson 2001). It is now (2005) nearly one-third, 31%, and projected to remain at this level for the next five years, at least. The Actuarial Society of South Africa, led by Rob Dorrington, David Schneider and others, has been working long and hard to obtain accurate data and to make the most realistic projections of the path of the plague. The findings are to be found in the ASSA 2002 AIDS model (www.assa.org.za downloaded 27.4.2005) whence the information in the following table is gleaned. The main figures are based on the assumption of no interventions and no change in behaviour, whilst those in brackets show how the figures might be different IF certain changes, such as a doubling in the use of condoms and the phasing in of appropriate interventions to prevent mother child transmission (MCT) for an increasing proportion of the population. Where there are no brackets after the primary figures it is expected that there will be no significant change in the numbers as a result of the intervention or the change in behaviour. For further details, see the web-site.

**Table 1. HIV/AIDS in South Africa: 2000 - 2010**

| | 2000 | 2005 | 2010 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | millions | | |
| Total Population | 45.1 | 47.5 | 47.4 (47.6) |
| Total HIV Infections | 5.3 | 7.6 (7.1) | 7.3 (6.0) |
| Deaths: Non-AIDS | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| _____: AIDS | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.6 (0.7) |
| _____: Accumulated AIDS | 0.3 | 1.8 | 5.2 (5.0) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prevalence Rates: Antenatal clinics | 25% | 31% (29%) | 31% (25%) |
| _____:Total population | 12% | 16% (15%) | 15% (13%) |
| Maternal Orphans: Total | 0.5 | 1.0 | 1.8 |
| _____: AIDS | 0.1 | 0.7 | 1.5 |

From the above table something of the devastation of AIDS may be seen; a devastation which (over the next five years at least) is unlikely to be much mitigated by even substantial medical intervention and significant change in existing sexual behaviour patterns. Thus during the first decade of the new century anything between one-quarter to one-third of all pregnant mothers already are, or soon will be, infected with HIV. By 2010 the number of people who will have died of AIDS in South Africa since its arrival in the 1980s is estimated to be at least 5 million which is roughly five times as many people as died in the infamous Irish famine of the mid-nineteenth century. It is also no less than eighteen times the total number of persons (273 000) estimated to have died or gone missing as a result of the wall of water that swept through the northern coastline of the Indian ocean in December 2004 as the result of a subterranean earthquake. Overwhelming though this viral *tsunami* is not only in South Africa but in the whole sub-continental region, it is really at the micro level that it's impact is most visible: in the grave-yards all over the country where suddenly new mounds of earth and freshly painted headstones proclaim the deaths of loved ones—in row after row—aged generally between 25 and 39; in the gaunt faces of township mothers worrying how they are going to provide for their children after they are gone; in the thin and lonely bodies of children struggling to maintain a household whose parents have died.

The iron link between AIDS and poverty hardly needs to be spelt out but it is clear that for all kinds of complex social reasons the disease spreads more easily in poor communities. Moreover in South Africa there seems to be an almost symbiotic relationship between Tuberculosis---long embedded in the people by the process of mining gold---and HIV/AIDS. And it is also clear that for poor households HIV/AIDS is a further heavy burden dragging people deeper into poverty either because the breadwinner is too sick to work or dies; or because medical expenses have to be met from budgets already stretched to breaking point; or because---in the longer run---the disease effectively prevents children in poor households from going to school and aquiring the skills they need to work in a modern economy.

All of this, and much more, has been researched and analysed by scholars in South Africa, in the wider region and indeed around the world. Amongst the flurry of publications, three books stand out. Barnett and Whiteside (2002) consider AIDS in the 21st. century within the context of disease and globalization, with particular reference to Africa where Alan Whiteside pioneered research by South African economists from his base at what is now the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Catherine Campbell (2003) who was deeply involved in a state of the art intervention program amongst gold mine workers writes with compelling honesty about the apparent *failure* of the programme to have any measurable impact on the spread of the disease and Nicoli Nattrass (2004) writes about the Moral Economy of AIDS based on her work as director of the innovative AIDS & Society Research Unit (ASRU) within the CSSR at the University of Cape Town.

But it is in the shorter working papers, many of them not yet published in the refereed journals, that much of the pioneering research on poverty, not least as it interacts with AIDS, is currently appearing. Thus, for example, given that the number of maternal AIDS orphans in the country is estimated to double from 0.7 to 1.5 million over the next five years it is urgently necessary to understand what is happening if there is to be any chance of remedying at least some of the consequences of this traumatic process. The Africa Centre for Health and

Population Studies (www.africacentre.org.za) was established in deep rural northern KwaZulu-Natal, near Mtubatuba, in 2000 for precisely this purpose and has been collecting an astonishing data set by following 100 000 people in 11 000 households in the one district of Umkhanyakude which, like the rest of the country, is being ravaged by AIDS. The Centre sees itself, correctly, as having put together "Africa's most comprehensive Demographic Surveillance System" and the results of analyzing the first of the longitudinal data (gathered in 2001 and 2004) are beginning to appear. These include an examination of the impact of parental death on school enrolment and achievement (Case and Ardington 2004). What the authors find is that the death of the mother has a significant negative effect on the subsequent schooling outcomes of her children. "Maternal orphans are significantly less likely to be enrolled in school, and have completed significantly fewer years of schooling, conditional on age, than children whose mothers are alive". The death of the father, on the other hand, does not seem to affect the education of his children but it is a marker that the household is poor. Having examined the one district under the microscope, the authors go on to consider the evidence from the 2001 census for the country as a whole and find that it, "suggests that the estimated effects of maternal deaths on children's school attendance and attainment in the Africa Centre DSA reflect the reality for orphans throughout South Africa." These findings are, of course, extremely important for all those whether in government or civil society seeking to shape policies for dealing most effectively with the consequences---not least in terms of the dynamics of poverty generation---of the HIV/AIDS plague.

## 3. The Wider Region

It is not possible, of course, to consider South African society, its economy, the state of poverty or the impact of AIDS in isolation from the rest of the sub-continent. The history of conquest, of colonial investment (railways etc) and of the system of migratory labour which have caused people (mainly men and all of them black) to move ceaseless about the region between the gold mines (and other places of work) and their rural homes for over a century has bound the different countries together in a symbiotic relationship that is particularly painful for those parts of the sub-continent that lie outside the political boundaries of South Africa itself.

A good place to begin considering poverty research in this wider context is with the CROP book on Poverty Reduction (Wilson et. al. (eds.) 2001) which asks the question as to what role the state may have to play in this process in today's globalized economy. The book focuses mainly, though not exclusively, on Southern Africa and contains useful essays about a number of countries including Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. An introductory essay considers the region as a whole, highlighting the similarities and differences, between the different countries.

Moving on from this volume, the reader in search of new research on poverty would probably find it most fruitful to return to the web-site of the Southern African Regional Poverty Network (www.sarpn.org.za) where it is possible to pull down, on a country by country basis, many (if not most) of the articles written over the past five years about poverty in the countries of the region. Whilst there has been a good deal of relevant and useful writing about poverty in different countries over the past five years, it is also true to observe that the revolution in terms of information (by way of new data being collected) and econometric analysis that has swept across South Africa during the past decade has yet to reach other countries in the region. Angola, for example, has had not even a national census for thirty years or more.

## 4. Conclusion

For what is new and exciting about poverty research in Southern Africa over the past five years is confined mainly to what has been happening inside South Africa itself. But there, looking back, it is possible to see that the political revolution of 1994 was accompanied by an astonishing upsurge of energy in the social sciences where researchers grabbed with both hands the treble opportunity being offered by the possibilities of gathering new data in a democratic society, by the new capacity to analyse it provided by the new computer hardware and software, and by the international collaboration and learning made possible by the rise of the internet. Compared with twenty, even ten, years ago poverty researchers in South Africa are living in a new universe. It is a heady time. Of course there are dangers that, in their recent love affair with statistics and the insights from econometric analysis, social scientists (especially economists) will fall into the trap of thinking that if something cannot be exactly measured it is not important---or does not even exist. But hopefully the country's strong anthropological and historical traditions which view with some skepticism the possibility of understanding the complex relations of a society on the basis of information gathered in a quick one (or even three) hour survey will serve as an important reminder that the paradigm shift implicit in the heavy reliance on statistical analysis must be seen as a complement but not as a substitute for older methods of analysis.

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*[Note: Where articles are listed by author, date and title but without place of publication they may be downloaded directly from the Southern African Regional Poverty Network (www.sarpn.org.za) where further details are available]*


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# VI

# Poverty and Water: How Water Distribution and Location is Institutionalized within a Framework of Access and Denial

**Kassim Kulindwa**[1]

## 1. Introduction: Link between Water and Poverty

> *"For humanity, the poverty of a large percentage of the world's population is both a symptom and a cause of the water crisis. Giving the poor better access to better managed water can make a big contribution to poverty eradication …" (UNESCO, 2003).*

The World Water Development Report raises the alarm of water crisis facing humankind in the form of governance failure to manage water. It points out that, the real tragedy is the effect water has on the everyday lives of poor people in relation to water related diseases, to earn a living and get enough to eat. The report suggests that attitude and behaviour problems are the root-causes of the existing water crisis because the world knows most of the problems and where they are. "Knowledge and expertise exists to begin tackling these problems, excellent concepts such as equity and sustainability exist to facilitate the direction of the solutions… yet inertia at leadership level and a world population not fully aware of the scale of the problem (and in many cases not sufficiently empowered to do much about it) means we fail to take the needed timely corrective actions and put the concepts to work:" (UNESCO, 2003).

The current water availability situation in the world is such that only 2.53% of all the water occurring on our planet is fresh-water while the rest is salt water. Two thirds of this freshwater is held captive in glaciers and permanent snow cover. The one third is distributed unevenly in the world with the Asia continent getting 36% of the global water availability as against having 60% of global population, whereas Australia and Oceania with only 1% of the world's population get 5% of the global supply of water, likewise South America gets 26% (6% global population), North and Central America get 15% (8% global population). Europe and Africa with 13% global population each get 8% and 11% globally available water respectively.[2] Moreover, groundwater comprises 97% of global drinking water (World Watch Institute 2000).

The rate of utilization of freshwater varies with the level of development of a country and between individuals within countries according to income levels. Further, there is a rural-urban dichotomy to water use particularly in developing countries. A typical single-family home water use in the United States uses 280.6 litres per capita per day without conservation measures and 196.8 litres per capita per day with conservation. Likewise, in Australia, a

typical household will use 657 litres per household per day, which converts into 164.25 litres per capita per day for a 4 persons' household.[3] In Africa, per capita consumption is about 10% of the US consumption with an average of 20 litres person per day in the rural areas and twice that amount in large urban areas. The consumption patterns of water in the developed countries differ remarkably with that of developing ones. In the US for instance approximately 26% of the water is used in toilets, 23% bathing, 35% gardening or lawn watering, 9% laundry, 5% is used in the kitchen and 2% for cleaning[4]. In a developing country like Tanzania, the pattern differs greatly for the majority of the people. This is because of the different technological levels reached by most households in water use. Most of bathing is done from the bucket, most people use pit latrines (not flush toilets which consume much water), no dish-washers, most will not have piped water connections to their houses and do not have lawns or gardens to water. In some cases water uses are done outside the house like washing of clothes, utensils and bathing where there are rivers or lakes and dams nearby. Even in such cases it does not make a significant difference in the overall per capita water consumption.

What the rest of this chapter endeavours to show is not only one of the major proximate causes of poverty, but also how its allocation and distribution can produce desirable intended efficiency outcomes on one hand, and undesirable unintended equity effects particularly to the poor on the other. The following section provides a brief discussion of the role of water to society, while the following section provides an overview of the evolution of poverty-water research in the past decade by looking at the way causes of poverty have been conceptualised and measured. The next section looks at the issues involved in the quest for improved water availability to the poor. In this section, economic approaches for decision-making in water supply and allocation are highlighted together with institutional weaknesses including the lack of institutional capacity. Furthermore, stakeholder participation in planning and implementation of water policies, strategies, projects among others, are discussed. Water for irrigation in terms of the way it is allocated with implication to the poor segment of farmers is discussed. The focus on environment-water-poverty nexus brings out the salient features and the importance of looking at the three components in an integrated manner so as to achieve the sustainability of water supply and hence eradication of water induced poverty. Finally, the need to strengthen the poverty-water link is highlighted followed by proposals of areas for future research.

## 2. Role of Water to Society

Water plays a vital role in people's everyday lives. The analytical framework exhibiting the various benefits of water use in diagram 1 below, shows that without water all these activities would be impaired and others virtually made impossible. The supply of clean and safe water for domestic use for drinking, cooking, washing and sanitation in general will bring about a healthy existence and well being of communities, which in turn would bring about time use efficiency and enhance productivity. It goes without saying that without clean and safe water poverty is enhanced particularly for the poor. Water therefore, is among the most important causes of poverty but also harbours the most important entry point to the eradication of are kind of absolute and abject form of poverty.

Drinking and using dirty unsafe water will bring about a high incidence of waterborne diseases, which has several effects. These include the cost of treatment, lost production, decline in productivity and mortality incidences in cases such as cholera and typhoid. If water has to be fetched from far away, the opportunity cost of time use sets in. Households in rural areas and urban poor are obliged to spend a high proportion of time fetching water. Apart

from rain fed agriculture, which also uses rainwater, irrigation and agro processing are also made possible with the availability of adequate and reliable flows of water in springs, streams, rivers, lakes and other water sources. Irrigation provides reliable food security and a source of income generation and livelihood as opposed to the dependence on rainfall, which is increasingly becoming erratic by the day. About 70 percent of all water is used for agriculture in the world in general while in developing countries an estimated 85 percent of all water is used for irrigation. It is also estimated that 40 percent of the world's food production is produced through irrigated agriculture on only 20 percent of available farmland (World Bank 2003).

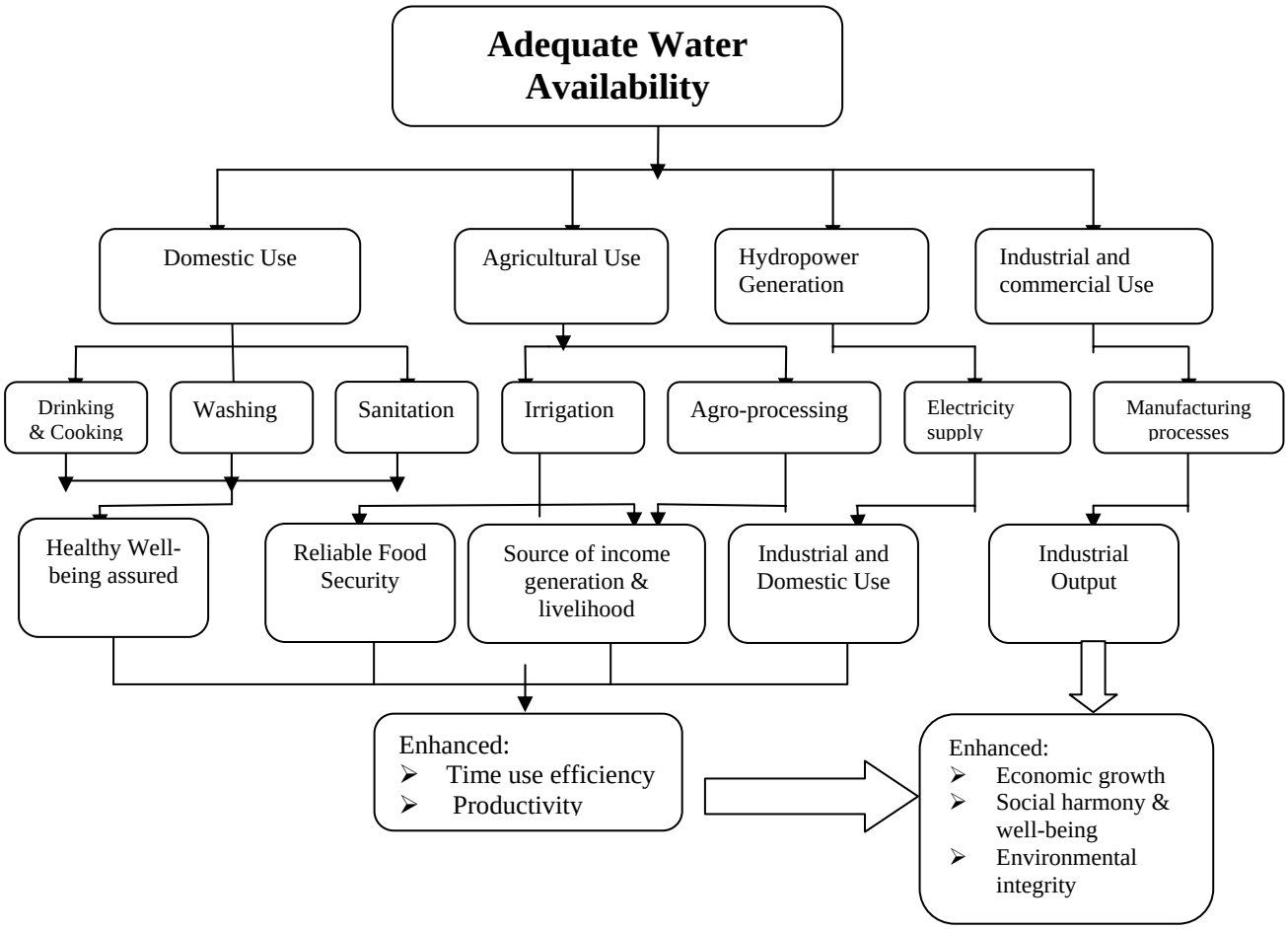


**Diagram 1: Analytical framework showing various benefits of water use**

To the poor irrigation is important in various ways depending on their situation. For example subsistence farmers would benefit from irrigation through obtaining higher and more stable output, increased income from the subsistence farmers will provide indirect benefits through increased demand of goods and services which the urban employed poor are engaged in manufacturing thus assuring them with steady employment. On the other hand, increased food supply in the market will, *other things being equal*, result into a fall in the general price level of food and hence lower food bills for the urban poor who spend a larger proportion of their income on food (higher marginal propensity to consume).

Hydroelectric generation is a non-consumptive use of water but very beneficial outcome of water use in terms of providing low cost, clean and reliable electricity to urban and rural areas in general. In 2002 hydropower contributed 7% of Africa's total energy

consumption while oil contributed 41%, natural gas 19% and coal 32% also nuclear energy 1%[5]. In 1999, about twenty percent of the world's electricity was supplied by hydropower and almost 100% of Norway's electricity[6]. Where great hydropower potential exist, future development of hydropower will contribute to the improvement of living standards in the developing world and avoid greenhouse gas emissions which trigger climatic change. Installed hydropower capacity at the end of 1999 in the world was some 692 GW distributed as follows: in Europe (31%), Asia (25%), North America (23.1%), South America (15.4%), Africa (2.9%), Oceania (1.9%) and Middle East (0.6%). Hydropower resources are distributed around the world and potential exists in 150 countries where two-thirds of the economically feasible potential remains undeveloped. The world's total technically feasible hydro potentials is about 14,400 TWh/yr of which 55.5% was considered economically feasible in 1999 and only 5% of the technically feasible potential is being utilized. Electricity is an important input into people's energy needs for various uses. Its supply to poor countries and communities has the potential to improve the welfare of people through providing a clean, reliable and low cost environmentally friendly energy source with a multiplicity of uses such as lighting, heating, cooking, use in electronic gadgets[7] and electrical equipment at home and in industrial manufacturing processes, commercial and public services such as pumping water. The prevailing situation however, electricity is mostly concentrated in urban areas, while in most sub-urban and rural areas it is yet to be supplied. This implies therefore ample opportunity to improve the welfare of the poor.

The uses of water for industrial and commercial activities are also non-substitutable. The manufacturing of beverages and other drinks cannot be possible without water. Water for cleaning, cooling and washing is part of important uses in manufacturing processes without which the processes would not be possible. Benefits of these commercial activities based on water include generation of employment. For instance, the Coca Cola Company generated a total employment of about 414,000 people in China alone in 1999 of which 38% and 62% of the 14,046 direct jobs created were unskilled and skilled respectively with a multiplier effect of 30.[8]

Furthermore, investment in the bottling industry injected approximately US $ 1 billion into the economy in 1998, while tax payments to the government amounted to some US $ 46.9 million in the same year. Apart from making available a marketable product, water availability facilitates the creation of low skilled employment, generation of income and enhancement of the economic linkages within the economy. All this creates possibilities for poverty eradication and harbour huge potentials for avoiding the creation of the new poor.

## 3. Poverty – Water Research in the Past Decade

Global poverty research for the period as for back as the 1950s, was reviewed with the aim to identify what knowledge existed that could move society to a broader and deeper understanding of the dynamics of poverty upon which future programmes for poverty reduction could be built *(Øyen* et al, 1996). Since 1996 was proclaimed, " the International Year for the Eradication of Poverty", by the United Nations, this was an invaluable contribution. During the past two decades prior to 1995 notes *Øyen* et al attempts had been made to compare the extent and intensity of poverty on a global level mainly by international organizations such as UNDP, the World Bank and social scientists among others. They noted that, international organizations mainly use a few selected indicators to measure poverty at a national level while social scientists use micro-economic data to do the same. These measures though useful to some extent are deficient in many ways. They contend that, apart from leaving out many aspects of poverty in their measurement, they lack a measuring stick

for comparative measurement of poverty between place and time. The decade following the proclaimed international year for the eradication of poverty saw these deficiencies persist despite efforts to remove them. The poverty discourse today is dominated by definitions of poverty, causes of poverty, poverty measurement and indicators, and how poverty can be "alleviated', 'reduced' or even 'eradicated'. Today, it has increasingly been realized that poverty is a complex phenomenon, which is depicted by physical, material and social cultural deprivation. Characterisation of poverty ranges from the narrow 'income poverty to the 'basic needs plus' characterization that includes education, health, shelter, democracy, culture, freedom/human rights, risk and vulnerability (Kulindwa 2004). In the realm of poverty characterization, some developments have been registered. Poverty has for instance been further characterised and categorised by considering the traditional income poverty and capability deprivation (Sen, 1999).

However, while a lot of effort has been invested in understanding the relationship between causes and effects of poverty, *Øyen* (2002) argues that too little effort has been invested in understanding the common nature of the causes of poverty and the way they interrelate. This, she asserts, is a missing link in the research process that needs to be investigated. This in our case is an important observation because it points to the topic of this chapter in terms of identifying water as among important root causes of poverty.

## 4. Water-Poverty Measurement Considerations

The success in the measurement of poverty depends very much on the identification and inclusion of the major drivers and root causes of poverty. To this end, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), developed a Human Development Index (HDI), which ranks the different countries on their performance in providing for their people in terms of nutrition, social and economic infrastructure. In other words, it incorporates measurable aspects of basic needs and longevity attainments. Further, it portrays the understanding that poverty encompasses more than material deprivation. The index thus departs from the traditional economic ranking of countries such as US dollar (PPP) per day[9], by promoting countries according to their citizens' quality of life exhibited by life expectancy, educational attainment and adjusted real income (GDP per capita (PPP US $)) among others. Of more interest to the current discussion, is the Human Poverty Index (HPI), a derivative of HDI (see Chapter II). A decent standard of living is measured by the weighted average of two indicators, the percentage of the population without sustainable access to an improved water source and the percentage of children under weight for age (UNDP, 2004).

The link between water and poverty is thus emerging through the HPI by the consideration of access to improved water source. Further development in this poverty-water nexus is the development of the water poverty index (Sullivan 2002, Lawrence et al 2002, Feitelson and Chenoweth 2002, Sullivan 2002, Salameh, 2000, Sullivan 2001). Sullivan presents the Water Poverty index as an interdisciplinary approach for an integrated assessment of water stress and scarcity, linking physical estimates of water availability with social economic variables that reflect poverty. The main objective of the index is to bring out the link between access to water and poverty incidence. It has been established that poor households suffer from poor water provision, which results in significant loss of time and effort particularly for women and girls in mostly developing countries[10]. Through the interdisciplinary approach, a more equitable solution for water allocation is presented. It has been established that the relationship between water use and economic development is positive (Sullivan 2002, Madulu 2003). This suggests that development is likely to be influenced by how water resources are managed and also how much water a country uses.

Countries with higher levels of income tend to have a higher level of water use (Sullivan 2002, Abrashinsky 2004). The water poverty index is an attempt to establish an international measure to compare performance in the water sector across countries in a holistic way including the diverse aspects relating to water management (Lawrence et al 2002).

Some of the water-poverty indices focus on contemporary situation and hence include variables that portray access to adequate and safe water supplies, sanitation and the state of water resources (Sullivan 2000, 2001, 2002 Lawrence et al 2002). Other indices address structural water poverty by looking at the costs necessary to supply clean water to all people in a country in a sustainable manner (Feitelson and Chenoweth 2002).

The major difference between the two types of indices is that, the ones focusing on the contemporary situation are likely to fail to distinguish between "situational failures in human adaptive capacity and structural impediments" (Feitelson and Chenoweth 2002). The structural water-poverty index on the other hand is designed to identify countries likely to face serious difficulties in ameliorating their water supply problems due to structural problems inherent within the country such as: mismanagement, power structures, a lack of technical and administrative capacity, and or corruption among others.

Regardless of their differences, strengths and weaknesses, the above indices have come at the opportune time where more awareness is needed in linking water to poverty situations of individuals or economies as a whole. Better still, understanding the dynamics of this relationship in terms of cause and effect of water to poverty, paves the way not only to better management of this resource but also to allocate and provide it equitably and sustainably in order to facilitate the eradication of absolute poverty.

The link between water and poverty has also been looked at in terms of water supply and provision for domestic use (Kulindwa 2002, Bond 2003, Madulu 2003, Feitelson and Chenoweth 2002, Mwandosya and Meena 1998, Whittington et al 2002, Akiiki 2002, Katu-Katua 2002, Mujwahuzi 2002 and Tumwine 2002, Blackman and Litchfield 2001, WHO/UNICEF, 2000 among many others). Issues highlighted include the effect on health due to using unsafe water where diseases such as diarrhoea, typhoid and cholera cause some 2.2 million deaths each year, particularly children (WHO/UNICEF 2000). Incidence of diseases further affects school attendance, low productivity at work and high cost of treatment and effectively reducing the capability for one to fend for oneself. Issues of time use have been discussed by numerous studies pointing to the opportunity cost of time used to fetch water from long distances, especially for rural areas of developing countries. In urban areas people may not walk distances but may use more time queuing for water (Kulindwa 1996, 2002, Mwandosya and Meena 1998, Blackman and Litchfield 2001, Mujwahuzi 2002, Katui-Katua 2002 among others). The gender question emerge strongly in that women have been found to be primary collectors and users of water for domestic use (Blackman and Litchfield 2001, Mwandosya and Meena 1998, Kulindwa 1996, Mujwahuzi 2002). It has also been found that the poor bear the brunt of unreliable and inadequate water provision in most cases. Mwandosya and Meena point out that, in Dar es Salaam city, Tanzania, the low-income stratum is the main user of water vendor services and normally end-up paying higher prices for water compared to the rich who get water more reliably depending on where they are located (low density residential areas) at a subsidized rate! This situation was earlier reported by the World Bank in its World Development report of 1988 as presented in the table below.

| Table 1: Differentials in the cost of water in selected cities | |
|---|---|
| **City** | **Price ratios[1]** |
| Abidjan (Cote d'Ivoire) | 5:1 |
| Dhaka (Senegal) | 12:1 to 25:1 |
| Kampala (Uganda) | 4:1 to 9:1 |
| Karachi (Pakistan) | 28:1 to 83:1 |
| Lagos (Nigeria) | 4:1 to 10:1 |
| Lima (Peru) | 17:1 |
| Nairobi (Kenya) | 7:1 to 11:1 |
| Port-au-Prince (Haiti) | 17:1 to 100:1 |
| Surabaya (Indonesia) | 20:1 to 60:1 |
| Tegucicalpa (Honduras) | 16:1 to 34:1 |

Source: World Bank, World Development Report 1988

[1] Ratio of price charged by water vendors to prices charged by the public utility

The differentials in the cost of water (ratio of price charged by water vendors to prices charged by the public utility) vary from city to city and are dependent on various factors such as access to alternative sources and control and competition of the resale market. Like in Dar es Salaam city, the higher and middle-income residents are more likely to be connected to the water network; therefore, it is the low-income groups who are mostly dependent on water vendors. It can be seen from the table above that households served by vendors pay considerably higher unit prices for water than those connected to the water supply system. This, the World Bank points out, invalidates the often used argument by public utilities and formal sector water providers that they can not provide water in low-income areas because residents in low income areas can not pay sufficient for their water to operate and maintain the system and also get a return on the capital investment. To the contrary, the prices paid by consumers show willingness-to-pay and economic demand and provide a good basis for water investment decisions and for the design of tariffs (World Bank 1988).

## 5. The Quest for Improved Availability of Water for the Poor

On 22st March 2005, the World Water Day, the international decade for water began. The theme of this decade dedicated to water is "water for life". It is a call to the international community to promote better access to safe water and sanitation. Currently about 1.1 billion people worldwide have no access to adequate quantity and quality water, conditions which bring about high morbidity and mortality rates and act as a break to achieving the UN MDGs. Efforts have started towards implementing strategies to achieve the set goals for halving the number of people without adequate quantity and quality water by 2015. The situation does not look good for most developing countries in improving access to safe water. The Global Poverty Report 2002 predicts a scenario in which most countries, especially low-income countries of Africa, will not be able to achieve the set target of 90 percent coverage by 2015 due to serious resource constraints (AfDB/WB 2002). This state of affairs will continue to not only deny poor households access to this very precious resource and hence condemning them to perpetual but avoidable health problems emanating from using unsafe water. It will also place upon them the cost burden of obtaining water in terms of either paying higher prices than the well off or using much of their time fetching water and hence losing out on

production and productivity. Due to this situation, Gleick (1999) argues that, access to a basic water requirement is a fundamental human right implicitly and explicitly supported by international law, declarations and state practice. Therefore, the failure of the international aid community, nation governments, and local organizations to satisfy these basic human needs is a breach of this right. Cases in both South Africa and India demonstrate the failure of municipalities to supply water adequately and reliably to most poor sectors of their major cities (Bond 2003, Ramachandraiah 2002). Both support Gleick in the case of water as a human right, and both argue that this right is consistently and blatantly being violated. It should be noted though that water has yet to be formally recognised by the UN bodies as a human right, despite the ever-increasing demand for such recognition. In South Africa, the trend in water commoditisation has been likened to "water apartheid" because of its tendency to exclude the poor segment of the society in reliable and adequate safe water supply through market commercial approaches to provision of water (Bond, 2003). Privatisation of public water utilities is happening all over the world as a way to solve the resource constraints on the part of national governments and increase efficiency of supply. This move has resulted in increased prices, increasing hardships and instigating unrest and protest from the poor sections of society (Mehta and Madsen 2003). The commoditisation of water has now crossed nation boundaries and is now in the realm of Globalisation (Bond 2003, Barlow 2002, Mehta and Madsen 2003). Corporate globalisation of water is being spear headed by major international water companies, which take up ailing national/public water utilities and run them on management contract terms or outright privatisation. This trend however, is not unique to poor countries since what is happening in the water sector does not do so in isolation. Some developed countries are also affected by globalisation as well. What is happening in the water sector is a reflection of what is enshrined in many national water policies in the world. Water is an economic, social and environmental good, only that the implementation of such policy statements and principles is normally plagued by institutional capacity inadequacies and hence fail to achieve the aspirations of the policies' good intentions. While assessing the effect of WTO's general agreement on trade and services (GATS) on the basic right to water, Mehta and Madsen further caution that, despite the countries are free to introduce legislative measures that are necessary to safeguard the interests of the poor, policy autonomy might be substantially curtailed due to ambiguities in treaty interpretation, power asymmetry and lack of transparency in multilateral negotiations and institutional deficiencies. These they argue, may bring about contradictory outcomes around issues of trade, water provision, equity and rights. The ultimate outcome of all this is the denial of this essential service to the poor.

Falkenmark (1998) considers the low coping capability which is typical for growing developing countries, to account for the dismal implementation record of policies and their strategic activities as planned. Further, the African Development Bank in collaboration with the World Bank[11] point to serious financial and other resource constraints in implementing policy objectives they set-out to achieve and particularly the MDGs. Yet corruption has also been blamed for unfair allocation of irrigation water in Pakistan (Rinaudo, 2002).

The failure to abide or implement policy objectives, implies that, the set objectives of supplying in adequate quantities, safe water to those who lack it will inevitably not be achieved. As a result, this will propagate one of the most important causes of poverty.

Due to the appreciation of the institutional inadequacies in the water sector, a huge effort is being made world wide to make changes to water institutions in order to improve their performance. Saleth and Dinar (2000) see these changes as having common patterns and clear trends. They suggest that these changes occur due to the role of both endogenous factors (e.g. water scarcity, performance deterioration and financial non-viability) as well as

exogenous factors (e.g. macro-economic crisis, political reform, natural calamities and technological progress). Despite the effort for institutional transformation being undertaken, there is still a lot of room for improvement. Experiences from South Africa show that implications of the 1998 National Water Act on irrigation schemes include contradictions, uncertainties and threats[12]. These mainly originate from the Act's lack of clarity regarding water rights. Meinzen-Dick and Nkonya elaborate this through the existence overlapping of bundles of rights, which include customary, project, state, religious and international rights. The exact definition of these bundles varies, but they are often grouped into two broad categories: *use* rights of *access* and *withdrawal*, and *decision-making* rights to regulate and control water uses and users, including the rights to *exclude* others, *manage* the resource, or *alienate* it by transferring it to others. To these may be added the rights to *earn income* from a resource, which Roman legal traditions have referred to as *usufruct* rights (Meinzen-Dick and Nkonya, 2005).

In Ghana, there has been a change in the institutional and regulatory mechanisms for providing clean water to the rural communication from the traditional regime and the Community Water and Sanitation Program (CWSP). It is argued that, despite the strength of the CWSP in its treatment of water as an economic resource which facilitates its sustainability, the weakness of state institutions responsible to implement it, is detrimental to the achievement of its objectives (Mensah, 1998). The CWSP places heavy reliance on particularly the District Water and Sanitation Team (DWST), Regional Water and Sanitation Team, Village Water Sanitation Committee, and the Ghana Water and Sanitation Corporation, which are said to be notoriously weak and slow to adapt to their prescribed responsibilities. The two experiences from South Africa and Ghana serve to portray the immense challenges institution transformation in the water sector is facing. However, transformation is a process and hence should be taken as continuous so as to make it accommodative of any emerging impediment to success.

## 6. Stakeholder Participation

In order to facilitate this process and minimize the mistakes, which may arise in due course, stakeholders in the water sector have strongly advocated participation. It is argued that, because of non-involvement of water user in the planning process, inefficiency in the management of water and inequity in access to water in most parts of Nigeria has occurred (Adelekan 2002). Seppala (2002) adds on to the importance of stakeholder participation in the water sector by pointing out that, implementation of reform processes in the field has often failed because involvement and commitment of stakeholders at all levels has been inadequate[13]. Other areas cited where stakeholders' participation plays an important role include watershed management, research, policy reform and water allocation (Vari and Kisgyorgy 1998, Johnson et al 2002, Hofmann and Mitchell 1998, Collentine et al 2002). In general stakeholder participation facilitates transparency and accountability, which safeguards the rights of all stakeholders (the poor included) and promotes achievements of goals and objectives.

## 7. Economic Approaches

Economic modalities to water allocation, distribution and conservation have increasingly been applied in developing countries. The main economic instrument for achieving this has been water prices for distribution. Studies on this subject have found that water prices if properly used[14] would bring about water use efficiency and hence conservation of water (Abu Qdais

and Nassay 2001, Dinar and Subramanian 1998, Jones 2000). While this might be true, high prices of water have their negative effects. It is often argued that increasing prices of water for domestic use in developing countries hurts the poor in the sense that they have to pay more from their meagre income. This assertion is generally true but only partially true where water supply to all sectors of society is adequately accessed and reliable. Evidence has it that this is not the case for the majority of the poor. Instead the poor in rural and urban areas pay more even without price increases because they are not served by the piped public water supply network, instead they fetch their water, from far off places or spend a lot of time doing so. In most cases they fetch this water from sources which are not safe and in some cases particularly in urban and sub-urban areas, they buy water from vendors at exorbitant prices.[15] It is therefore implied that those who depend on water supplied by public utilities, are the ones who will feel the pinch of water tariff hikes. To the poor therefore, the important issue is expansion of coverage of water supply, which will bring with it more social benefits by minimising the social costs of lack of adequate clean water, than the monetary costs they will impose by the price charged.

## 8. Water for Irrigation

Studies have further shown that irrigation matters for poverty eradication; incidences of poverty are fewer in areas with irrigation as opposed to those without irrigation. Irrigation, it is further asserted, can be made to be more pro-poor through for instance strengthening the participatory process of decision-making planning implementation in Irrigation Management Transfer projects, access to land and support services among others (Hussain and Hanjira 2003, 2004, Hussain 2003). While it is generally agreed that pricing irrigation water can improve water use efficiency under well-defined management conditions, it is however a complex task (Johnsson et al 2002). They argue that, methods of allocating water are sensitive to physical, social, institutional and political settings. Water allocation goes beyond efficiency, it has to also consider equity issues and institutional setting and capacity issues as well.

Economic value of water has also been considered as an important factor on which to base allocation of water (Ward and Michelsen 2002, Quba'a et al 20002, Conradie 2002). These researchers argue that conceptually correct and empirically accurate estimates of the economic value of water are essential for rational allocation of scarce water across locations, uses, users, and time periods. Although the approach promises better use of scarce water resources in terms of achieving the highest economic return from water use, its implementation must be undertaken together with measures for the consideration of the poor. Most of the poor staple food like paddy and maize has low water value (i.e. the monetary value of crop produced in one acre per amount of water used)[16]. Without setting aside a minimum amount for subsistence production, food security might be jeopardised and consumer sovereignty compromised, (the case of taste of preferred food types by people).

Water markets particularly for irrigation purposes are another option, which has been gaining currency for water allocation. These are regarded as strong alternative institutional arrangement for managing irrigation water more effectively and are in practice in several developing countries including Mexico and India (Kloezen 1998, Kumar and Singh 2001). In order to carry out effective allocative function, water markets require well defined, transparent and freely traded water rights (Ahmad 2000). Rosegrant and Ringler (2000) further argue that without such innovation as water markets for irrigation, the rapidly increasing competition for limited water resources between agriculture and more highly

valued domestic and industrial water uses may likely require the transfer of water out of agriculture with adverse effects on food security for particularly the poor.

## 9. The Current Focus on the Environment, Water – Poverty Nexus

> *"There is a growing international debate and concern about an impending 'water crisis' and increasing pressures on the land resource to provide food, water and to sustain production, conservation, amenity, recreation and environmental benefits. In this regard, the management of forests in relation to water is a critical issue that must be afforded high priority" (*Forestry Agency of Japan and Shiga Prefectural Government, 2002)

The link between the natural environment of forests on watershed areas has long been established. It is recognized that natural ecosystems such as forested watersheds provide hydrological services that help to secure the quality and quantity of water flow downstream through the hydrological cycle. These areas are of utmost importance for a continuous and reliable water flow during the dry season. Mountain watersheds have been disappearing at a startling rate in the past decade.[17] The result of mountain ecosystem degradation includes drier aquifers and wells, siltation of irrigation and hydropower reservoirs through erosion and less water during dry season. In addition, deforestation of mountain catchment forests increases the likelihood of natural hazards, such as avalanches, landslides and floods. Floods by far cause the highest costs to human lives and property. All the above compounded, result into exacerbating poverty and misery to the already poor.

In most places of the world, the water crisis is looming in different ways and as a result of different causes. These include climatic change, climatic variability, pollution of sources of water, excessive withdrawal due to increased demand for various uses and due to population pressure and environmental degradation of the catchment forests and watersheds. The first two of these causes are both a result of man's activities (global warming) and natural processes. The third, fourth and fifth are a result of mans activities to meet his various demands. Pollution can be controlled as well as climatic change can be influenced (Kyoto Protocol). Environmental degradation has to be reversed in order to achieve sustainable development (UN, 1992). Failing to reverse the degradation of the watersheds, we are not only going to exacerbate poverty, but we are going to produce the 'new poor' at a scale unseen before due to lack of water. The link between the hydrological services of watershed environment is increasingly being recognized, however, steps to arrest the downward trend of environmental health are hindered by the lack of resources for conservation, among other reasons. In the past decade, one innovative idea emerged suggesting payment for environmental services (PES). The concept is based on water users paying the managers of watershed forests upstream (public, private, communities etc) for forest conservation or reforestation or to maintain or improve water quantity or quality. This is made possible by giving the environmental services (in this case hydrological services) economic value. This approach has already been tested in Costa Rica, Ecuador, Colombia, Lao PDR, USA, Philippines, and Australia among others (Born and Tolachi 2000, Koch-Weser and Kahleborn 2002, Chomitz et al 1998, Perrot-Maitre and Davis 2001).

At present, the above schemes have reported varying success levels in the implementation of the PES concept owing to the positive response of major stakeholders (large and small scale irrigators, hydropower generators, urban water authorities, industrial abstractors, forest and water managers, livestock keepers among others). Together with

facilitating resource mobilization, it is an incentive for conservation and provides resources for overseeing efficient utilization of the water resource. In most cases it provides the opportunity for stakeholder participation in the management and fair benefit sharing of the resource while promising a reliable and sustainable availability of water flows. Beside the indirect way of avoiding or reducing poverty by ensuring sustainable water flow and availability for human uses, PES is said to also facilitate poverty reduction directly through making payments to the poor natural resources managers in upper watersheds (Pagiola et al 2005).

In order to facilitate the successful implementation of the PES approach, a number of pre-requisites need to be addressed. There is still some reluctance in putting into practice the knowledge gained about natural processes of our planet. Falkenmark (2001) is alarmed by, 'our failing ability to manage the life support system on the human-dominated planet'. This he argues is a result of inherited and biased ways of thinking. He calls for a proper conceptualisation of the life support system in which water is acknowledged as the bloodstream of the biosphere where both land/water, water/ecosystem linkages will be properly entered into the integrated catchment based land/water/ecosystem management approach.

Above all, efforts need to be stepped up in awareness creation and sensitisation of these important links to ensure support and hence success of such schemes to avert the impending water led poverty.

In line with Falkenmark's proposal experience in South Africa in decentralizing integrated water resources management shows that management that contributes to poverty eradication requires careful design and implementation of new pro-poor water institution from local to basin level including catchment management agencies, committees, water users associations, forums and stakeholder reference groups (Schreiner and Van Koppen 2002). Moreover, in order to control pollution of water resources, economic incentives and instruments should be used to facilitate responsible behaviour. These include tradable discharge permits and discharge fees, among others (Merret 2000, Young and Karkoski 2000).

## 10. The Need for Strengthening the Poverty-Water Linkage

The past decade has seen much progress in the conceptualisation of the link between poverty and water. This progress has also been given impetus by the developments in the global water sector itself where water has been accepted as an economic, social and environmental resource as well as a human right (UNESCO 2003, UN 1992).

Ensuring sufficient water for people for domestic needs, growing food, generating power and for industrial processes is an important ethical question. However, there are other benefits people derive from water indirectly such as goods (e.g. fish) and services (e.g. water regulation) provided by aquatic systems. Biodiversity both of floral and fauna nature all benefit human being and they also belong to the indirect benefits of water.

In order to facilitate investment in water projects, particularly rural water supply and sanitation projects, economists and other professionals resort to undertaking feasibility studies, which provide a basis for decision making, and whether to proceed with the implementation of the intended project or not. Traditionally these studies do consider three main areas namely economic, financial and technical feasibilities. In the wake of such awareness on environmental matters and the need to achieve sustainable development, this

approach has been found wanting (Acreman 2001, Kulindwa 2002, McMahon and Postle 2000, Wattage 2003) due to their exclusion of important social and environmental factors. Acreman proposes that, in order to consider water allocation in terms of political, social, ethical, historical or ecological issues, which cannot readily be given a monetary value, wider decision making frameworks such as multi-criteria analysis need to be used in order to incorporate factors such as ecological support systems.

Wattage advocates for incorporation of environmental value and externality in project evaluation as a sustainability indicator, while Kulindwa wants the same values to be incorporated to bring out the social benefits of clean water to peoples' health and poverty. The expected outcomes of such treatment is to facilitate sustainability by bringing out the social benefits accrued by the poor majority in rural areas so as to avoid the social costs which may result from ignoring them. Lastly McMahon and Postle report the successful development of a methodology to value the environmental and social costs and benefits of water resources schemes for planning by the Environment Agency in England and Wales. These researchers argue that there is a very strong inextricable link between water and the environment and poverty (or well being for that matter). Therefore, these factors should always be considered in an integrated manner together with financial and economic factors in order to provide sustainable solutions. Partial consideration of these factors will inevitably lead to incorrect outcomes. For instance if one considers only financial flows[18] in a cost-benefit analysis for rural water supply, one is inevitably going to end-up rejecting the implementation of a project because the financial benefits will in most cases be less than costs. This basis for decision-making will always facilitate the entrenchment of rural poverty and misery.

## 11. Challenges for Future Research

This overview has shown that the state of knowledge and the level of understanding of the water-poverty nexus is encouraging at the present. However more work needs to be done to meet the identified challenges. The following are areas that need to be highlighted for further consideration in future research.

At the conceptual level, the link between water and poverty still needs to be further refined. Characterising poverty through water non-availability needs further work on development of a conceptual link and analytical framework of water to poverty to include the different relevant facets, the related factors and their temporal aspects. These need to be understood in the way they impact wellbeing and how they contribute to enhancement or worsening of it. In this vein, unavailability of adequate quantity and quality of water as an agent of poverty production should be investigated and empirically established.

Measurement of the water-poverty needs more efforts in improving the linkage representation in terms of quality and quantity.

In order to not implement programmes and projects that exacerbate and further entrench poverty on one section of the society while favouring the other, consideration of social and environmental dimensions other than financial and economic aspects alone need to be explicitly included in decision making tools such as cost benefit analysis.

Presently, partial analyses of the impacts of water shortage or declining flows, also use of unclean and unsafe water have been undertaken without direct connection to poverty. It is important therefore to carry out studies of these impacts to different groups of users. Researchers should endeavour to find answers to questions such as: what happens when there

is water shortage, the quality and/or quality of water declines, and when the price of water goes up etc.

With respect to the growing popularity of PES mechanisms for watershed conservation, research should be directed towards empirical establishment of the role of stakeholder participation in such an approach in ensuring continuous adequate quality and quantity of water flows and availability and the way this impacts the poor.

The environment – water – poverty linkage needs to further be studied. If water is central to poverty reduction, it is then logical to ensure the sustainability of supply of the resource through conservation of the watershed areas. This will help in not only dealing with one of the important proximate causes of poverty (water) but also one of the root causes of poverty (environmental degradation of the watershed areas and particularly mountains as water towers).

Studies on the value of water are useful and should be supported due to their facilitation to the efficient allocation and use of the scarce water resources available. However, research should look into the effects of implementing this concept on equity and plight of the poor so as to provide insights on how to accommodate possible negative outcomes of implementation.

Water conflicts in societies are a source of unrest, fall in production and productivity, disruption of social processes and hence they provide a powerful recipe for poverty production. Since conflicts in water allocation, distribution and use particularly for irrigation are rising, the need to understand the nature of these conflicts and their different sources becomes more urgent so as to solve or even avoid them in the future.

Lastly, a concerted effort need to also be made in order to facilitate the availability of data on the social and environmental variables whose quantitative data is not readily available on the conventional information space at the moment (e.g. the goods and services markets). As McMahon and Postle (2002) noted, in order to develop a more refined methodology, data should be made available. This could be facilitated by UN organisation, the World Bank, the EU, National governments among others.

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[2] UNESCO, (2003).

[3] Abrashinsky (2004), American Water Works (1998), Cameron (2001).

[4] Op.cit pp.1

[5] Kalitsi (2003)

[6] World Energy Council (2004)

[7] These include television and computers which provide a convenient way of participation into the information age.

[8] Peking University/Tsinghua University/University of South Carolina (2000). Lin, Justin Yifu (1999).

[9] The world banks a dollar a day (PPP) poverty line has however been seen to be incorrect and biases world poverty trends downward due to various sources of pitfalls including the bank's figures having a large margin of error including a change in international poverty line from $PPP1 per day to $PPP1.08 per day and a change in country by country aggregation procedure along the way (Wade 2004).

[10] Rosen and Vincent in Thompson (2001) found people in Africa mostly women and girls spent an average of 134 minutes per day collecting water, while Thompson, found an average of 25.3 minutes per trip (or 126.5 minutes per day for 5 trips) for collecting water in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

[11] AfDB/WB, 2002

[12] Perret, 2002.

[13] Based on the experience of Finnish development assistance and water and sanitation sector policies of Kenya, Zanzibar, Sri Lanka and South Africa.

[14] Volumetric as against flat rate pricing.

[15] Mwandosya and Meena (1998), Mujwahuzi (2002), Katui-Katua (2002), Blackman and Litchfield (2001).

[16] Water allocation to the rich investors in high value crops, will not necessarily bring about a net benefit outcome. It may bring about a re-distribution of benefits away from the poor to the already well off and possibly a net loss if we count the foregone benefits derived by the many poor people dependent on the resource.
[17] Koch-Weser and Kahlenborn (2002)
[18] Without considering the social benefits one derives from using adequate and safe water and the benefits of the decrease use of firewood to soil water among others.

# VII

# Law and Poverty[1]

## Lucy A. Williams

## 1. Introduction

Mainstream society in most countries perceives law as a body of rules or judicial holdings providing determinate answers that can be ascertained by reviewing the text of relevant legal documents, for example, a country's constitution or statutory code. Likewise, most people believe that legal concepts are apolitical or neutral. Both of these perceptions are erroneous and both lead to a lack of creative engagement with how law partially creates and continues to perpetuate poverty.

As a result of internalizing these assumptions, most poverty research does not criticize these assumptions within its theory, analysis or proposed solutions. Numerous poverty scholars describe or measure the impact of specific legal changes in social welfare law on the poor (evaluative research) and there are legal journals (e.g., South African Journal for Human Rights, Fordham University Urban Law Journal, Georgetown University Journal on Poverty Law and Policy) that focus on the law and poverty. But there has been a dearth of scholarship within the broader poverty research community about important ways in which law can be re-envisioned as a tool for poverty reduction other than through legislative enactments.

Part two of this section provides a framework within which to understand law's complicity in global poverty, articulating four specific methodological considerations that, if incorporated into poverty research, might significantly move the law and poverty discourse forward. Parts three through six discuss each of the four methodological issues in turn.

## 2. Law as Partially Constructing and Perpetuating Poverty

Poverty is not a natural or pre-legal condition. Income distribution is not separate from the law. To believe that poverty is based only on individual failure or political fiat ignores the legal structures that contribute to creating and perpetuating income imbalances both internally to a nation-state and globally. In many countries, the accumulation of prevailing legal rules relating to property, contract, family and "tort" (legal resolution of civil wrongs or injuries, other than breach of contract) law provides a legal framework that contributes to developing and maintaining increasing economic imbalances.

For example, the "un-natural," legal definitions of who "owns" property, and what "property" is, become central to any global poverty analysis. One specific illustration is reflected in the inheritance law in many countries. Building on prior legal definitions of what is "private property" (notably, in the US, developed at a time when only moneyed white males could own property or had the right to vote), inheritance law provides protections for wealthy individuals' economic interests. Through the law's definition of "the ownership of property," the law privileges those with wealth, who could then maintain and pass on their assets to their

heirs. Thus the heirs of those originally able to own or purchase property are, likewise, economically privileged.

The ramifications of these common law principles are evident in racial and gender income disparity. For example, the vast majority of women and people of color in many western developed nations do not have resources, i.e., assets, which are controlled primarily by white men. Thus, those with the major amount of assets can invest and continue to generate income for themselves and their families, income that is not based on their own wage work. The continuation of privileges, benefits and inheritance, in turn, creates ongoing "entitlement," in both a legal and sociological sense. They and their children have choices that those without resources simply do not have.

Ignoring this asset imbalance and the privilege that comes from "asset advantage," mainstream legal discourse focuses on "equal opportunity" within the formal sector wage work force for those previously discriminated against because of disability, sexual orientation, gender or race (see generally Oliver, M. and Shapiro, T. 1995). Those without assets are treated as if they were on an equal footing within the formal sector wage-work setting. Once any person has been given an "equal" opportunity to compete for a job, the appearance of imbalance is obscured. Thus popular culture often ignores the role of legal institutions in reproducing hierarchy and thereby preventing the emergence of a racial/gender/class-neutral world of "equal opportunity." But any legal discussion of "equal rights" to employment opportunities and pay, while quite important for an anti-poverty strategy, is futile without a discussion of "equal assets" and a re-examination of the traditional common law of property that perpetuates the asset, or "opportunity," inequality. This same legal analysis is applicable in many of the so-called "developing countries," where legal systems establish that men hold much, if not all, of the land and other asset wealth (Deere and Léon 2001, Kevane and Gray 1999).

As another example, contemporary developments in intellectual property (IP) and patent law contribute to maintaining an income and power imbalance between developed and developing countries, e.g., vis-à-vis access to pharmaceutical products and to technology in general. Many developed countries have enacted IP laws that result in profit to corporations in those countries, while indigenous populations lose the financial benefit from their significant contributions and people die for lack of easily accessible drugs. (Commission on Intellectual Property Rights 2002: 29-71; Prieto-Acosta 2005). So law, rather than being neutral, significantly affects both domestic and global poverty.

Yet interestingly, when judges interpret law in a way that reconfigures or reinterprets the traditional common law notions,[2] they are viewed as "activist" – perhaps operating outside their legitimate role within the rule of law. Judicial decisions reinforcing the status quo (which has largely been maintained by judicial fiat) are not viewed in such a way. In other words, legal discourse does not view judicial opinions that enforce and maintain the current judicially created income and power configuration as "activist," but rather as "natural."

Within such a framework, this section of the report raises four methodological considerations which might be important for further poverty research:

1) How do legal definitions and interpretations construct identity and "exclusions" of the poor?
2) Is a legally enforceable individual entitlement to socio-economic rights an indispensable tool of poverty reduction?
3) What multiple legal regimes should be scrutinized beyond state-based income transfers as sites of poverty reduction?

4) What are the legal problems associated with viewing poverty reduction solely within the borders of a nation-state as opposed through a cross-border lens?

The first two areas (parts three and four) are discussed in more detail, not because they are more important that the latter two issues addressed in parts five and six, but because their underlying theoretical concepts are more complex and need more explication.

## 3. Social Welfare Laws Construct Identities and Exclusions

Much poverty research focuses on determinations of eligibility for various legal rights, assesses the impact of specific social welfare programmes and posits whether an expansion of the legal definition of eligibility for certain benefits can serve as a tool for poverty reduction. But law plays a much more pervasive role in structuring public discourse regarding the identities and value systems of the poor which is then instrumental in the development of poverty reduction strategies.

By way of example, one can look at the legal definitions set forth in certain US social welfare programmes. As in most Western nations, the US "worthy" social welfare programmes, i.e., the Social Security (a retirement and disability programme) and Unemployment Insurance (UI) programmes (both social insurance programmes tied to participation in wage work in the formal sector and paid for through employee/employer contributions), legally define poor subsistence workers and even many wage workers in the formal sector as "non-workers." Specifically, through minimum earnings requirements and disqualifying reasons for termination, poor workers, including significant numbers of single mothers, are frequently excluded from the definition of "employee" and therefore are not eligible for UI.

As a result, when poor mothers become unemployed, they are forced to rely on social assistance programmes (funded through general tax revenue) for single parents and their children, e.g., Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) (formerly Aid to Families with Dependent Children, or AFDC), commonly in the US called "welfare."[3] This legal definition constructs their identity as non-workers, that is, as social deviants who cause their own poverty by "refusing" to work in the market. They are then viewed as "dependent" on the state, and the dependency present in low-wage labour markets is rendered invisible. This rhetoric is grounded within a low-wage labour market that ignores the contribution of family obligations to wage work productivity, legal concepts that construct individual and social identities of who is a "worker" and what work is valued, and in turn what identities bolster the current structure of widely disparate income and power imbalances through, among other things, a discourse of "dependency."

Specifically, it is important to understand 1) the artificial dichotomy between welfare recipients and wage workers, 2) the ways in which low-wage labour does not support families, particularly by discounting the "private" sphere of family support as an integral cost of market productivity, thereby creating cycling between low-wage work and social protection programmes, and 3) the legitimation of the artificial dichotomy through legal definitions of "workers" who are able to rely on social insurance v. social assistance programmes, that privilege the market sphere.

Challenging the widely held assumption that recipients of welfare are separate and distinct from the category of wage workers, studies in the US have documented that welfare and wage work are inextricably intertwined. A majority of women receiving welfare move in and out of wage work on a regular basis, *i.e.*, they are part of the low wage labour force.[4] One

study found that of the 64% of women on welfare for the first time who left the rolls within 2 years, almost 1/2 left for work. But 3/4 of those who left welfare eventually returned, and 45% returned within a year (Pavetti 1993). Another study found that 70% of welfare recipients participated in some way in the labour force over a two year period: 20% combined work and welfare, 23% worked intermittently and were on welfare between jobs, 7% worked limited hours and looked for work, and 23% unsuccessfully looked for work. The women in this study held an average of 1.7 jobs over the two-year period and spent an average of sixteen weeks looking for work (Spalter-Roth 1994).

The problem, by and large, was not in a lack of work-effort, but in the conditions of low-wage labour markets in the United States and other Western countries:

- markets that hire workers for jobs with a low skill level and at a below-subsistence wage with limited advancement opportunities (thereby ensuring that the workers cannot provide for their families),
- jobs that have inflexible work schedules failing to incorporate family needs of low-income families who do not have servants or nannies to care for their children,
- jobs in which there is high turnover both because of the employer's lack of responsiveness to family needs and because it is economically profitable for the employer.

Yet, as within most Western nations, the legal discourse and definitions of "worker" within both the US Social Security and Unemployment Insurance (social insurance) systems construct an artificial dichotomy between wage workers and welfare recipients. The legal definition of "worker" or the legal eligibility factors in unemployment insurance often exclude "workers," particularly women, [5] from the definition of "employee."[6] In addition, requirements in some states that wages be earned during certain quarters[7] negatively impact part-time low-wage workers,[8] *i.e.,* workers who are predominately women. Thus most of the single mothers who moved from welfare to wage labour and then lost their jobs were *ineligible* for UI benefits. Indeed, in 41 of the 50 US states, men are more likely to receive UI than women (National Employment Law Project 2004: 1). In one study of women-maintained families in which the mother was employed at least three months, almost three times as many families turned to welfare as to unemployment insurance. In another study of 1,200 single mothers who received welfare for at least 2 months in a 24-month period, 43 % also worked, averaging just about half-time. However, only 11% of those who worked received any unemployment insurance. They returned to welfare as their "unemployment insurance."

So, rather than recognizing the fluidity between welfare recipients and wage workers, the failure of the UI programme to provide support for many low-wage mothers who become unemployed, forcing them to resort to welfare in times of unemployment, defines them as "not attached to the labour force." Welfare recipients, primarily mothers, are "dependent," not because they are dependent on the market or a male breadwinner family model (both of which are assumed to be pre-legal and therefore involve only limited state intervention), but because they are dependent on the state.

The legal system defines who is a worker, *i.e.,* who is independent, and then legal discourse ostracizes those who fail to meet the legal definition of "worker" as dependent. Dependency becomes a concept excised from market structure. Both traditional left and new right theorists legitimate a political and cultural consensus that fails to recognize the dependency within the debilitating power dynamics of low-wage work. Likewise there is no concept of independency outside the formal sector market structure (unless one has sufficient wealth of one's own or through a male-breadwinner such that wage work is not required) (Fraser/Gordon 1994: 314-319). Such a view of dependency resonates even when many of

those "dependent" are struggling in the low-wage labour market, because our legal definitions define them out of being "employees." This legal identity of welfare recipients as "dependent," shiftless non-workers rather than "autonomous" wage earners who receive UI, in turn reinforces the perceived dichotomy between welfare recipients and wage workers that continues to resonate so deeply with much of the U.S. public. And this "reality" drives the debate about welfare reform, such as in the passage of the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, or "welfare reform" bill, that limited a family's ability to get welfare to a maximum of five years in a lifetime and required stringent work requirements even during that period. In other words, the disconnect between people's *experience* as *wage workers* and their *recognition* as *wage workers* is legally created. Note also the language used in discussing opposition to the proposal in South Africa for establishing a Basic Income Grant (discussed below): "[T]he government is likely to maintain its opposition to the introduction of a basic income grant – on the grounds that it will …encourage dependency among South Africans, who they would prefer to see secure an income through entrepreneurship and other sustainable initiatives" (Getting Down to Business 2004).

In addition, the disconnect between people's *experience* as *workers* and their *recognition* in economic discourse as *workers* is legally created. Theories of productivity largely do not include the value of unpaid labour as a factor, or as a cost of production, within labour markets. Workplace productivity assessments are based on factors that isolate one's role in wage work, and ignore other parts of one's life as influencing, contributing, or detracting from wage work productivity. Thus economists and lawyers can discuss or speculate about increased efficiency or productivity by ignoring the costs of resource reallocation that are currently absorbed by the household, such as provision of health care and child care to allow others to be in paid labour. But "productivity" or an "efficient outcome" is not a fixed or "natural" concept; rather they are developed by those who draft the definitions and define the factors included in "productivity," "efficiency" and "worker." In other words, positive law creates and reinforces identities and images that are reflected in subsequent legal enactments and interpretations and in the development of poverty reduction strategies. Thus, the resulting poverty created by legal structures is viewed as based on individual fault within a "free" market economy, rather than challenging the background legal rules that partially created and continue to support the current system of distribution both intra-nation and globally.

Translate this scenario into the population of developing countries. While many poor women in Western nations often move in and out of low-wage work in the formal economy, poor mothers globally still largely work in subsistence agricultural and, to a lesser extent, domestic work. Of the 6.39 billion people in the world, only 0.9 billion live in the 50 developed countries, less than one-sixth of the world's population, and 5 billion live in developing countries. As of 2003, 1.2 billion people lived on less that $1 a day, the international poverty level, 900 million of whom live in remote, rural regions where they primarily survive on subsistence agricultural work (Bread for the World 2004, UNDP HDR 2003: p. 17-18, Rahman 2004).

Notably, rural women produce one-half of the world's food production and between 60-80% in most developing countries. They do so primarily through small-scale cultivation for household food production (UNFAO 2005 Gender). In addition, post-harvest, they provide the labour for storage, handling, stocking and processing. Poor female-headed households have significantly increased, largely because of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in a number of developing countries, [9] resulting in what some international organizations have termed a "feminization of agriculture" (UNFAO 2005 Feminization; UNDP 2001: 296). Yet, because

much of women's work in crop production consists of unpaid labour for family usage rather than for market sale, it is unrecorded in virtually all labour statistics.

More broadly, while poverty researchers importantly have studied the role of the formal wage sector in poverty reduction, formal sector wage work does not provide a source of income for many poor families (within both developed and developing countries). The vast majority of poor people, and especially poor women, provide for their families through subsistence production of various types, small-scale production for sale (e.g., fruit and vegetables, sewn goods), domestic work, and support from family and community networks, all outside of the formal economy. This strategy to provide for one's family is not limited to rural areas; urban dwellers likewise engage in backyard farming and animal raising. A few vignettes provide a framework for understanding women's work globally:

- In Uganda, where subsistence farming is the main livelihood in rural communities, almost everyone capable of physical work is engaged in subsistence production. Women participate in petty trading and perform as much as 50% of the work producing cassava, potatoes and cotton.
- Informal work accounts for forty percent of Bulgaria's Gross Domestic Product. Particularly Muslim families produce large amounts of goods for their own consumption, including raising animals, growing food and creating textiles and garments. Only 27.6% of female-headed households had a member permanently employed, as opposed to 74.6% of male-headed households.
- In Latvia, people sell cosmetics and used clothes, as well as sort through rubbish for recyclable items. Women sell clothes that they have knitted or work as domestics.
- In the capital of Angola, Luanda, nearly three out of four households have a member working in the informal economy, usually women in commerce.
- In Indonesia, 70% of all poor households were self-employed, while only 28% were wage workers as of 1998.
- In South Korea, ½ of all urban employment in 1993 was in the informal sector. Women are concentrated in agriculture and the services sector. [10]
- In a study of poor urban communities in the Philippines, Zambia, Hungary and Ecuador facing economic crisis, women moved into the informal sector and girls took over their mother's domestic work, while boys went into paid work. Thus, girl's work, as previously with their mother's caregiving work, is not documented, rendering it invisible (Moser 1998 and Moser 1996, discussed in Cagatay 1998: 8-9).
- More than 50% of the female labour force is engaged in agricultural work in a number of countries, e.g., Turkey, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Republic of Moldova, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Yemen (UNDP 2004: 229-232).

Yet, legal definitions of "employee" for social security systems in these countries (if available at all) would exclude the above workers from coverage, constructing them as "non-workers."

Particularly note in South Africa, the government's delay in embracing the legal concept of a Basic Income Grant (see Chapter IX) and instead view first, of markets, and more recently, public works programmes, as the device for poverty reduction. Quite aside from all the intricate flaws with the recently initiated public works programme, a focus on labour and markets (whether subsidized or not) is problematic for a number of reasons.

South Africa is a country in which, depending on the definition of unemployment, 5.2 to 8.4 million persons are unemployed – between 31.2 and 42.1 per cent of the working age

population (UNDP SAHDR 2003: 19-20). This is not because of lack of initiative, but rather because of lack of jobs in the formal sector. Twenty-two million people live on less that R144 per month (approximately 16 US$), income primarily generated through the informal economy, including subsistence farming and domestic labour.

The South African government-appointed Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive System of Social Security for South Africa (commonly known as the Taylor Report) recommended the implementation of a universal Basic Income Grant (BIG) under which all South Africans (regardless of need) would be granted a monthly BIG of R100 per person funded through a progressive income, or wealth, tax system. Even this de minimis amount (the equivalent of less than US$20) would "nearly completely eliminate[]" (Committee of Inquiry 2002: 62) extreme poverty in South Africa. The Taylor Report's recommendation would not penalize people for earning additional income. Therefore, advocates argue that the BIG would give poorest households the economic security for them to invest in finding formal sector wage employment (when available), educating their children, and reduce their dependence on the working poor (South African Council of Churches 2002).

While (at least temporarily) failing to implement the Taylor Report's recommendation, the South African government is funding a public works programme (Expanded Public Works Programme, or "EPWP") intended to provide short-term (four to six-month) employment for only approximately 200,000 individuals per year. The targeted populations are women (60% of participants), youth (20%) and the disabled (2%). The jobs to be performed include "'soft services' such [as] home-based care for the ill and the aged, early childhood development, school feeding, and feeding at clinics, as well as in more conventional programmes such as access roads in rural areas, fencing of national roads, removal of alien vegetation and school cleaning and renovation" (Mbeki 07 June 2003). While these jobs are publicly funded, rather than being solely market driven, the underlying philosophy still relies on an assumption that the "free market" is ultimately the means of alleviating poverty, including that of poor mothers. In other words, the assumption is that long-term poor unemployed individuals will develop skills within four-six months that will translate into (currently non-existing) private market jobs.

The reasons given for the government's embracing of the public works model incorporate a legal definition of worker much like that in the discussion of the US above: to "give the unemployed an opportunity to develop some work experience," ("Getting Down to Business 2004) or to "draw significant numbers of the unemployed into *productive* employment" (Mbeki 11 November 2003). While public works programmes, properly implemented, can be an important tool in poverty reduction, the rhetoric underlying the embracing of this strategy incorporates a legal definition of "worker" and "employment" that does not include poor mother's subsistence work (it is considered non-existent) or caregiving work. Thus poor women should be required to "move into" wage work in the formal sector to gain dignity and self-respect. By incorporating these legal definitions, much of the work and productivity of poor people outside of the formal economy is often not incorporated into the development of poverty reduction strategies.

Cognizance and interrogation of relevant definitions in any country's legal system is important as a backdrop when addressing poverty reduction strategies. Likewise, understanding the ways in which legal revisions (see Chapter IX) might dramatically change the way in which poor people are identified and discussed within the broader population, thereby affecting the rhetoric driving further legal developments, is a significant aspect of poverty reduction analyses.

## 4. Legally Enforceable Individual Entitlements to Socio-Economic Rights

Most legal regimes assume a tension between fiscal limitations and the provision of socio-economic rights. In many cases, that tension is a legally created artificial construction – the fiscal constraints articulated by all governments must be criticized through a lens that reflects corruption, misallocation of funds, and tax policies that favor the wealthy (witness the US experience described below).

The concept of an entitlement is central to the discussion of how socio-economic rights are effectuated. Many people perceive rights as being created by constitutional or statutory provisions. While this is often true, and is represented in the examples below, it is important to remember that the concept of entitlement is quite mundane in the law. Law is about establishing rights, or entitlements, and rights conflict with other rights or entitlements. As noted in Section II, the law of property, contract, family and tort create significant entitlements which often largely entrench the status quo scheme of wealth and poverty.

Two additional concepts are critical in understanding the importance of legal entitlements, both of which will be further evident in the examples below. First, a legal entitlement is not established by enacting a law that articulates that certain persons have rights. Rather rights are only created when there is a legal mechanism to retrieve the right. Second, delineated rights, even when legally retrievable "on the books," are not actual rights until they are experienced as such by the beneficiaries: this involves engagement with "law in practice," including, e.g., discretionary implementation, provision for access, dissemination of information.

In looking at the ways in which legal entitlements might be viewed, this section juxtaposes situations in the US and South Africa. In both legal regimes, albeit within quite disparate economic and legal structures, social security systems incorporate a tension between fiscal limitations and entitlement to socio-economic rights.

In the U.S., although contested, the concept of socio-economic rights in general is not considered in mainstream legal discourse to be contained in the US constitutional framework. But certain individual rights have been established through judicial interpretations of both constitutional provisions and legislative enactments, which have produced important, although limited, redistributive results.

However, the 1996 "welfare reform" bill (Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act 1996), eliminated the federal statutory legal right or entitlement to cash assistance for poor single parent families. In the debate about ending the AFDC entitlement, the term "entitlement" was associated only with the legal right of poor people to receive governmental benefits, as distinct from the thousands of other entitlements guaranteed by the legal system. Anti-welfare politicians and commentators made it appear that, as a legal form, the term "entitlement" was an aberration or anomaly in United States legal culture. In order to contextualize that debate and reflect on the importance and drawbacks of individual rights to social security within a poverty context, one must understand some historical background.

Public welfare programmes in the US originated as highly discretionary programmes for the "worthy" poor, allowing first localities, and later states (the equivalent of provinces in many countries), to arbitrarily exclude the "unworthy," primarily African-American women. Poverty was viewed as a discretionary and local concern; much as under the British Poor Laws, poor people were not allowed to move from town to town. If they tried, and had no independent means of support, they would be sent back to their town of origin to be dealt with

through discretionary charity. Gradually, towns developed “widows” pension, disability and retirement programmes (still highly discretionary), which were later largely taken over by state governments (Handler and Hasenfeld 1991: 44-81).

Only in 1935, however, did the US national Congress enact federal legislation relating to income transfers and social welfare. At that time, the Social Security Act established, among other things, the previously noted Social Security, UI, and AFDC (now TANF) programmes (Social Security Act 1935). One goal of the AFDC programme was to provide cash assistance to enable single mothers to fulfill the “woman’s role” of homemaker, rather than placing their children in institutions. To avoid the stigma of immorality attached to unmarried mothers or deserted wives, the proponents of AFDC highlighted an image of the worthy white widow. While Social Security and UI were quite racially exclusionary based on the types of employment covered (for example, domestic work and agricultural work, in which many African-Americans were employed, were not included), AFDC tended to exclude African-American women through numerous *discretionary* policies in implementation (Williams 1992: 721-724).

However, AFDC experienced a significant expansion in the 1960s and early 1970s within the context of heightened civil rights mobilization and the emergence of political movements and advocacy groups for the poor. Building on the conception of welfare entitlement developed by social workers in the nineteen thirties and forties, and the more recent legal scholarship of Charles Reich and others equating welfare benefits with “private law” property rights, (see generally Reich 1964, Simon 1991) aggressive lawyering on behalf of poor people in the 1960s and 1970s removed many of the pervasive administrative barriers and subterfuges used to keep African American women off the welfare rolls.

Specifically, in 1965, thirty years after AFDC’s enactment, the US Supreme Court, in *King v. Smith*, 392 U.S. 309 (1968), judicially interpreted the amorphous language of the Social Security Act -- "Aid ...shall be furnished with reasonable promptness to all eligible individuals"[11] -- as creating a *statutory categorical entitlement* to the receipt of cash assistance. To put it another way, as long as the federal statute was in place, families who met certain federal eligibility criteria had a legal right to cash assistance, albeit in de minimis amounts, under that programme. And in *Goldberg v. Kelly*, 397 U.S. 254 (1970), the Supreme Court ruled that the individual legal entitlement established in *King v. Smith* was a “property right” rather than a “mere privilege,” thereby triggering administrative law protections for each recipient, for example, a hearing prior to benefits being terminated, notice, and findings of fact, all pursuant to the US constitutional due process clause.

These two cases together established an individual entitlement to AFDC, an important social assistance programme at that time. But one without the other would have proven meaningless, i.e., procedure and substance cannot be viewed separately. Property rights (read socio-economic rights) are human inventions created by both substance and procedure. Process will achieve little if the law does not establish that there is a property interest that one can retrieve. Substance, i.e., a legal definition of social security as a property right, is meaningless unless the beneficiary has a procedure to retrieve the property right if wrongfully withheld. Thus, by the judiciary defining welfare benefits as property, procedural protections were triggered, and the giving of procedural rights was the stamp of a legal entitlement to statutory substantive rights (Williams 1998: 571-575).

Of course, individual rights discourse often perpetuates the Washington consensus (see Chapter IV) that focuses on individual behavior and ignores structural barriers to poverty reduction. Too often, individual rights discourse contributes to lack of communal values and the failure of individuals to understand the importance of collective action. Analogizing

welfare benefits to traditional property concepts actually might inhibit redistributive politics by implanting nineteenth-century individualistic values onto social change efforts. In other words, treating welfare as an entitlement might reinforce the image of rights as sanctuaries for independent individuals against the power of the state, thereby according a subtle but powerful normative priority to the private law status quo.

But there is also a strong case to be made that a legally enforceable individual entitlement to social welfare benefits is not just an important, but an essential, tool in dealing with poverty. First and foremost, individually enforceable rights "put food on the table." By way of example, since the loss of AFDC/TANF entitlements in the US, the number of families receiving the new programme's benefits has dropped by 64%[12] and by 54% since PWORA was enacted in 1996. The number of recipients has dropped from its peak of 14.4 million in March 1994 to an average monthly 5.14 million in Fiscal Year 2002 (U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services 2004).

Second, in the US, the civil rights and welfare rights movements effectively used the individual entitlement concept embraced by *King* and *Goldberg* in developing organizing strategies. Organizers saw the potential of the right to a pre-termination hearing as a vehicle to empower recipients -- to make them less afraid of losing subsistence benefits in retaliation for taking collective action.

Third, the establishment of an individually enforceable right to social welfare benefits can be a tool that exposes "property" as a human invention, and therefore that the background rules of property, which form much of the basis for poverty, are not natural. If that is true, then poverty is not "natural" and can be socially and legally reconstituted. In particular, the creation of an entitlement to welfare challenged and disrupted the nineteenth-century formulation of individual autonomy and independence as effort and exchange by equal participants within an unregulated market. In other words, connecting entitlement to a formulation of effort and exchange outside traditional labour markets challenged the idea of a neutral and natural definition of effort and exchange. However, US social welfare activists and scholars did not fully recognize or utilize to the optimal political advantage the radical destabilization of the notion of putting the words "welfare" and "entitlement" together.

Within the South African context, although the inclusion of socio-economic rights in the constitution of the New South Africa is an extraordinary achievement, the concept of ensuring concrete individual entitlements to socio-economic rights is problematic. Note the highly discretionary and huge racial inequality in the administration of the previous State Maintenance Grants, e.g., the fact that the programme was not operational in many African areas, the gaps in coverage of many poor people, e.g., poor adults without children and the fact that even in families with children, only the child receives the benefit which must then be shared with the family, the significant problems in implementation and enforcement of at least the disability and child support grants, which appear to be the closest thing to the AFDC entitlement, and the government's failure to embrace the concept of the Basic Income Grant, see discussion in Section III (The Lund Committee 1996: 10).

While the combination of the South African Constitution's incorporation and the Constitutional Court's recognition of the justiciability of socio-economic rights is one of the most significant legal events of the past decade (established in the case of *Government of the RSA v. Grootboom,* 2001 (1) SA 46 (CC),hereinafter referred to as *"Grootboom"),* the interpretations of the South African Constitutional Court,[13] within the structure of the Constitution's language of "progressive realization," provide no socio-economic rights for any individual poor person.[14] The Constitutional Court has interpreted the "progressive realization" language as only requiring the Court to determine "whether the measures taken

by the State are reasonable"(*Grootboom* para 33). Even more directly, the Court has stated that while the concept of "minimum core rights" contained in international human rights documents might be relevant in determining reasonableness, "the socio-economic rights of the Constitution should not be construed as entitling everyone to demand that the minimum core be provided to them" (*TAC* para 34).

Although legal regulation on the books, even enforceable, does not always translate into implemented rights by street-level bureaucrats, the limitation of socio-economic rights through such an interpretation restricts basic enforceability. Thus, while the *Grootboom* decision is important in many respects, it has had little impact on the actual plaintiffs, who continue to live in squalor. Although one reason that the *Grootboom* plaintiffs have not received adequate housing is largely the result of a pre-Constitutional Court decision settlement agreement, it is unlikely that the Constitutional Court's decision, even without the settlement agreement, would have provided specific relief for the plaintiffs. In addition, with no right to individual relief, it is questionable whether plaintiffs could get any temporary or emergency relief during the *pendency* (in other words, while the case is ongoing) of the litigation without a theory of individual rights.[15]

Both the US and the SA legal interpretations of socio-economic rights are problematic, although the SA legal delineation is far superior to that of the US. Poverty researchers in SA, less so in the US, are critiquing their legal system's engagement with the concept of socio-economic rights and struggling with means to re-imagine rights discourse in the service of poverty reduction.

## 5. The Relevance of Multiple Legal Regimes to Poverty Reduction

Poverty reduction analyses have traditionally focused on social welfare programmes and socio-economic human rights initiatives as the legal areas most connected to poverty reduction. While important sites for poverty reduction, such a limited scope of attention to legal fields is problematic for at least two reasons:

First, as discussed in Section II above, virtually all fields of law partially create and, therefore are centrally implicated in poverty reduction. To focus primarily on legally enacted social welfare programmes (whether contributory or non-contributory, whether universal or targeted), ignores the central role that the "background rules" of property, contract, tort and family law play in structuring poverty and therefore the importance of interrogating those legal arenas (recognizing that they are not "pre-legal," "natural," or neutral) in poverty research.

However, there are many other areas of the law that are also critical to poverty reduction strategy. For example, as noted in section II above, international intellectual property law is emerging as highly significant in both poverty reduction and food strategies. The Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) and the more advanced intellectual property laws in developed countries have allowed biotechnology companies in those countries to patent food crops, seeds, and genetic material that have been publicly held genetic material for generations in developing countries. As a result, farmers in developing countries are increasingly dependent on the biotechnology companies, e.g., farmers are required to buy-back previously indigenous seeds (Prieto-Acosta 2005). Intellectual property laws have also been recognized as critical by poverty researchers working in health issues of the poor, particularly regarding the HIV/AIDS pandemic in developing countries (Commission on Intellectual Property Rights 2002: 29-71).

Therefore, poverty research would benefit from an expanded legal focus, immersing in and incorporating multiple areas of the law that might be relevant to a specific research project, e.g., labour, tax, corporate and immigration law, to name only a few.

Second, focusing primarily on governmentally established social welfare programmes contributes to and, in some ways, legitimizes the dominant discourse of a "free" market by failing to expose the politically chosen, legally constructed labour market structures that partially create and reinforce poverty. In other words, such a focus fails to engage with and expose the state's role in constructing labour markets and contributes to isolating poverty reduction strategies within a perceived realm of "government intervention," while allowing market forces to be perceived as "free," i.e., outside of "government intervention."

The rhetoric underlying the recent dismantling of social protection programmes, particularly in the United States and Britain, includes several recurring themes reflective of this legal construction that views the family and the market as independent of the state – the focus on individual deviance as the cause of poverty, the conceptualization of dependency as social deviance, the isolation of the concept of "dependence" as connected to welfare receipt, a belief in the intrinsic value of wage work with no critique of low wage labour markets.

For example, many US poverty researchers (with some notable exceptions), since the 1996 US "welfare reform," discussed in section III above, have focused on developing social services to help poor families "overcome barriers to employment," instead of interrogating the structure of low-wage labour markets and challenging labour law scholars to move beyond privileging collective bargaining by unions within the formal economy as the primary site of progressive initiatives for economic and social redistribution .

## 6. Viewing Poverty Reduction through a Cross-Border Lens

Legal poverty researchers, particularly in the social welfare law context, customarily operate and conceive the implementation of poverty reduction strategies within a nation-state framework, often focusing attention on the effectiveness of particular domestic social welfare policies. But the development of anti-poverty legal policies might be enhanced by utilizing a cross-border perspective, i.e., taking into account the ways in which the increasing mobility of capital and humans informs the future of poverty reduction strategies.

Of course, anti-poverty strategies must take account of and address numerous cultural and nation-state peculiarities (albeit with important lessons for other legal systems). But a nation-state focus rests on several increasingly problematical assumptions, including, e.g., 1) that nation-states can control the impact of capital flight and currency fluctuations, 2) that immigration can be regulated through border enforcement of legal prohibitions established by nation-states, and 3) particularly for developed countries, that union density, even within a nation-state, will reach worker-majority levels and incorporate wage workers not currently included within any collective bargaining framework. Although perhaps some of these assumptions were plausible in the postwar years, social reality is rapidly pushing in a different direction.

Additionally, the increasing construction of dual citizenship and dual voting privileges exposes the artificiality of protectionism and fixed borders that seem entrenched in social protection, labour, and immigration discourse. Likewise, billions of dollars flow cross-border in the form of remittances from nationals working in other countries, often providing a significant percent of the home-country's gross domestic product (OECD 2003).

Not surprisingly, cross-border social security harmonization is being discussed and developed (albeit in infancy stages) in the European Union and the South African Development Community.

The circumstances surrounding the ratification of the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement between Canada, Mexico, and the US provide a useful example. While the US was willing to advance more "open trade" through NAFTA, it was unwilling to integrate issues of immigration and social protection within that discussion.

Indeed, the response of the US government two years after ratifying NAFTA was to restrict immigrants' access to social protection programmes within the US. Pursuant to the 1996 "welfare reform" act discussed in Section III and IV, eligibility for most social assistance, means-tested, programmes (including welfare or TANF, food stamps, and Supplemental Security Income, a programme for aged and disabled individuals who do not have a sufficient tie to wage work to qualify for regular Social Security benefits) for *legal* immigrants in the US was eliminated (Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act 1996, § 401). As a result, for example, a low income person who moved legally from Mexico to the US for wage work and then became disabled is ineligible for disability benefits which a similarly situated citizen would receive. It should come as no surprise that Mexicans are by far the largest group of United States' legal immigrants who have chosen not to naturalize as United States' citizens (Fix, Passel, and Sucher 2003). While some of the social protection benefits have been restored, the restorations are almost exclusively for immigrants who were in the United States at the time the "welfare reform" bill was passed in August 1996.[16] So the huge influx of legal immigrants who enter the country each year after 1996 are still ineligible for the majority of social protection programmes which are not connected to high wages or long-term labour-market participation.[17] Not surprisingly, this had led to a massive increase in the numbers of Mexican legal immigrants naturalizing, which will then have significant impacts on the US economy, voting patterns, and ongoing immigration policy.

Poverty researchers are limiting the usefulness of their analysis if they envision social welfare laws solely within a domestic labour market as if a nation-state had no links to the rest of the world. In light of currently unfolding trends involving massive cross-border capital and labour flows and integrated, cross-border production chains, the concept of citizenship anchored solely in the nation-state is anachronistic. Changes in social welfare laws in other countries often have important ramifications on any given nation-state (and vice-versa), whether in the form of human migration or capital migration.

Therefore poverty researchers might deepen their analyses by significantly engaging with international trade law, not only as a site within which to assess the importance, e.g., of the impact of the IMF's structural austerity programmes, but to view international trade law, and regional trade agreements in particular as an important tool for poverty reduction. As trade agreements are expanding, poverty researchers could play an important role in positioning poverty reduction and cross-border social security harmonization (with an understanding of the impact on immigration).

## 7. Conclusion

Researchers struggling with cross-culture, cross-border poverty reduction could benefit by questioning each of their own countries' legal perceptions and exposing how legal systems partially construct rather than combat poverty.

In doing so, the following methodological considerations are important to advance poverty reduction:

- That poverty research projects include a legal component, analyzing the way in which legal interpretations affect the aspect of poverty that is being researched. This would involve understanding the role which legal definitions and interpretations have in creating identities and public discourse, and how changes in those legal understandings can serve as a tool in poverty-reduction.
- That poverty research dealing with socio-economic rights regularly refers to and incorporates the mundane nature, that is, the pervasiveness, of rights in the law, ensuring that legal discourse does not isolate legal rights or entitlements as uniquely confined to those connected to poverty reduction.
- That poverty research not assume that the enactment of laws ensures socio-economic rights, but rather understands that legal entitlements are only effectuated through law in practice, including legal retrieval mechanisms, discretionary implementation, access, and information dissemination to potential recipients.
- That poverty research creatively engages with and incorporates multiple areas of the law, e.g., tax, corporate, labour, and immigration law, rather than focusing primarily on legally enacted social welfare programmes or socio-economic human rights initiatives.
- That poverty research incorporates international trade law, focusing on the implications of regional trade agreements and social security harmonization on poverty reduction.

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## Notes

[1] This chapter incorporates material originally prepared for and presented at a conference sponsored by the South African Journal on Human Rights, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, July 5-7, 2004.

[2] Conventional wisdom is that in civil law countries, judicial decisions are highly subordinated to the code, whereas in common law countries, judges play a more active role in lawmaking. Recent critical scholarship questions whether this distinction is as sharp as conventional wisdom asserts (see generally Lasser 1995).

[3] This term is used in the US and in much of the South to refer to targeted social assistance programs.

[4] If one uses "point in time" data, *i.e.*, counting the percentage of those *on a given day both* receiving welfare *and* participating in wage work, there appears to be very little overlap, showing that only about 7% of welfare recipients are also in paid labour (Staff of House Comm. on Ways and Means 1996: 474). But this type of data collection does not take into account the cyclical welfare/work population, that is, the many who rotate between welfare and wage work on a regular basis.

[5] Twenty percent of women were excluded based on minimum weeks of prior employment as opposed to eight percent of men. Ten percent of women were disqualified based on the required amount of earnings in the highest earning quarter versus four percent of men. Minimum earnings requirements disqualified almost twice as many women as men (four percent versus two percent). Taken together, prior earnings requirements excluded 34 percent of women versus 15 percent of men, after accounting for non-student status and covered employment issues (Yoon 1995: 24).

[6] For example, UI coverage requires not just a connection to wage work, but a *sufficient* connection to wage work. In particular, the UI earnings requirements disadvantage low-wage and contingent workers. To meet monetary eligibility minimums, low-wage workers must work more hours than higher paid workers (Advisory Council on Unemployment Compensation 1995: 17). In nine states, a half-time, full-year (1040 hours of work) worker who earns minimum wage is completely ineligible for benefits, while the worker who earns $8.00 an hour for the same hours of work is eligible (Ibid: 17). Likewise, a two-day a week full-year worker earning minimum wage would be ineligible in 29 states, but the same worker earning eight dollars an hour would be eligible in all but two states (Ibid: 17). As a result, two-fifths of high-wage unemployed receive UI, as compared to less than one-fifth of low-wage unemployed (note that 60% of low-wage workers are women) (Lovell and Hill 2001: p.1).

[7] Thirty-three states require that a minimum amount of earnings be received in an individual's high-wage quarter. Thus workers who concentrate their work hours in a shorter period are more likely to meet the eligibility requirements (Ibid: 94, 98). For example, nine states would disqualify a half-time full-year minimum wage worker (who worked 1040 hours), but only one state would disqualify the same worker if she worked the same number of hours full-time for 26 weeks and did not work at all the rest of the base period (Ibid: 98).

[8] One study found that ten percent of all unemployed part-time workers received unemployment insurance as opposed to 36 percent of full-time workers (Yoon 1995: 34). Women are four times more likely to be working part-time during their prime earning years than men, and twenty-four US states deny UI benefits to part-time workers (National Employment Law Project 2004: p. 1). Because only fifteen states allow individuals who must

leave their employment because of compelling family circumstances to receive UI benefits, women who leave are 32% less likely than men to receive benefits (Ibid: p. 2).

[9] In spite of the fact that more women than men in sub-Saharan Africa are infected with HIV, note the increasing rate of female-headed households in developing countries with significant HIV/AIDS deaths. UNAIDS, UNFPA, UNIFEM 2004: 31-37. A UNAIDS and UN Food and Agriculture Organization study found that since 1985, AIDS has killed approximately 7 million agricultural workers, often a family's main provider, and will probably kill another 16 million by 2020 (Topouzis 2003: 1**)**.

[10] The above information and much more, as well as original sources, is compiled in González de law Rocha 2000.

[11] 42 U.S.C. § 602 (a)(10).

[12] A number of states received federal government waivers of mandatory eligibility provisions prior to the actual passage of the PRWORA.

[13] *Soobramoney v. Minister of Health, KwaZulu-Natal*, 1998 (1) SA 765 (CC); *Grootboom*; *Minister of Health v. Treatment Action Committee*, 2002 (5) SA 721 (CC) (hereinafter *TAC*); *Khosa v. Minister of Social Development*, 2004 (6) BCLR 569 (CC).

[14] Section 27(2) provides "[t]hat the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of each of these rights."

[15] Of course, the concepts of property and entitlement within South Africa are evolving and being interrogated. Here I have found Sandy Liebenberg's (and others) contrary interpretation of sections 26 and 27 of the South African Constitution as quite persuasive: she posits that these provisions contain two types of duties (minimum core obligations and progressive realization), that is, they articulate one overarching right with two discrete obligations (Liebenberg 2001: 33-17 to 33-44).

[16] *E.g.*, 8 U.S.C. § 1611(b)(5)(1999) (restoring Supplemental Security Income and Medicaid eligibility to certain immigrants, termed "not qualified" immigrants, who were receiving assistance on Aug. 22, 1996); 8 U.S.C. § 1612(a)(2)(F)(1999)(restoring Supplemental Security Income and Food Stamps to "qualified" blind or disabled immigrants residing in the U.S. on Aug. 22, 1996.

[17] In addition, there are other connections between migration and social protection benefits. For example, in 1997, certain legal residents were being stopped at the U.S. border because the Immigration Service had received information from a state that the immigrant had received Medicaid, or health care, benefits. The immigrants were denied reentry unless they agreed to reimburse the State for the past Medicaid received, although receipt of Medicaid does not create a legal debt (National Immigration Law Center 1998: 8).

# VIII

# Human Rights as an International Poverty Reduction Strategy

**Bård Anders Andreassen** and **Asbjørn Eide**

## 1. The New Emphasis on Human Rights in International Poverty Reduction Work

Over the last years the international development discourse on human rights and development has emphasized that conceptual and operational linkages exist between human rights and poverty. This discourse in fact goes back to the 1970s when the quest for a right to development as a human right first was articulated, as a spin off to the call for a new international economic order. As will be briefly referred to below, the right to development was at last adopted by the United Nations as a human right in 1986 (although in a form quite far removed from the concept as it had originally been conceived by its advocates).

During the 1990s significant shifts in the understanding of poverty and its role in the framework of development policies emerged. This was eminent, not least, in a new interest of international development institutions about the "non-economic" dimensions of development and poverty reduction and eradication. The World Bank, in its report on sustainable developments in Sub-Saharan Africa from 1989 turned attention to the roles of "governance" and rule of law in development processes (World Bank, 1989). In 1990 the UNDP began publishing the annual *Human Development Report* series that adopted and elaborated the notion of human development, and the related human development index as an indicator for measuring development as an alternative to the previous one-dimensional measures of economic growth.

In the World Development Report 2000/2001, the World Bank promised to "fight poverty with passion and professionalism, putting it at the centre of all the work we do" (foreword by James D. Wolfensohn, p. v.). This represented a gradual shift in the Bank's policies and emphasis, and the report also importantly subscribed to the "now established view of poverty as encompassing not only low income but also low achievement in education, health, nutrition, and other areas of human development" (ibid). With reference to a view expressed in a notable survey on poverty, *Voices of the Poor*, poverty was described in terms of "powerlessness, voiceless-ness, vulnerability and fear (World Bank, 2000 and 2002). The UNDP *Human Development Report 2000* went one step further (in terms of trying to establish explicit links to human rights) by stating that "investing in basic capabilities and securing rights in law are a powerful combination – to empower poor people in their fight to escape poverty" (p. 74). Rights, including human rights were seen as having important instrumental power in fighting poverty.

This conceptual development, inspired by the notion of human development from the early 1990s helped to create a momentum for an expanded space for legal perspectives and human rights in international anti-poverty work. Following the *UN World Conference on Human Rights* in Vienna in 1993, in which the *right to development* was generally accepted at the political-rhetorical level, international human rights monitoring bodies saw a need for further conceptual clarification and evaluation of the relationship between the promotion and protection of human rights and extreme poverty. Therefore, from 1996 to the present, the UN Commission for Human Rights has appointed three subsequent Independent Experts (returned to below) to make analytical contributions to the international human rights discourse on human rights and poverty.

This brief reference to conceptual developments of the relationship between human rights and poverty reduction suggests that the poverty/human rights discourse to a large extent has been carried out by international development institutions, and their experts and expert bodies. Linking human rights to development and to poverty reduction and eradication has responded to a quest for better international and national anti-poverty and development policies. This work has also emphasized human rights should be treated as a normative substance of development, that is, as a goal as well as instrumental means for *better* development, defined as development consistent with international human rights standards and instruments. From a human rights angle, it may be argued that this trend in development theory is reflected in the United Nations Millennium Declaration (2000) where "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" are basic "values and principles" of development.

From a research position, moreover, it is essential that the normative and legal conceptualization of the interlinkages of human rights and poverty are made subject to empirical and exploratory scrutiny and examination in order to develop further our knowledge and understanding of human rights in poverty reduction as well as production processes. This, we shall argue, requires interdisciplinary research that is founded on a factual and firm knowledge of the international system of human rights as legal norms, within frameworks that give scope for causal and explanatory scrutiny.

In the next section, the main sources and components of the international human rights system are described.

## 2. Conceptual and Operational Linkage between Human Rights and Development in International Human Rights Law

### 2.1 Freedom from Want a Core Concern in Human Rights

From a human rights perspective, the occurrence of chronic poverty is a clear proof that internationally human rights are not satisfactorily implemented and that a more determined action is required to ensure better realization of human rights.

In fact, the abolition of poverty was one of the main purposes underlying the creation of the United Nations and the adoption of universal human rights. The international community was at the end of World War II determined to make human rights a global concern for two main reasons, as spelled out in the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: The Declaration was adopted because ..'the disregard and contempt for human rights which have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind..', and also because

‘the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people’.

It was the dual purpose to prevent brutality and repression and to ensure that societies secured to all their inhabitants their basic freedoms and rights including freedom from want that inspired the drafting of the Declaration and resulted in its broad content.

The foundations of contemporary human rights were established through the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) by the UN General Assembly in 1948. The fundamental value basis is set out in Article 1 of UDHR, proclaiming that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights...”. This implies that no distinction can be made on the basis of genetically inherited features such as race or gender, nor on the social position of the parents or their nationality or other factors. More important, however, is that the Declaration through the rights listed therein shall insure that everyone *remains* free and equal in dignity and rights. Men or women living in chronic poverty are clearly not ‘free and equal in dignity and rights’, and they are deprived of the enjoyment of many of the rights listed in international human rights instruments.

Article 28 of the Universal Declaration proclaims that everyone ‘is entitled to a social and international order in which these rights can be fully realized.’ This calls for systematic and deliberate action to abolish poverty altogether.

Following the adoption in 1948 of the UDHR, the further elaboration of human rights has taken place at the international level through the adoption of numerous legally binding conventions, at the global level as well as several regions of the world. Most important are the International Bill of Human Rights which includes the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), the International Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (ICEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR), the European Social Charter (ESC); the American Human Rights Convention (AHRC) and its San Salvador Protocol; the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (AfCHPR). These developments have to a large extent been followed by national implementation of the internationally recognized human rights, though serious shortcomings remain, which i.a. the widespread poverty shows.

## 2.2 The Normative System of Human Rights and the Rights most Important for the Abolition of Poverty

The contemporary international law of human rights contains a broad range of interdependent rights: Civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Speaking in favour of the inclusion of economic and social rights, the head of the United States delegation argued that ‘a man in need is not a free man’, a position which had been strongly underlined during the preparatory stages of the United Nations by the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Similarly, of course, a woman in need is not a free woman. The combination of civil and political with economic, social and cultural rights was essential for the realization of the dual concerns underlying the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration.

For the abolition of poverty, the human rights that come to mind first are the economic and social rights. The key example is the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living, including adequate food and housing. This was initially set out in UDHR Article 25, and in the subsequent elaboration of legally binding conventions it was included in ICESCR Article 11. A minimum requirement for an adequate standard of living is to be free from living in poverty. Equally important for the abolition of poverty is the right to education, the right of access to decent work freely chosen or accepted, trade union rights, and rights to social security.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child is ratified by all countries of the world except the US and Somalia. Under article 27 of that convention, the ratifying states have recognized the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development. A child living in chronic poverty obviously does not have an adequate standard of living.

Yet, while economic and social rights come first to mind, the realization of civil and political rights is also essential for the abolition of poverty. Key examples are the rights to personal security, to freedom of movement (e.g. in order to seek jobs); freedom of assembly and association as well as freedom of expression (essential in order to form and develop social movements to improve their conditions); and political rights, which are essential to ensure participation.

Crosscutting all those rights is the principle of equality and non-discrimination, which is essential for the abolition of poverty. The principle of equality and non-discrimination not only requires states and all their agents to abstain from discriminatory acts or policies, but also to protect everyone from social discrimination and eliminate the consequences of past discrimination. Much poverty is due to formal or informal exclusion or denials and the inability or unwillingness of states to bring it to an end. Gender inequality, which states under ICEDAW have undertaken to eliminate, is still a cause of widespread poverty of women. Inequality asserts itself in issues of inheritance and ownership, in access to education and work, among many other forms. Similarly, racial and ethnic exclusions or limitations contribute significantly to the occurrence of poverty, including through stereotyped exclusions of persons belonging to particular groups such as the Roma. Another example is the phenomenon of exclusion and restrictions due to descent, such as caste and similar practices, which still affects hundreds of thousands even if it such exclusions or restrictions are formally prohibited.

The relevant international monitoring bodies supervising the national implementation of human rights have pointed out that State obligations arising from their ratifications of the international human rights conventions are threefold. Regarding the right to food, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights describes these obligations as follows (similar formulations have been used for the right to education and to the highest attainable standard of health):

> 'The right to adequate food, like any other human right, imposes three types or levels of obligations on States parties: the obligations to *respect*, to *protect* and to *fulfil*. In turn, the obligation to *fulfil* incorporates both an obligation to *facilitate* and an obligation to *provide*. The obligation to *respect* existing access to adequate food requires States parties not to take any measures that result in preventing such access. The obligation to *protect* requires measures by the State to ensure that enterprises or individuals do not deprive individuals of their access to adequate food. The obligation to *fulfil* (*facilitate)* means the State must proactively engage in activities intended to strengthen people's access to and utilization of resources and means to ensure their livelihood, including food security. Finally, whenever an individual or group is unable, for reasons beyond their control, to enjoy the right to adequate food by the means at their disposal,

States have the obligation to *fulfil (provide)* that right directly. This obligation also applies for persons who are victims of natural or other disasters' (From General Comment No. 12 para.. 15 of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)

It is essential to recognize that state obligations under human rights law sometimes places only a secondary responsibility on the states, sometimes a primary responsibility. With regard to the right to an adequate standard of living, or the right to access to decent work, the responsibility of the state is secondary: The primary responsibility rests with the person her or himself, to take the measures they can to secure for themselves and their family an adequate standard of living or to seek and obtain work opportunities providing a decent income. The secondary responsibility of the state is to ensure that the conditions exist by which individuals can manage these tasks.

Ensuring conditions would, inter alia, include measures to prevent social discrimination. But when the individual is unable through their own efforts to obtain an adequate living, then the state has the obligation to directly fulfil the right by direct provision. In contrast, with regard to the right to education or the right of access to health services, the states have a primary responsibility: The state must ensure that schools exist throughout the country and available for everyone; primary schools must be free of charge. Similarly with regard to access to health services, the state has a primary responsibility to ensure that at least primary health care exists throughout the country and is affordable to everyone.

## 2.3 The Interrelations of Human Rights: Process and Outcome, Instrumental and Substantive

As noted, there is an extensive list of human rights in the international instruments. Nevertheless, as often repeated by the UN General Assembly and other UN human rights bodies, all the rights listed there are interdependent and interrelated. At the World Conference on Human Rights, called by the UN General Assembly and held in Vienna in 1993, it was stated that 'All human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. The international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing, and with the same emphasis. While the significance of national and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, it is the duty of States, regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms' (Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, Article 5).

These patterns of relationship between the different human rights are essential for the efforts to abolish poverty. Some of the rights refer to the necessary processes required, such as freedom of information (which require transparency and accountability), freedom of information, of assembly and association, by which the poor can organize action to improve their position and ensure better state attendance to their difficulties. Other rights refer mainly to outcomes: The right to an adequate standard of living, the right to social security. Some of the rights combine process and outcome: The right to education is not only essential for the process of improving the conditions but also an outcome by providing the person with an enriched range of freedoms to pursue their own values. It is possible also to look at rights from an instrumental as well as a substantial side: The right to education is instrumental for the achievement of other rights such as an adequate standard of living; the right to form trade unions and to strike is instrumental to the right to a decent income from work and decent working conditions.

There is now a broad recognition of the dual aspect of the poverty/ human rights relationship. Chronic poverty constitutes a denial of a broad range of human rights, and the implementation of human rights is essential for the abolition of poverty. This has been recognized in many contexts during the last years, such as the UNDP Human Development Report since the year 2000, the UN Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals, and the proposals by the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, for a comprehensive reform of UN institutions and UN action ('In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all' cf. UN Doc. A/59/2005). In that reform package he starts with the need to focus on freedom from want, which implies the abolition of poverty.

On the basis of these and other declarations arising from global conferences and reports, there is now a growing recognition of the necessity to move towards a rights-based development at the national level, consisting in the systematic realization of the different rights, and also to give substance to the right to development through international cooperation in creating the conditions by which all states are able to secure for all their inhabitants their freedoms including the freedom from want through the abolition of poverty.

## 3. The Relationship between Human Rights and Poverty Established by Human Rights Institutions and in the Literature

### 3.1 International Human Rights Institutions and Experts

In reviewing recent and ongoing work to establish conceptual and empirical links between human rights and poverty reduction strategies, it is necessary to explore two sources of information. The first is the human rights discourses of *international institutions*. In section 1 above, reference was made to changing perspectives on development that largely occurred in an interaction between these institutions and academic work. This is typical of the way that international human rights bodies work in this field, namely by engaging internationally leading scholars to explore pertinent issues, and develop operational implications of the human rights standards adopted by competent international bodies.

It is worth noting that a good deal of the such studies are focussed on how internationally adopted human rights norms should be transformed and incorporated into national legal systems and guide public policies, rather than exploring empirically what works and what not. This emphasises that there is a significant need for empirical-legal and interdisciplinary explanatory research to establish knowledge about human rights law as "living law", that is legal and normative standards that operate in (and often are seriously constrained by) social, political, cultural and economic contexts at various levels of analysis (from local to global).

In the field of poverty reduction, three sets of contributions developed by human rights bodies and experts are worth emphasising.

#### *3.1.1 The UN Social Forum; the Millennium Development Goals (MDG)*

The first arena for human rights discourse worth noting here, was the *UN World Social Summit* held in Copenhagen in 1995, as one of several "global forums" that followed up the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights in 1993. In the *Social Summit* reduction of worldwide poverty was recognised for the first time in global fora as one of the principal goals of

development and human rights policies at national and international levels. The Summit's *Programme of Action* emphasised the multi-dimensional nature of poverty, stating that:

> "Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; hunger and malnutrition, ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increased morbidity or mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments,, and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterised by a lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and cultural life" (*Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development* (Copenhagen, 1995), para. 19).

Traditional views of poverty as manifested by low income and consumption, and health and education, was now broadened to include social exclusion and vulnerability to risks "outside one's own control". Governments should give greater focus to public efforts to eradicate absolute poverty and to reduce overall poverty, inter alia, "by promoting effective enjoyment by all people of civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights, and access to existing social protection and public services, in particular through encouraging the ratification, and ensuring the full implementation of relevant human rights instruments" (ibid. para. 26f)

In the Millennium Declaration of September 2000, and the Millennium Development Goal 1, a similar link was made between human rights and the reduction of extreme poverty by half within 2015.

### *3.1.2 The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights Draft Guidelines*

In July 2001, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights asked the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (the OHCHR) to develop guidelines for the integration of human rights into poverty reduction strategies. The then High Commissioner, Mary Robison, asked three academic human rights experts, professors Manfred Nowak (lawyer), Paul Hunt (lawyer) and Siddiqur Osmani (economist), to prepare so-called draft guidelines for a human rights approach to poverty reduction strategies. Their report was published in September 2002. In the preface to the report Robinson (herself a renowned professor of international law) underlined the cross disciplinary nature of the field:

"Lawyers should not be the only voice in human rights and, equally, economists should not be the only voice in development. The challenge now is to demonstrate how the assets represented by human rights principles, a form of international public goods, can be of value in pursuing the overarching development objective, the eradication of poverty" (*Draft Guidelines: A Human Rights Approach to Poverty reduction Strategies*. Geneva: OHCHR, 2002)

The Draft Guidelines insists that poverty reduction should be based explicitly on the norms and values set out in international human rights instruments, and argues that this normative framework is the only existing normative system with global acclaim. But it also argues that the human rights framework is compelling in the context of poverty reduction because it has the potential to *empower* the poor. Empowerment of the poor and their organizations (where they exist) through rights of participation, public insight and the right to make legal claims (individually, but more importantly through organizations) are key ingredients of the *Draft Guidelines'* human rights approach to development.

This approach, moreover, is not just a moral framework, but a legally committing framework for any state party to human rights conventions, and most countries in today's world are legally obliged by ratification of core human rights instruments. Thus another strength of this

approach, the authors argue, is that a human rights approach is able to establish "duty bearers" who have duties towards people suffering from poverty. If the existence of poverty can be understood to be in violation of human rights, then such an approach will be better able to extract accountability from duty-bearers of which the state is a prime duty-bearer, but where other social actors also are committed through duties to respect the human rights of fellow citizens and national laws compatible with international human rights standards.

In conclusion the Draft Guidelines states that a human rights approach has the potential to advance the goal of poverty reduction in a variety of ways:

> "(a) by urging speedy adoption of a poverty reduction strategy, underpinned by human rights, as a matter of legal obligation;
> (b) by broadening the scope of poverty reduction strategies so as to address the structures of discrimination that generate and sustain poverty;
> (c) by urging the expansion of civil and political rights, which can play a crucial instrumental role in advancing the cause of poverty reduction;
> (d) by confirming that economic, social and cultural rights are binding international human rights, not just programmatic aspirations;
> (e) by adding legitimacy to the demand for ensuring meaningful participation of the poor in decision-making processes;
> (f) by cautioning against retrogression and non-fulfilment of minimum core obligations in the name of making trade-offs;
> and (g) by creating and strengthening the institutions through which policy-makers can be held accountable for their actions."

In all of these areas, empirical and explanatory research is called for in order to describe, test out and analyze these relationships between rights and processes of poverty production and reproduction, social relationships that create and sustain such processes, or alternatively national and international policies that may help to break the circles of poverty production and reproduction in social and economic contexts.

### *3.1.3 The Work of Independent Experts on Poverty Eradication*

In efforts to develop and clarify conceptual linkages between human rights and poverty, the UN Commission on Human Rights has, as noted, appointed Independent Experts to explore and recommend practical actions by human rights monitoring bodies and national authorities. In a report from 1996, the first Independent Expert, emphasized that "the lack of basic security connotes the absence of one or more factors enabling individuals and families to assume basic responsibilities and to enjoy fundamental rights. The lack of basic security leads to chronic poverty, when it simultaneously affects several aspects of people's …is prolonged and …..severely compromises people's chances for regaining their rights and reassuming their responsibilities in a foreseeable future" (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1996/13). The lack of basic security, in other words, would lead to social and economic exclusion and marginalization.

The current Independent Expert, the Indian economist Arjun Sengupta in his first report of February 11, 2005, builds on this perspective, but views poverty (and the prolonged and more severe extreme poverty) as a "composite" of income poverty, human development poverty and social exclusion. According to Sengupta the task of establishing a clear relationship between extreme poverty and human rights implies that the eradication of poverty is *a human rights entitlement* that entails enforceable obligations on identified duty-bearers. His preliminary

response to this assumption (after one year of service) is that this way of describing extreme poverty as a human rights violation is not inconclusively established because there may be situations where extreme poverty exists while no specific violation (by a state actor) can be identified. This may for instance be the case with drug addicts in metropolitan cities living under appalling conditions and utmost poverty, while no clearly identified duty-bearer has denied or violated the person's human rights.

On the other hand, Sengupta argues that it is easier both empirically and logically, he holds, to demonstrate that violations or denials of human rights *would cause* and be instrumental *in creating* a state of extreme poverty, and reversely that in eliminating poverty, anti-poverty programs that are being designed in a rights-based manner have huge advantages in terms of specifying state obligations as well as international duties to assist under specific circumstances.

What this implies, above all, from a research perspective is that the current Independent Expert is requesting more conceptual as well as empirical analysis on the casual relationships between poverty and the failure to implement internationally recognized human rights.

### 3.2 In Academic Literature

The work of the team that wrote the Draft Guidelines, and Sengupta's first report to the Commission, are indeed in depth to the so-called capability approach to development developed by Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum. The capability approach was an attempt (founded in moral philosophy) to argue and justify that *human freedom* should and must play a significant role in overcoming the deprivation, destitution and oppression that exists in the world, in spite of the fact that the world is also characterized by unprecedented opulence (Sen, 1999). The trust of the capability approach is therefore to analyze the role of freedom of agency in addressing these deprivations and oppressions (given institutional conditions and a magnitude of social, cultural and economic constraints).

Without going into further detail here, this approach, and its view on poverty as deprivation of human capabilities, has been further developed by other scholars who have seen legal norms and human rights as important institutional requirements for human freedom, and hence development as freedom in Sen's terminology.

One of the well known insights of Sen's studies has been his "dictum" that famines never take place in societies with respect for basic civil and political rights (or democratic rights if one prefers). In societies with a free flow of information, and an independent press, political institutions with a degree of accountability etc., there will always be room for averting famines, even if "famine-threatening conditions" exists.

Although this insight seems to be empirically strong, others have pointed out that the absence of famines, for instance in a democracy like India, has not prevented the prevalence of deep and lasting poverty and malnutrition (Banik, 2002).

Such insights and critiques of the approach, however, have rather been enriching and stimulated further research within this tradition, than undermined its theoretical basis, and today the current human rights discourse referred to above is much informed by studies carried out within this framework (Nowak, 2004).

## 4. Key Research Challenges

A number of research challenges can be developed with reference to this short review of the relationship between human rights and poverty. As has been indicated above, research – both conceptually and empirically - on the very relationship between human rights and poverty and its abolition, is called for. There is a need for critical research, from a human rights perspective, on existing institutional and policy approaches to poverty reduction. Research is also needed as basis for elaborating proposals for adequate institutional and policy approaches using human rights for poverty abolition.

1. Conceptual topics on a human rights approach to poverty reduction and abolition
   - The challenges in establishing poverty situations as violations of human rights. There can be violations of commissions where states carry out or allow projects or measures that lead to (further) impoverishment of some sections of the population, and there can be violations of omission where states do not take the measures required from them under international human rights law to ensure better implementation of economic and social rights for persons or groups living in poverty
   - How can duty-bearers be held accountable for violations of commission or omission?
   - Are some poor groups to be prioritised? If so, on what basis?

     Taking into account that human rights include a right to participation, what are the experiences with participation in poverty abolition efforts; what are the optimal forms of participation and its limitations?

2. Causal and explanatory research on a human rights approach to poverty reduction and abolition
   - Legal dimensions: law as factors in causing impoverishment, law as constraints against measures for poverty abolition, and laws as opportunities for the elimination of poverty
   - State compliance with human rights commitment: Capabilities and political will
   - What does human rights empowerment of the poor imply in context social and economic change

3. International development institutions and a human rights approach to poverty reduction and abolition
   - Research on experiences with poverty reduction strategies: The aims pursued, the methods used and the results achieved.
     - Empowerment dimensions
       - Transparency
       - Participation

4. The relations between the commitment of states under international economic law (and their participation in international economic and financial institutions) and their commitments under international human rights law (and their participation in international human rights bodies).

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# IX

# Poverty and the Rights of Citizenship

## Nanna Kildal

## 1. Introduction

Poverty and inequality are central topics for discussion among social scientists and politicians; how can they be reduced and what kind of public policies stand out as the best solutions? How should efficient welfare institutions be designed? A persistent issue in these debates is whether social policies should be targeted and directed solely to the poor or if they should be universal and include all members of a society? This is also one of the central issues of this chapter. By examining the experiences made by the institutional design of the Scandinavian old-age pension systems, their potential relevance for poverty reduction will be discussed. What can others learn, or avoid, by looking into Scandinavian pension institutions?

## 2. Three Principles of Welfare: Universalism, Targeting and Contribution

In the first part of the 19th century, highly targeted, means tested *Poor laws* existed all over Europe. When Bismarck introduced a new concept of state-legislated social insurance in Germany in 1883, with all industrial workers being insured against sickness in a compulsory programme, it was therefore a significant event. It expressed a major change in terms of attitudes to public responsibility for certain types of risks or individual misfortunes and was agenda-setting for the rest of Europe. The German legislation influenced western political debates and social policy developments to some extent, even though decisions varied as to priority of needs, funding, extent of population coverage, and whether insurance should be voluntary or compulsory, among other issues (Kuhnle 1981; 1996). Hence, today's different welfare state models represent diverse institutional options, not least regarding the basic distributional principles of *universalism, targeting* and *contribution*.

### 2.1 Universalism and Citizenship Rights

The main characteristic of a universal welfare state is the high degree of population coverage - people are attributed social rights by virtue of membership in a particular political community; *all* members of society are, as a matter of right, beneficiaries of social policy schemes. One primary aim of the welfare states is to protect its citizens against social risks, and a characteristic of the Scandinavian welfare states is that this protection has been provided in the form of universal social rights to relatively generous benefits. An increasing number of risks, such as unemployment, disabilities, illness and the like have been recognised

as matters of public responsibility thus expanding the categories of citizens with legitimate needs for income protection.

Certainly, the principle of universalism is restricted in all known welfare policies. In terms of income security, the ideal-typical universal allocation is an unconditional, flat-rate 'basic income' (BI) given to all – a benefit no country has yet introduced (although it attracts growing attention). Yet, some of today's Scandinavian welfare arrangements bear similarities with a guaranteed basic income. For instance, child allowance is granted unconditionally for all children up to a certain age, and old-age pensions are granted to all people over a certain age. Generally, the citizens are covered as members of specific population groups that represent certain politically defined need situations with more or less strict entry criteria like sickness, disability and old age (Kildal and Kuhnle 2005). Furthermore, the benefits are in many cases dependent on previous work performance. Even if Scandinavian social security systems have a broad coverage, some of them include earnings-related supplementary pension schemes (*e.g.* old age and disability pension) and others cater exclusively for employees in the formal sector (*e.g.* sickness and unemployment benefits).

The term 'all members' is ambiguous in the sense that it refers both to 'all citizens' and to 'all residents'. In Scandinavia, benefits and services are based on residence, which obviously is the most comprehensive principle, and also the most generous to immigrants, guest-workers etc.[1] Even so, on the whole social benefits in general and old-age pensions in particular are described as 'citizenship-based' in the Scandinavian countries. This signifies that social rights are on the level with the civil and political rights attributed to the citizens.

'Citizenship' defines those who are members of a state/political order. Although Aristotle elaborated the principles of citizenship already 2500 years ago, it has become a key area of debate in the social sciences quite recently (jfr. *i.a.* Barbalet 1988; Kymlicka and Norman 1994; Janoski 1998; Delanty 2000). Among the main issues are: increasing claims on citizenship by immigrants and refugees, the pluralism of current societies, and the allegation that welfare states are too permissive and generous (Mead 1986; Etzioni 1998; Giddens 1998). Thus, what is being criticised in particular is the idea that political membership should rest on a principle of formal equality, interpreted as *equal rights*.

The most influential account of the idea of citizenship-as-rights is found in T.H. Marshall's classical essay *Citizenship and Social Class* from 1950 (Marshall 1950/1992). According to Marshall, integration in modern, highly differentiated class societies is a matter of ensuring that everyone is treated as equal members. This can be guaranteed by ascribing the citizens some basic rights. He divided the rights in three groups: civil, political and social rights, which he positioned in an evolutionary account of capitalism as a social system, respectively in the 18$^{th}$, the 19$^{th}$ and the 20$^{th}$ century. Thus, three elements of citizenship are identified by Marshall; a civil aspect, which includes the rights to ensure individual freedom and equality before the law; a political aspect, covering the political rights; and the economic (or social) aspect, which protects a certain level of economic welfare. The equal treatment of everyone will gradually and inevitably reduce class inequalities and integrate the citizens by making them feel as worthy members of society. On the other hand, violations of any of the categories of rights will lead to oppression and marginalization of the citizens. The rights even presuppose each other: civil and political rights presuppose some level of welfare if they are to be more than formal guarantees.[2]

This idea of a 'social citizenship' based on universal social rights has been heavily criticised during the last years, both from a normative and cost-effective point of view (Mead 1992; Moon 1993; Murrey 1996; Zetterberg and Ljungberg 1997). A central objection is that the conception of citizenship 'as rights' is too thin; it is not sufficient. By not including

citizen's duties, a passive citizenship is devised instead of an active one. Among the citizen's duties, especially one is singled out: the duty to work. Thus, the critical limitation of current welfare states is their emphasis on passive entitlements and the corresponding absence of obligations, which has generated cultures of dependency and made the citizens' life chances poorer rather than better. This criticism of Marshall's concept of citizenship is not quite fair; Marshall too, realizes the necessary balancing of citizens' rights and duties, and he stresses the 'paramount importance' of the duty to work (Marshall 1950/1992: 45). However, this duty is not of a concrete, obligatory kind that today's critics of the idea of 'citizenship-as-rights' support with their welfare-to-work programmes. It is rather about a general duty to commit oneself to work, similar to the Scandinavian political commitment to full employment.[3]

Another objection to social rights concerns the costs of such rights (Holmes and Sunstein 1999). It is argued that civil and political rights can be considered 'negative' as they protect the citizens' freedom from interference, while social rights to basic opportunity goods are 'positive' as they impose actions on other persons; they make claims on public, scarce resources. This objection concerns the feasibility (and justification) of 'positive' rights; they are too expensive. As welfare rights make heavier claims upon public treasury than the so-called 'negative' civil and political rights, many countries can not possibly afford them. This is a main argument in favour of targeting as 'means testing': If the relatively well-off citizens pay themselves for the benefits they receive, public resources can be directed towards the real poor. As Sen remarks, the case for this is easy to understand, at least in principle (1999: 134). But in the end, the calculations are more complex than simple arithmetic suggests.

## 2.2 Targeting

Targeting is a means of increasing programme efficiency by transferring benefits to those most in need and may be designed in various ways. For instance, they may be designed as a fine-meshed differentiation of need-categories and more individualised evaluations, often called *tailoring.* However, the term is usually taken to mean *means testing,* i.e. a testing of the individuals' ability to pay, in contrast to needs-testing (Rothstein 1998: 19). In the pre-welfare state period, means testing was the main principle of welfare distribution. Currently it has again attracted attention in western policy discourses (Hatland 2001).[4] According to Sen, the actual distribution of public services across the world has also moved increasingly towards targeting and economic means testing (1999: 134).

However, the rationale for targeting is disputable. Even the World Bank asserts in its report *Averting the Old Age Crises* from 1994 that means tested programmes administratively are more complex and give higher transaction costs compared to universal old age pensions that provide the same benefits "to everyone of pensionable age, regardless of income, wealth or employment history" (World Bank 1994: 240). The Bank referred to New Zealand and the Scandinavian countries and argued that universal basic pensions are pension systems that avoid the effects of disincentives to work and save. Nevertheless, the Bank's three-pillar proposal also included means tested and employment-related contributory schemes, and it has been along these lines its recommended reforms have been carried out.

## 2.3 Contributory Principle

This principle, which at times is used interchangeably with 'the insurance principle', brings the norm of reciprocity into the social security system. Yet, social insurance programmes are not entirely funded by contributions. Moreover, even if eligibility in principle is confined to those who have paid in, there are deviations. Certain groups may be granted

access even if they do not contribute (financially) to the system, for instance caretakers, students or family-members. Generally though, benefit levels and duration is determined by contribution record rather than by citizenship, economic need or other principles of welfare (Clasen 2001).

There are some advantages with the contributory principle. For instance, there is a greater sense of 'ownership' of entitlement with the right to benefits being 'earned'. This creates less stigma among the recipients as compared to means tested benefits, and thus supports social inclusiveness. The absence of a means test also gives less scope for fraud, and the benefit levels are generally higher. Yet, in a poverty reduction perspective there are some serious disadvantages. The contributory model is based on employment status; the members have an earnings record. This criterion obviously excludes important population groups such as agricultural and urban informal sector workers, unemployed and women in 'developing countries'. Thus, while contributory schemes may provide high levels of protection for members, they also keep out large group (Roberts *et. al.* 2004).

## 3. Scandinavian Universalism and Poverty Reduction

Even if Bismarck's new concept of social policy in the end of the 19th century was epoch-making, it is still a fact that all early pension laws in the Scandinavian countries were limited in terms of coverage; they prescribed some elements of income and/or means tested pensions. Not until the post-World War II period did the right to receive a national old-age pension become independent of a means test, thus making the schemes truly universal (1946 in Sweden, 1957 in Norway and Finland, 1964 in Denmark, and 1965 in Iceland, cf. Kuhnle 1981).

> 'It was during the post-war period that the cornerstones of the modern welfare state were laid. Where previously Scandinavia had hardly differed from international trends, the new period gave rise to a uniquely Scandinavian model. This model is characterized by considerable inter-Nordic convergence' (Esping-Andersen and Korpi 1987: 47).

Regarding the old age pension, the post-war construction of the policies went through two phases: the first was characterized by the general acceptance and establishment of universal population (or relevant category of population) coverage with a flat-rate benefit system; the second phase from the 1960s is marked by the introduction of earnings-related and adequate benefits, and thus maintenance of social position (and to a larger extent income) achieved in gainful employment (Kildal and Kuhnle 2005).

The Scandinavian countries share with the UK a historical tradition for universal minimum protection in old age: a small, basic part of the pension is payable to all elderly persons irrespective of income or wealth (Pedersen 1999: 10-13). However, while the UK combines very low universal benefits with extensive use of means tested social assistance, the Scandinavian countries combine comparatively generous universal basic benefits with earning-related ones. Although reform activities in recent years have changed the balance between the basic and the earnings-related parts of the pensions, at the expense of the basic part. Nevertheless, the Scandinavian old-age pensions provide a safety net for the poor by lifting out of poverty those who, for various reasons, have not saved enough to fund their own retirement. 30 years ago, the poverty rate among old people in the Scandinavian countries was not markedly lower than in the US (15-20 percent), which has a liberal welfare state with a combination of a contributory and means tested pension system. However, by the beginning of the 1990s, the situation had changed fundamentally. While the poverty rate among old-age

people in the Scandinavian countries had fallen from over 15 percent to below 5, it was still 14 percent in the US (poverty line 50 percent of median income) (Kangas and Palme 2000: 340, 342-43).[5] To what degree can these differences be explained by variations in pension policies?

Kangas and Palme have studied the impact of coverage and level of pension policies on poverty rates. Other welfare states besides the Scandinavian ones have for a long time experienced universal pension coverage, *i.a.* New Zealand, Canada, the Netherlands and the UK. Still, universalism is not enough; the *level* has to be sufficient to raise the elderly above the poverty line. In UK, for instance, the benefit levels guarantee income just above 40 percent of the median national income level. This implies that there is a comparatively high poverty rate among the elderly at the 50 percent level, which also applies for USA (*op.cit.*: 340).

Korpi and Palme (1998) have carried out an interesting study as regards the design of social policy institutions and their impact on poverty levels. Their issue was the capacity of different social policy models to reduce inequality and poverty in capitalist democracies. By marking out five ideal types of social insurance programmes that respond to the risks of aging and illness, and studying them in 18 OECD countries, they found that universal social policies tend to reduce poverty and inequality more effectively than targeted social policies. They made a typology of social policy institutions and found that what they called an 'encompassing model', which base eligibility on both citizenship and contribution, had the most favourable outcomes in terms of cross-class coalitions and redistribution. According to the authors, one important reason is that comprehensive welfare systems, which provide earnings-related benefits for all citizens, are expected to generate the lowest level of private insurance (*ibid.:* 669, 980).[6] The redistributive outcome in terms of poverty reduction was lowest in countries with the targeted, means testing models, and the insurance-based flat-rate basic security model.

Obviously these findings are in conflict with the arguments that usually support targeting models. The point is, as also Goodin, Sen and others have pointed out, that the size of welfare budgets is not fixed once and for all, but tends to depend on the *design* of welfare state institutions in a country (Goodin 1988: 55; Sen 1999: 136; Coady *et. al.*: 9). Excluding the middle classes form a pension programme may remove broad-based support for such programmes and make them unsustainable; there seems to be a trade-off between the degree of targeting and the size of the redistributive budgets. Accordingly, what Korpi and Palme characterize as *'the paradox of redistribution'* confirms a well established insight, among social policy researchers at least, that a service reserved for the poor is a poor service; targeted programmes lose political and economic support from the middle classes. This finding is confirmed in a study carried out by Moene and Wallerstein (2001), and it is an often-heard argument in the US in favour of universal programmes. The argument is valid for poorer countries too, according to Sen (1999: 136). Still, it has not reached current policy makers, despite the fact that already the architects of the British welfare reforms 50 years ago, had acquired this insight. *I.a.* Richard Titmuss (1955) claimed that the flat-rate low-level benefits stimulated a strong growth in tax-favoured occupational pension schemes in the more well off segments of the workforce and that a public system which offered decent income protection also for these groups would diminish the significance of the private insurances and facilitate an improvement of the benefit levels. In Norway and Sweden the growth in occupational pension schemes among the more privileged was an important motivational force when a second tier of earnings-related pensions supplemented the existing system of minimum protection in old age in the 1960s (Pedersen 1999: 14-15).

To transfer cash benefits is an important method for the redistribution of resources. Yet, transfers depend on revenues, and assessing and comparing different taxation systems in terms of their redistributive effects is also imperative, though rather complicated (Giddens 2000: 99). Nonetheless, a comprehensive study of the distributive effects of different combinations of income taxes, social transfers and tax expenditure in eight Western countries in the period 1980-1995, found a great variation in redistributive capacity (Ervik 1998). While Sweden, with its high taxes and well-developed welfare state reduced inequality by 50 % through its tax and transfer system, USA reduced income inequality by less than 20 % (*ibid.:* 34).

Obviously, welfare systems are heavy financial burdens. This applies in particular to universalistic systems of the Scandinavian type. Subsequently, a prerequisite for such welfare systems has been a strong work ethic as well as a political commitment to *full employment*, as previously mentioned. Among western welfare states, the Scandinavian countries have implemented the most comprehensive active labour market programmes and enjoy the highest rates of formal employment, including the highest rates of female employment. Thus, an important element of the moral logic of these welfare states is the close relation between the institution of welfare and the institution of work. The Scandinavian countries stand out as 'strong welfare states' as well as 'strong work societies' (Kildal 2003).

## 4. Old-age Pensions and Poverty in 'Developing Countries'

Aging of the population is an issue that has received much attention lately. According to the UN, the 10 percent of the world population that are 60 years or older in 2002 will increase to 20 percent in 2050.[7] Moreover, the older population is itself ageing. Currently the 80 years old and those older, make up 12 percent of the population above 60. By 2050, the estimate is that this group will amount to 21 percent. Although the proportion of older people is higher in the developed regions of the world than in the developing ones, the increase in the older population will further the already high incidence of old age poverty in the developing countries. How to shape old age support in these countries is therefore an imperative policy issue.

Pensions play a key role in the old-age support systems. And it is mostly contributory programmes that are being developed, both in developed and developing countries.[8] This bias, which is reflected in debates as well, is sharply criticized in a report on *Non-contributory pensions and poverty prevention* from 2003 (HelpAge 2003). The report is based on a comparative study of Brazil and South Africa and it affirms that non-contributory pension programmes have a significant impact on poverty, especially for the poorer households. Nevertheless, even if contributory schemes exclude people working in the informal sector in concert with domestic and rural workers, only very few developing countries have non-contributory pension programmes, universal or targeted. Even fewer countries in the low income countries provide universal, non-contributory pensions. According to Willmore (2004), the following six countries provide a pension to the aged population with no test other than residence and age: Mauritius, Namibia, Botswana, Bolivia, Nepal, and Antigua and Barbuda (implemented a universal old age pension in March 2004). Namibia's pension system (1949 for Whites), was extended to African Namibians in 1973. Botswana's universal Old Pension Scheme was established in 1996 for the 65 years old and above (Legido-Quigley 2003).

It may well be that this group of countries will expand after the publication of the World Bank's last pension report, *Old-Age Income Support in the 21st Century*, which was

released in February (2005). Since the publication of the previous report in 1994, the Bank has reviewed various pension reforms, which resulted in "an evolution of the Bank's perspective on pension reform" (2005: 11). It still perceives advantages in a multi-pillar pension design, as such a model is flexible and best addresses the main target groups in the various populations. According to the bank, a multi-pillar model is also better able to deal with the various goals of the pension system, the most important being poverty reduction and income smoothing. In 1994 the Bank recommended the following three pillar-structure: (a) a mandated, unfunded, and publicly managed defined-benefit system, (b) a mandated, funded and privately managed defined contribution scheme, and (c) voluntary retirement savings. In 2005, this three-pillar structure was extended to include two additional pillars: (d) a basic pillar to deal more explicitly with the poverty objective, and (e) a non-financial pillar to include the broader context of social policy, such as family support, access to health care and housing (*op.cit.*). Perhaps more important, though, the Bank calls for an "enhanced focus on basic income provision for all vulnerable elderly", which could take the form of a social assistance program, a means tested social pension, or a universal flat benefit at higher ages, from age 70 (World Bank 2005: 14). These benefits should be non-contributive, financed by tax revenues.

## 5. A Universal Basic Income Grant (BIG)

This last version of a basic income, an unconditional, flat-rate benefit given to all, is the ideal-typical universal benefit. Although no country has yet implemented a fully developed basic income grant, Alaska has at least established '*The Alaska Permanent Fund Program*' (1982) which distributes a share of Fund investment earnings to every qualified Alaska resident each year.[9] In recent years there has been a growing public debate on the desirability and feasibility of such a 'citizen's income' or 'solidarity grant' *i.a.* in countries like South Africa and Brazil as a benefit without a means test more readily will reach the poorest population of all ages. A Committee for social security reform appointed by the government in South Africa (The Taylor Committee) proposed this idea in 2002, and two years later it was also argued for by a basic income coalition in South Africa consisting of twelve prominent member organisations, *i. a.* the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Council of Churches (SACC). In 2004 these organisations published the report *Breaking the Poverty Trap* where the introduction of a BIG was pointed out as a core component of a comprehensive social protection system. In one of the most unequal countries in the world, with a poverty rate around 50 percent,[10] and an unemployment rate around 40 percent,[11] the existing combination of a contributory social insurance system and a state-funded social assistance is not a very effective poverty-reduction strategy. Thus, after the presentation of the Taylor Report, the BIG has been very much on the agenda as a programme for filling the gaps in the social security system in South Africa.

The idea of a basic income is far from new. It has turned up in the public at regular intervals during the last 200 years,[12] and recently it has received a fresh impetus in Europe.[13] Since 1986 there has been an organised movement towards this goal, the *Basic Income European Network* (BIEN), which gathers people from all political spectres, and all parts of the world. Subsequently, both the design of the idea and its justifications are manifold and encompass philosophical arguments concerning freedom and justice as well as pragmatic, socio-political arguments concerning basic welfare and social security in societies that are experiencing social illnesses such as unemployment. This justification is the one that currently has brought up the idea of a basic income in Western welfare states. A universal basic income scheme is considered as a more adequate response to the social ills of extensive

unemployment and poverty that is experienced even amongst fulltime workers, than obligatory 'welfare-to-work' programmes. Basic income schemes will cover both the basic needs of people who have no other sources of income, and be conducive to a higher employment rate as the 'unemployment/poverty trap' will be dissolved: Accepting a job offer under a basic income scheme will not be risky, as the regular payment of the benefit will not be interrupted (up to a certain politically defined income-level). Those who exist in the periphery of the labour marked may freely move in and out taking more risks than they can afford with a means tested benefit. On the whole, a basic income will remove the compulsion to take just any job (Barry 2005: 212). Another aspect of the unemployment trap that most commonly is stressed by economists is in the lack of a significant positive income differential between no work and low-paid work (Van Parijs 2005).[14] As means tested schemes impose a very high marginal tax rate on those moving from a social benefit to a low-income situation, this obviously induces disincentives to work, contrary to a universal basic income.[15]

A similar argument in favour of a BIG is the public health argument significant in the South African debates on HIV/AIDS. It is estimated that 10.8 percent of the population were HIV-positive in 2004, and even if some of these are eligible for a disability grant, it is unclear to what extent the grant actually reaches the disabled people since their number is unknown (Nattrass 2004).[16] Nevertheless, given that the disability grant is one of the ways poor households are able to survive, any success of the government's antiretroviral treatment[17] poses some serious dilemmas for the patients, as restoring health makes them disqualified for the grant. Hence, they are faced with a choice between health and income, which makes it very likely that some of the HIV-positive persons will stop the treatment in order to qualify for the grant. Allowing HIV-positive persons to maintain the grants, even after health has been restored can solve this trade-off between the disability grant and the antiretroviral treatment. Thus a BIG will be a solution to the perverse incentives that are expressed in a saying from Eastern Cape, that you have 'won the lotto' if you test HIV-positive as you will get access to the disability grant (*op.cit.:* 16).

## 6. Factors Conducive to Scandinavian Universalism

According to international comparisons of social policy institutions and poverty reduction, the Scandinavian welfare model has proved to be successful. It is therefore interesting to examine the factors that may have favoured a social and political climate for universalism in these countries. Historical analyses have shown that at least six factors have been conducive to Scandinavian universal pension policies.[18]

### 6.1 The Reformation

The early fusion of the church and state bureaucracies since the Reformation in the 16th century made for a more unified and stronger public interest in and responsibility for welfare matters in general. Thus citizens would early direct their welfare demands towards the government (central and/or local). There was no 'competition' between state and church for provision of education and health services in the modern state- and nation-building period as was the case in many other countries of the Catholic Europe (Knudsen 2000).

### 6.2 Egalitarian Pre-industrial Society

The Scandinavian countries are marked by relatively egalitarian pre-industrial social structures; early pre-dominance of relatively independent peasants, early enfranchisement of

peasants and the formation of agrarian political parties. Party systems were created that were distinct from those in most other European countries, giving such parties a key role in the powerplay about public policies in general, including social policies. Peasants gained a relatively strong political role and an important role as taxpayers as well as potential beneficiaries of public policies. As they were critical of programmes from which they would be excluded as beneficiaries, it was hard to outline social security policies covering only industrial workers. Thus, the political setting was more conducive to searching for and defining universal welfare solutions rather than class solutions (Baldwin 1990).

### 6.3 Cultural Homogeneity

The combination of relatively egalitarian social structures, with small and relatively homogenous populations in terms of ethnicity, religion and language, and a long historical tradition of public/communal responsibility for welfare issues, made universal social programmes more likely than in non-egalitarian, culturally heterogeneous and fragmented societies. Over time the idea of universalism gained strength also beyond the Scandinavian countries, which implies that circumstances changed and lessons could be learnt from other countries.

### 6.4 Extraordinary Crises: Class Conflicts

Profound class-conflicts in the interwar years may also have been conducive to the development of universal social security systems. During the 1920s and 1930s, Norway and Sweden experienced the highest levels of industrial conflict in the world (Moene 2003). Strikes and lockouts were frequent, and the unemployment rate high: In 1933 it was 14.5 percent in Denmark, 10 Percent in Norway and 7.3 percent in Sweden (Maddison 1989: 206; Hodne og Grytten 1992: 150). The subsequent recovery during the 1930s was partly due to Keynesian policies and a recovery of export markets, but mainly due to an institutional response; an initial move towards centralization of wage setting and political compromises. The consequences were the almost complete elimination of industrial conflicts and a gradual process of wage compression that generated the most egalitarian distribution in the capitalist world (Moene 2003).[19]

### 6.5 Extraordinary Crises: War

Although the idea of universal social security programmes to some extent was vented in the late 1800s, and was promoted in ILO documents and in parliamentary committee reform proposals in Norway in the 1930s, it was only after World War II that universal programmes were actively and comprehensively introduced in Scandinavia. The war experience itself has been mentioned by many (e.g. Titmuss 1968; Seip 1986; Goodin and Dryzek 1987) as an important driving force for solidaristic, universal social policy solutions, meaning that the devastating war brought leading political opponents closer together in their fight against nazism and occupation and was conducive for forming a broader common value platform for the prospective peace era. In Germany, the World War II may have caused the constitutionalization of certain kinds of welfare rights, which is very rare in western welfare states.

### 6.6 Institutional Condition

It may be important to notice that the Scandinavian countries developed their welfare states gradually, beginning with moderate often means tested programmes for some limited groups of the population. Research seems to indicate that some early institutional solutions for social security programmes may be more conducive to being transformed into universal programmes than other solutions, *i.e.* programmes that initially were highly targeted on the poor are over time 'invaded' by the non-poor (Goodin and Le Grand 1987; Palme 1990; Hatland 1992). There are at least two reasons for this pattern:

1. Boundary problems caused by both eligibility requirements and means tests (Goodin and Le Grand *ibid.:* 109). Firstly, there seems to be no good reasons to grant a benefit to one group of people, but not to other people who live in similar conditions. This was an argument in Norway when the old-age pension was transformed from a means tested to a universal one, in the 1950s. Secondly, the means tests that are an integral part of most targeted programmes are based on discretionary judgements that appear arbitrary as there is no obvious point at which we can naturally cut off benefits. This typically leads towards granting benefits to too many people rather than too few (*ibid.:* 110).
2. Political pressure groups consist of rather strong, better-off people that press for expansions of programmes benefiting themselves. A similar social democratic interpretation of political pressure is that the working class needs political allies in order to pursue their goals, and these have to be reciprocated (Hatland *ibid.:* 107)

That early means tested pension programmes have proved to be easier to transform into universal programmes than pension schemes based on employment record, unveils the significance of policy decisions for future development in general. Many recent studies have shown that early institutional solutions have an influence on later policy options and reforms, cf. the thesis of 'path dependency' (Pierson 2000), which points to reasons why welfare state policies follow different development paths in their adaptions to similar challenges.

Finally, what was *not* a necessary condition for the development of universal, generous, welfare institutions that is worth mentioning was the economy. It is often heard that these kinds of welfare states, especially the Scandinavian ones, are very expensive (e.g. Lindbeck *et. al.* 1994). However, the fact is that at the time when the Scandinavian welfare states started to expand, in the 1950s, the per capita GDP of Norway and Sweden were the same as the per capita GDP of Brazil and South Africa today (Moene 2003).

## 7. Open Questions

Above is outlined some central features of the Scandinavian welfare model and they are examined for their poverty reducing capacity compared to other designs of social policies. Particular focus has been on various old-age pension systems. An important question is whether features of this welfare model have relevance for poverty reduction in other countries. Is this Scandinavian model, or parts of it, politically and economically feasible in other structural and institutional contexts? To what degree are the Scandinavian factors contingent, historical specific prerequisites for universalism, and to what degree are they necessary and sufficient for transfer to other countries? This question can be illustrated by the above-mentioned third condition: To what degree is 'cultural homogeneity' a necessary precondition for solidaristic, redistributive pension policies? Does solidarity presuppose a cultural community or can it be rooted in a legal-political community, cf. the strong constitutional patriotism in South Africa? In other words, it would be interesting to study the

development of universal old-age pension systems in countries more pluralistic than the Scandinavian ones. In general terms the question may be framed like this: In other historical and political contexts, what may be equivalents to the factors which have been presented as conducive to the development of the Scandinavian poverty reducing welfare system?

The issue of 'policy learning' is an area of increasing interest in a world characterised by globalisation and international cooperation; we know more about different national policies and welfare systems today than we did some decades ago. The search for policy solutions and opportunities for learning from other jurisdictions has become an important tool in the policy-making process. However, this process is complicated by the fact that policy makers have to deal with solutions that are worked out in different institutional and structural settings. The claim (Moene 2003) that there is a Scandinavian way from poverty to current prosperity, which today's low-income countries could learn from, is rather problematic; it presupposes knowledge of the historical and contextual conditions for various kinds of public institutions.[20] The question is if historical analyses of the development of western welfare systems can inform the prospects for poverty reduction in other parts of the world. What can other countries learn, or avoid, by looking to Scandinavia? Or as Else Øyen (2002) has put it: What is a best practice in poverty reduction and what are the conditions under which it might develop?

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## Notes

[1] Strange as it may seem, most political rights are attributed by virtue of citizenship while social rights, which sometimes incur substantial public expenditures, more often are attached to residence (minimum one year). However, even if every resident has a right to a basic old-age pension independent of labour market

participation, a full basic pension requires 40 years of membership (residence); a lower number of years reduce the pension benefit proportionally (in 2003 this group amounted to 4 % of the pensioners) (Ervik 2004).

[2] Henry Shue argues, similar to Marshall, that there are basic rights - to subsistence, security and liberty – that never can be sacrificed at the cost of other, non-basic rights. According to him, universal basic rights, which "specify the line beneath which no one is to be allowed to sink" are basic in the sense that no other rights can be enjoyed unless these are guaranteed (1980/1996: 18).

[3] Article 110 in the Norwegian constitution declares that "It is the responsibility of the authorities of the State to create conditions enabling every person capable of work to earn a living by his work."

[4] Although it is not always clear what is meant by the concept of 'targeting'. In the World Bank report *Targeting of Transfers in Developing Countries* (Coady *et. al.* 1004), the term 'categorical targeting' is used on benefits that the research literature generally labels as 'categorical universal' benefits.

[5] Kangas and Palme present poverty rates by age groups for selected countries. In order to assess how sensitive the results are to the different poverty thresholds, they employ three poverty levels: those whose equivalent income falls below respectively 40, 50 and 60 percent (*op.cit.*: 339).

[6] The level of private insurance depends partly on the maximum benefit levels of the public systems, and thus is one factor generating differences in income inequality in a country (Korpi og Palme 1998: 679).

[7] http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/pressrels/2002/note5713.html

[8] Still, it is estimated that no more than 10 – 15 percent of the world's working-age population contribute to a formal system of old age pension (Gillion *et. al* 2000).

[9] The dividend is paid to every resident who indicates an intention to remain in the state, regardless of age. In 2004, the Dividend was $ 919.84 in 2004.

[10] The Taylor committee recommended that the government establish a national poverty line based on absolute indicators. They used a 'subsistence' line of R 401 per capita pr month and found that even with a full take up of existing social security programmes, 51.4 percent of the population would be living in poverty (BIG 2004: 11).

[11] Based on an expanded definition of unemployment including those who want work, but have given up looking for it (BIG*:* 14).

[12] In the book *Agrarian Justice* (1796) Thomas Paine presented the first known formulation of this idea. According to him, the rough, uncultivated earth belongs to everybody, who therefore should be compensated economically for the loss of his/her natural inheritance. This idea of an equal right to the value of natural resources has later reappeared in various forms, cf. the Alaskan dividend and current discussions i.a. in Iraq and Nigeria.

[13] The support is especially strong in Ireland and Finland. Yet, already in 1981 Else Øyen argued for a limited kind of basic income in Norway (Øyen 1981).

[14] Seven Nobel Prize winners in economy have taken interest in various variants of the idea of a basic income (Milton Friedman, James Mead, Paul Samuelson, Herbert Simon, Robert Solow, Jan Tinbergen, James Tubin).

[15] The effective tax rate is a combination of the tax paid on the earned income and the loss of public benefit.

[16] Welfare payments are administered at a provincial level, and thus different provinces use different criteria of assessing disability.

[17] HIV/AIDS drugs treatment.

[18] The following description of contextual factors is to a great extent based on Kildal and Kuhnle (2005).

[19] In South Africa, a similar interpretation can be read by the inclusion of socio-economic rights in the new constitution (1996), expressing solidarity and the commitment to overcome the legacy of apartheid (Sunstein 2001).

[20] At the Worlds bank's research conference in 2002 in Oslo, a well-known Norwegian economist, Kalle Moene, advised the poor countries to look to the Nordic ones (Dagbladet 28.06.2002).

# X

# Agenda for Future Research on Poverty in the South

## Else Øyen

## 1. General Recommendations

Based on what has been presented in the previous chapters at least 6 principles stand out as important for future poverty research. They are important in any kind of research, but they need to be stressed even more in poverty research where vested political and moral interests compete with academic interests.

### 1.1 The Need for a Scientific Approach to Poverty Research

Several thousand volumes and articles have been written on poverty issues. Many of these are presented as research. However, there is a tendency that studies on poverty and the poor seem to be less stringent in the use of concepts, data, methodology and analysis than is demanded for other kinds of research. It is as if we all know what poverty is and what the remedies for poverty reduction ought to be, so the arduous task of keeping to the entire scientific procedure becomes superfluous. This is one kind of explanation. Another explanation is that there are so many vested interests in the outcome of a study that a scientific enquiry can not be carried out fully. Also, limited funds and an eager bureaucracy or donor do not have the time to wait for a complete study. The reasons for this semi-research are many. The consequences of turning the outcome of low quality studies into action may be disastrous. The poor are not likely to file any complaints. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the academic community to secure that poverty research be subjected to the same scientific standards as any other research field. Educational programmes in poverty research, national and international reviewing, and professional and financial support to researchers in the South are key words here.

### 1.2 Making Better Use of Fragmented Knowledge

The many actors in the polyscopic landscape of poverty research have in sum a sizeable capital of knowledge. Some of this knowledge is encapsulated in a discipline and difficult to penetrate for outsiders, while some is popularised and spread widely. Individual researchers make their incomplete way through a maze of heterogeneous information. New ways of sorting and linking the many fragments of knowledge need to be developed. Donors and research councils increasingly demand that research on poverty should be multi-disciplinary (or even inter-disciplinary). This is an important development but far from sufficient to make a difference. There is a need to make a thorough state-of-the-art study that can tease out the most important contributions to poverty understanding from the different actors and lay the foundation for the integration of future studies. Workshops and conferences are important arenas but ad hoc meetings do not necessarily create sustainable bonds between

different research traditions. There is a need for arenas that bring together the different actors on a more systematic and long-term basis and allow them to be confronted with the usefulness of methodologies and theoretical elements used in other research traditions.

### 1.3 Development of Methodologies, Data and Theoretical Elements of use for Comparative Studies

Poverty studies need increasingly to be comparative. Learning about poverty reducing strategies goes across national borders and international models for how poverty should be understood are now accepted and reproduced in many studies. As researchers we are not equipped to meet this new development. Both data and concepts are inadequate for comparative studies. There is a need to develop new databanks that will take into account expanding concepts of poverty. There is a need for a better understanding of the expanding concepts of poverty in relation to indigenous cultures. There is a need to re-examine theories developed in the North and their relevance for poverty in the South.

### 1.4 Institutionalising Independent and Critical Assessment of Poverty Research and its Subsidiaries

Poverty reducing initiatives have been launched, on a small scale and on a large scale. Some have not been successful and some have been directly harmful. Others have been presented under the name of poverty reduction but have had a different agenda. Individual researchers and NGOs have called attention to negative outcomes and have had difficulties getting heard. The best known example is the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programmes in the South by the World Bank in the 70es. Study after study showed the negative effects and the shortcomings in poverty reduction. It took more than twenty years before the Bank accepted the criticism. If the voice of researchers and scientific evidence is to be a corrective to heavy actors involved in poverty understanding and poverty reduction, there is a need for a more concerted effort. It is necessary to stress the independence of the individual poverty researcher and to encourage and reward critical analyses. It is necessary to institutionalise a joint forum for such analysis. This is of particular importance in the South where individual poverty researchers are more vulnerable and more likely to lose access to data and financial support if their research is critical of the establishment's poverty reducing initiatives.

### 1.5 Ethical Concerns Particular for Poverty Research

Ethical guidelines for research concerned with human beings take on a special precaution when the population being studied is marginalised, vulnerable and unable to defend its own interests. An ethical warning is even more important when the outcome of a study might have consequences in terms of recommendations for intervention, or when a study calls for direct contact with poor people. There is a need for studies on the choice of different concepts of poverty and the resultant consequences for the poor. There is a need for a broad debate among poverty researchers on the moral justifications of their choices and the broader impact they might have, or not have, on poverty formation.

### 1.6 Methodological Issues of Importance to Further the Scientific Development of Poverty Research

See Chapter III.

## 2. Specific Recommendations

It is more difficult to provide specific recommendations than to provide general recommendations. The researchable questions are endless and there is no natural process whereby one can point to some and say: in 5 years, or 10 years, these are going to be more important than others – or - research takes time so in order to be prepared these are the questions to be given priority now.

The Report presents 6 in-depth studies. These studies were chosen to show the large span in topics and approaches to poverty research and the kind of work coming from authors with different academic backgrounds. However, the need for research on poverty is so enormous and the approaches so many that any choice of a few areas must be arbitrary and can not be defended neither academically nor politically. We chose some of the areas in which CROP has worked and invited some of the experts to write the studies.

The recommendations from these studies as well as recommendations that came forward in the plenary sessions and in individual talks with the many resource persons that were contacted during the process of writing this Report, are either incorporated above or summed up in the following. Readers are recommended to go back to the full summaries at the end of each of the 6 in-depth studies.

The group writing the paper on the development of poverty research on the Latin American continent shows how changes in perception and treatment of poverty has gone through different phases during the last three decades. On that basis they strongly recommend a move away from micro social perspectives and individual theories towards macro social perspectives based on structural approaches. Historical trajectories should be added to expand the understanding of how poor people have been viewed over time, what the explanations and actual causes of poverty have been, and what kind of remedies, if any, have been proposed. Such knowledge will provide a better understanding of present poverty and the traditions in which it grows. Studies are needed of the succession of paradigms and their holds over social and political institutions and the power promoting them. With Latin American countries as the most unequal in the world, the impact of inequality and the limits of tolerance among poor and non-poor is another important research topic (Chapter IV).

The social sciences in South Africa experienced the same feeling of liberation as the remainder of society after the end of the apartheid regime ended. New studies, including studies on poverty, have been pouring out. Among the major issues is what has been named ‘the iron link between poverty and HIV/AIDS’ and the need to understand better the effects on social and cultural institutions of that iron link (Chapter V).

The link between water and poverty is one of those research areas where knowledge is moving rapidly forward. Concrete research areas for future studies can be pinpointed. It is recommended that concepts be further refined, measurements improved and decision tools expanded. Challenges are to tie also non-poverty related studies on water closer to different kinds of poverty, to do impact studies under differing financial arrangements, water availability and quality, and to understand better the role of the stakeholders. The interrelationship between poverty and environment comes to the fore in the discussion of the use of water and needs to be further explored. The conflict surrounding the right to water and the use of water is another important topic on the research agenda (Chapter VI).

From Chapter VII comes the recommendations that research projects on poverty ought to include also a legal component. Legal definitions and interpretations create identities and public discourses that have an impact on how poverty is perceived and subsequently treated. It is important not to narrow down the legal component to socio-economic rights. Poverty research needs to incorporate also other areas of law. Tax law, immigration law, labour law and trade law all have an impact on poverty, the extent and nature of which need to be understood better.

In the chapter on human rights and poverty is called for some very basic research on the conceptual and empirical relationship between human rights and the 'abolition' of poverty. There is a need also for critical research on present institutional and policy approaches. Crucial questions such as what empowerment through human rights mean for poor people and reduction of mass poverty, are left unanswered and need to be opened up (Chapter VIII).

An important research question is whether the Scandinavian welfare state model, or elements of its successful poverty reducing programmes, is politically feasible in other political, cultural and economic settings. What were the historical prerequisites for the 'universalistic' model? To what degree are such conditions relevant if transfer of the model to other countries of the model is to take place? Learning from other jurisdictions has become an important policy-making tool. But efficient learning implies also knowledge about the optimal conditions for transfer of a 'best practice' (Chapter IX).

All through the sessions where these issues were discussed some research problems were stressed more often than others. *The rights issue*: what rights does a citizen have, and what rights does a state allocate to its citizens? Are the poor part of the same citizenship as that allocated other citizens? *The institutional issue*: how to develop legal and institutional tools for the poor to be able to move into full citizenship? Are present institutions optimal for the poor population and do they aid or hinder poverty reduction? How can institutions be changed to become instruments of direct relevance for the poor? Examples are educational and health institutions, courts and police. *The role of the non-poor/the elite*: the non-poor and the elite play a major role in the formation of poverty. Their cognitive understanding of poverty and their direct and indirect impact on efforts towards poverty reduction needs to be explored further. *Poverty as a process and poverty as formed by a setting*: the need to understand that poverty changes over time and in context. The poverty we know today or knew before takes on new forms and needs new insights. It is important to explore poverty as an ongoing process in which people move in and out of poverty, and determine under what conditions those moves take place. It is just as important to accept that poverty takes different forms in different cultures and to understand under what conditions poverty changes. *Poverty as a structural phenomenon*: for too long the emphasis has been on individual and micro theories about poverty. Such a focus shifts the attention away from societal causes of poverty. Poverty is created by social constructions and these constructions need to be analysed in order to understand better where and how poverty is produced.

*A distinction between basic poverty research and research for poverty reduction needs to be made*. The two are different both in aim and approach. Basic research is a prerequisite for quality research on poverty reduction, and increases the likelihood that research results can lead to efficient poverty reduction. When poverty reduction becomes a major goal in a research programme[1] then a new set of questions are introduced. One approach is to do a 'state-of-the-art study' as a first step and go critically through poverty reducing strategies that seem to have an impact on poverty reduction. Some of the questions that need to be answered are: What are the origins of this strategy? What kind of poverty is it supposed to reduce, and what kind of poverty is left out? What are the effects of this strategy, on the poor and the non-

poor? Is this strategy culturally relevant? Is the strategy sustainable? What kind of side-effects does it have? Does it have positive synergies, and do they increase over time? Would another strategy, at the same cost, be more efficient? Etc.

## 3. Poverty Production

From the previous chapters it becomes evident that there are myriads of ways to approach the analysis of poverty. The focus presented has been on those actors who develop concepts, methodologies and theories and their impact on poverty discourses and policy making.

Another approach is to focus on those actors who actually produce poverty. It can be argued that the time has come to focus research on poverty production and to understand better the forces that keep on producing poverty in spite of all the many poverty reducing strategies that have been introduced. Likewise, it can be argued that unless new knowledge is acquired to stop those poverty producing processes, or even better reverse them, there is little gain in introducing measures to counteract those forces.[2]

The available research literature contains scores of case studies that document how different groups, individuals, institutions and processes initiate and sustain poverty. Some studies show how actors deliberately participate in a process that creates massive production of poverty over long time. Others show how a single act unrelated to poverty can result in unintended poverty production.

When trying to interpret the many cases of poverty production, we tend to fall back on causal explanations within such generalised frameworks as evil forces, personal greed, moral decay, paternalism, historical determinism, capitalism, globalisation, and the spirit of multi-national corporations. As researchers we need more if we are to make progress in the understanding of where those forces are born, in what kind of context they thrive, their direct and indirect impact on poverty formation, and the means by which they can be suppressed or done away with.

Poverty production takes place on all levels of society and it is necessary to identify the responsible actors. In human rights language these actors are named perpetrators. Different perpetrators on different levels with different influence and interaction are at play. In order to sort out the set of actors involved it may be useful to distinguish between levels of perpetration.

Poverty producing agents can be described and classified according to their awareness of the harmful effects their activity has on other people, their intentions with this activity, the benefits reaped from their poverty producing activity, and the vested interest they have in keeping up this activity. The results of such an analysis provide an indication of their strength as poverty producers.

However, much of the poverty producing activity is unintentional. For example, poverty production occurs when the major bulk of public and private resources are invested in an infrastructure that ignores the needs of people already marginalised. It is repeated when public institutions are built on the norms and needs of the non-poor who set the agenda for what is good for its own kind. Much of this activity can not be said to benefit the poor, unless one is a strong believer in a fast trickle down effect.

Direct poverty production has a different nature. Some agents will have a purposeful intention and vested interests in sustaining poverty. Some of them operate within the law, whilst others ignore legal constraints. In general, it can be said that the basic rights of the poor

are not protected, or enforced. For much of this poverty producing activity there is no legal framework to control it.[3]

Poverty production happens also in such major uprootings as war, epidemics and natural disasters. Poor people are particularly vulnerable. Part of their poverty is that they are less protected in all kinds of events and command fewer resources to buffer unexpected events and diseases. Identifying poverty producing agents and trying to describe their activities and strength is only one step towards a broader understanding towards the impact of poverty production. The next step is to understand the specific nature and extent of poverty production. This means among other things making the impact of poverty producing processes more visible through research and new kinds of data, and to strengthen new discourses.

## Notes

[1] Cf. Draft Programme plan, Research on poverty and peace, The Research Council of Norway, 14 April 2005.

[2] Else Øyen, "Poverty production: a different approach to poverty understanding" in Nicolai Genov (ed.), (2002) *Advances in Sociological Knowledge over Half a Century*. Paris: International Social Science Council; in Nicolai Genov (ed.), (2003) *Advances in Sociological Knowledge*, Berlin, Leske+Budrich Publishing House, 2003, ISBN 3-8100-4012-6, and on www.crop.org. Published also in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and German, contact author for more information.

[3] International agreements and recommendations on labour rights coming from the International Labour Organisation and UNICEF (1989) on children's' rights are largely ignored, as are the more general protection of individual rights laid down in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966/76).

# XI

# The Extent of Norwegian Expertise and the Role of Norwegian Scholars in Research on Poverty in the South

## Kirsti Thesen Sælen

## 1. Data on Norwegian Research on Poverty in the South

In a recent report from a Planning Committee to consider research on poverty reduction, commissioned by the Research Council of Norway[1], the argument is that "defining what constitutes poverty research and poverty researchers in Norway is a difficult task".[2] To get an overview of Norwegian poverty research, the Committee commissioned a study to identify research projects and publications where the term "poverty" appeared in the title or as a key word. Cautioning that such a study would certainly not reveal the whole picture, the Committee reported that the survey identified about 50 poverty researchers, and that only 10 of these could be considered as having published actively since the 1990s.

CROP has since 1999 developed a special database on poverty researchers in Norway, *CROPnet-Norge*. When the database was established, CROP sent out information to a large number of relevant research institutions in Norway, asking that researchers working within the area of poverty research register in the base with name, title, institutional address, particular research interests, ongoing research projects and publications. The database is regularly updated.

The database presently includes 78 names. Altogether, 48 different university departments, university colleges, research institutes and organisations are represented in the database. 56 of those registered work in research positions at universities, university colleges or within the "institute sector". 11 are students, mostly on Ph.D. level, and 11 work in administrative positions in research institutions or institutions involved in research funding or development assistance policy. 40 of those classified as researchers or students work within the university system (mainly Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), Trondheim, University of Bergen and University of Oslo), 9 at different University colleges and 18 in the "institute sector". No one single department or institute is registered with more than 4 researchers/students.

Most of the researchers seem to be based in traditional social science disciplines, the majority coming from economics, anthropology, sociology, political science or geography. Nearly all the projects reported are directed towards poor regions in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, or, to a certain degree, transitional economies in the former Soviet Union. Some of the research is aimed at the national or international system of development assistance, with focus on "impact assessment". The general impression, however, is that the research reported is rather fragmented. With few exceptions, the projects seem to be "one-researcher-projects", and there are few references to more concerted efforts of interdisciplinary collaboration in the field.

Presumably, those who have registered consider themselves to work with poverty-related research. However, only 30 of them have used the word "poverty" in the description of their main research interests. 11 have registered only with their name, title and institutional affiliation. Of the remaining 67, 29 have not used the terms "poor" or "poverty", neither in their research interest profiles nor in the titles of their publications or projects.

Inclusion in the data base is dependent on researchers registering on their own initiative. There is no way of knowing how representative the database is of Norwegian researchers actually working in the field. The data give a clear indication, though, that "poverty research" has not yet become a household concept within the Norwegian research community and that the term "poverty" is not necessarily a key concept even among researchers defining themselves as working with poverty-related research directed towards the South.

## 2. The Framework of Norwegian Poverty Research Directed towards the South

There is reason to believe that the available "hard data" on the extent and scientific approaches of Norwegian poverty research directed towards the South do not give the whole picture of poverty-relevant scientific expertise in the Norwegian research community. To understand more it is necessary to look more closely at the "conceptual problem" indicated by the analysis of the CROP database.

It has been common practice to understand "poverty research" as more or less a sub-set of "development research".[3] In his analysis of the relationships between development aid, foreign policy and power in the Norwegian public sphere[4], Terje Tvedt shows how "development research" has come to play a special role in legitimising Norway as a major international player in international aid and development assistance. This situation has particular consequences as to who defines what "development research" is and what kind of development research is being financed within the Norwegian research community.[5] Another consequence is that those who define themselves as "development researchers" within the Norwegian research community have developed a special relationship with political and other public institutions in the field, not found to the same extent in other parts of Norwegian academic research. Tvedt finds that in the beginning of the 1990s more than 90% of the most active development researchers within the social sciences had worked as consultants for NORAD, the Department of International Affairs, the World Bank, the United Nations, etc.[6]

Since the middle 1980s it has been accepted practice that for development research to be funded, it should document "usefulness" for Norwegian development aid activities.[7] This situation is still reflected in the title of the report from the planning committee considering research on poverty reduction[8], *Breaking the circle: which ways out of poverty?*, which seems to indicate that what one is looking for, is research directly aimed at formulating policies for poverty reduction. In the summary of "Key elements in a new strategic plan for poverty research", it is stated that "The strategy outlined in this report could assist the Government in achieving some of the key objectives in its Action Plan "Fighting Poverty" ", and that one of the pillars of the proposed strategy is to "(a)rticulate an understanding of poverty-focused research as a sub-set of development research".[9]

At the same time the report is critical to the system hitherto practiced by the Research Council in funding development research, most notably under the special umbrella of "Globalisation and marginalisation: Multi-and interdisciplinary research on development paths in the South". The report claims that this funding system, the main common

denominator being “the South”, has led to 1) a lack of coherence in Norwegian development research, 2) that this kind of research has been marginalised, especially within Universities, and 3) an undue proliferation of limited research funds.[10] The report is also clear about the need to support more independent poverty research and larger, more comprehensive projects, and especially points to the importance of strengthening scientific capacity building in the field.

It is within this framework of partly conflicting objectives that Norwegian poverty research directed towards the South seems to be expected to find its national space. For the scientific community this represents a problem of definition and identification. No one will question that the need for research on poverty is primarily related to the quest for understanding the causes of poverty, in order to obtain poverty reduction. Everybody agrees what is needed is more knowledge, for poverty reduction policies to succeed. The problem arises when the line between science and politics gets blurred and scientists are expected to be political actors in their own right. In this situation, scientists who want to maintain their scientific freedom either have to conform with the reigning “paradigm”, in the sense that they use the “right” concepts in their project descriptions and funding applications and thereby are identified as (in this case) “development researchers”, or they may define themselves as falling completely outside the field of development research and seek their funding elsewhere. This is probably one of the reasons why so many Norwegian researchers, though inarguably working with North-South relations or what may be labelled “non-European studies”, do not appear in registers of development researchers, however clear they otherwise may be about the relevance of their research to the understanding of development processes in the South. This is probably also one of the reasons behind the growing criticism of the diminishing resources for research funding outside the pre-defined programme frameworks of the national research council.

For poverty research this represents a double problem. On one side, they are placed as a sub-group of “development researchers”, the main common denominator being “the South”. On the other side, much of the international poverty research as we see it today clearly goes beyond this kind of definition, being as it is more and more concerned with global questions of democracy, human rights, conflict resolution and natural resource management.

## 3. The Role of Norwegian Scholars in International Poverty Research

The strong Norwegian political commitment to international aid and development assistance during the last decades has had also the effect that expertise on policies of poverty reduction in the South has emerged. Norwegian experts are generally respected within the international community of humanitarian aid, development assistance and conflict resolution. Many of these experts have been recruited from or are still part of the Norwegian research community. In this sense, the interplay between politics and science has been fruitful in producing better informed policies, and the funding of commissioned research and policy evaluation seems a natural part of the advisory system supporting Norwegian foreign policy decisions.

The question here, however, is what role Norwegian scholars have or should have within basic, international, academic poverty research where the aim is to understand better the complicated societal structures and processes which are root causes of poverty production and maintenance of poverty. This is research which is to be judged on its own merit as viable knowledge production, independently of its short-term value as a basis for policy

implementation. It is about new ideas, critical analysis and challenging current paradigms of what kind of "development" that is needed to obtain significant poverty reduction.

The Norwegian research society is small and can not be expected to cover anywhere near the full range of research needed. What can be done is to contribute to the general development of research capacity building, both by drawing on the kinds of research that already have strong traditions in our own society and by the facilitation of further competence building through international contacts and research cooperation across different cultures and social contexts.

The international poverty research, as for instance shown in the international database of the CROP network and the attendance at CROP scientific workshops, is mainly rooted in social science research, but in a very broad sense, often transgressing traditional borders of faculty divisions in Western university systems. Else Øyen argues in this report that "(s)o far there have been few successful attempts of integrating the different disciplinary approaches (to poverty research) in a theoretical and coherent manner".[11] Experience shows that poverty research needs to be multi-disciplinary in its approach. For this to be done without compromising the general requirements of a solid theoretical and methodological basis in academic research, there is a need to organise multi-disciplinary research programmes and other arenas for researchers from different disciplines to meet and cooperate. One way to facilitate co-operation and increase progress is to offer courses on theories and methodologies that are particular to poverty research.

Norwegian research has a rather strong national tradition of organising cross-disciplinary research cooperation. In this context one can point to large programmes of research on the development of the welfare state, the development of small democracies in Europe, the development of civil society as part of the nation-building process, and projects on sustainable development. Most Norwegian researchers who are concerned with studying societal change and development in a broad and international perspective belong to international research networks within their respective fields of knowledge. They are already engaged in a broad range of research projects and programmes aimed at the study of the societal structures and processes which can be related to the poverty situation in "non-European" countries and regions. They have a role to play, both nationally and internationally, in the further development of research projects and programmes directly aimed at providing independent, basic knowledge on poverty in the South, in close co-operation with their international counterparts.

## Notes

[1] The Research Council of Norway (2003) *Breaking the circle: which ways out of poverty?*, Oslo.
[2] Ibid, p. 34.
[3] See for instance the figure and discussion in the Report to the Research Council, *ibid*, p. 20.
[4] Terje, Tvedt (2003) *Utviklingshjelp, utenrikspolitikk og makt. Den norske modellen*, Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag.
[5] Tvedt claims, i.a., that this has led to a situation where "Den dominerende betegnelse på forskningens bestemmelse og interessefelt er fra et vitenskapelig synspunkt vilkårlig og bestemt av "uhjelps-perspektivet", and claims that Norwegian researchers are increasingly being forced to adopt this perspective to have access to research funding, *ibid*, p. 119
[6] *Ibid*, p. 126.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 122-124.
[8] The Research Council of Norway, op.cit.
[9] *Ibid*, p. 5
[10] *Ibid*, p. 37
[11] Ch. II.

# APPENDIX

# A

# Overview of Institutions Involved in Poverty Research

## Jarichje Moeshart

An extensive search on the Internet was carried out. The search was facilitated by several members of the CROP network and their knowledge of research institutions. The final result (as per October 2004) was 361 hits. The list is not homogenous and not complete. The list contains a mixture of institutions that in one way or the other is involved in poverty studies, either as carrying out research, using research in applied studies or distributing research results in different settings for educational or policy purposes. Time has permitted only a partial investigation of the many websites and an evaluation as to whether poverty studies are the major purpose of an institution. Also, many of the institutions announcing development studies as their major purpose may not have poverty as an essential element in their activities.

The list is not complete. We do not pretend to have found all institutions involved in poverty studies. Partly because some do not appear on Internet, Partly because our search might not have been well enough developed.[1] Given the present international agenda where poverty has a prominent position new institutions are likely to increase rapidly. A new search within the next year or so might result in many more hits.

The following procedure was implemented:

1. Google search engine was used, entering the following keywords: Centre+poverty+research. This resulted in some hits, mostly institutions in the North.
2. The following combination of keywords was entered, in the hope of producing a ready-made database of poverty research institutions: list+poverty+research. Nothing came of this search.
3. A broader approach was attempted, using only the keywords poverty+research. This provided the names of many institutes and research programmes.
4. The homepage of specific institutions known to be involved in poverty research was examined. It lead for example to the homepage of the Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research in the UK which contained a page full of links to British and international organisations, institutions and centres involved in academic research on poverty. All of these links were followed up to their respective web pages and a decision was made about their suitability for the purpose.
5. The database of the World Bank http://poverty.worldbank.org/webguide/category/4#10336 contained a large number of institutions, some of which were decided suitable for our purpose. The links to relevant institutions were followed up to their homepages.
6. The database of poverty research institutes of UNESCO was equally scrutinised. This database (http://databases.unesco.org/poverty/form.shtml) includes 257 institutes labeled as institutions doing poverty research. Many of these are located in the South.

The search was performed by entering one country name at a time, ascertaining the suitability of the institution and following up the link to the homepage.

7. The European Association of Development Research and Training Institute (www.eadi.org) was another one of the specific candidates for a closer look. This resulted in a database with several institutions per country. Not all were considered meaningful, as some institutions were not committed to research on poverty or had websites that could not be traced.

8. The following directories were made available from Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI), Bergen, Norway, and were used to locate more institutions:
    - *U-landsaktiviteter i Danmark. U Vej-viser* 2000
    - *Suisse-Tiers Monde/Dritte Welt: Verzeichnis der Institutionen 1992-1994*
    - Nordisk Arbejdsgruppe for U-landsdokumentation, *Nordiske U-landsbiblioteker - en vejviser* (1998)
    - OECD, *Directory of Research and Training Institutions and Organisations of ESD in Asia and the Pacific* (1995)
    - OECD, *Directory of Development Research and Training Institutes in Africa* (1986)
    - OECD, *Directory of Development Research and Training Institutes in Latin America* (1984)

    In the OECD directories, it was possible to use the index of keywords to search for institutes that focus especially on poverty research.

9. The institutes found in the directories of CMI were entered into the Google search engine to find out whether they still existed, had changed name or address, had a webpage, and were doing relevant research. Of the 118 institutes originally found in the directories, 54 were included in the overview here. For the larger part of the institutes no records could be found online, leading to a decision not to include them, as some of the OECD directories were around 20 years old, rendering the quality of their information doubtful. Some search actions led to new hits on institutions not previously discovered, like the contemporary Africa database. http://africadatabase.org. Entering the keywords social+economic+research or poverty+research or development+research led to a number or organisations, some of which were relevant. The search to provide an overview of institutions worldwide concerned with poverty research had by then resulted in 361 institutions and was concluded due to time constraints.

Due to size limitations the overview is presented two times on the following pages. The first presentation gives the name of the institutions, acronym, country and webpage/e-mail address. The second presentation exchanges the web-address column with a description of the organisations, as found on their homepage.

**Notes**

[1] All readers are invited to come forward with institutions missing from this list. We plan to publish the list on the CROP webpage once the Report has been delivered to the Norwegian Research Council. You may contact us by E-mail: crop@uib.no

# A

## Overview of Institutions Involved in Poverty Research

| NAME | ACRONYM | HEADQRT. | WEBPAGE/EMAIL/ADDRESS |
|---|---|---|---|
| **AFRICA** | | | |
| Centre de Recherche en Economie Appliquée pour le Développement | CREAD | Algeria | http://www.cread.edu.dz/ |
| Centre pour l'Environment et le Développement en Afrique | CEDA | Benin | cedaong@yahoo.fr |
| Groupe de Recherche et d'Action pour le Bien-Etre Social | GRABS | Benin | grabs@intnet.bj |
| Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis | BIPDA | Botswana | http://www.bidpa.bw/ |
| Centre d'Etudes Econmique et Sociales de l'Afrique de l'Ouest | CESAO | Burkina Faso | cesao.bobo@fasonet.bf |
| Centre d'Etudes, de Documentation, de Recherches Economique et Social | CEDRES | Burkina Faso | kabore@cedres.univ-ouga.bf |
| Institut Panafricain pour le Developpement Afrique de l'Ouest et du Sahel | IPD/AOS | Burkina Faso | http://www.ipdaos.bf/ |
| Centre Universitaire de Recherche pour le Développement Economique et Social | CURDES | Burundi | rectorat@biblio.ub.edu.bi |
| Centre for Action-Orientated Research on African Development | CARAD | Cameroon | jowifor@yahoo.fr |
| Groupe de Recherche sur les Villes du Cameroon | GREVCA | Cameroon | http://site.voila.fr/rjassako/ |
| Pan African Institute for Development, Central Africa | PAID-CA | Cameroon | P.O. Box 4078, Douala, Cameroon. E-mail: ipdac@camnet.cm |
| Pan African Institute for Development, West Africa | PAID-WA | Cameroon | http://www.paid-wa.org/ |
| Comité International des Femmes Africaines pour le Développement | CIFAD | Cote d'Ivoire | cifad@avuso.ci |
| Ecole National Supérieure de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée | ENSEA | Cote d'Ivoire | http://www.ensea.org/ |
| Institute de Reserches Econmiques et Sociales | IRES | D.R. Congo | ires_fasec_unkin@hotmail.com |
| Social Research Centre | SRC | Egypt | http://www.aucegypt.edu/academic/src/ |
| Institute of Development Research | IDR | Ethiopia | http://www.aau.edu.et/research/idr/index.php |
| Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern & Southern Africa | OSSREA | Ethiopia | http://www.ossrea.net |
| Labaratoire d'Economie Appliquée | LEA | Gabon | ondo.ossa@internetgabon.com |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Ghana | http://www.uccghana.net/Schools/CENTRE_FOR_DEVELOPMENT_STUDIES.htm |
| Green Earth Organization | GEO | Ghana | http://www.greenearth.org.gh/ |
| Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research | ISSER | Ghana | http://www.isser.org/ |
| University for Development Studies | | Ghana | http://www.ghanauniversities.com/university_for_development_stud.htm |
| Centre Ivoirien de Recherche Economique et Sociale | CIRES | Ivory Coast | Université de Cocody, 08 BP 1295, Abidjan 08, Ivory Coast |

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|---|---|---|---|
| Institut Africain pour le Développement Economique et Social | INADES | Ivory Coast | inades@africaonline.co.ci |
| Institute for Development Studies | IDS | Kenya | idsdirector@swiftkenya.com |
| United Nations Human Settlements Programme | UN-HABITAT | Kenya | http://www.unchs.org/ |
| African Centre for Applied Research and Training in Social Development | ACARTSOD | Lybia | PO Box 80606, Tripoli, Libya |
| Centre National de Recherche Appliquée au Développement Rural | CENRADERU | Madagascar | http://takelaka.dts.mg/fofifa/ |
| Centre for Social Research | CSR | Malawi | http://www.csr.org.mw/ |
| Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit | NEPRU | Namibia | http://www.nepru.org.na/research/poverty.htm |
| Africa Leadership Forum | ALF | Nigeria | http://www.africaleadership.org/ |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Nigeria | Mr. V.A.O. Adetula. E-mail: vadetula@skannet.com |
| Centre for Gender and Social Policy Studies | CGSPS | Nigeria | centgend@oauife.edu.ng |
| Faculté des Sciences Economiques, Sociales et de Gestion | SESG | Rwanda | http://www.nur.ac.rw/econom3_fr.htm |
| Centre de Suivi Ecologique | CSE | Senegal | http://www.cse.sn/ |
| Collectif Africain pour la Recherche, l'Action et la Formation | CARAF | Senegal | http://www.caraf-ong.org/ |
| Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa | CODESRIA | Senegal | http://www.codesria.org/ |
| ENDA- Equipe Synergie Genre et Développement | ENDA-SYNFEV | Senegal | http://www.enda.sn/synfev/synfev.htm |
| Institut Africain de Gestion Urbaine | IAGU or AUMI | Senegal | http://www.iagu.org/ |
| Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society | CASAS | South Africa | http://www.casas.co.za/ |
| Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa | HSRC | South Africa | http://www.hsrc.ac.za/ |
| Institute of Social and Economic Research | ISER | South Africa | http://www.ru.ac.za/institutes/iser/index.html |
| School of Development Studies | SODS | South Africa | http://www.nu.ac.za/csds/ |
| Southern African Regional Poverty Network | SARPN | South Africa | http://www.sarpn.org.za/ |
| Babiker Badri Scientific Association for Women's Studies | BBSAWS | Sudan | gameit_bbsaws@hotmail.com |
| Development Studies and Research Centre | | Sudan | http://www.sudan.net/uk/f-econom.htm |
| Social and Human Development Consultative Group | SAHDCG | Sudan | sahdcg@yahoo.com |
| Economic and Social Research Foundation | ESRF | Tanzania | http://www.esrftz.org/ |
| Economic Research Bureau | ERB | Tanzania | http://www.udsm.ac.tz/departments/Economicresearch.html |
| Institute of Development Studies | IDS | Tanzania | http://www.udsm.ac.tz/ucb/instiofdevelop.html |
| Economic Policy Research Centre | EPRC | Uganda | http://www.eprc.or.ug/ |
| Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics | | Uganda | isae@imul.com |
| Uganda Gender Resource Centre | UGRC | Uganda | ugrc@africaonline.com |
| Pan African Institute for Development, East and Southern Africa | PAID-ESA | Zambia | P.O. Box 808, Kabwe, Zambia. E-mail: paidesa@zamnet.zm |
| Centre for Applied Social Sciences | CASS | Zimbabwe | http://www.uz.ac.zw/units/cass/ |
| Institute of Development Studies | IDS | Zimbabwe | http://www.uz.ac.zw/units/ids/ |

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|---|---|---|---|
| Southern Africa Political Economy Series Trust | SAPES Trust | Zimbabwe | http://www.sapes.co.zw/ |

## LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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|---|---|---|---|
| Centro de Estudios de Población | CENEP | Argentina | http://www.cenep.org.ar/ |
| Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad | CEDES | Argentina | http://www.cedes.org |
| Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Laborales | CEIL-PIETTE | Argentina | http://www.ceil-piette.setcip.gov.ar/ |
| Consejo Latinamerica de Ciencias Sociales | CLACSO | Argentina | http://www.clacso.org/ |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Programa Argentina | FLACSO | Argentina | http://www.flacso.org.ar/ |
| Instituto de Estudios Económicos sobre la Realidad Argentina y Latinoaméricana | IERAL | Argentina | http://www.ieral.org/ |
| Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas | IIGHI | Argentina | http://www.conicet.gov.ar/webue/iighi/ |
| Instituto Internacional de Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo, América Latina | IIED-AL | Argentina | http://www.iied-al.org.ar/ |
| Quality of Life Program (Bariloche Foundation) | VIDA | Argentina | http://www.fundacionbariloche.org.ar/english/vida/description.html |
| Centro de Estatística Religiosa e Investigaçoes Sociais | CERIS | Brazil | http://www.ceris.org.br/ |
| Centro de Estudos e Açao Social | CEAS | Brazil | http://www.ceas.com.br/ |
| Centro de Filosofia e Ciencias Humanas | CFCH | Brazil | http://www.cfch.ufrj.br/ |
| Centro de Recursos Humanos da Universidade Federal da Bahia | CRH-UFBA | Brazil | http://www.portal.ufba.br |
| Curso de Mestrado em Economia | CAEN | Brazil | http://www.caen.ufc.br/ |
| Expert Group on Poverty Statistics | Rio Group | Brazil | http://www.ibge.gov.br/poverty/ |
| Fundaçao Getùlio Vargas | FGV | Brazil | http://www.fgv.br/ |
| Fundaçao Joaquim Nabuco | FUNDAJ | Brazil | http://www.fundaj.gov.br |
| Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas | IFCH | Brazil | http://www.unicamp.br/ifch/ |
| UNDP International Poverty Centre | IPC | Brazil | http://www.undp.org/povertycentre/ |
| Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía | CELADE | Chile | http://www.eclac.cl/celade/ |
| Corporación de Investigaciones Económicas para Latinoamérica | CIEPLAN | Chile | cieplan@ctcreuna.cl |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Chile | FLACSO | Chile | http://www.flacso.cl/flacso/ |
| Instituto de Economia | | Chile | http://volcan.facea.puc.cl/economia/ |
| Instituto de Sociología | IS-UCCH | Chile | http://www.puc.cl/sociologia/ |
| Instituto Latinoamericano de doctrinay estudios sociales | ILADES | Chile | http://www.ilades.cl/ |
| Programa de Economía del Trabajo | PET | Chile | http://www.petchile.cl/ |
| SUR Corporación de Estudios Sociales y Educación | SUR | Chile | http://www.sitiosur.cl/ |
| Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico | CEDE | Colombia | http://economia.uniandes.edu.co/html/cede/cede.htm |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Costa Rica | FLACSO | Costa Rica | http://www.flacso.or.cr/ |
| Instituto Centroamericano de administracion publica | ICAP | Costa Rica | http://www.icap.ac.cr/ |

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|---|---|---|---|
| Instituto de Estudios Sociales en Población | IDESPO | Costa Rica | http://www.una.ac.cr/idespo/ |
| Centro de Estudios Demográficos | CEDEM | Cuba | http://www.uh.cu/centros/cedem/CEWEB.htm |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Ecuador | FLACSO | Ecuador | http://www.flacso.org.ec/ |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Guatemala | FLACSO | Guatemala | http://www.flacso.edu.gt/ |
| Panos Institute, The | | Haiti | http://www.panosinst.org/ |
| Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies | SALISES | Jamaica | http://salises.uwimona.edu.jm:1104/ |
| Center of Research for Development | CIDAC | Mexico | http://www.cidac.org/ |
| Centro de Estudios Demográficos y de Desarrollo Urbano | CEDDU | Mexico | http://www.colmex.mx/centros/ceddu/index.htm |
| Centro de Estudios Sociológicos | CES | Mexico | http://www.colmex.mx/centros/ces/index.htm |
| Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas | CIDE | Mexico | http://www.cide.edu |
| Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social | CIESAS | Mexico | http://www.ciesas.edu.mx |
| División de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad | DEES | Mexico | http://www.cucsh.udg.mx/mxdivdep/phpdees/index.php |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede México | FLACSO | Mexico | http://www.flacso.edu.mx/ |
| Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales | IIS/UNAM | Mexico | http://www.unam.mx/iisunam/ |
| Centro de Análisis y Difusión de Economía Paraguaya | CADEP | Paraguay | http://www.cadep.org.py/ |
| Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo | DESCO | Peru | http://www.desco.org.pe/ |
| Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, Económicas, Políticas y Antropológicas | CISEPA-PUCP | Peru | http://www.pucp.edu.pe/invest/cisepa/ |
| Instituto Apoyo | | Peru | http://www.iapoyo.org.pe/ |
| Instituto de Estudios Peruanos | IEP | Peru | http://iep.perucultural.org.pe |
| Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana | CLAEH | Uruguay | http://www.claeh.org.uy/ |
| Instituto de Promocíon Económico Social del Uruguay | IPRU | Uruguay | http://www.uruguaysolidario.org.uy/ipru/index.html |
| Social Watch | | Uruguay | http://www.socialwatch.org/en/portada.htm |

## ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canberra Group, The | | Australia | http://poverty.worldbank.org/webguide/category/4#10336 |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Australia | http://www.ssn.flinders.edu.au/dvst/ |
| Development Studies Network | | Australia | http://devnet.anu.edu.au/ |
| Edmund Rice Centre for Justice and Community Education | ERC | Australia | http://www.erc.org.au/ |
| Poverty Research Centre | | Australia | http://rspas.anu.edu.au/economics/povrc.html |
| Social Policy Research Centre | SPRC | Australia | http://www.sprc.unsw.edu.au |
| Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies | BIISS | Bangladesh | http://biiss.org/ |
| Bangladesh Unnayan Gobeshona Protishthan | BIDS | Bangladesh | http://www.bids-bd.org/ |
| Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific | CIRDAP | Bangladesh | http://www.cirdap.org.sg/ |

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|---|---|---|---|
| Institute of Population Research, The | | China | http://www.pku.edu.cn/academic/research/rkyjs/eindex.html |
| Institute of Sociology | | China | http://www.cass.net.cn/Chinese/s09_shx/english/ |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Fiji | http://www.usp.ac.fj/devstudy/cds.html |
| Development Alternatives with Women in a New Era | DAWN | Fiji | http://www.dawn.org.fj/ |
| Afro-Asian Rural Development Organisation | AARDO | India | http://www.aardo.org/ |
| Baif Development Research Foundation | | India | http://www.baif.com/index.htm |
| Centre for Action Research and Development Initiative | CARDI | India | http://education.vsnl.com/cardi/ |
| Centre for Development Studies and Activities | | India | Anita Gokhale Beninger, PO Box 843, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona 411004, India. |
| Centre for Economic and Social Studies | CESS | India | http://www.cess.ac.in/cesshome/cessmain.asp |
| Centre for Research, Planning and Action | CERPA | India | http://www.indev.nic.in/cerpa/ |
| Centre for the Study of Administration of Relief | CSAR | India | csar.rsami@gems.vsnl.net.in |
| Centre for the Study of Developing Societies | CSDS | India | 29 Rajpur Road, Delhi 110054 India |
| Centre for Women's Development Studies | CWDS | India | http://www.cwds.org/ |
| Council for Social Development | CSD | India | http://www.csdindia.org/ |
| Entrepeneurship Development Institute India | EDI | India | http://www.ediindia.org/ |
| Giri Institute of Development Studies | GIDS | India | gids@sancharnet.in |
| Gujrat Institute of Development Research | GIDR | India | http://www.gidr.ac.in/ |
| HCM Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration | RIPA | India | Jawaharlal Nehru Marg, Jaipur 302017, Rajasthan, INDIA |
| Himachal Pradesh Institute of Public Administration | HIPA | India | http://himachal.nic.in/hipa/default.htm |
| Indian Institute of Public Administration | IIPA | India | http://www.iipaindia.org/ |
| Indira Ghandi Institute of Development Research | IGIDR | India | http://www.igidr.ac.in/ |
| Institute of Development Studies | IDS | India | http://www.universityofmysore.org/department/devlop_stu/ |
| Institute of Social Studies Trust | ISST | India | http://www.isst-india.org/ |
| International Institute for Population Sciences | IIPS | India | http://www.iipsindia.org/ |
| Madras Institute of Development Studies | MIDS | India | http://www.mids.ac.in/ |
| Nabakrushna Choudhury Centre for Development Studies | NCDS | India | http://www.icssr.org/bhubneshwar.htm |
| National Institute of Rural Development | NIRD | India | http://www.nird.org/index.html |
| National Institute of Urban Affairs | NIUA | India | http://www.niua.org/newniuaorg/index.htm |
| Radjiv Ghandi Foundation for Contemporary Studies | RGICS | India | http://www.rgfindia.com/ |
| Research and Information System for Non-aligned and other Developing Countries | RIS | India | http://www.ris.org.in/ |
| Socio-economic Research Institute | | India | socioecoresearch@vsnl.net |
| Tata Institute of Social Sciences | TISS | India | http://www.tiss.edu/ |
| V.V. Giri National Labour Institute | | India | http://www.vvgnli.org/ |

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|---|---|---|---|
| Centre of Information and Development Studies | CIDES | Indonesia | http://www.cides.or.id/ |
| Lembaga Demografi | LD-FEUI | Indonesia | http://www.ldfeui.org/ |
| Pusat Penelitian Sumberdaya Manusia dan Linkungan | PPSML, LPUI | Indonesia | Gedung LPUI, Kampus Baru Universitas Indonesia, Depok Indonesia 16424 |
| Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development | FASID | Japan | http://www.fasid.or.jp/ |
| Global Development Research Centre | GDRC | Japan | http://www.gdrc.org/ |
| International Development Center of Japan | IDCJ | Japan | http://www.idcj.or.jp/indexe.htm |
| Jordanian Studies Centre | JSC | Jordan | http://www.yu.edu.jo/main.htm |
| Arab Planning Institute, The | API | Kuwait | http://www.arab-api.org/ |
| Asian and Pacific Development Centre | APDC | Malaysia | http://www.apdc.com.my/apdc |
| Association of Development Research and Training Institutes of Asia and the Pacific | ADIPA | Malaysia | http://61.6.32.133/apdc/ |
| Institut Kajian Malaysia Dan Antarabangsa | IKMAS | Malaysia | http://www.ikmas.ukm.my/ |
| Institut Kajian Pembangunan | IDS | Malaysia | http://www.ids.org.my/index.htm |
| Institute for Development Studies | IDS | Malaysia | http://www.ids.org.my/index.htm |
| Pusat Penyelidikan Dasar | CPR | Malaysia | http://www.usm.my/cpr/ |
| Pusat Penyelidikan Pembangunan Wanita | KANITA | Malaysia | http://www.kanita.org/ |
| New Era | | Nepal | http://www.panasia.org.sg/nepalnet/newera/ |
| Mahbub-al-Haq Human Development Centre | MHHDC | Pakistan | http://www.un.org.pk/hdc/hdcindex.htm |
| Pakistan Economic Research Institute | PERI | Pakistan | 24 Mianmir Rd, Upper Mall Scheme, Lahore 15, Pakistan |
| Pakistan Institute of Development Economics | PIDE | Pakistan | http://www.pide.org.pk/ |
| Social Sciences Research Centre | SSRC | Pakistan | http://www.pu.edu.pk/f-arts/cen-social-research.htm |
| College of Social Work and Community Development | CSWCD | Philippines | http://www.upd.edu.ph/~cswcd/ |
| Economics and Research Department | ERD | Philippines | http://www.adb.org/erd/default.asp |
| Economics Research Centre | ERC | Philippines | http://www.econ.upd.edu.ph/respub/index.htm |
| Institute of Philippine Culture | IPC | Philippines | http://www.ipc-ateneo.org.ph |
| International Institute of Rural Reconstruction | IIRR | Philippines | http://www.iirr.org/ |
| National Statistical Coordination Board | NSCB | Philippines | http://www.nscb.gov.ph/ |
| Philippine Centre for Population and Development | PCPD | Philippines | http://pcpd.ph/index.htm |
| Philippine Instite for Development Studies | PIDS | Philippines | http://www.pids.gov.ph/ |
| Research Institute for Mindanao Culture | RIMCU/XU | Philippines | http://www.xu.edu.ph/rimcu/ |
| Social Development Research Centre | | Philippines | http://www.dlsu.edu.ph/research/centers/sdrc/ |
| Social Weather Stations | SWS | Philippines | http://www.sws.org.ph/ |
| Pan Asia Networking | | Singapore | http://web.idrc.ca/en/ev-9608-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html |
| Institute of Development Studies, Jaipur | IDSJ | South Asia | http://www.idsj.org/ |

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|---|---|---|---|
| International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development | ICIMOD | South Asia | http://www.icimod.org/ |
| Centre for Women's Research | CENWOR | Sri Lanka | http://www.cenwor.lk/ |
| Rural Development Training and Research Institute | RDTRI | Sri Lanka | rdtri@sltnet.lk |
| Thailand Development Research Institute | TDRI | Thailand | http://www.info.tdri.or.th/ |
| Institute of Labour Science and Social Affairs | ILSSA | Vietnam | ilssvn@nn.vnn.vn |

## EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Austrian Research Foundation for Development | OFSE | Austria | http://www.oefse.at/ |
| Vienna Institute for Development and Cooperation | VIDC | Austria | http://www.vidc.org/ |
| Centre for Economic Studies | | Belgium | http://www.econ.kuleuven.ac.be/ew/academic/cop/default.htm |
| Centre for Social Policy | CSB | Belgium | http://www.ufsia.ac.be/csb/index.html |
| Centre Tricontinental | CETRI | Belgium | http://www.cetri.be |
| Institute d'Etudes du Développement | UCL/DVLP | Belgium | http://www.dvlp.ucl.ac.be/ |
| Institute of Development Policy and Management | IDPM | Belgium | http://www.ua.ac.be/dev/ |
| International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity | CIDSE | Belgium | http://www.cidse.org/ |
| Canadian Council on Social Development | CCDS | Canada | http://www.ccsd.ca/ |
| Centre for Developing Area Studies | CDAS | Canada | http://www.mcgill.ca/cdas/ |
| Centre for Refugee Studies | CRS | Canada | http://www.yorku.ca/crs/ |
| International Development Research Centre | IDRC | Canada | http://www.idrc.ca/ |
| International Institute for Sustainable Development | IISD | Canada | http://www.iisd.org/ |
| Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada | CRSH | Canada | http://www.sshrc.ca/ |
| Sustainable Development Research Initiative | SDRI | Canada | http://www.sdri.ubc.ca/ |
| Institute for International Relations | IMO | Croatia | http://www.irmo.hr/ |
| Institute of International Relations | IIR | Czech Rep. | http://www.iir.cz/ |
| Association of Development Researchers in Denmark, The | FAU | Denmark | http://www.udviklingsforskning.dk/ |
| Center for Afrikastudier | CAS | Denmark | http://www.teol.ku.dk/cas/ |
| Centre for Development Research | DIIS or CDR | Denmark | http://www.cdr.dk/, soon to change intohttp://www.diis.dk/ |
| Copenhagen Development Consultancy A/S | | Denmark | http://www.copenhagendc.com/ |
| Danish Institute for International Studies | DIIS | Denmark | http://www.diis.dk/ |
| Department of Political Science | | Denmark | http://www.ps.au.dk/showpage.asp?lPageID=34 |
| Institute of Geography | | Denmark | http://www.ruc.dk/inst3/geo/ |
| Nordic Institute of Asian Studies | NIAS | Denmark | http://nias.ku.dk/ |
| Research Centre on Development and International Relations | DIR | Denmark | http://www.ihis.aau.dk/development/ |

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| Socialforskningsinstituttet | SFI | Denmark | http://www.sfi.dk/ |
| Institute of Development Studies | IDS | Finland | http://www.valt.helsinki.fi/kmi/english/Cont.htm |
| UNU World Institute for Development Economics Research | UNU/WIDER | Finland | http://www.wider.unu.edu/ |
| World Poverty Map | | Finland | http://www.cis.hut.fi/research/som-research/worldmap.html |
| Centre d'Economie du Développement | CED | France | http://ced.u-bordeaux4.fr/ |
| Centre d'Etudes 'Economie et Humanisme' | EH | France | http://www.economie-humanisme.org/ |
| Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur le Développement International | CERDI | France | http://www.u-clermont1.fr/cerdi |
| Centre Documentation et Information Scientifique pour le Développement | CEDID | France | http://www.ird.fr/ |
| Centre Population et Développement | CEPED | France | http://www.ceped.ined.fr/ |
| Chaire UNESCO pour la formation de professionels du Développement Durable | | France | http://www.iutb.u-bordeaux.fr/ |
| Développement et Insertion Internationale | DIAL | France | http://www.dial.prd.fr/ |
| Etudes Tsiganes, Les | | France | http://www.etudestsiganes.asso.fr/ |
| Groupement d'Intérêt Scientific pour l'Etude de la Mondialisation et du Développement | GEMDEV | France | http://www.gemdev.org/ |
| Institut Français des Relations Internationales | IFRI | France | http://www.ifri.org |
| Institute de reserche pour le développement | IRD | France | http://www.ird.fr/ |
| Institute d'Etude du Développement Economique et Social | IEDES | France | http://iedes.univ-paris1.fr/ |
| International Union for the Scientific Study of Population | IUSSP | France | http://www.iussp.org/ |
| OECD Development Centre | | France | http://www.oecd.org/department/0,2688,en_2649_33731_1_1_1_1_1,00.html |
| PARtnerships In Statistics for development in the 21st century | Paris 21 | France | http://www.paris21.org/ |
| UNESCO Social and Human Sciences Sector | UNESCO SHS | France | http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php-URL_ID=1396&URL_ |
| Arnold Bergsträsser Institut | ABI | Germany | http://www.arnold-bergstraesser.de/ |
| Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik | GDI | Germany | http://www.die-gdi.de |
| Deutsches Übersee-Institut | DUI | Germany | http://www.duei.de/index.html |
| Ibero-Amerika Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung | IAI | Germany | http://www.iai.wiwi.uni-goettingen.de/ |
| Institut für Entwciklung und Frieden | INEF | Germany | http://inef.uni-duisburg.de/page/ |
| Institut für Entwicklungsforschung und Entwicklungspolitik | IEE | Germany | http://dbs.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/iee/php/index.php |
| Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung | ZEF | Germany | http://www.zef.de/ |
| Zentrum für Internationale Entwicklungs- und Umweltforschung | ZEU | Germany | http://www.uni-giessen.de/zeu/ |
| Mediterranean Agronomic Institute of Chania | MAICH | Greece | http://www.maich.gr/ |
| Hungarian Academy of Sciences | | Hungary | http://www.vki.hu/index.shtml |
| Hungarian International Development Assistance Non-Profit co | HUN-IDA | Hungary | http://www.hunida.hu/ |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Ireland | http://www.ucd.ie/cds/ |
| Weitz Centre for Development Studies | DSC | Israel | dsc@netvision.net.il |

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| Centro Interfacoltà per la Cooperazione con i Paesi in via di Sviluppo | CICOPS | Italy | http://www.unipv.it/cicops/indexe.html |
| Giordano dell'Amore Foundation | FGDA | Italy | http://www.fgda.org |
| Gruppo CERFE | CERFE Group | Italy | http://www.gruppo-cerfe.org/ |
| Interuniversity Consortium for Development Cooperation | CONICS | Italy | http://www.conics.it/ |
| Society for International Development | SID | Italy | http://www.sidint.org/ |
| UNICEF International Child Development Centre | ICDC | Italy | http://www.unicef-icdc.org/ |
| Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan and International Development Studies | AMIDSt | Netherlands | http://www.fmg.uva.nl/amidst/home.cfm |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Netherlands | http://www.eco.rug.nl/cds/ |
| Centre for International Development Issues Nijmegen | CIDIN | Netherlands | http://www.ru.nl/cidin/ |
| European Centre for Development Policy Management | ECDPM | Netherlands | http://www.ecdpm.org/ |
| Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies | IHS | Netherlands | http://www.ihs.nl/ |
| Institute of Social Studies | ISS | Netherlands | http://www.iss.nl/navFrame/frame2.html?content=/index.html |
| Instituut voor Ontwikkelingsvraagstukken | IVO | Netherlands | http://ivo.uvt.nl/ |
| Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen | KIT | Netherlands | http://www.kit.nl/ |
| Netherlands Development Assistance Research Council | Rawoo | Netherlands | http://www.rawoo.nl/home.html |
| Research School for Resource Studies for Development | CERES | Netherlands | http://ceres.fss.uu.nl/ |
| Transnational Institute | TNI | Netherlands | http://www.tni.org/ |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Norway | http://www.svf.uib.no/sfu/index.htm |
| Centre for Development and The Environment | SUM | Norway | http://www.sum.uio.no/ |
| Chr. Michelsen Institute | CMI | Norway | http://www.cmi.no/ |
| Comparative Research Programme on Poverty | CROP | Norway | http://www.crop.org/ |
| Norsk Forening for Utviklingsforskning | NFU | Norway | http://www.nfuf.no/ |
| Norwegian Institute of International Affairs | NUPI | Norway | http://www.nupi.no/ |
| Poverty Mapping | | Norway | http://www.povertymap.net/ |
| Senter for Internasjonal Fattigdomsforskning | SIF | Norway | http://www.svf.uib.no/sif/ |
| Centro de Estudos sobre África e do Desenvolvimento | CeSA | Portugal | http://pascal.iseg.utl.pt/~cesa/ |
| Office for International Relations in Sciences and Higher Education | GRICES | Portugal | http://www.grices.mces.pt/ |
| Instituto de Latino America | ILA | Russia | http://www.mtu-net.ru/ilaran/ |
| Institute for Economic Research | IER | Slovenia | http://www.ier.si/english/index.html |
| Centre d'Informatió i Documentació Internacionals a Barcelona | CIDOB | Spain | http://www.cidob.org/ |
| Euro-American Association of Economic Development Studies | EAAEDS | Spain | http://www.usc.es/~economet/eaa.htm |
| Institut Internacional de Governabilitad de Catalunya | IIGC | Spain | http://www.iigov.org/ |
| Instituto de Estudios sobre Desarrollo y Cooperación Internacional | HEGOA | Spain | http://www.hegoa.ehu.es/topics/intro/ |

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| International Sociological Association | ISA or AIS | Spain | http://www.ucm.es/info/isa/ |
| Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation | DHF | Sweden | http://www.dhf.uu.se/ |
| Expert Group on Development Issues | EGDI | Sweden | http://www.egdi.gov.se/ |
| Latinamerika-Institutet i Stockholm | LAIS | Sweden | http://www.lai.su.se/ |
| Nordiska Afrikainstitutet | NAI | Sweden | http://www.nai.uu.se/ |
| Peace and Development Research | Padrigu | Sweden | http://www.padrigu.gu.se/ |
| European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes | EADI | Switzerland | http://www.eadi.org/ |
| Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Developpement | IUED | Switzerland | http://www.iued.unige.ch/ |
| Institute de Sociologie | | Switzerland | http://www.unine.ch/socio/ |
| International Institute for Labour Studies | IILS | Switzerland | http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/inst/index.htm |
| International Social Security Association | ISSA | Switzerland | http://www.issa.int/ |
| Nachdiplomstudium für Entwicklungsländer | NADEL | Switzerland | http://www.nadel.ethz.ch/ |
| Swiss Academy for Development | SAD | Switzerland | http://www.sad.ch |
| United Nations Research Institute for Social Development | UNRISD | Switzerland | http://www.unrisd.org/ |
| Türkiye Kalkinma vakfi | TKV | Turkey | http://www.tkv-dsm.org.tr/ |
| Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion | CASE | U.K. | http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/case/ |
| Centre for Democracy and Development | CDD | U.K. | http://www.cdd.org.uk/ |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | U.K. | http://www.bath.ac.uk/cds/ |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | U.K. | http://www.gla.ac.uk/Inter/Development/ |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | U.K. | http://www.swan.ac.uk/cds/index.htm |
| Centre for Development Studies | | U.K. | http://www.leeds.ac.uk/devstud/dscent.htm |
| Centre for Poverty and Social Justice | | U.K. | http://www.bris.ac.uk/sps/research/cpsj/default.shtml |
| Centre for Research in Social Policy | | U.K. | http://www.lboro.ac.uk/departments/ss/centres/crsp/main.htm |
| Centre for the Study of African Economies | CSAE | U.K. | http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/ |
| Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship | | U.K. | http://www.bris.ac.uk/sociology/ |
| Centre for the Study of Global Governance | CsGG | U.K. | http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/ |
| Centre for Urban and Regional Studies | CURS | U.K. | http://www.curs.bham.ac.uk/ |
| Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre | CHIP | U.K. | http://www.childhoodpoverty.org/ |
| Chronic Poverty Research Centre | CPRC | U.K. | http://www.chronicpoverty.org/ |
| City Poverty | | U.K. | http://www.citypoverty.net/ |
| Development Planning Unit | DPU | U.K. | http://www.ucl.ac.uk/DPU/ |
| Development Policy and Practice | DPP | U.K. | http://technology.open.ac.uk/ccc/dpp/dppresearch.htm |
| Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalization and Poverty | | U.K. | http://www.migrationdrc.org/index.html |

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| Development Studies Association | DSA | U.K. | http://www.devstud.org.uk/ |
| Development Studies Institute | DESTIN | U.K. | http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/DESTIN/ |
| ESRC Research Group on Wellbeing in Developing Countries | WeD | U.K. | http://www.welldev.org.uk/ |
| European Panel Analysis Group | EPAG | U.K. | http://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/epag/index.php |
| Finance and Development Research Programme | | U.K. | http://www.devinit.org/findev/ |
| Friends of the Earth | FOE | U.K. | http://www.foe.co.uk/campaigns/sustainable_development/ |
| Global Poverty Research Group | GPRG | U.K. | http://idpm.man.ac.uk/rsc/drc/gprg/index.shtml |
| Globalization and Poverty Research Programme | | U.K. | http://www.gapresearch.org/index.html |
| Information for Development in the 12st Century | ID21 | U.K. | http://www.id21.org/ |
| Institute for Development Policy and Management | IDPM | U.K. | http://idpm.man.ac.uk/ |
| Institute for Development Research | IDR | U.K. | http://www.idr.ocms.ac.uk/ |
| Institute of Development Studies | IDS | U.K. | http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/index.html |
| Institute of Latin American Studies | ILAS | U.K. | http://www.sas.ac.uk/ilas/ |
| International Development Department | IDD | U.K. | http://www.idd.bham.ac.uk/ |
| International Institute for Environment and Development | IIED | U.K. | http://www.iied.org/ |
| Oxfam | | U.K. | http://www.oxfam.org.uk |
| Overseas Development Group | ODG | U.K. | http://www.uea.ac.uk/dev/odg/ |
| Overseas Development Institute | ODI | U.K. | http://www.odi.org.uk/ |
| Poverty Reduction Learning Network | PRLN | U.K. | http://www.eldis.org/prln/ |
| Queen Elizabeth House | QEH | U.K. | http://www2.qeh.ox.ac.uk/ |
| Royal Institute of International Affairs, The | RIIA | U.K. | http://www.riia.org/ |
| School for Policy Studies | | U.K. | http://www.bristol.ac.uk/sps/ |
| Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research | | U.K. | http://www.bris.ac.uk/poverty/ |
| Water, Engineering and Development Centre | WEDC | U.K. | http://www.lboro.ac.uk/departments/cv/wedc/ |
| Poverty Research Unit | | U.K. | http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/PRU/ |
| Centre for International Development | CID | U.S.A. | http://www.cid.harvard.edu/ |
| Centre for Latin American Studies | CLAS | U.S.A. | http://www.latam.ufl.edu/ |
| Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research | CGIAR | U.S.A. | http://www.cgiar.org/ |
| East-West Centre | EWC | U.S.A. | http://www.eastwestcenter.org/ |
| Economic Development Research Group | EDR Group | U.S.A. | http://www.edrgroup.com/index.shtml |
| Institute for African Development | IAD | U.S.A. | http://www.einaudi.cornell.edu/africa/default.asp |
| Institute for Food and Development Policy | Food First | U.S.A. | http://www.foodfirst.org/ |
| Institute for Research on Poverty | IRP | U.S.A. | http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/irp/ |

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| Institute for Women's Policy Research | IWPR | U.S.A. | http://www.iwpr.org/ |
| International Centre for Research on Women | ICRW | U.S.A. | http://www.icrw.org/ |
| International Peace, Security and Prosperity Program | IPSP | U.S.A. | http://www.aspeninstitute.org/index.asp |
| Joint Centre for Poverty Research | JCPR | U.S.A. | http://www.jcpr.org/ |
| MacArthur Network on Inequality and Poverty | | U.S.A. | http://www.wws.princeton.edu/~rpds/macarthur/ |
| Overseas Development Council | ODC | U.S.A. | http://www.odc.org/ |
| Population Research Centre | PRC | U.S.A. | http://www.src.uchicago.edu/prc/ |
| Population Studies Centre | PSC | U.S.A. | http://www.psc.isr.umich.edu/ |
| Poverty, Inequality and Development | PID | U.S.A. | http://www.arts.cornell.edu/poverty/ |
| Rural Poverty Research Centre | RPRC | U.S.A. | http://www.rprconline.org/ |
| Survey Research Centre | SRC | U.S.A. | http://srcweb.berkeley.edu/ |
| University of Texas Inequality Project | UTIP | U.S.A. | http://utip.gov.utexas.edu/ |
| World Bank Institute | WBI | U.S.A. | http://www.worldbank.org/wbi |
| World Bank Poverty Research Programme | | U.S.A. | http://econ.worldbank.org/programs/poverty/ |
| World Hunger Program and Hungerweb | WHP | U.S.A. | http://nutrition.tufts.edu/academic/hungerweb/ |
| Inter-American Foundation | IAF | U.S.A. | http://www.iaf.gov/index/index_en.asp |

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## Overview of Institutions Involved in Poverty Research *(continued)*

| NAME | ACRONYM | HEADQRT. | DESCRIPTION |
|---|---|---|---|
| **AFRICA** | | | |
| Centre de Recherche en Economie Appliquée pour le Développement | CREAD | Algeria | Its mission is to provide a scientific respons to development issues in Algeria. |
| Centre pour l'Environment et le Développement en Afrique | CEDA | Benin | Concerned with environment as part of development, also deals with poverty. |
| Groupe de Recherche et d'Action pour le Bien-Etre Social | GRABS | Benin | Promotes social welfare, with emphasis on governance, women's rights, social policy and poverty. |
| Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis | BIPDA | Botswana | Provides research support and policy analysis services to ministries. |
| Centre d'Etudes Econmique et Sociales de l'Afrique de l'Ouest | CESAO | Burkina Faso | The organization's objective is to contribute to the development of West-Africa. |
| Centre d'Etudes, de Documentation, de Recherches Economique et Social | CEDRES | Burkina Faso | Part of the Ecole Superieure des Sciences Economiques , University of Ouagadougou. |
| Institut Panafricain pour le Developpement Afrique de l'Ouest et du Sahel | IPD/AOS | Burkina Faso | Its main mission is the development of West-Africa. Some research is done. |
| Centre Universitaire de Recherche pour le Développement Economique et Social | CURDES | Burundi | Université du Burundi, Concerned with research on socio-economic development and poverty. |
| Centre for Action-Orientated Research on African Development | CARAD | Cameroon | Research in governance with special interest in poverty alleviation. |
| Groupe de Recherche sur les Villes du Cameroon | GREVCA | Cameroon | Research inlcudes urbanization, public health, development, poverty and population. |
| Pan African Institute for Development, Central Africa | PAID-CA | Cameroon | PAID-CA is one of four regional development organizations in Africa. |
| Pan African Institute for Development, West Africa | PAID-WA | Cameroon | PAID.WA is one of four regional institutes working for development in West Africa. |
| Comité International des Femmes Africaines pour le Développement | CIFAD | Cote d'Ivoire | Network of institutions devoted to womens rights and poverty alleviation. |
| Ecole National Supérieure de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée | ENSEA | Cote d'Ivoire | Carries out research in statistics and applied economics. |
| Institute de Reserches Econmiques et Sociales | IRES | D.R. Congo | Focus is on economic development, poverty, urban planning and governance among others. |
| Social Research Centre | SRC | Egypt | Stimulates multidisciplinary social science research in Egypt and the Middle East.. |
| Institute of Development Research | IDR | Ethiopia | University of Addis Ababa, carries out research in many social fields, amongst which poverty. |
| Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern & Southern Africa | OSSREA | Ethiopia | A regional research and capacity-building organization. |
| Labaratoire d'Economie Appliquée | LEA | Gabon | Carries out research in all areas of applied economics, including socio-economic development. |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Ghana | University of Cape Coast. |
| Green Earth Organization | GEO | Ghana | Devoted to sustainable development, deals with empowerment of women in poverty alleviation. |
| Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research | ISSER | Ghana | University of Ghana, undertakes research and surveys related to development and poverty. |
| University for Development Studies | | Ghana | Established in 1992 to serve the northern regions of Ghana in which rural poverty is prevalent. |
| Centre Ivoirien de Recherche Economique et Sociale | CIRES | Ivory Coast | |

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| Institut Africain pour le Développement Economique et Social | INADES | Ivory Coast | A documentation and research centre in Abidjan working on economic and social issues. |
| Institute for Development Studies | IDS | Kenya | University of Nairobi, focuses on development in Kenya. |
| United Nations Human Settlements Programme | UN-HABITAT | Kenya | Deals with housing conditions and rights, slums, urban planning, poverty alleviation etc. |
| African Centre for Applied Research and Training in Social Development | ACARTSOD | Lybia | Training, research & consultancy services on social development & planning. |
| Centre National de Recherche Appliquée au Développement Rural | CENRADERU | Madagascar | Research on agricultural and rural development, socio-economic development and poverty. |
| Centre for Social Research | CSR | Malawi | University of Malawi. |
| Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit | NEPRU | Namibia | Special webpage on poverty research. |
| Africa Leadership Forum | ALF | Nigeria | Carries out research and training aimed at future African leaders in many areas. |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Nigeria | University of Jos. |
| Centre for Gender and Social Policy Studies | CGSPS | Nigeria | Obafemi Awolowo University. Devoted to women and gender issues, including poverty alleviation. |
| Faculté des Sciences Economiques, Sociales et de Gestion | SESG | Rwanda | National University of Rwanda, specific focus on development in Rwanda. |
| Centre de Suivi Ecologique | CSE | Senegal | Researches strategies to improve economic development and reduce poverty. |
| Collectif Africain pour la Recherche, l'Action et la Formation | CARAF | Senegal | Research includes poverty alleviation and social justice. |
| Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa | CODESRIA | Senegal | Carries out research in areas concerning African development. |
| ENDA- Equipe Synergie Genre et Développement | ENDA-SYNFEV | Senegal | Research on sustainable development, women and development policies and globalization. |
| Institut Africain de Gestion Urbaine | IAGU or AUMI | Senegal | Concerned with poverty alleviation. |
| Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society | CASAS | South Africa | Pan-African research organization. |
| Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa | HSRC | South Africa | Conducts research into identified societal problems on all levels. |
| Institute of Social and Economic Research | ISER | South Africa | Rhodes University. Research to contribute to the quality of life of the people of South Africa. |
| School of Development Studies | SODS | South Africa | University of Natal. Deals with industrialization, population and poverty among others. |
| Southern African Regional Poverty Network | SARPN | South Africa | Its purpose is to provide a facility for raising the level and quality of public debate on poverty. |
| Babiker Badri Scientific Association for Women's Studies | BBSAWS | Sudan | Reserach includes poverty alleviation. |
| Development Studies and Research Centre | | Sudan | University of Khartoum. |
| Social and Human Development Consultative Group | SAHDCG | Sudan | Research includes poverty eradication profiles. |
| Economic and Social Research Foundation | ESRF | Tanzania | Poverty is a key research theme. |
| Economic Research Bureau | ERB | Tanzania | Current research includes poverty and income distribution. |
| Institute of Development Studies | IDS | Tanzania | University of Dar-es-Salaam. Poverty alleviation specifically mentioned as research object. |
| Economic Policy Research Centre | EPRC | Uganda | Makerere University. |
| Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics | | Uganda | Makerere University, research on poverty and population problems. |
| Uganda Gender Resource Centre | UGRC | Uganda | Research deals with womens rights and gender, economic empowerment and poverty alleviation. |
| Pan African Institute for Development, East and Southern Africa | PAID-ESA | Zambia | PAID-ESA is one of four regional insitutes working for development in Africa. |
| Centre for Applied Social Sciences | CASS | Zimbabwe | University of Zimbabwe. Five week course on People, poverty and Natural Resources Managem. |
| Institute of Development Studies | IDS | Zimbabwe | Aims to contribute to sustainable poverty alleviation by research. |

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| Southern Africa Political Economy Series Trust | SAPES Trust | Zimbabwe | Research focuses on social policy with special focus on poverty, among other areas. |

## LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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| Centro de Estudios de Población | CENEP | Argentina | Main focus is on population research, more recent research includes poverty studies. |
| Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad | CEDES | Argentina | |
| Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones Laborales | CEIL-PIETTE | Argentina | Research on employment and income, also in relation to poverty. |
| Consejo Latinamerica de Ciencias Sociales | CLACSO | Argentina | Promotes research in many fields of development. |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Programa Argentina | FLACSO | Argentina | Research inlcudes poverty and development. |
| Instituto de Estudios Económicos sobre la Realidad Argentina y Latinoaméricana | IERAL | Argentina | Carries out research on public policy issues and the economic situation in Argentina. |
| Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas | IIGHI | Argentina | Current research deals poverty in Northeast Argentina. |
| Instituto Internacional de Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo, América Latina | IIED-AL | Argentina | Fields of interest include community participation, urbanization, environment and poverty. |
| Quality of Life Program (Bariloche Foundation) | VIDA | Argentina | Generates applied and theoretical knowledge about life levels of the population of Argentina. |
| Centro de Estatística Religiosa e Investigaçoes Sociais | CERIS | Brazil | Research on local government, informal economy, poverty and urban life problems. |
| Centro de Estudos e Açao Social | CEAS | Brazil | Researches living conditions of workers, social policy, poverty and human rights. |
| Centro de Filosofia e Ciencias Humanas | CFCH | Brazil | Universidade Federal de Pernambuco. Does research specifically on poverty. |
| Centro de Recursos Humanos da Universidade Federal da Bahia | CRH-UFBA | Brazil | |
| Curso de Mestrado em Economia | CAEN | Brazil | Universidade Federal do Ceara. Research on poverty. |
| Expert Group on Poverty Statistics | Rio Group | Brazil | Created by the UN Statistical Commission to study the statistics of the World Summits. |
| Fundaçao Getùlio Vargas | FGV | Brazil | Research is carried out by the schools and research centres attached to the Foundation. |
| Fundaçao Joaquim Nabuco | FUNDAJ | Brazil | Research activities at the Instituto de Pesquisas Sociais deal with living conditions and poverty. |
| Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas | IFCH | Brazil | Research areas include family and poverty. |
| UNDP International Poverty Centre | IPC | Brazil | Designed by UNDP to bring knowledge-based development services closer to partners worldwide. |
| Centro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Demografía | CELADE | Chile | Research includes human resources, social justice, socio-economic development, and poverty. |
| Corporación de Investigaciones Económicas para Latinoamérica | CIEPLAN | Chile | Research deals with labour economics, economic policy and public policy, and poverty. |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Chile | FLACSO | Chile | Fields of research include poverty. |
| Instituto de Economia | | Chile | Pontaficia Universidad Catolica de Chile. Carries out research on poverty. |
| Instituto de Sociología | IS-UCCH | Chile | Universidad Católica de Chile. Deals with all kinds of social issues, including poverty. |
| Instituto Latinoamericano de doctrinay estudios sociales | ILADES | Chile | Part of Alberto Hurtado University, some research on poverty. |
| Programa de Economía del Trabajo | PET | Chile | Carries out research on poverty. |
| SUR Corporación de Estudios Sociales y Educación | SUR | Chile | Dedicated to tackling social disorder through knowledge-building and practice. |
| Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico | CEDE | Colombia | Universidad de los Andes. |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Costa Rica | FLACSO | Costa Rica | Research on social development in Central America. |
| Instituto Centroamericano de administracion publica | ICAP | Costa Rica | The website contains a large database with articles on poverty. |

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| Instituto de Estudios Sociales en Población | IDESPO | Costa Rica | Covers population studies including issues such as fertility, mortality, family, gender and poverty. |
| Centro de Estudios Demográficos | CEDEM | Cuba | Demographic studies, research includes poverty. |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Ecuador | FLACSO | Ecuador | Current research deals with poverty. |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Guatemala | FLACSO | Guatemala | Current research deals with poverty. |
| Panos Institute, The | | Haiti | Seminars, publications and educational materials on a number of development themes. |
| Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and Economic Studies | SALISES | Jamaica | Areas of emphasis are: socio-economic development and social change, poverty. |
| Center of Research for Development | CIDAC | Mexico | Centre of Research for Development. Non-profit think-tank. |
| Centro de Estudios Demográficos y de Desarrollo Urbano | CEDDU | Mexico | El Colegio de México. Research includes migration, population, familiy structure and poverty. |
| Centro de Estudios Sociológicos | CES | Mexico | El Colegio de México. Focus is on conflicts and social movements, other research is on poverty. |
| Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas | CIDE | Mexico | |
| Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social | CIESAS | Mexico | |
| División de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad | DEES | Mexico | |
| Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede México | FLACSO | Mexico | Research on social policy and employment. |
| Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales | IIS/UNAM | Mexico | Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. |
| Centro de Análisis y Difusión de Economía Paraguaya | CADEP | Paraguay | Researches trade, public policy, economic development and poverty. |
| Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo | DESCO | Peru | Deals with development in urban and rural areas, poverty and social inequality. |
| Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, Económicas, Políticas y Antropológicas | CISEPA-PUCP | Peru | Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Research done on poverty in urban areas. |
| Instituto Apoyo | | Peru | Research areas include poverty. |
| Instituto de Estudios Peruanos | IEP | Peru | Current research deals with poverty and social inequality. |
| Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana | CLAEH | Uruguay | Carries out research on socio-economic development and political development. |
| Instituto de Promocíon Económico Social del Uruguay | IPRU | Uruguay | Tries to improve the quality of life to disadvantaged groups in Uruguay. |
| Social Watch | | Uruguay | Monitors implementation of governments' commitments to eradicate poverty. |

## ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

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| Canberra Group, The | | Australia | Expert group on household statistics. |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Australia | Flinders University. |
| Development Studies Network | | Australia | Encourages development-related research and exchange of development knowledge. |
| Edmund Rice Centre for Justice and Community Education | ERC | Australia | Conducts research into the causes of poverty of social groups in Australia. |
| Poverty Research Centre | | Australia | Part of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at the Australian National University. |
| Social Policy Research Centre | SPRC | Australia | Conducts research and fosters discussion on all aspects of social policy in Australia. |
| Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies | BIISS | Bangladesh | Undertakes and promotes research in international affairs, including developmental issues. |
| Bangladesh Unnayan Gobeshona Protishthan | BIDS | Bangladesh | Research programmes include development issues. |
| Centre on Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific | CIRDAP | Bangladesh | Regional forum for rural development, promotes research on rural poverty. |

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| Institute of Population Research, The | | China | University of Bejing, conducts demographic research related to population increase, and poverty. |
| Institute of Sociology | | China | Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Fiji | University of the South Pacific. |
| Development Alternatives with Women in a New Era | DAWN | Fiji | Does feminist research, poverty included. |
| Afro-Asian Rural Development Organisation | AARDO | India | Seeks to promote socio-economic development among the rural population. |
| Baif Development Research Foundation | | India | Organization managed by a team of multidisciplinary experts. |
| Centre for Action Research and Development Initiative | CARDI | India | Multidisciplinary NGO actively engaged in research in development matters. |
| Centre for Development Studies and Activities | | India | |
| Centre for Economic and Social Studies | CESS | India | Interdisciplinary research in applied areas of social science. |
| Centre for Research, Planning and Action | CERPA | India | Research deals with poverty, development strategies and many more. |
| Centre for the Study of Administration of Relief | CSAR | India | Research deals with poverty, refugees, nutrition, hunger and marginalization. |
| Centre for the Study of Developing Societies | CSDS | India | One of Indias best-known independent research institutes. |
| Centre for Women's Development Studies | CWDS | India | Researches gender issues in Indian society, including poverty and gender. |
| Council for Social Development | CSD | India | Concerned with the implementation of social development programmes. |
| Entrepeneurship Development Institute India | EDI | India | Promotes rural development, poverty alleviation and employment through training programmes. |
| Giri Institute of Development Studies | GIDS | India | Carries out studies on rural development and poverty. |
| Gujrat Institute of Development Research | GIDR | India | The organization is recognized and supported by the Indian Council of Social Science Research. |
| HCM Rajasthan State Institute of Public Administration | RIPA | India | Focus is on public administration. Current research deals with urban poverty alleviation. |
| Himachal Pradesh Institute of Public Administration | HIPA | India | Current research deals with rural development, including poverty alleviation. |
| Indian Institute of Public Administration | IIPA | India | Carries out research in public administration, public policy, social policy and good governance. |
| Indira Ghandi Institute of Development Research | IGIDR | India | Carries out research on development issues from a multidisciplinary point of view. |
| Institute of Development Studies | IDS | India | University of Mysore. |
| Institute of Social Studies Trust | ISST | India | Promotes social justice and equity for disadvantaged groups. Research includes poverty. |
| International Institute for Population Sciences | IIPS | India | Deals with poverty and development.. |
| Madras Institute of Development Studies | MIDS | India | Interdisciplinary research centre. |
| Nabakrushna Choudhury Centre for Development Studies | NCDS | India | Carries out research on poverty, environment, disasters, industrial and rural development. |
| National Institute of Rural Development | NIRD | India | Tries to find ways to contribute to poverty alleviation through research and consulting. |
| National Institute of Urban Affairs | NIUA | India | Concerned with (among others) employment, poverty and poverty alleviation. |
| Radjiv Ghandi Foundation for Contemporary Studies | RGICS | India | Research institute with a specific focus on areas that have a policy angle. |
| Research and Information System for Non-aligned and other Developing Countries | RIS | India | Promotes developing countries' interests by research. |
| Socio-economic Research Institute | | India | Its purpose is to conduct studies on socio-economic development of India. |
| Tata Institute of Social Sciences | TISS | India | Carries out research on social policy, social work education, social services, and more. |
| V.V. Giri National Labour Institute | | India | Researches labour-related matters, in particular those affecting disadvantaged groups. |

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| Centre of Information and Development Studies | CIDES | Indonesia | A research body that runs programs, forums and seminars on Indonesian development. |
| Lembaga Demografi | LD-FEUI | Indonesia | University of Indonesia, carries out research in the field of poverty. |
| Pusat Penelitian Sumberdaya Manusia dan Linkungan | PPSML, LPUI | Indonesia | Human Resources and Environmental Research Centre of the University of Indonesia. |
| Foundation for Advanced Studies on International Development | FASID | Japan | Research includes poverty and development. |
| Global Development Research Centre | GDRC | Japan | Research includes environment, urban development, community and information. |
| International Development Center of Japan | IDCJ | Japan | |
| Jordanian Studies Centre | JSC | Jordan | Yarmouk University, Conducts research and studies on issues related to the Jordanian society. |
| Arab Planning Institute, The | API | Kuwait | Research in planning and advisory services in the field of development planning in Arab countries. |
| Asian and Pacific Development Centre | APDC | Malaysia | Current research includes poverty alleviation. |
| Association of Development Research and Training Institutes of Asia and the Pacific | ADIPA | Malaysia | Devoted to research on current and emerging development issues including poverty alleviation. |
| Institut Kajian Malaysia Dan Antarabangsa | IKMAS | Malaysia | Institute of Malaysian and International Studies, National University of Malaysia. |
| Institut Kajian Pembangunan | IDS | Malaysia | Centre for Development Studies, Sabah. Research on socio-economic development. |
| Institute for Development Studies | IDS | Malaysia | IDS is an autonomous, non-profit making research organisation. |
| Pusat Penyelidikan Dasar | CPR | Malaysia | Centre for Policy Research, University of Science, Malaysia. |
| Pusat Penyelidikan Pembangunan Wanita | KANITA | Malaysia | Women's Development Research Centre, University of Science, Malaysia. |
| New Era | | Nepal | Devoted to development and rural poverty alleviation. |
| Mahbub-al-Haq Human Development Centre | MHHDC | Pakistan | Research and policy studies in the area of human development and poverty in South Asia. |
| Pakistan Economic Research Institute | PERI | Pakistan | Carries out research on socio-economic development and poverty alleviation. |
| Pakistan Institute of Development Economics | PIDE | Pakistan | Research on development economics in general and on Pakistan's economic problems. |
| Social Sciences Research Centre | SSRC | Pakistan | University of the Punjab. Research on socio-economic development and poverty. |
| College of Social Work and Community Development | CSWCD | Philippines | University of the Philippines, research on poverty alleviation. |
| Economics and Research Department | ERD | Philippines | Part of the Asian Development Bank. Research areas include public policy and poverty alleviation. |
| Economics Research Centre | ERC | Philippines | University of the Philippines School of Economics. Researches development policy. |
| Institute of Philippine Culture | IPC | Philippines | Research organization engaged in social science studies of Philippine society and culture. |
| International Institute of Rural Reconstruction | IIRR | Philippines | Devoted to rural poverty. |
| National Statistical Coordination Board | NSCB | Philippines | Carries out statistical analysis on poverty. |
| Philippine Centre for Population and Development | PCPD | Philippines | Addresses the social development concerns of poor population in rural and urban areas. |
| Philippine Instite for Development Studies | PIDS | Philippines | PIDS responds to the critical and growing need for research for planning and policy formulation. |
| Research Institute for Mindanao Culture | RIMCU/XU | Philippines | Xavier University. Research on a great number of development and poverty related topics. |
| Social Development Research Centre | | Philippines | De La Salle University. Topics include rural development, poverty and decentralization. |
| Social Weather Stations | SWS | Philippines | Tries to generate socio-economic indicators and political indicators based on survey research. |
| Pan Asia Networking | | Singapore | Looks into the effects of ICTs on sustainable development. |
| Institute of Development Studies, Jaipur | IDSJ | South Asia | Development research centre supported by the ICSSR and the government of Rajasthan. |

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| International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development | ICIMOD | South Asia | Poverty in Mountaineous areas of Hindu-Kush Himalayas. |
| Centre for Women's Research | CENWOR | Sri Lanka | Researches women and development, including poverty. |
| Rural Development Training and Research Institute | RDTRI | Sri Lanka | Current research focuses on poverty alleviation and community participation. |
| Thailand Development Research Institute | TDRI | Thailand | Provides technical and policy analysis that supports the formulation of development policies. |
| Institute of Labour Science and Social Affairs | ILSSA | Vietnam | Research deals with labour, working conditions, womens employment, income, poverty etc. |

## EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

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| Austrian Research Foundation for Development | OFSE | Austria | |
| Vienna Institute for Development and Cooperation | VIDC | Austria | Fosters North-South dialogue and cooperation. |
| Centre for Economic Studies | | Belgium | Part of The Development Economics Research Group, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. |
| Centre for Social Policy | CSB | Belgium | University of Antwerp. |
| Centre Tricontinental | CETRI | Belgium | Carries out research on cultural and socio-economic structures in Asia, Africa and Latin America. |
| Institute d'Etudes du Développement | UCL/DVLP | Belgium | Université Catholique de Louvain. |
| Institute of Development Policy and Management | IDPM | Belgium | University of Antwerp. Thematic fields include poverty. |
| International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity | CIDSE | Belgium | Alliance of 14 Catholic organizations that coordinates aid to the Third World. |
| Canadian Council on Social Development | CCDS | Canada | Researchrs specialize in development economics, labour market and demography issues. |
| Centre for Developing Area Studies | CDAS | Canada | McGill University, research includes development problems. |
| Centre for Refugee Studies | CRS | Canada | York University, looks at poverty as a cause and consequence of displacement. |
| International Development Research Centre | IDRC | Canada | Canadian public corporation that works in close connection with researchers in the South. |
| International Institute for Sustainable Development | IISD | Canada | Research as well as policy recommendations. |
| Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada | CRSH | Canada | Promotes and assists research and scholarship in the social sciences and humanities. |
| Sustainable Development Research Initiative | SDRI | Canada | University of British Columbia, undertakes research on sustainable development. |
| Institute for International Relations | IMO | Croatia | Research activities include sustainable development. |
| Institute of International Relations | IIR | Czech Rep | Research projects include economic and sustainable development, as well as foreign aid. |
| Association of Development Researchers in Denmark, The | FAU | Denmark | Part of the Danish Institute for International Studies. |
| Center for Afrikastudier | CAS | Denmark | University of Copenhagen. |
| Centre for Development Research | DIIS or CDR | Denmark | Undertakes social science research into Third World development processes. |
| Copenhagen Development Consultancy A/S | | Denmark | Member of EADI. Private organization that researches many topics related to development. |
| Danish Institute for International Studies | DIIS | Denmark | Works with development policy and theory. |
| Department of Political Science | | Denmark | University of Aarhus. Current research includes topics related to development and poverty. |
| Institute of Geography | | Denmark | Roskilde University. Part of Department of Geography and International Development Studies. |
| Nordic Institute of Asian Studies | NIAS | Denmark | A multidisciplinary research institute with a wide mandate covering all of Asia. |
| Research Centre on Development and International Relations | DIR | Denmark | Aalborg University. |

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| Socialforskningsinstituttet | SFI | Denmark | Interdisciplinary research on social development in Denmark. |
| Institute of Development Studies | IDS | Finland | University of Helsinki. |
| UNU World Institute for Development Economics Research | UNU/WIDER | Finland | Current research covers inequality, social inequality and poverty. |
| World Poverty Map | | Finland | Uses a Self Organising Map technique to create a world poverty map. |
| Centre d'Economie du Développement | CED | France | Université Montesquieu Bordeaux IV. Research includes development economics and poverty. |
| Centre d'Etudes 'Economie et Humanisme' | EH | France | Research includes urban poverty. |
| Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur le Développement International | CERDI | France | Research on a large number of development related topics. |
| Centre Documentation et Information Scientifique pour le Développement | CEDID | France | |
| Centre Population et Développement | CEPED | France | Research on population and socio-economic issues of development. |
| Chaire UNESCO pour la formation de professionels du Développement Durable | | France | Université Michel de Montaigne. Poverty research also. |
| Développement et Insertion Internationale | DIAL | France | Socio-economic research on issues of developing countries. |
| Etudes Tsiganes, Les | | France | Studies on gypsy minorities including poverty. Formerly: Association des Etudes Tsiganes. |
| Groupement d'Intérêt Scientific pour l'Etude de la Mondialisation et du Développement | GEMDEV | France | |
| Institut Français des Relations Internationales | IFRI | France | Several researches concern developing countries. |
| Institute de reserche pour le développement | IRD | France | Researches the relationship between man and nature in tropical regions. |
| Institute d'Etude du Développement Economique et Social | IEDES | France | Université Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne, devoted to development, including poverty. |
| International Union for the Scientific Study of Population | IUSSP | France | Include scientific committees and working groups on population and poverty. |
| OECD Development Centre | | France | |
| PARtnerships In Statistics for development in the 21st century | Paris 21 | France | Improves statistical capacity in developing countries to more effectively formulate poverty policies. |
| UNESCO Social and Human Sciences Sector | UNESCO SHS | France | Research projects are carried out by the various divisions. |
| Arnold Bergsträsser Institut | ABI | Germany | Research in many fields of development, poverty not explicitly mentioned. |
| Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik | GDI | Germany | Conducts research directly related to topical and policy-oriented issues. |
| Deutsches Übersee-Institut | DUI | Germany | Analyses political, economic and social developments in the South. |
| Ibero-Amerika Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung | IAI | Germany | The research programme centers around poverty alleviation and international trade and finance. |
| Institut für Entwciklung und Frieden | INEF | Germany | Research group of the University of Duisburg. |
| Institut für Entwicklungsforschung und Entwicklungspolitik | IEE | Germany | Bochum University, Research is focused on interdisciplinary study of development. |
| Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung | ZEF | Germany | An interdisciplinary research institute of the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhems-University, Bonn. |
| Zentrum für Internationale Entwicklungs- und Umweltforschung | ZEU | Germany | University of Giessen, research on development, environment, food security and poverty. |
| Mediterranean Agronomic Institute of Chania | MAICH | Greece | Includes economic and rural development as topics. |
| Hungarian Academy of Sciences | | Hungary | Carries out research in poverty, among other development issues. |
| Hungarian International Development Assistance Non-Profit co | HUN-IDA | Hungary | Conducts research into many developmental issues. |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Ireland | University College Dublin. |
| Weitz Centre for Development Studies | DSC | Israel | Devoted to regional and rural development, socio-economic development, and poverty alleviation. |

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| Centro Interfacoltà per la Cooperazione con i Paesi in via di Sviluppo | CICOPS | Italy | University of Pavia. |
| Giordano dell'Amore Foundation | FGDA | Italy | Conducts research in particular in the field of finance and development.. |
| Gruppo CERFE | CERFE Group | Italy | Research programmes include poverty and social exclusion. |
| Interuniversity Consortium for Development Cooperation | CONICS | Italy | Development theory and policy. |
| Society for International Development | SID | Italy | Network of researchers and several publications. |
| UNICEF International Child Development Centre | ICDC | Italy | Research mostly on economic and social policy and human rights standards. |
| Amsterdam Institute for Metropolitan and International Development Studies | AMIDSt | Netherlands | University of Amsterdam. |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Netherlands | University of Groningen. Research is focused on four themes in development studies. |
| Centre for International Development Issues Nijmegen | CIDIN | Netherlands | University of Nijmegen. |
| European Centre for Development Policy Management | ECDPM | Netherlands | Several publications online. |
| Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies | IHS | Netherlands | Carries out research on urban development, housing, etc. to contribute to poverty alleviation. |
| Institute of Social Studies | ISS | Netherlands | Separate school for development studies. |
| Instituut voor Ontwikkelingsvraagstukken | IVO | Netherlands | University of Tilburg. Specializes in socio-economic research on developing countries. |
| Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen | KIT | Netherlands | Its activities are principally in the field of multiculturalism and international cooperation. |
| Netherlands Development Assistance Research Council | Rawoo | Netherlands | Aims at building bridges in development research from an interdisciplinary background. |
| Research School for Resource Studies for Development | CERES | Netherlands | CERES represents the majority of Dutch researchers engaged in development-oriented studies. |
| Transnational Institute | TNI | Netherlands | Concerned with militarism and conflict, poverty and marginalization. |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | Norway | University of Bergen. |
| Centre for Development and The Environment | SUM | Norway | University of Oslo. |
| Chr. Michelsen Institute | CMI | Norway | Research includes poverty and social change. |
| Comparative Research Programme on Poverty | CROP | Norway | |
| Norsk Forening for Utviklingsforskning | NFU | Norway | |
| Norwegian Institute of International Affairs | NUPI | Norway | Special Department for Development Studies. |
| Poverty Mapping | | Norway | A joint initiative by FAO, UNEP and CGIAR to promote the use of poverty maps. |
| Senter for Internasjonal Fattigdomsforskning | SIF | Norway | University of Bergen. |
| Centro de Estudos sobre África e do Desenvolvimento | CeSA | Portugal | Research centre of the Technical University of Lisbon. |
| Office for International Relations in Sciences and Higher Education | GRICES | Portugal | |
| Instituto de Latino America | ILA | Russia | Deals with development issues in Latin America. |
| Institute for Economic Research | IER | Slovenia | Deals with development economics and development policy among other topics. |
| Centre d'Informatió i Documentació Internacionals a Barcelona | CIDOB | Spain | Large amount of research concerns development issues. |
| Euro-American Association of Economic Development Studies | EAAEDS | Spain | Universidade de Santiago de Compostela. |
| Institut Internacional de Governabilitad de Catalunya | IIGC | Spain | Researches governance and sustainable development. |
| Instituto de Estudios sobre Desarrollo y Cooperación Internacional | HEGOA | Spain | Universidad del Pais Vasco. |

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| International Sociological Association | ISA or AIS | Spain | Its various research committees cover 53 different areas of sociology. |
| Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation | DHF | Sweden | Promotes global cooperation on development matters through seminars, workshops etc. |
| Expert Group on Development Issues | EGDI | Sweden | Initiates and publishes studies in a wide range of development related topics. |
| Latinamerika-Institutet i Stockholm | LAIS | Sweden | University of Stockholm. |
| Nordiska Afrikainstitutet | NAI | Sweden | Support research cooperation between African and Nordic countries. |
| Peace and Development Research | Padrigu | Sweden | Research programme at Gothenburg University. |
| European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes | EADI | Switzerland | Network of 150 organizations addressing key topics of development research. |
| Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Developpement | IUED | Switzerland | Promotes teaching and research on development and encourages students from the South. |
| Institute de Sociologie | | Switzerland | Université de Neuchâtel. Research includes migration, work, unemployment, and poverty. |
| International Institute for Labour Studies | IILS | Switzerland | Poverty and social exclusion as main research fields. |
| International Social Security Association | ISSA | Switzerland | International organization. |
| Nachdiplomstudium für Entwicklungsländer | NADEL | Switzerland | Research programme on poverty. |
| Swiss Academy for Development | SAD | Switzerland | Focuses on social change and cultural diversity. |
| United Nations Research Institute for Social Development | UNRISD | Switzerland | Current research focuses on poverty alleviation. |
| Türkiye Kalkinma vakfi | TKV | Turkey | Development Foundation of Turkey. Its goals are poverty alleviation and rural development. |
| Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion | CASE | U.K. | Free publications on social exclusion and poverty, London School of Economics. |
| Centre for Democracy and Development | CDD | U.K. | This NGO promotes democracy peace and human rights through advocacy, training and research. |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | U.K. | University of Bath. |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | U.K. | University of Glasgow. |
| Centre for Development Studies | CDS | U.K. | University of Wales, Swansea. |
| Centre for Development Studies | | U.K. | University of Leeds. |
| Centre for Poverty and Social Justice | | U.K. | One of the specialist research centres at the University of Bristol. |
| Centre for Research in Social Policy | | U.K. | Loughborough University, research on poverty and social exclusion. |
| Centre for the Study of African Economies | CSAE | U.K. | University of Oxford, research includes macroeconomic and microeconomic components. |
| Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship | | U.K. | University of Bristol. |
| Centre for the Study of Global Governance | CsGG | U.K. | London School of Economics. |
| Centre for Urban and Regional Studies | CURS | U.K. | University of Birmingham. Deals with public policy development both nationally and internationally. |
| Childhood Poverty Research and Policy Centre | CHIP | U.K. | A collaborative venture between Save the Children and the Chronic Poverty Research Centre. |
| Chronic Poverty Research Centre | CPRC | U.K. | international partnership of universities, research centres and NGOs. |
| City Poverty | | U.K. | Project by two British universities. |
| Development Planning Unit | DPU | U.K. | The Bartlett Faculty of the Built Environment, University College of London. |
| Development Policy and Practice | DPP | U.K. | Open University, research concentrates on development management and sustainability. |
| Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalization and Poverty | | U.K. | researches the complex relationship between migration and poverty. |

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| Development Studies Association | DSA | U.K. | Works to connect and promote development research in the UK and Ireland. |
| Development Studies Institute | DESTIN | U.K. | London School of Economics and Political Science, dedicated to development studies. |
| ESRC Research Group on Wellbeing in Developing Countries | WeD | U.K. | University of Bath. |
| European Panel Analysis Group | EPAG | U.K. | Consortium of European economic and social researchers. Research on poverty in the EU. |
| Finance and Development Research Programme | | U.K. | Part of the Institute for Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester. |
| Friends of the Earth | FOE | U.K. | Research group within this ngo focuses on sustainable development. |
| Global Poverty Research Group | GPRG | U.K. | partnership between universities of Manchester and Oxford. |
| Globalization and Poverty Research Programme | | U.K. | Part of IDS, University of Sussex, programme finished in 2003. |
| Information for Development in the 12st Century | ID21 | U.K. | Free development research reporting service. |
| Institute for Development Policy and Management | IDPM | U.K. | University of Manchester, researches social and economic development in developing countries. |
| Institute for Development Research | IDR | U.K. | Provides minimum cost services, back-up and learning opportunities to Christian aid agencies. |
| Institute of Development Studies | IDS | U.K. | University of Sussex, special poverty research department. |
| Institute of Latin American Studies | ILAS | U.K. | University of London, School of Advanced Study. |
| International Development Department | IDD | U.K. | University of Birmingham. |
| International Institute for Environment and Development | IIED | U.K. | Research promotes sustainable development.. |
| Oxfam | | U.K. | |
| Overseas Development Group | ODG | U.K. | University of East Anglia. |
| Overseas Development Institute | ODI | U.K. | Britain's leading independent think-tank on humanitarian and development issues. |
| Poverty Reduction Learning Network | PRLN | U.K. | Learning network made up of a diverse group of experts. |
| Queen Elizabeth House | QEH | U.K. | Oxford University. Multi-disciplinary institute devoted to development studies. |
| Royal Institute of International Affairs, The | RIIA | U.K. | Aims to promote the study and understanding of all aspects of international relations. |
| School for Policy Studies | | U.K. | University of Bristol. |
| Townsend Centre for International Poverty Research | | U.K. | University of Bristol. |
| Water, Engineering and Development Centre | WEDC | U.K. | University of Loughborough. |
| Poverty Research Unit | | U.K. | University of Sussex. |
| Centre for International Development | CID | U.S.A. | Harvard University. |
| Centre for Latin American Studies | CLAS | U.S.A. | University of Florida. Research includes poverty alleviation. |
| Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research | CGIAR | U.S.A. | 15 autonomous research centres on the topic of agriculture, of which 12 in the South. |
| East-West Centre | EWC | U.S.A. | Current research deals with poverty alleviation. |
| Economic Development Research Group | EDR Group | U.S.A. | Specializes in measuring development performance. |
| Institute for African Development | IAD | U.S.A. | Part of Cornell University. |
| Institute for Food and Development Policy | Food First | U.S.A. | |
| Institute for Research on Poverty | IRP | U.S.A. | Carries out research into the causes and consequences of poverty in the United States. |

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| Institute for Women's Policy Research | IWPR | U.S.A. | Focuses on public policy research on women and family issues related to poverty and welfare. |
| International Centre for Research on Women | ICRW | U.S.A. | Its aim is to improve the lives of women in poverty. |
| International Peace, Security and Prosperity Program | IPSP | U.S.A. | Various publications on international poverty. Part of Aspen Institute. |
| Joint Centre for Poverty Research | JCPR | U.S.A. | partnership between Northwestern University and the University of Chicago. |
| MacArthur Network on Inequality and Poverty | | U.S.A. | loosely knit research group concerned with poverty and inequality issues. |
| Overseas Development Council | ODC | U.S.A. | Focuses on multilateral responses to the challenges of globalization and development. |
| Population Research Centre | PRC | U.S.A. | Research areas include poverty. |
| Population Studies Centre | PSC | U.S.A. | University of Michigan. Current research deals with poverty. |
| Poverty, Inequality and Development | PID | U.S.A. | Research programme at Cornell University. |
| Rural Poverty Research Centre | RPRC | U.S.A. | Part of RUPRI, researches rural poverty in the U.S.A. |
| Survey Research Centre | SRC | U.S.A. | University of California. Develops methodology for conducting surveys, data collection etc. |
| University of Texas Inequality Project | UTIP | U.S.A. | Tries to measure and explain movements of inequality of wages and earnings around the world. |
| World Bank Institute | WBI | U.S.A. | Provides learning programmes and policy advice in the area of poverty alleviation. |
| World Bank Poverty Research Programme | | U.S.A. | |
| World Hunger Program and Hungerweb | WHP | U.S.A. | The research advances an understanding of the prevalance, persistence and prevention of hunger. |
| Inter-American Foundation | IAF | U.S.A. | Assists Latin American and Caribbean organizations for the development of the poor. |

# B

## Resource Persons

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# C

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**Francis Wilson** has taught for thirty years in the School of Economics at the University of Cape Town where he founded the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU). He is the author of a number of books, chapters, and articles including Labour in the South African Gold Mines (Cambridge University Press, 1972) and Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge (W. W. Norton, 1989) with Mamphela Ramphele. He was Chairman of Council at the University of Fort Hare from 1990-1999 and also first Chairman, 1996-1999, of the National Water Advisory Council.

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# D

## The Comparative Research Programme on Poverty (CROP): A short description

The Comparative Research Programme on Poverty (CROP) was established by the International Social Science Council (ISSC) in 1992. The programme is organised by a small Secretariat located at the University of Bergen, Norway. Professor Else Øyen is Scientific Director of CROP.

CROP is an international, academic, multi-disciplinary, *non-profit*, organisation. The fundamental aim of the programme is to produce new knowledge that can widen the understanding of the complex political, social and cultural processes underlying the production, maintenance or reduction of poverty, and thereby, hopefully, contribute to better informed poverty reduction policy decisions. CROP is based on contributions from a whole range of disciplines. The researchers linked to the programme bring with them their different disciplinary skills reflected in a wide range of methodological and theoretical approaches. The challenge is to integrate the different perspectives in a constructive manner and within a comparative framework.

At present CROP has a network of about two thousand researchers and other specialists working with research based knowledge about poverty. Close to half of the members come from third world countries and countries in transition.

CROP has organised close to 50 scientific meetings, conference sessions and scientific workshops on poverty-related research. The experience is that frequent and direct face to face contact between the researchers is important to overcome disciplinary and cultural barriers. The workshops serve as meeting places, in addition to functioning as arenas for exchange and dissemination of knowledge and research results to a broader audience.

Most of the research activities of CROP are being organised in the South, both to contribute directly to poverty research competence building in these countries and to increase general awareness of the importance of studying the poverty production processes from an endogenous point of view.

Through the workshops several research programmes have been initiated, a large number of publications have been launched and more are under preparation.

At the end of a CROP workshop or conference, public meetings are arranged. These meetings function as a kind of extended press conferences where the researchers meet with representatives from the mass media as well as bureaucrats, politicians and ordinary citizens interested in poverty issues. These meetings have proven to be important tools for wider dissemination of information in the regions where the workshops have been organised.

CROP has good links not only with the academic community but also with major international organisations, NGO's and national policymakers. Besides the ordinary channels for academic communication the programme tries to make full use of these connections to disseminate research results relevant to their activities.

CROP collaborates with individual poverty researchers, research institutions and organisations all over the world. An important part of its activities is to support and facilitate

*regional* collaboration in the South. The most successful regional project so far is the programme *Strengthening poverty research and academic support to poverty reduction programs in less developed countries and regions of Latin America and the Caribbean*, carried out in collaboration with CLACSO (Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales/The Latin American Social Science Council). The programme was started in 2002 and is funded by NORAD.

Within the programme competitive research stipends are provided yearly for junior and senior scholars to carry out social science research on poverty issues, under scientific guidance from renowned scholars in the field. Academic courses on poverty are made available in Spanish on Internet. The regional perspective is further strengthened through the organisation of scientific workshops and other joint meetings promoting comparative and collaborative cross-national research on poverty related issues in the region.

Through a series of workshops organised by CROP a special Mediterranean network of poverty researchers is now also being developed, including poverty researchers in Southern Europe, North Africa and the Middle East.

A large part of the CROP activities has been located in Africa South of the Sahara. It has been a long-term goal to develop more systematically the regional collaboration in the area, equivalent to the CROP/CLACSO collaboration. Through the organisation of a series of workshops on *Poverty and Law* and *The Role of State in Poverty Reduction* CROP has contributed to the creation of a network of researchers working with poverty-related judicial and legal questions in the region. In collaboration with the pan-African Social Science Research Council, CODESRIA, plans are now being made to develop a more comprehensive collaboration programme to strengthen African poverty research in a broader perspective, with special emphasis on the inclusion of the poorer states in the region. Initial financing of the project is secured by contributions from the University of Bergen and the International Social Science Council.

*For more comprehensive information on the goals and activities of the Programme, see the CROP home page on Internet: http://www.crop.org*

# E

## Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| AERC | African Economic Research Consortium |
| AfCHPR | African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights |
| AfDB | African Development Bank |
| AFDC | Aid to families with dependent children |
| AHRC | American Human Rights Convention |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| ANPOCS | National Association for Postgraduate Studies and Research in the Social Sciences (Brazil) |
| ASRU | AIDS and Society Research Unit (at CSSR, University of Cape Town) |
| ASSA | Actuarial Society of South Africa |
| BI | Basic income |
| BIEN | Basic Income European Network |
| BIG | Basic income grant |
| CEEST | Centre for Energy, Environment, Science and Technology (Tanzania) |
| CEPAL | (see ECLAC) |
| CIPR | Commission on Intellectual Property Rights |
| CLACSO | Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales |
| CLADES | Latin American Sustainable Development Center |
| COSATU | Congress of South African Trade Unions |
| CRC | Convention on the Rights of the Child |
| CROP | Comparative Research Programme on Poverty |
| CSSR | Centre for Social Science Research (at University of Cape Town) |
| CWSP | Community Water and Sanitation Programme (Ghana) |
| DAC | Development Co-operation Directorate (of OECD) |
| DFID | Department for International Development (UK) |
| DWST | District Water and Sanitation Team (Ghana) |
| ECHR | European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms |
| ECLAC (CEPAL) | Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (of UN) |
| ECOSOC | Economic and Social Council (UN) |
| ESC | European Social Charter |
| EU | European Union |
| FAFO | Fagbevegelsens senter for forskning, utredning og dokumentasjon (Norway) |
| FLACSO | Latin American Social Science Faculty |
| FUNDAP | Fundacão do Desenvolvimento Administrativo (São Paulo, Brazil) |
| GEM | Gender empowerment measure |
| HDI | Human development index |
| HPI | Human poverty index |
| ICCPR | International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights |
| ICEDAW | International Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women |

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|---|---|
| ICERD | International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination |
| ICESCR | International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights |
| IDB | Inter-American Development Bank |
| IDEA | International Development Ethics Association |
| IIED | International Institute for Environment and Development |
| IILS | International Institute for Labour Studies (ILO) |
| IIS-UNAM | Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| ILPES | Instituto Latinoamericano y del Caribe de Planificación Económica y Social |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| INSTRAW | United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women |
| IPEA | Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (Brazil) |
| ISSC | International Social Science Council |
| IUCN | World Conservation Union |
| IWMI | International Water Management Institute |
| LASA | Latin American Studies Association |
| NAFTA | North American Free Trade Agreement |
| NGO | Non-governmental organization |
| NFR | Research Council of Norway |
| NORAD | Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation |
| NTNU | Norwegian University of Science and Technology |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goals |
| MCT | Mother child transmission |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| OHCHR | Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights |
| OXFAM | Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (UK) |
| PCAS | Policy Co-ordination & Advisory Services (South Africa) |
| PES | Payment for environmental services |
| PRSP | Poverty reduction strategy papers |
| PSLSD | Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development (South Africa) |
| PWORA | Personal and Work Reconciliation Act (USA) |
| SACP | South African Communist Party |
| SARPN | Southern African Regional Poverty Network |
| SEDESOL | Secretariá de Desarrollo Social (Mexico) |
| SELA | Latin American Economic System |
| TANF | Temporary assistance to needy families |
| TRIPs | Trade related aspects of intellectual property rights |
| UDHR | Universal Declaration of Human Rights |
| UI | Unemployment insurance |
| UIB | University of Bergen (Norway) |
| UIO | University of Oslo (Norway) |
| UNAIDS | Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNDP HDR | Human Development Report |
| UNDP SAHDR | South Africa Human Development Report |

| | |
|---|---|
| UNEP | United Nations Environment Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNFPA | United Nations Population Fund |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund |
| UNFAO | United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization |
| UNIFEM | United Nations Development Fund for Women |
| UNRISD | United Nations Research Institute for Social Development |
| UNITAR | United Nations Institute for Training and Research |
| WB | World Bank |
| WHO | World Health Organization |
| WHOLIS | World Health Organization library database |
| WHOSIS | World Health Organization Statistical Information System |
| WTO GATS | World Trade Organisation General Agreement on Trade and Services |
| WWI | World Watch Institute |