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**Analysis of some Agriculture and Rural Development indicators
between 2000 and 2012**

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Abstract

By taking some professional aspects into consideration we wish to describe and compare some deliberately selected countries (geographical location, economic development) on the basis of some agriculture and rural development indicators. In addition to static analysis the changes in the values of the indicators can also be noticed by comparing data from 2000 and 2012. We would like to find an answer how the situation of these countries has been changed during the examined period and what factors have influenced it most.

Key words: rural development, agriculture, GDP/capita, multivariate analysis, cluster analysis

Introduction

Rural development was considered as a sectoral topic focusing on agriculture. There is a tendency in OECD countries to regard rural development as a territorial concept dealing with spatial differences in problems and perspectives, opportunities and options (OECD 1995, 2006). It is also a multisectoral concept, concerned with demographic, economic, social and environmental issues. It emphasizes the importance of cross-sectoral, horizontal integration of activities and policies.

A system of rural development statistics and its associated indicators must closely map the objectives indicated in the policies made by governments. Where policies are not very clearly formulated, statisticians have to anticipate indicators being demanded.

Indicators are statistical variables that help to transform data into relevant information. Indicators have meaning within defined conceptual frameworks and for specific analytical or administrative purposes. To provide meaningful information, they have to be interpreted in the context of these frameworks and purposes. Thorough interpretation is a necessary prerequisite to any reasonable indicator use. Often indicators can be interpreted adequately only as part of a more comprehensive set of indicators. Without explicit reference to a specific analytical task or policy objective, indicators are just statistical data or variables that provide only potentially useful information. The underlying logic relating certain statistical data to specified purposes must be based, at the very least, on a hypothesis, if not on a more elaborate theory or model. In fact, indicators can often be seen as a first attempt to structure complex interrelationships that may, in the end, help to formulate more sophisticated theories (OECD, 2006).

Indicators on rural development need to be based on published statistics that are consistently collected in comparable areas, using the same unit of measurement and based on a clear definition. Indicators should also be sensitive to changes and trends over time that can inform future policy direction. To meet these demands, descriptive indicators for rural development often involve re-valuing well-known concepts and data sets in the rural policy context. In some cases, this process is accompanied by a definition of 'rural' (Bryden, 2001). The PAIS report and the Hay report (2002) focused on the spatial components of rural areas within Europe through the development of a set of indicators.

Rural poverty is a pervasive problem in many developing countries. There is therefore a need to systematically monitor its reduction. To this end, the World Bank uses a core set of indicators that captures certain aspects of rural development and poverty (World Bank, 2000). FAO also produced Guidelines on Socio-Economic Indicators for Monitoring and Evaluating Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (1988). The guidelines were the result of extensive collaborative work by UN agencies and countries.

Material and methods

In our present paper 29 countries are involved in the examination: 4 old EU member states (Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain), the 10 members that acceded in 2004 and also the 3 countries that joined recently (Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia) as well as 6 candidates (Turkey, Macedonia, Iceland, Serbia, Montenegro and Albania). We also added 6 North African countries (Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco).

The economic development of countries was primarily examined by GDP per capita as one of the most widely accepted general indicator of economic development as well as its changes. Afterwards, the following criteria of economic development were analysed: export of goods and service (% of GDP), import of goods and services (% of GDP), trade in service (% of GDP), agriculture value added (% of GDP), agricultural land (% of land area), food production index, livestock production index, employment in agriculture (% of total employment).

After these one-, and two-way examinations graphic analyses were carried out and finally the countries are grouped on the basis of the investigated indicators. Multivariate methods are applied to explore the group formation of countries. The groups are illustrated by boxplot and the separation of group formation is checked by variance analysis. Finally, the groups are characterised by the indicators. The impact of the indicators in group formation is expressed numerically, which makes their ranking possible based on the role they play in group formation.

Results

First, let us see that changes of GDP per capita as the universally accepted indicator of economic development per country or group. Figure 1 illustrates the spread of the countries examined on a histogram based on their GDP per capita values.

Figure 1 The spread of countries by GDP per capita

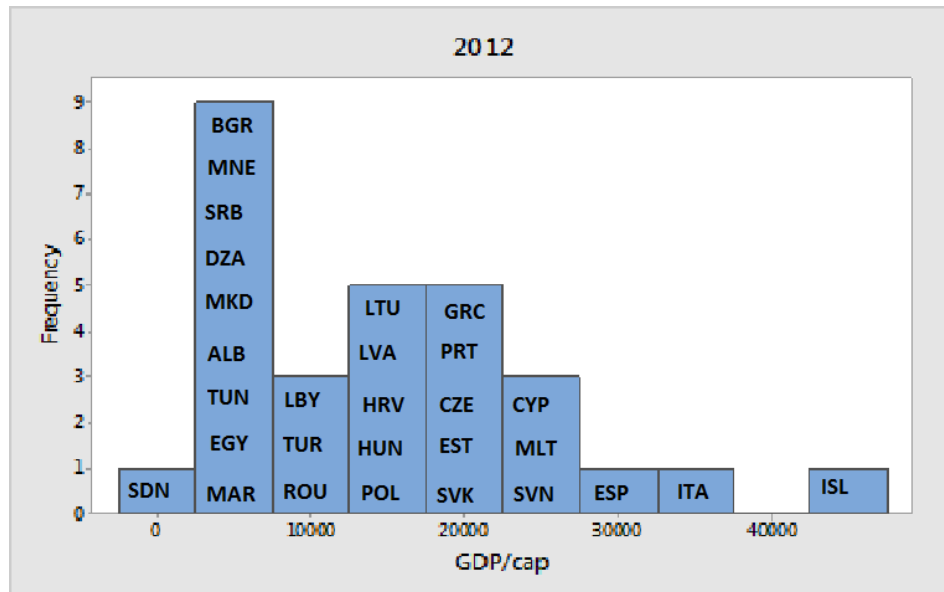


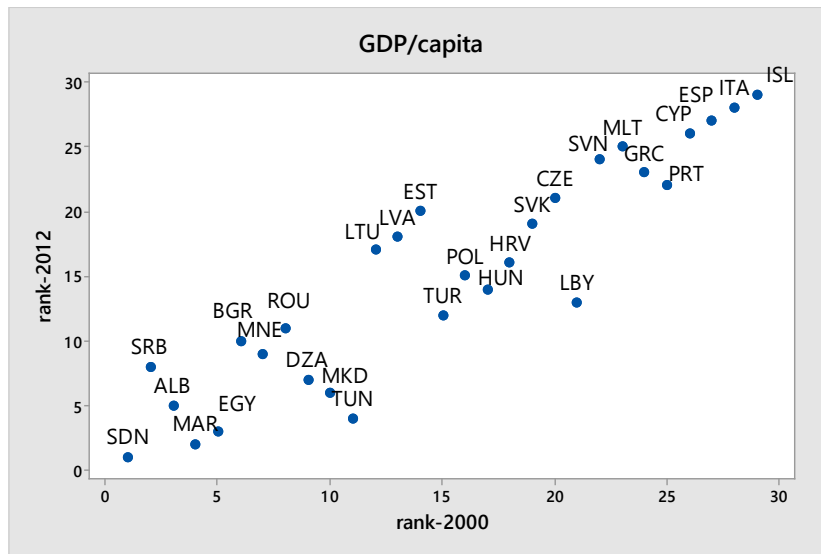
Figure 1 presents that Iceland, which belongs to the candidate group, stands apart from the other countries with its high GDP per capita (45262.5 US\$/capita). The lowest value belongs to Sudan (1752.9 US\$). Nine countries, 4 candidates (MKD, SRB, MNE, ALB), 4 North African countries and recently joined Bulgaria show similar values (2500-7500 US\$/pc). Regarding old EU members two of them have high (ITA, ESP) while other two medium values (GRC, PRT). Figure 1 shows the position of the members of the five groups by GDP/capita.

Figure 2 shows the ranking order of GDP per capita in 2000 in each country. The countries above the diagonal have a better position (Rank is prepared by increasing values, so the higher the rank, the bigger GDP per capita is.) The countries below the diagonal are in a less favourable position.

It can be seen that the situation of the countries with the most favourable GDP/per capita values (ISL, ITA, ESP, CYP) has not been changed. In the middle EST, LVA, LTU have entered into a more favourable situation while of the countries with low values BGR, ROU, MNE, SRB and ALB could make headway.

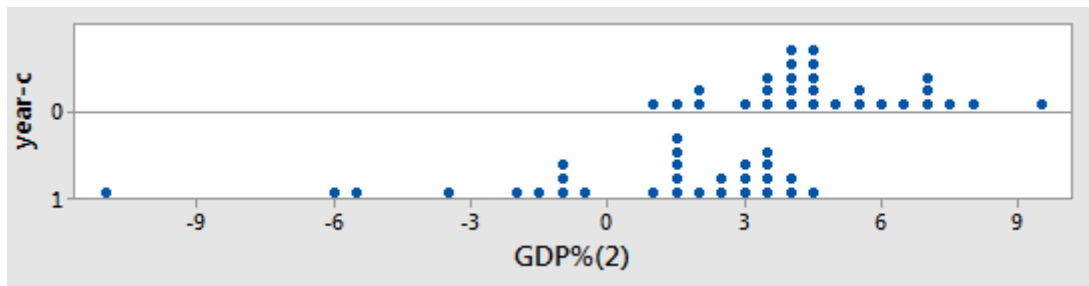
In the case of TUN and LYB there has been an unfavourable drop by 7-8 positions. Also, the values of HRV, HUN, TUR and MKD have slightly decreased (2-3 positions). All in all, the rank values do not differ to a great extent. The rank correlation coefficient between the rank values of the two years is $r_s=0.92$

Figure 2 The comparison of the countries on the basis of their GDP per capita in 2000 (axis x) és and 2012 (axis y)



In addition to GDP/capita another frequently used indicator is the growth rate of GDP (Figure 3).

Figure 3 The growth rate of GDP in 2000 and in 2012

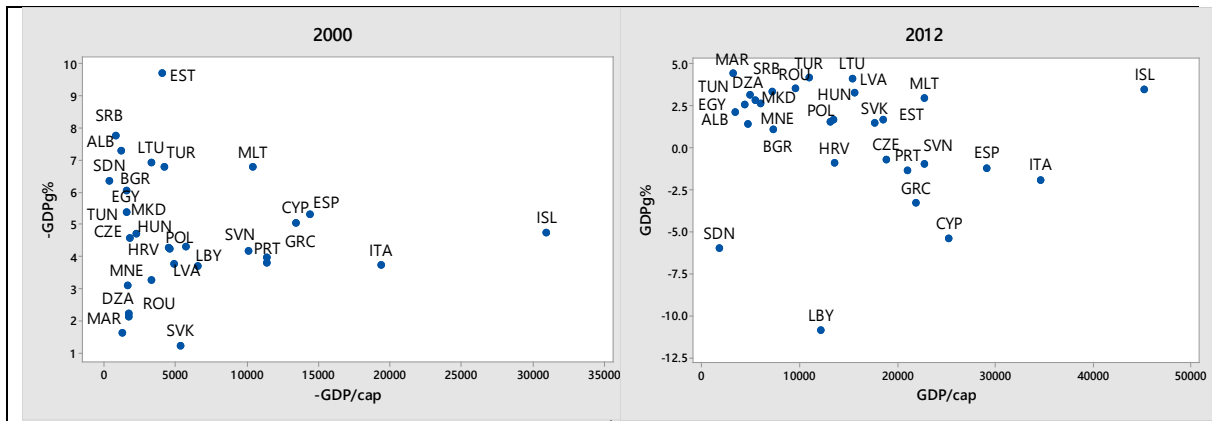


Legend: Code 0 - 2000 data, Code 1- 2012 data

Figure 3 illustrates that during 12 years the growth rate of GDP in all countries have been decreasing significantly and countries were differentiated to a greater extent. In 2012 the GDP of several countries shows a decrease in relation to the new base.

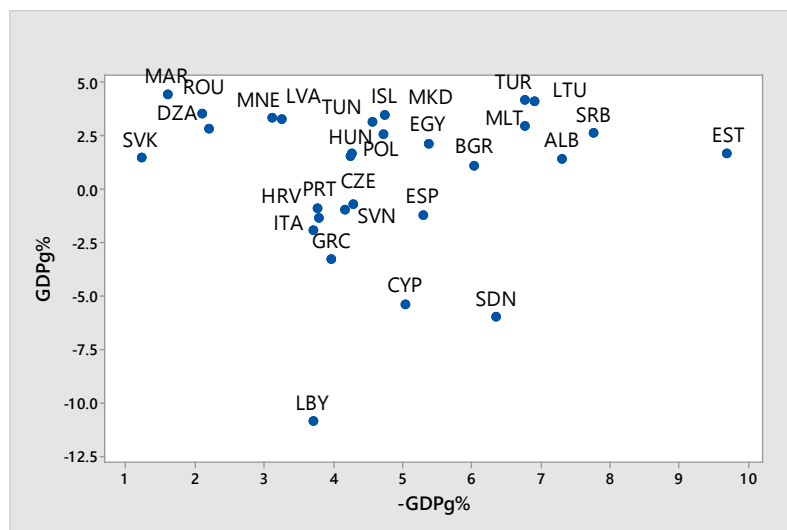
In the following part the correlation between GDP/capita and GDP growth rate is presented (Figure 3). The general statement according to which the growth rate of the developed countries is lower can also be detected at 2012 in Figure 4. However, there are some exceptions like Iceland where high GDP per capita is coupled by high growth rate. Libya and Sudan also divert from the general tendency where low GDP/capita is accompanied by low GDP growth rate. With the exception of these three countries this general tendency prevails.

Figure 4 Illustrating the correlation between GDP/capita and GDP growth rate on a graph for 2000 (GDP/cap) and 2012 (GDP/cap)



In 2000 countries are more heterogeneous with regards to growth rate with similar GDP per capita values EST, SRB, ALB, LTU and TUR showed a relatively greater rate while SVK, MAR, ROU and DZA could be characterised by a slower rate of development. (Figure 4). The GDP growth rate of the countries in 2000 and 2012 does not show any correlation ($r=0.03$) (Figure 5).

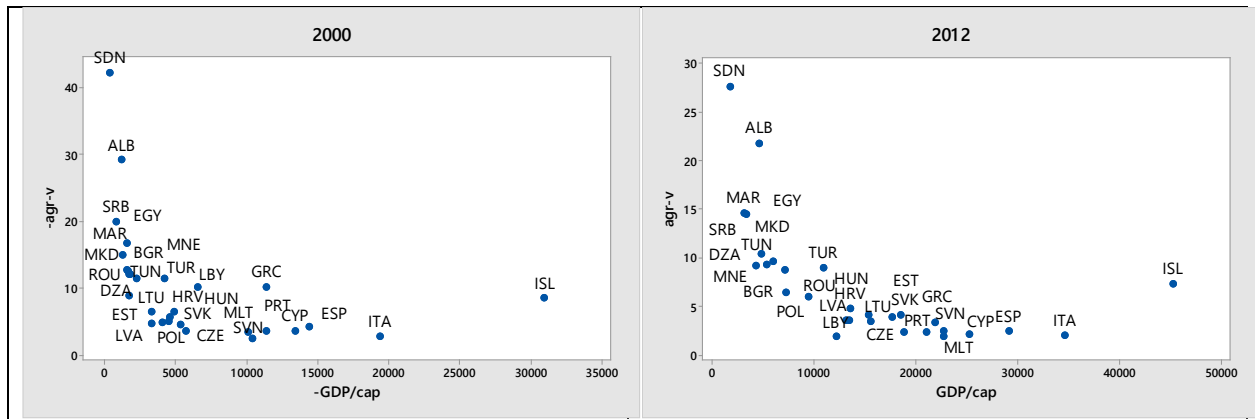
Figure 5 The comparison of the countries on the basis of their GDP growth rate in 2000 (axis x) és and 2012 (axis y)



The growth rate of GDP significantly increased only in the case of four countries (MAR, ROU, DZA, SVK) during the examined period where the rate of GDP per capita was the lowest in 2000. In the case of the other countries a decrease in growth rate can be experienced to a greater or lesser extent. In ten countries GDP was decreasing when compared to the basic point (LBY, CYP, SDN, GRC, ITA, HRV, PRT, CZE, SWN, ESP).

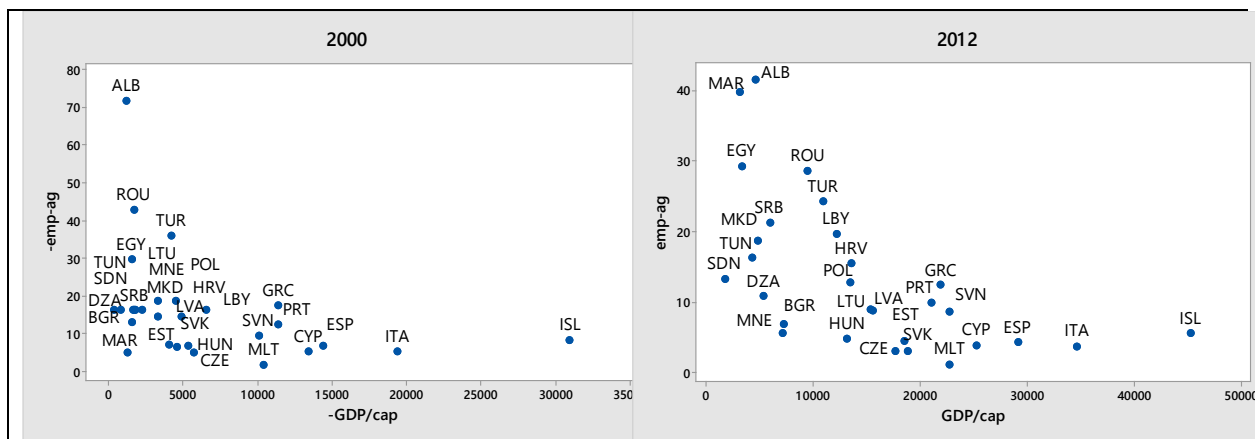
It has also been experienced that the share of agriculture in GDP is usually lower in the developed countries than in the developing ones. Figure 6 presents the data for both years that justify this statement. In the countries only slight differences can be noticed between these two years.

Figure 6 Relations between the share of GDP/capita and agriculture to GDP



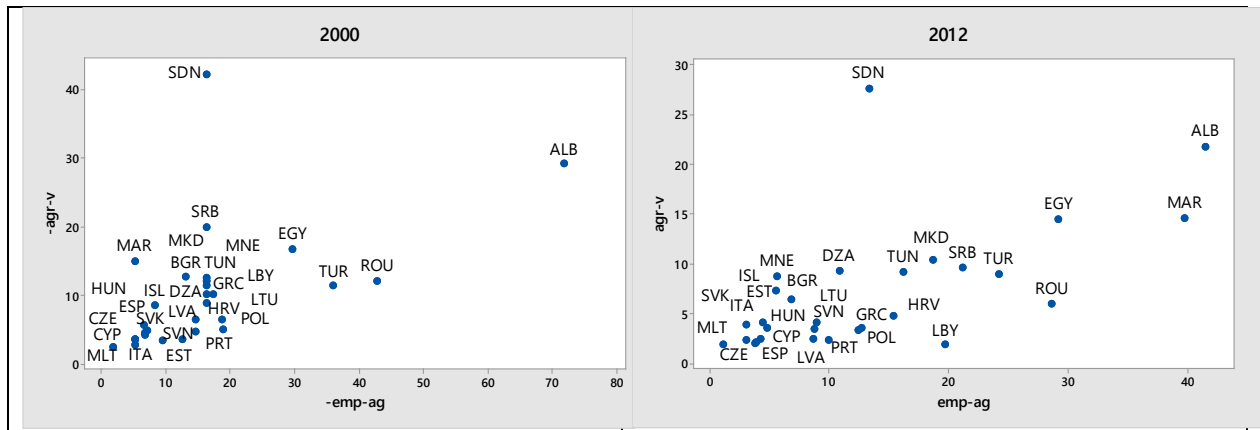
The proportion of those employed in agriculture as of total employment also shows a negative correlation with GDP per capita although the correlation is not too tight here (Figure 7).

Figure 7 Correlation between GDP/capita and employment in agriculture for 2000 and 2012



If we examine the proportion of those employed in agriculture and the share of GDP there is no obvious correlation. If the proportion of those employed in agriculture is higher it does not necessarily mean that the share to GDP is also greater. In developing countries more people are employed in agriculture with less efficiency while in mechanised agriculture even fewer people can perform more efficiently (Figure 8).

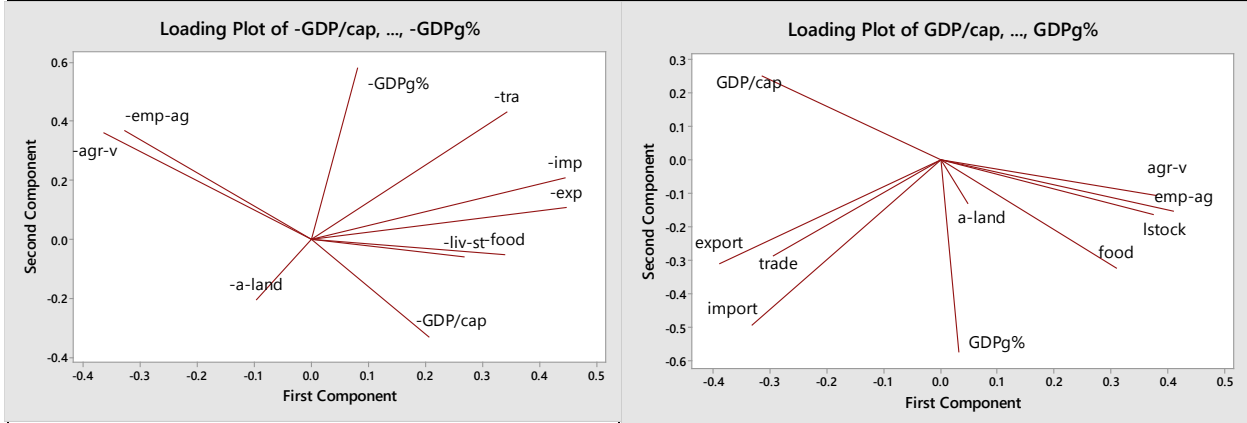
Figure 8 The proportion of those employed in agriculture and the share of agriculture to GDP



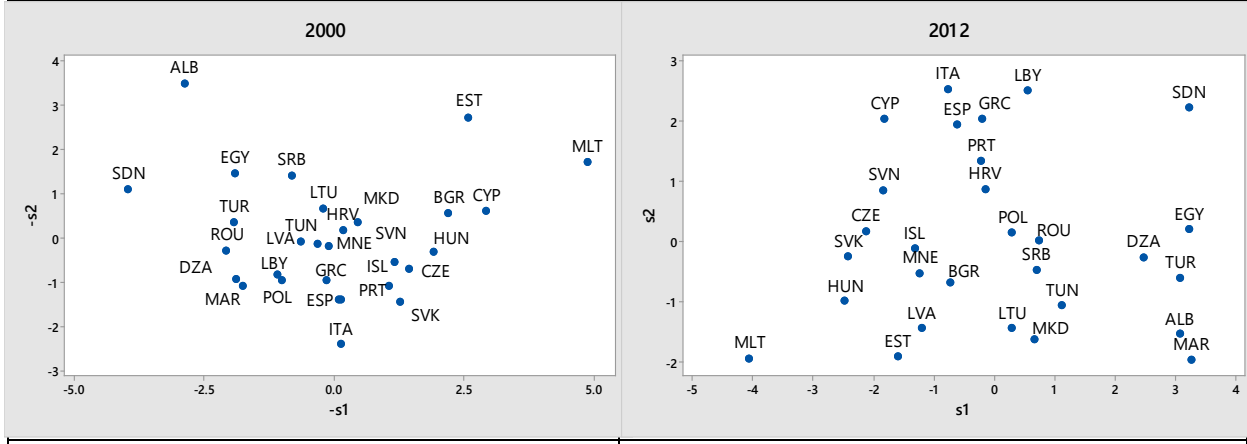
In the following part by using principal component analysis we examine the groups of countries based on the ten indicators in both years of the examination.

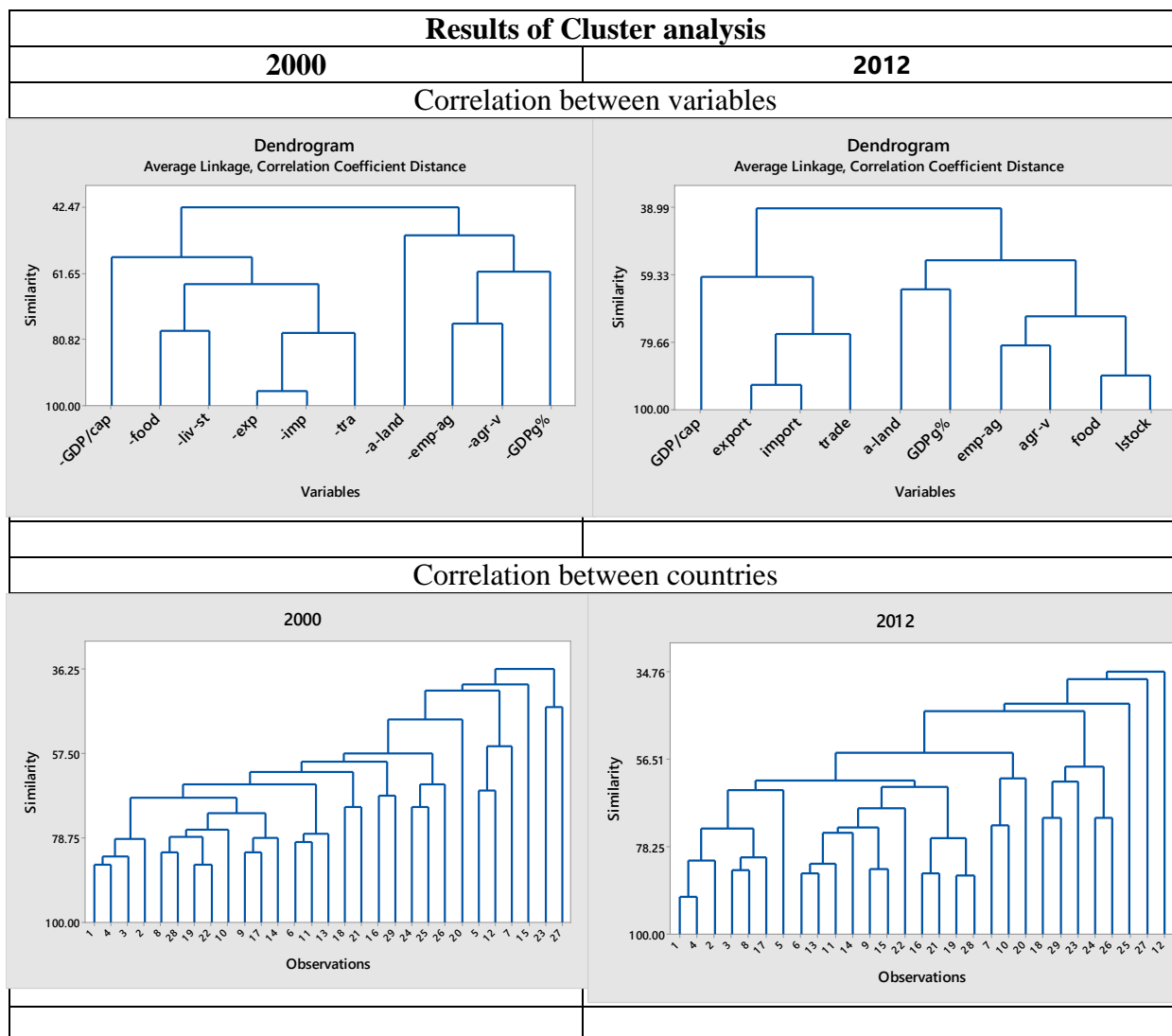
Comparison analysis of 2000 and 2012 data

Results of Principal Component Analysis	
2000	2012
Correlation between variables	



Correlation between countries	
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Conclusion

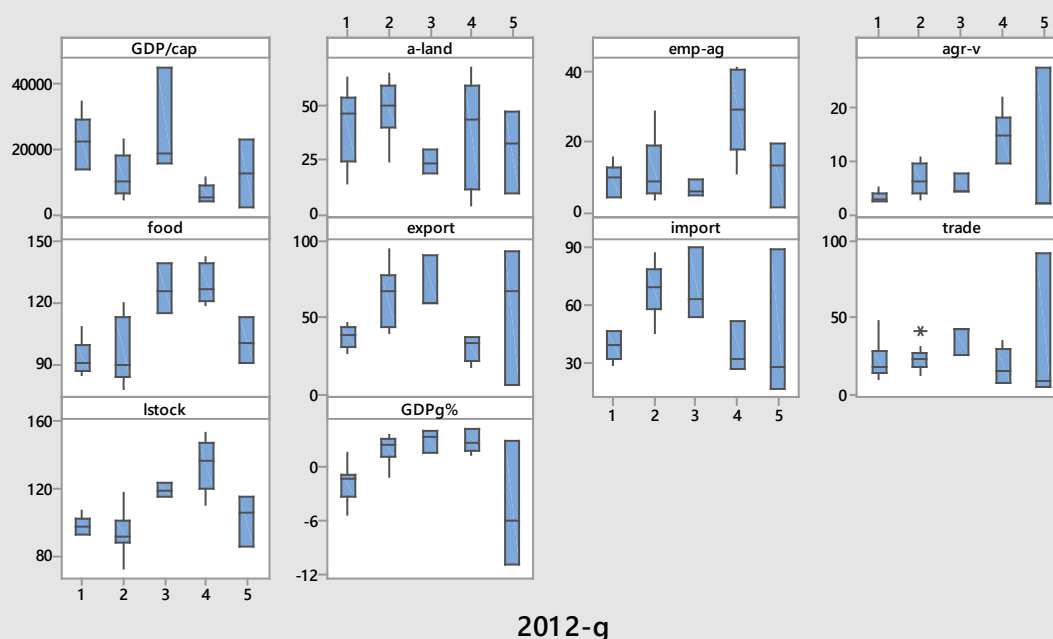
While in 2000 GDP/capita primarily correlated with food and livestock production and there was a loose connection with export and import, by 2012 tables were turned so export and import increased while food and livestock production were not so significant than before.

In 2000 GDP growth rate was defined by the proportion of those working in agriculture and also the share of agriculture in GDP in percentage. By 2012 the former ones were pushed into the background and rather it was the proportion of agricultural areas that became decisive, which can be explained by the general growth in the standard of agricultural production.

Countries do not make up distinctive groups by the examined indicators except four old EU member countries (ITA, GRC, PRT, ESP) that formed one group in both years, thus they showed a relative separation from the other countries.

Group formation based on 2012 data

Boxplot of GDP/cap, a-land, emp-ag, agr-v, food, export, import, ...



Group	Members	Description
1	ITA, GRC, PRT, ESP, CYP, POL, HRV	relatively high GDP/capita, low proportion of those employed in agriculture, low share of agriculture to GDP in percentage, low share of export and import of goods and services to GDP in percentage, relatively low GDP growth rate
2	CZE, LTU, HUN, SVK, SVN, BGR, ROU, MKD, SRB, MNE, TUN	low GDP/capita, relatively high proportion of agricultural area, low proportion of those employed in agriculture and low share of agriculture to GDP in percentage
3	EST, LVA, ISL	Agriculture is less significant while export and import are more significant
4	TUR, ALB, DZA, EGY, MAR	low GDP/capita, high proportion of those employed in agriculture, high food and livestock production
5	MLT, LBY, SDN	Heterogeneous group with low GDP/capita

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CALIBRATION OF HARGREAVES-SAMANI EQUATION FOR BETTER ESTIMATING REFERENCE EVAPOTRANSPIRATION IN NORTHWEST LIBYA

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Abstract:

In this paper, the performance of Hargreaves -Samani equation compared with Penman Monteith equation of FAO as a reference evapotranspiration (ET_0) prediction method was investigated. Furthermore, the Hargreaves-Samani equation was locally calibrated. Averages of monthly meteorological data from ten stations for 30 years in northwest Libya were used. In order to obtain best evaluation for the of Hargreaves-Samani equation, the study area were divided into three sub climatic regions, which are coastal, inland, and mountainous regions. The performance of Hargreaves-Samani equation was evaluated using a number of statistical indices, namely, the mean bias error (MBE) , the root mean square error (RMSE), the mean absolute error (MAE), Nash-Sutcliffe efficiency (η), coefficient of determination (R^2), and the ratio between both average estimations of ET_0 . The results showed that Hargreaves-Samani equation underestimates the ET_0 in all the data used compared with Penman Monteith equation. The variation was most significant in the mountainous stations. This was evident from the average values of MBE, RMSE, MAE, which were -1.13, 1.2, and 1.14 mm/day, respectively, while the values of the same indicators for the coastal area were -0.4, 0.48, and 0.41 mm/day, correspondingly, and for the inland area were -0.35, 0.42, and 0.37 mm/day, respectively. Since R^2 and (η) values were good, the improvement of the local prediction of HS equation was performed. Corrections of HS equation factor (i.e. 0.0023) were obtained for the tree regions using the slop of the linear regression analysis. The new values of the calibrated factor of the Hargreaves Samani equation were 0.0026, 0.0024 and 0.0032 for coastal, inland and mountainous regions, respectively. These values are greater than the value of the original factor (i. e. 0.0023). In order to obtain better prediction of the monthly ET_0 in the study area, it is recommended to modify the HS equation factor to the new values.

Keywords: ET_0 , Hargreaves-Samani equation, Northwest Libya, Penman Monteith equation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Agricultural water consumption comprises about 85% of the national water supply in Libya (Alghariani 2007), most of national water consumption allocated for irrigation. One of the large areas for irrigation projects are laid on Jefara plain in northwest Libya. This region suffers from the scarcity of fresh water. Thus, a better prediction of crop water requirements (ET_c) is a significant for irrigation management and national water resources planning (Slabbers 1977, Wu 1997). Furthermore, extending agriculture activities and the increase of the irrigated area modify the ET_c and the hydrological balance in the region. Therefore, accurate estimation of the ET_c is necessary to understand the ecohydrological changes (Cooper et al. 1996, Prater et al. 2006).

The concept of reference evapotranspiration (ET_0) was introduced to simplify the process of estimating different crop water requirements. The ET_0 is a ET_c from a specific crop that provides a reference from which ET for other crops can be estimated (Allen et al. 1998, Droogers and Allen 2002). The latest definition of the ET_0 is an unstressed hypothetical crop, 12 cm height, having a surface resistance of 70 s m⁻¹ and albedo of 0.23, and covering large area (Allen et al. 1998). Using the ET_0 concept allows separating the main climatic factors that direct the crop water consumption from crop factors (i.e. crop type, crop development and management practices) (Allen et al. 1998).

Methods provided for estimating ET_0 are based on one or more measured climatic variables. The reliability of these methods varies from climatic system to another. Jensen et al. (1990) divided the evapotranspiration methods into four categories, which are temperature-based, radiation-based, combination-type equations and pan evaporation-based. Overall, the combination-type Penman-Monteith equation is widely used and recommended by FAO for most climatic conditions.

Penman- Monteith (PM) method is considered to be most physical and reliable method and recommended by the FAO as the sole standard to verify other empirical methods (Allen et al. 1998).

The FAO Penman- Monteith method has strong fundamental physical principles, including energy balances to precisely calculate the ET_0 . The FAO Penman- Monteith method has been approved by many researches in the last decades for different climatic systems (e. g. Abdelhadi et al. 2000, Berengena and Gavilán 2005, Beyazgül et al. 2000, DehghaniSanij et al. 2004, Gavilán et al. 2006, Hargreaves and Allen 2003, Hussein 1999, López-Urrea et al. 2006, Todorovic 1999, Trajkovic 2005, Trajkovic and Kolakovic 2009, Tyagi et al. 2003, and Ventura et al. 1999).

PM method, however, needs detailed data for four meteorological parameters, which are air temperature, relative humidity, wind, and net radiation. Such input data may not available at many places especially in developing countries (Allen et al. 1998, Smith et al. 1991). In Libya, There are a limited number of agricultural weather stations. This limitation constrains using PM equation and makes the use of the temperature – based equations more effective. Among the temperature-based equations, the FAO recommended using the Hargreaves- Samani method (Allen et al. 1998).

The Hargreaves-Samani (HS) equation is an attractive alternative method due to its simplicity and minimum data requirements. The HS equation performed well among temperature-based equations compared to lysimeter measurements at the 11 locations studied in semi arid regions by Jensen et al. (1990). Allen et al. (1998) recommended using the Hargreaves-Samani equation when sufficient data to solve the FAO-56 PM equation are not available. Several studies have shown that HS equation may provide reliable estimates of Reference evapotranspiration for five days or longer time steps (Droogers and Allen 2002, Hargreaves and Allen 2003, Hargreaves 1989, Jensen et al. 1997). However, the original equation generally overestimates ET_0 at humid locations (Trajkovic 2005, Jensen et al. 1990, Amatya et al. 1995, Itenfisu et al. 2003, and Temesgen et al. 2005), and underestimates ET_0 in arid locations (Allen et al. 1998, Droogers and Allen 2002, and Jensen et al. 1990). Amatya et al. (1995) Found that the average variation of annual ET_0 predicted by HS method was about 15% at three sites in North Carolina compared to PM method. Similar results were reported in several recent studies for different places around the world, such as Cumberland (Yoder et al. 2005)], Trace Plain in Bulgaria (Popova et al. 2006), Tunisia (Jabloun and Sahli 2008), and Florida (Martinez and Thepadia 2010).

Allen et al. (1998) noted that HS equation should be calibrated if necessary for obtaining reliable estimates of ET_0 . Furthermore, Xu and Singh (2002) stated that HS equation requires local calibration before applying it for monthly ET_0 estimation at a given region. A Calibration of HS equation against PM equation was reported in (Gavilán et al. 2006) for Andalusian region of south Spain. Gavilán et al. (2006) suggested values of 0.0021 to 0.0027 for the empirical coefficient of HS equation. The variation of the coefficient depends on the difference between maximum and minimum temperature and the average wind velocity. Many researchers provided a local calibration in different areas around the world (e.g. Murugappan et al. 2011, Tabari and Talaei 2011, and ElNesr et al. 2011). Therefore, the basic objective of this paper is to investigate the performance of HS equation and to calibrate the equation to be used as an alternative method of the standard FAO-56 PM method in local areas of North West Libya.

2. MATERIAL AND METHODS

2.1 Climatic Data Collection

Average climatic data for 30 years (from 1971 to 2000) were sourced from 10 weather stations located in North West Libya (Figure 1). Four of the stations are located in the coastal area, which are Tripoli, Zawia, Zuara, and Sorman. Data sourced from the coastal stations have a moderate temperature and higher relative humidity especially in summer and autumn compared to stations in other areas. Furthermore, coastal stations receive considerable amount of rainfall associated with higher cloudy hours during the year. Three weather stations are located in Jefara Plain that represents the inland region, which are Bir Alghinm, Alzizia, and Tripoli airport stations. This region has higher temperature, low wind speed, less humidity, and lower cloudy hours during the year compared with the others. The three stations in the mountainous region are Garian, Alrujban, and Nalut. The mountainous region has less average temperature and cloudy hours during the year due to higher elevations (average of 600 m above the sea level). Limited land cover and high wind speed characterized the mountainous region.

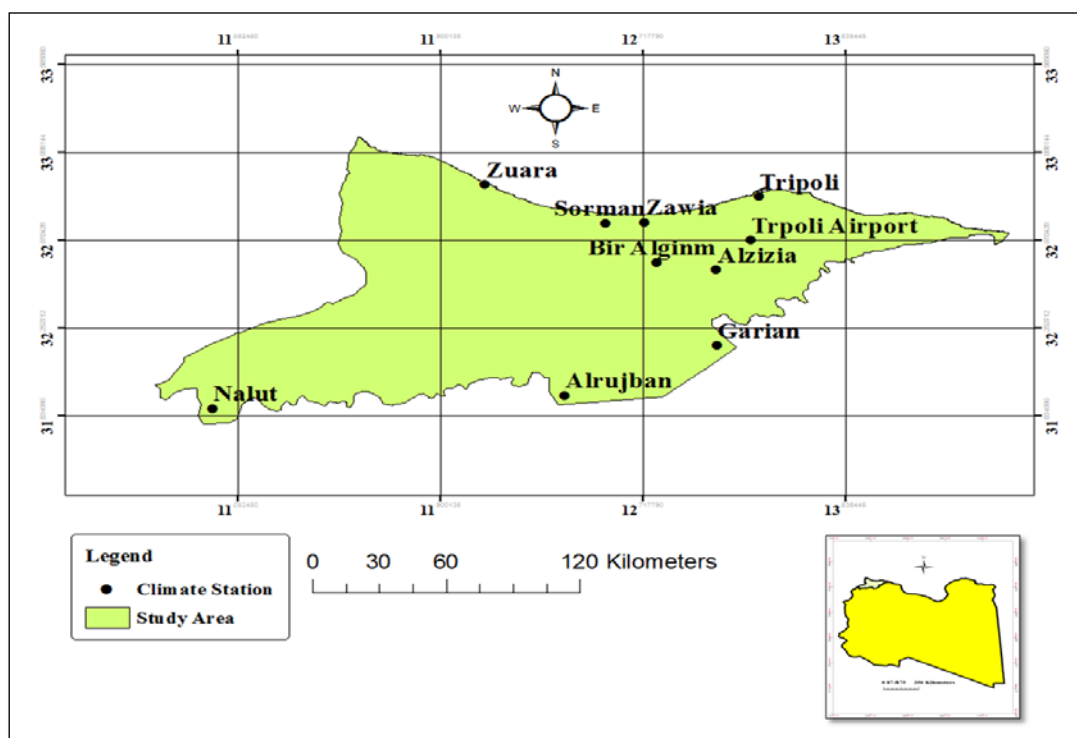


Figure 1. Location of the study area.

2.2 Calculation of standard ET_0 using Penman-Monteith equation

The Penman- Monteith (PM) equation as described by Allen et al. (1998) was used to calculate the ET_0 for the 10 weather stations data sourced. The PM equation can be written as:

$$ET_{0,pm} = \frac{0.408\Delta(R_n - G) + \gamma \left[\frac{900}{T + 273} \right] U_2 (e_s - e_a)}{\Delta + \gamma(1 + 0.34U_2)} \quad (1)$$

Where $ET_{0,pm}$ is the reference evapotranspiration estimated by FAO-56 PM equation (mm day^{-1}); Δ is the slope of the saturation vapor pressure function ($\text{kPa}^\circ\text{C}^{-1}$); R_n is the net radiation ($\text{MJ m}^{-2} \text{day}^{-1}$); G is the soil heat flux density ($\text{MJ m}^{-2} \text{day}^{-1}$); γ is the psychrometric constant ($\text{kPa}^\circ\text{C}^{-1}$); T is the mean daily air temperature ($^\circ\text{C}$); U_2 is the mean 24-h wind speed at 2-m height (m s^{-1}); and $(e_s - e_a)$ is vapor pressure deficit (kPa). The ET_0 were calculated using the Cropwat software V. 8. (FAO).

2.3 Calculation of standard ET_0 using Hargreaves-Samani Equation

ET_0 was calculated by HS equation (Hargreaves and Samani 1983) using the same data sourced for the 10 weather stations. HS equation can be written as:

$$ET_{0,HS} = f_c R_a (T_{\max} - T_{\min})^{0.5} - \left(\frac{T_{\max} - T_{\min}}{2} + 17.8 \right) \quad (2)$$

Where $ET_{0,HS}$ reference evapotranspiration estimated by the HS equation (mm/day); f_c the original calibration factor (0.0023) of the HS equation as described by (Hargreaves and Samani 1983), R_a is the extraterrestrial radiation (mm/day); T_{\max} and T_{\min} are daily maximum and minimum temperature ($^\circ\text{C}$) respectively; 0.5 is empirical HS exponent; and 17.8 is empirical temperature coefficient. The calculation was performed using a Microsoft EXCEL sheet.

2.4 Calibration of Hargreaves-Samani (HS) Method

As mentioned by Allen et al. (1998), and Droogers and Allen (2002), the accuracy of the HS-equation may vary depending on the meteorological conditions of a particular location. In current study, it was suggested that each region of the study area has distinct climatic characteristics (i.e., coastal, inland and mountainous areas). Such characteristics may influence the accuracy of HS equation determinations. Consequently, the HS factor (f_c) was adjusted for each region as follows:

$$f_{cadj} = f_c \frac{ET_{0,pm}}{ET_{0,HS}} \quad (3)$$

Where, f_{cadj} is the new monthly adjusted value of the empirical coefficient of HS equation, which was obtained for each region. The data of each region were classified into two groups, the first set was chosen for calibration while the second was adopted for validation purpose. Unfortunately, there was no clear rule to select which station within the region would be considered for calibration or validation process. However, it was suggested to select the stations which are located in the mid way within each station for each region for validation. The data which used for calibration in the coastal area were extracted from Zuara, Zawia and Tripoli meteorological stations, while the data of Sorman meteorological station were used to validate the calibrated equation. Similarly, the data of Alzizia and Alrjban meteorological stations were selected for validation purpose for inland and mountainous regions, respectively.

2.5 Evaluation procedures

The $ET_{0,HS}$ values for all the stations were compared with the ET_0 calculated by PM equation (2). Statistical indicators, namely, mean absolute error (MAE), mean bias error (MBE), root mean square error (RMSE) and Nash-Sutcliffe efficiency (η) were determined to evaluate the reliability of HS equation. These statistical criteria were estimated as follows:

$$MBE = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n (ET_{0,HS} - ET_{0,pm})}{n} \quad (4)$$

$$RMSE = \sqrt{\frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n (ET_{0,HS} - ET_{0,pm})^2} \quad (5)$$

$$MAE = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n |ET_{0,HS} - ET_{0,pm}| \quad (6)$$

$$\eta = 1 - \left[\frac{F}{F_0} \right] \quad (7)$$

$$F = \sum_{i=1}^n (ET_{0,HS} - ET_{0,pm})^2 \quad (8)$$

$$F_0 = \sum_{i=1}^n (ET_{0,HS} - ET_{0,pm-mean})^2 \quad (9)$$

In addition, to the previous statistical indicators, a linear regression analysis with intercept = 0 using least square methods was performed between the $ET_{0,pm}$ (Dependent variable) and $ET_{0,HS}$ (independent variable). The linear equation can be written as:

$$ET_{0,HS} = \alpha ET_{0,pm} \quad (10)$$

Where α is the gradient of the linear equation.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Comparison of ET_0 values estimated by HS and PM methods

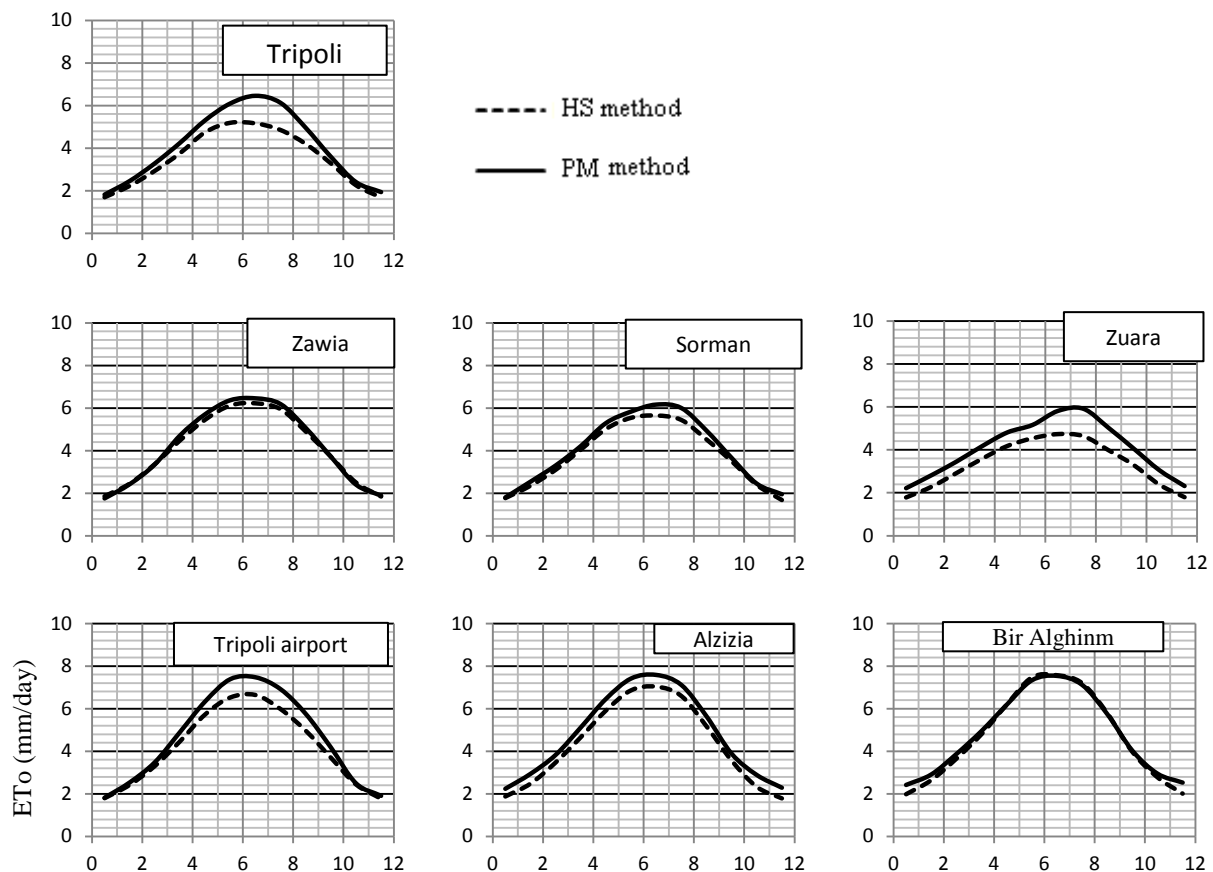
The average monthly values of ET_0 for PM and HS methods were calculated using the aforementioned methods. Figure. 2 illustrates the ET_0 for PM and HS methods for the 10 weather station. It is clear that the HS method tends to underestimate the ET_0 for all the studied stations. The higher differences were noted in the stations located in the mountainous area; this might be due to the effect of strong wind and lower temperature and humidity. While the coastal stations gave better results compared with those in the mountainous area. It is still somehow underestimating the ET_0 . This might be due to the absence of the effect of relative humidity, which is not accounted in the HS method. These results are confirmed by the statistical indices as it shown in Table 2. It is clear that the study area can be divided into three regions reflecting the distance from the sea and the elevation level. In the coastal area, the differences between ET_0 calculated by HS method are slightly lower than the ET_0 calculated by PM equation. This is evident from the values for RMSE (ranged from 0.13 to 0.77 mm/day). In the inland area the results showed good agreement between both methods. In contrast, the mountainous area the differences are bigger. A comparison of Mean Bias Error (MBE) showed underestimated (negative) values for the ET_0 predicted by the HS equation as compared with PM equation (table 1). The results of the MBE comparison showed that the minimum value of MBE

(-0.09 mm/day) was obtained at Zawia station which located in a coastal while the maximum value of MBE (-1.30 mm/day) was obtained at Nalut station which located at mountainous area. Similar trend can be also noted for mean absolute error (MAE) and Nash-Sutcliffe efficiency (η) values whereas they reveal that the accuracy of ET_0 predicted by the Hargreaves-Samani as compared with PM equation is enhanced from mountainous area toward coastal area.

By observing table (1), the values of regression coefficient (α) were between 0.82 and 0.97 with high coefficient of determination R^2 ranging between 0.97 and 0.99 for coastal stations. For inland stations, the values of α ranging between 0.89 and 0.99 with R^2 equal to 0.99. While the values of α for the mountainous stations indicate that, the HS equation was less accurate with values ranging between 0.76 and 0.82 with R^2 ranging between 0.96 and 0.99. One can conclude from the values of α that the estimates of Hargreaves-Samani Equation were lower than the ET_0 Penman estimates. As expected, it would be worthily to calibrate the Hargreaves-Samani Equation with adjusting the original calibration factor (f_c) to minimize the errors between the estimates of Hargreaves-Samani for each region as compared with PM method.

3.2 Calibration of Hargreaves-Samani Method

The new local calibration of the original calibrated factor of the Hargreaves-Samani equation was performed. The new values of the calibrated factor of the Hargreaves-Samani equation were greater than the value of the original constant (0.0023). Their values were 0.0026, 0.0024 and 0.0032 for coastal, inland and mountainous regions, respectively. The higher values of the calibrated factor for HS equation were related to the area where the effect of temperature deficit may not be the unique factor affecting ET_0 .



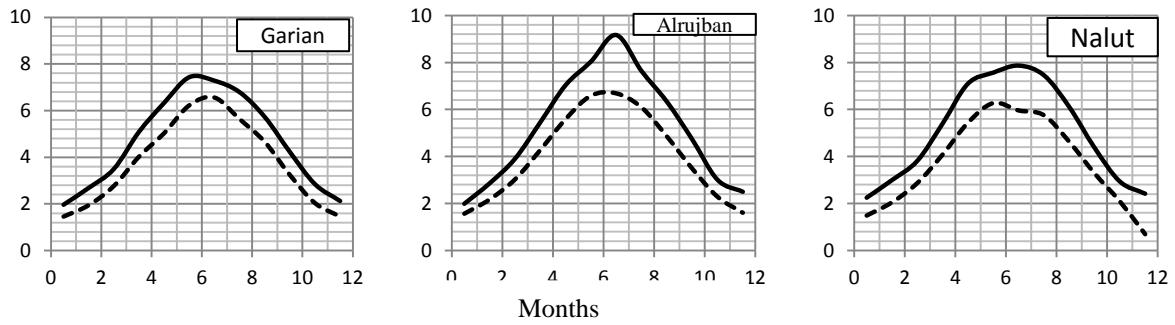


Figure 2. Comparison between the performance of PM and HS in all the stations

Region	Station	MBE (mm/day)	RMSE (mm/day)	MAE (mm/day)	η	α	R^2
Coastal	Zuara	-0.70	0.77	0.70	0.61	0.82	0.98
	Sorman	-0.25	0.30	0.25	0.96	0.93	0.99
	Zawia	-0.09	0.17	0.13	0.99	0.97	0.99
	Tripoli	-0.56	0.68	0.56	0.82	0.85	0.97
Inland	Tripoli Airport	-0.46	0.57	0.46	0.92	0.89	0.99
	Alzizia	-0.46	0.47	0.46	0.94	0.91	0.99
	Bir Alghinm	-0.13	0.23	0.18	0.98	0.99	0.99
Mountainous	Garian	-0.90	0.94	0.91	0.77	0.82	0.98
	Alrujban	-1.20	1.30	1.20	0.67	0.77	0.99
	Nalut	-1.30	1.36	1.30	0.56	0.76	0.96

Table 1. Values of the statistical indices obtained to evaluate the performance of HS equation Compared to PM equation

Figure 3 shows the results of ET_0 estimated by HS equation, calibrated HS equation, and PM method for the coastal region (i.e. Sorman station). The adjusted HS equation performed better during the late of the year. This also evident from the good values of statistical performance indicators after calibration. The values of MBE, RMSE, MAE, η , α and R^2 were -0.22 mm/day, 0.25 mm/day, 0.23 mm/day, 0.975, 1.05, and 0.99, respectively.

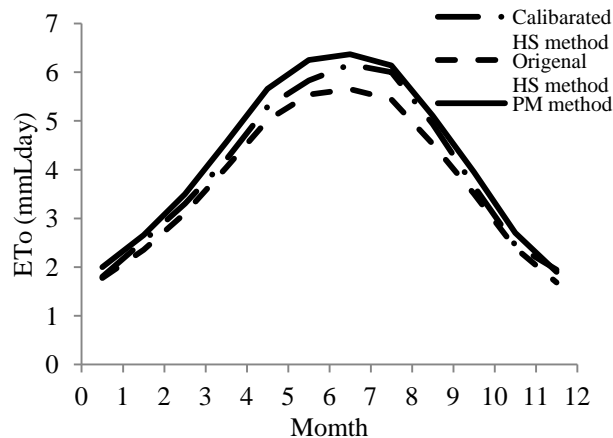


Figure 3. ET_0 estimated by HS equation before and after calibration as compared with $ET_{0,PM}$ for Sorman station

For inland area, the Alzizia station was selected for the calibration purpose. The results as depicted from figure 4 showed that calibrated HS equation closely matched $ET_{0,PM}$ compared

with the original HS equation. The statistical indicators showed that the adjusted calibrated equation was good compared with the original equation. The values of MBE, RMSE, MAE, η , α and R^2 after calibration were found to be -0.13 mm/day, 0.03 mm/day, 0.13 mm/day, 0.99, 0.98 and 0.99, respectively. Such results revealed that the calibrated HS equation performed well as compared with the original one.

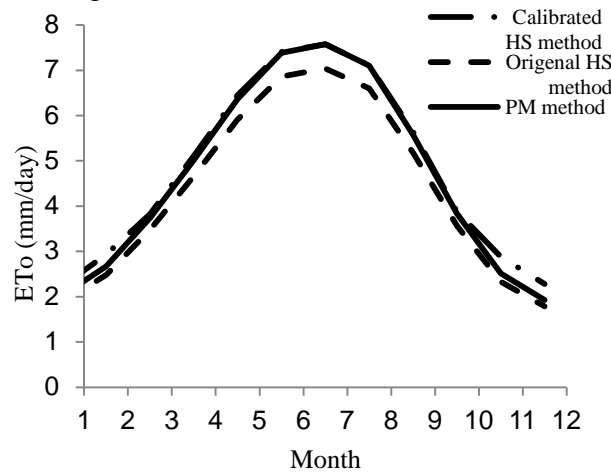


Figure 4. ET_0 estimated by HS equation before and after calibration as compared with $ET_{0,PM}$ for Alzizia station

The results for the mountainous region showed that the calibrated HS equation improved the ET_0 prediction (i.e. $ET_{0,PM}$) compared with the original HS equation (Figure. 5). The discrepancies can be noted during the summer months when the temperatures fluctuate and instable. The values of MBE, RMSE, MAE, η , α and R^2 for calibrated Hargreaves-Samani equation were found to be -0.42 mm/day, 0.57 mm/day, 0.47 mm/day, 0.93, 1.08 and 0.98 mm/day, respectively. These values are good compared with the original HS equation.

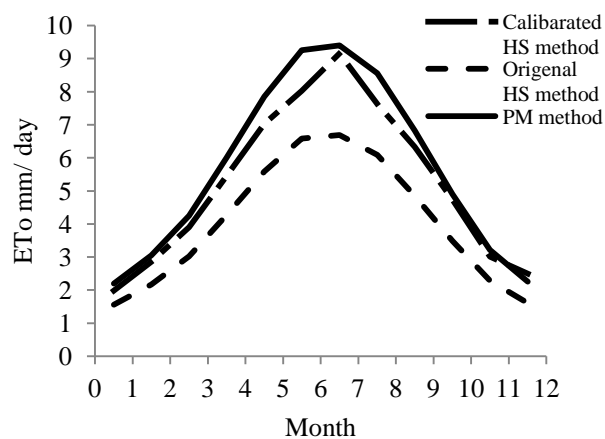


Figure 5. ET_0 estimated by HS equation before and after calibration as compared with $ET_{0,PM}$ for Rojbaan station

4. CONCLUSION

The results showed that the Hargreaves- Samani (HS) equation underestimates the ET_0 compared with the Penman – Monteith equation within the study area. The differences between ET_0 predicted using HS and PM methods vary from station to another depending on the location. However, the variation is most significant in the mountainous stations. Using HS without adjustment is not recommended in the study area especially in the mountainous area due to wind and relative humidity effects. However, Implementation of the new adjustment improved the prediction of the HS equation. The derivation of three values of f_c for the three

main climatic areas further improved the equation prediction. In all coastal, inland, and mountainous meteorological stations, better monthly estimations of ET_0 are obtained by the use of the calibrated HS equation. It should be noted that this calibration is valid for monthly data. The daily use of HS equation may require further calibration.

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**Challenges and Opportunities of Rural Communities in Hong Kong:
Comparative Analysis of Sai Kung and Tai O**

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Abstract

Although Hong Kong is a major global financial center, it still includes many rural communities that exist in between its natural and the built environments. The fishing villages are one of these remaining communities that embrace a significant expanse of qualities and rural livelihoods. Yet, such rural communities have certain challenges and opportunities that are affecting their development as sub-communities of a major metropolis. Through the analysis of these challenges and opportunities, this study will evaluate two rural communities of Hong Kong. This paper is based on surveys undertaken in two of the fishing villages in Hong Kong, Sai Kung and Tai O. Sai Kung is located towards the Eastern side of the Hong Kong region and has, in recent years, become a major touristic hub during the weekends. In the past few years, Sai Kung's real estate value has grown significantly and has attracted many new residents to the region. On the other hand, Tai O, located towards the Western side of Hong Kong, is a renowned heritage site with major issues of disparities and deprivation. The community structure in Tai O is very different to what is seen in the streets of Sai Kung. A comparison of the two cases will demonstrate different rural development strategies that are undertaken for both cases. In this research study, a comparative analysis of both cases is presented to evaluate rural community development in the context of Hong Kong. This study will ultimately discuss three aspects of community structure, community livelihood and community development for the two studied rural cases.

This research study is part of an on-going EPSRC-DfID funded research programme, under the 'Energy and International Development' scheme. The project is titled 'Energy and Low-Income Housing in Tropical Housing' and has a huge scope of housing and community analysis in both rural and urban areas of China, Thailand, Tanzania and Uganda. The focus of this research paper is on Hong Kong's rural communities.

Key words:

Rural Housing, Housing Transition, Development, China

CHANGE IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES IN THE WORLD AND TURKEY EXAMINATION

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Abstract

Fundamental changes are in rural development approaches in the world. Countries engaged changes in national and international policies and applications. Decentralization, strengthening of local communities, the participation of all stakeholders in development processes, care to gender equality, civil society's role through organizing strengthening seeking increased and all of these developments have influenced rural development approaches and policies. Rural development is not only a public service field at the same time, all non-public actors, in other words, society and economy segments of the common pursuit and have become the problem. Changes and developments are closely affected Turkey. Turkey has been deprecated in the rural development policies and applications that approach of bottom to up and participatory development in place. Changes in rural development approach are an important element in the forefront of the "innovative service delivery" and "good governance". Innovative service delivery approach has become imperative in rural development due to increase in the difference between rural-urban and imbalances, from rural to urban, especially of young people at the places status of high employment areas not acquired, disruption of education and health service delivery in rural areas. Rural development policy and the implementation of good governance among stakeholders in the identification and distribution of responsibility-sharing role effectively to provide a role for both accelerator and facilitator development possess these qualities. For this, in terms of governance for rural development actors have important roles. In this paper discussed the changing trends in recent years occurred in rural development approach in the world and Turkey's status was discussed.

Key words: Development, rural development, good governance, the world, Turkey.

1. INTRODUCTION

Rural development phenomena has become often an issue on the agenda for increasing poverty, unemployment, hunger, imbalance of rural-urban, regional inequalities in the world. Wish and strategy of a happy and welfare atmosphere as well as search for improvement in the lives of rural people have experienced a higher increase. There have been important changes in rural development in the world especially after 1980s. Development-oriented political priorities, which are in force particularly in developing countries, are gradually replaced with search for integrated development programmes that cover whole society. Increasing poverty and hunger, deepening gap between rural-urban, developed and less-developed regions and countries, economic imbalances and injustices, natural resources that are polluted and exhausted keep rural development concept high on the agenda in all over the world. Sectoral and growth oriented development models have not met need for all groups in the society and they are replaced with rural development searches that give importance to human and nature. Now, all countries have reached a point that allocates more resource, knowledge and time for rural development phenomena in all over the world. Problems have become something that interest every individual and society. Rural development policies are immediately used to solve these problems. Basically, rural development policies and their practices are based on activation and optimal presence of all elements, which help agricultural, economic, cultural and social in other words holistic development of people living in a rural region and increase their sensitivity to environment. Starting from this point of view, growth-oriented political priorities that are observed also in developing countries are gradually replaced with development searches that cover whole society. In addition to gender equality, strengthening of poor, decreasing hunger problem, decreasing child mortality, education, health, housing, social security, good governance, participation-participatory-sustainability, sensitivity environment, unemployment-poverty, access to market and loan sources, grassroots aims, service form, which is shaped in according to innovation and need, has become the essence and common points of rural development approaches.

There is an attempt to accomplish important changes in rural area in Turkey. In fact, approaches to rural development have started right after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey (1923). Modernisation movements, which have started with the establishment of the Republic, have influenced development attempts in agriculture and rural area. At that time, most of the population were living in villages and economy was mainly based on agriculture. Therefore, there was a special attention to agriculture and rural area within the framework of national development. The importance of agriculture sector in economy and the importance of rural area in social life continued till 1970s. With the increase in the level of knowledge and technology and mechanisation in agriculture migration and rapid urbanisation process has started. Migration and rapid urbanisation, which resulted from development differences between rural-urban, have started to create problems both in rural and urban areas. Thus, search for rural development area has sped up.

Turkey is one of the countries that have attempted tried and practised many models. These models have been implemented sometimes for political approaches and sometimes with the influence of international institutions. However, these programmes, which were usually large-scale initiatives and foregrounded sectoral approach, aimed to increase agricultural production and were administered from central, could not be effective in terms of reaching desired goals. Events related to rural development affects Turkey likewise other countries. There have been attempts, initiatives to create opportunities, options to make rural area attractive for a certain period in Turkey.

However, these approaches fail to satisfy the requirements of rural population and some economic, environmental and legal regulations lead the rural population to migrate and to chase different searches. Rural development programmes, which are a popular area and are implemented usually by means of international resources particularly from the European Union, have short term plans, fail to reach goal for depriving of strengthening local capacity and determining local priorities-problems. Rural development programmes, which consider ground-local, in developing countries like Turkey should aim to invigorate, diversify rural economy, providing and spreading knowledge and technology in rural area, to accomplish sustainable-permanent results, to increase life quality in rural area and more importantly to accomplish development and self-sufficiency of rural population by means of local dynamics.

2. BASIC REASONS FOR CHANGE IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES

With technological innovations and mechanisation in agriculture, which the world and Turkey experienced especially in 1960s, migration and rapid urbanisation process have started. Migration and rapid urbanisation, which resulted from development differences between rural-urban, have started to create problems both in rural and urban areas. Thus, search for rural development area has sped up. Turkey is one of the countries that have attempted tried and practised many models. These models have been implemented sometimes for political approaches and sometimes with the influence of international institutions. However, these programmes, which were usually large-scale initiatives and foregrounded sectoral approach, aimed to increase agricultural production and were administered from central, could not be effective in terms of reaching desired goals. Therefore, there is an attempt to implement rural development searches and programmes that pay attention to participation, locality, and activate social dynamics, gender equality and innovative service form.

Social changes, increasing rural-urban differences and increase in rural poverty led also to some discussions in development rhetoric. According to this new development theory, the main issue is not creating richness but the capacity of creating richness resulted from educated people power. "Human is in the centre of development and accomplishment of human potential and considering and accomplishment of social dynamics are the main criterion of the development." Purpose in this new development mentality is; to create organised societies that not only realise problems but also produce solution means and methods, are based mainly on their own power, effectively participate decision making process. Problem is defined as humanising, democratising and localising development particularly in rural/agricultural area and accomplishing active participation of target population and groups in each and every stages of these processes.

According to Shepherd (1998), elements of development are determined as; increasing per capita income and the amount of industry and service sector in national income and exportation resulted from change in efficiency of production factors and amounts. The basis of these definitions comes from an assumption that identify rural with tradition and urban with modernity. From this perspective; development is reduced to the growth of industry, which is the engine of growth, and service sector and eventually gaining acceleration in the growth of national economy. The reflection of this approach in rural development becomes modernisation in agricultural production and a goal of transformation in agricultural production. Modernisation approach has been started to question for focusing on only economic gaining rather than sustainability character and also ignoring political, environmental cultural etc. elements.

Therefore, experiences have shown that modernisation approach failed particularly in decreasing poverty and integrating social groups into society. While some groups gained financial advantages, poor remained poor similarly marginal groups remained marginal groups.

The goal of development with sustainable character in rural areas has caused adopting modern techniques only in agricultural production and keeping approaches that focus on increasing competitiveness in the background. The mentality of sustainable rural development has brought “multifunctionality” that focuses on the positive contributions of various political areas to destroy social and economic inequality and poverty. Underlining multifunctionality aims to accomplish competitiveness in markets through increasing productivity in agriculture sector as well as to maintain social and environmental balance that is under the threat of migration phenomena from rural to urban and to decrease poverty that may lead to political instability and determined the following measurements as political means; supporting entrepreneurship, diversifying economic income resources, increasing employment, supporting environment friendly production techniques, facilitating access to knowledge and technology, increasing the quality of public services such as health, education and transport, and infrastructure investment.

Conservative development mentality, which gives importance to economic growth, does not produce successful results. Success in development projects, whose initiative and priorities come from public, can be made through providing basic input into education, publication, organising-becoming a cooperative and production, choosing appropriate technologies, planning elements such as loan and marketing as a whole and defining evaluation criteria, indicators and risk factors in advance. Rural development should not have a mentality whose goal is only economic or agricultural growth. Rural development policies and programmes that invigorate economy in addition to the agricultural one, cover all social groups, speed institutional improvements up, minimise social differences have become approaches that are adopted by all international organisations. In this process, there will be factors that facilitate and speed up destroying socio-economic exclusion, accomplishing participation in decision making process, foregrounding respect for individual and society, giving importance to local technology and knowledge, providing at least job opportunity to make their living or subsistence, contributing to local organising and becoming cooperatives, taking holistic approaches into consideration and adopting gender balanced rural development.

Events related to rural development in the world affects Turkey, too. Unemployment and poverty, social participation, gender balanced development, migration, inequalities between regions require that Turkey should work in a manner more sensitive to rural development. Therefore, there is need for rural development programmes that foreground participation and social dynamics, are gender balanced and small and medium scale, can activate economy in addition to the rural one. Turkey has become more sensitive to these issues also by taking the EU (European Union) accession process. However, having limited resources, institutional structuring, taking no notice of small scaled production but even liquidation of this kind of production, too many problems in rural development, sharp and extemporary transition to overcome influences of free marketing rules in rural areas have yet to fully produce concrete and applicable policy approaches. All of these problems cannot be solved only through public approach and policy, either. The requirement of determining and dealing with problems on the ground and activating non-governmental organisations in terms of development brings searches for different, new rural development programmes.

2.1. Common Aspects of Changes in Rural Development Approaches

Rural development does not include only sectoral approach or agricultural development anymore. Elements such as development rather than growth, sharing rather than production, marketing rather than sale, different social dynamics rather than homogenous social structure have gradually come into prominence. As a result, also rural development policies changes in this globalising world and transforms into “approaches that are functional and integrated policies including agriculture as well as non-agricultural sectors and are based on innovative service forms for the welfare of rural society”. In this process of change need for rural changes, too. Considering only some fields such as production, self-sufficiency, use of input, employment and subsistence fail to satisfy need for rural. These issues fall behind to keep rural population in their existing position. Especially young people’s needs are different. There is need for a structure that intensely uses technology, has a strong communication network, can always contact outside world, can monitor market and marketing structures. This situation gives importance to a holistic service form in rural development now. From this perspective of change; state institutions and organisations that are responsible for and/or have priorities on services to the rural section of society and also private sector and non-governmental organisations should change their rural development approaches and should adopt approaches that shall develop rural in terms of not only economy but also technology, informatics, and culture areas. On the other hand, capitalist mode production that considers growth oriented environment and natural resources only from a material and financial tool damage to the world now. Approaches that take environment into consideration, consider natural resources as the main element in continuity of all creatures and life rather than as a commodity have become more acceptable and favourable.

3. CHANGES IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES IN TURKEY

One of the most important goals of rural development in Turkey, which is a candidate country for EU membership, is to improve agricultural and non-agricultural sectors that can be in harmony with the EU rural development goals and to accomplish development that can meet individuals’ and society’s changing needs. Rural development initiatives in Turkey has importance also in regard to reach the UN (United Nations) Millennium Development Goals that have been jointly determined by the members states in 2000. The UN Millennium Development Goals envisages the following goals; eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, achieve universal primary education, promote gender equality and empower women, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability and global partnership for development.

The UN has started a global process to determined development goals also post-2015. According to the UN statement, roadmap for post-2015 development on the one hand will benefit from achievements of the UN Millennium Development Goals and on the other hand will aim to overcome new difficulties. An intense consultation process with governments, civil society organisations, private sector, universities, and research institutions from all over the world was started. In addition to global activities, 50 countries including Turkey were determined to start consultations also at national level. It was planned that thematic consultations with Turkey would be completed by 2013. Post-2015 Millennium Development Goals focus on 9 main themes. These themes are; inequalities, health, education, growth and employment, environmental sustainability, food security and nutrition, democratic governance, conflict and fragility and population dynamics. These main themes include rural area and as a result development initiatives directly or indirectly. Rural development achievements are important for both reaching post-2015 Millennium Development Goals and harmony with changes in rural development approaches.

Rural development inclinations have different perspectives in developed and developing countries. Rural development goals in developing countries aim to eradicate the negative effects of agriculture's structural characteristics. Accomplishment of strong agricultural structure, activation of risk management in agriculture, strengthening rural economies and increasing agricultural income can be considered as methods to eradicate these effects. Socio-economic and cultural development are reflection of all these issues. Therefore, it is important that Turkey and other developing countries should develop and implement development elements and tools that are in harmony with changing demands in new development approach. Paying attention to democratic governance, eradicating inequalities, environment protection, food security, eradicating poverty and protection of small scaled production are obligatory.

Turkey's political priorities, which are implemented within the framework of the EU accession process, in regard to changing rural development approaches are given below. These priorities are also the priorities of EU rural development policy.

1. Knowledge transfer and innovation: strengthening innovation and data by strengthening link between agriculture and forestry, research and innovation; by supporting life-long learning programme in agriculture and forestry sector,
2. Increasing the power of competitiveness in agriculture: restructuring farms located in regions with structural problems; encouraging young farmers,
3. Building food chain and risk management: quality programmes, incentive system in local markets and integrating primary producers into food chain through producer groups; supporting farm risk management,
4. Eco-system promotion and protection: protecting bio-diversity; improving water resources management and soil management,
5. Using sources efficiently and low-carbon economy: reducing nitrous oxide and methane emission resulted from agricultural activities; improving carbon capture in agriculture and forestry sectors by increasing the efficiency of use water in agriculture and use of energy in agriculture and food processing sectors; encouraging renewable energy,
6. Pursuing social inclusion in rural areas, eradication of poverty and accomplishing economic development: encouraging diversification of economic activities; increasing employment; increasing access and use of knowledge and communication technologies,
7. Providing basic services in rural areas and village renewal programme: broad band and small scaled infrastructure activities, renewable energy, protection of cultural and natural heritage, improving village life,
8. Risk management tools as a new measurement: contributing to harvest, livestock and plant insurance against weather and disease problems, also to funding for damages resulted from livestock, plant diseases and natural disasters.

On the other hand, the main purpose of rural development policy that was determined within the framework of National Rural Development Strategy 2007-2013 was defined as: "it is basically based on developing and sustaining life and working conditions of rural society in their own location to bring them into conformity with urban areas through evaluating, efficient use of local potential and sources, protection of natural and cultural assets." In this regard, principles of rural development were determined as follows:

- "Spatial sensitivity" that pursues regional and local differences,
- "cooperation and participation" that envisages strengthening coordination among relevant public and non-governmental representatives and making beneficiaries party to costs of rural development projects,
- "Sustainability" in terms economic, social and environmental issues,

- “Social inclusion”,
- “Stability in politics and regulation, efficient monitoring”,
- “Efficiency of use of sources.”

Strategic goals that show parallelism with the EU rural development policy are determined as follows:

- Increasing employment and accomplishing economic development,
- Improving human resources,
- Strengthening rural infrastructure, increasing life quality,
- Promotion and protection of rural environment.

These priorities and determining policies include issues that should be carefully dealt with and implemented in regard to agricultural and rural development in Turkey. As for which activities and sectors to be included in the implementation phase of rural development; from the perspective highlighting that development is not just an economic growth, there are opinions that in addition to economic activities in rural area there is need for strategies with long-term perspectives and to increase social welfare, and environment protection. In this regard, rural development is considered as the common point of many political areas such as agriculture, environment, education, health, transport, and social security etc. Furthermore, given that 75% of poor and undernourished population lives in rural areas the efficiency of rural policies becomes the most important factor in fight against poverty and hunger. Past experiences indicate that policies on rural in Turkey should have a perspective on pursuing regional differences, in favour of economic development as well as paying attention to social and environmental aspects, is based on cooperation among local actors and aim to eradicate inequalities regarding disadvantaged groups’ access to resources and funding.

4.1. Experiences Gained from Rural Development Policies and Applications in Turkey

It is a fact that some important experiences were gained from rural development programmes that have been implemented for a certain period in Turkey. Evaluating these programmes, which were conducted with high financial resources, and leaning lessons from these programmes are important also for Turkey since it has limited resources. Socio-economic differences can be eradicated at the highest level providing that resources are rationally used, humans are considered as the centre of development and development processes are conducted through the participation of all parties. Fundamental experiences gained from rural development programmes (governmental and non-governmental) in Turkey can be summarised as follows;

- Rural development programmes should be prepared on ground not in centre and shaped according to local’s needs.
- Rural development policies should take society’s changing demands into consideration.
- Rural development programmes should be dealt with not only sectoral basis but also in a manner to meet all requirements of society.
- Rural development programmes should be organised according to rural society’s conditions.
- Target group’s active participation in development should be accomplished.
- Development should foreground rural population’s benefit and interests. Target group’s requests and priorities should be taken into consideration in development.
- Establishing independent, autonomous and effective organisations especially cooperatives that can make producers powerful and defensible in terms of economy in rural area.

- Rural development programmes should be implemented on basis of gender equality.
- There is need for special programmes for young people and children.
- Projects without efficient participation cannot be successful.
- Rural industries, which can use excessive and inactive labour force, should be built in rural area.
- Coordination among institutions that provide services in rural areas should be absolutely accomplished.
- Good governance principle should be absolutely accepted and there is need for a structure in this regard.
- There should be absolutely social factors in rural development programmes. Issues such as health, child care, environment, nutrition, women education should be taken into consideration.
- Events related to rural development in the world should be taken into consideration and changes in this regard should be followed.
- Approaches that are human-centred and sensitive to environment should be taken consideration in rural development.

5. IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION: NECESSITY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT APPLICATIONS

Development always finds a place on the world agenda. This position will continue as long as economic and social justice are accomplished. We do not mean “absolute perfectionism” in development. We mean that poverty is reduced, gap between rural and urban is at minimum level, those who are living in rural have conditions to stay without dreaming about urban population’s life conditions, there is no global dramatic migration and there is a life and world with fundamental rights, education opportunities for everyone. It is not a dream with high cost yet these are phenome whose costs are high on condition that they are not provided. Approaches change and new paradigms occur in rural development likewise in all areas. New approach can be summarised as follows; it is a kind of development that aims social, cultural and economic development, eradicates poverty, considers nature, uses natural resources in a rational and sustainable way, accepts good governance with stakeholders, accepts changes in all fields and fulfils the requirements of this acceptance or position, considers institutional change-transformation as an opportunity for development, provides basic services with an innovative mentality and spreads welfare to the ground.

If a development in any country is defined as any form of desired change and improvement in economic, social, cultural and political field, and this qualitative changes reaches all settlements, it becomes meaningful. We mean structural change, social improvement, and minimising rural-urban differences. Development either general or one in rural draws attention to qualitative change and transformation. From this point of view, development draws attention to more output, more improvement, and technical and changes in institutional structure. Institutional structure means interaction or governance that can reveal change and efficiency among all stakeholder. If the goal of development is creating physical environment or atmospheres that are modern and can meet common need, improving democratic rights and organising mainly cooperative, increasing the knowledge and abilities of individuals-societies, improving economy at all levels, pursuing gender equality, accomplishing economic, social, organisational and cultural improvement through equal opportunities and justice, it can be accomplished only through improvements in rural area. It can be done through “good governance”. If it is accomplished development process shall be sped up also in rural area and the productivity of all

inputs in this process will be increased. This increases includes also human resources, institutional capacity and sources.

The main goal in rural development is improving rural population's physical, economic, social, cultural and political conditions, which are in harmony with sustainable development principles, through activating dynamics in rural area. This is the desired rural development approach. Success in development projects, whose initiative and priorities come from public, can be made through education, publication, organising-becoming a cooperative, choosing appropriate technologies to provide basic inputs into production, planning elements such as loan and marketing as a whole and defining evaluation criteria, and also indicators and risk factors in advance. Rural development should not have a mentality whose goal is only economic or agricultural growth. Rural development policies and applications that invigorate economy in addition to the agricultural one, cover all social groups, speed institutional improvements up, minimise social differences have become approaches that are adopted by all international organisations. In this process, there will be factors that facilitate and speed up destroying socio-economic exclusion, accomplishing participation in decision making process, foregrounding respect for individual and society, giving importance to local technology and knowledge, providing at least job opportunity to make their living or subsistence, contributing to local organising and becoming cooperatives, taking holistic approaches into consideration and adopting gender balanced rural development.

When the essence of rural development is analysed, it is observed that rural development is important in terms of creating educated labour forces in rural area, constructing base and superstructures, creating awareness of societies in regard to their own problem and to solutions of these problems, adopting administration mentality that is sensitive to development, creating awareness of groups in regard to accomplish their own development, providing and strengthening participation channels for public, improving democracy culture. All of these issues can be accomplished through "good governance". In this regard, practising a rural development policy that pursues "good governance" and implementing programmes according to this principles are important. This working style will also contribute to change, to facilitating harmonisation rural development approaches and to accomplishment of rural development.

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Changing myths on contraceptive methods by strengthen community action team; A health promotion intervention

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Abstract:

Myths on modern contraceptive methods are high in rural communities in Sri Lanka. It mainly affects to create unmet need and unwanted pregnancies among teenage married women because teenage marriages are high in rural settings. There is a community pressure from adults not to accept a modern contraceptive method especially hormonal method before first child birth. The objective of this program is to change the myths on contraceptive methods by strengthen community action team. A health promotion intervention was conducted with 20 female community based organization (CBO) members in 40 to 65 years old in a rural village. Focus group discussions were conducted to identify the nature and the determinants of teenage pregnancies and contraceptive methods. The identified determinants were people think that using hormonal contraceptive methods before first child birth may cause sterilization, lack of knowledge on contraceptive methods, lack of knowledge on side effects of them and lack of knowledge o reproductive health. The CBO members were well educated about reproductive health and contraceptive methods. The members started to meet, educate and counsel the teenage married couples in village level. Out of 20 members 17 members engaged with counseling process. The counseling teenagers were 55. The teenage married women protected from unwanted pregnancies were 45. We can conclude that strengthen community action team is a successful method to counsel teenagers about reproductive health and contraceptive methods.

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**Comparison of some European and North African countries based on 2012
Agriculture and Rural Development indicators**

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Abstract

We examined 29 randomly selected counties on the basis of agricultural and rural development indicators. We were trying to find an answer whether the 5 groups of countries deliberately selected from logical aspects (geographical situation, level of economic development) stay isolated based on the examined indicators or the single groups would be rearranged and form new groups, i.e. how subjective group formation coincides with objective group formation on the basis of indicators.

We are trying to answer the question what similarities and differences the countries with different natural endowments, culture, social and economic background have based on the indicators and what are the most powerful differentiating indicators.

Key words: EU, North Africa, agriculture, rural development, GDP/capita, multivariate analysis

Introduction

Rural development was considered as a sectoral topic focusing on agriculture. There is a tendency in OECD countries to regard rural development as a territorial concept dealing with spatial differences in problems and perspectives, opportunities and options (OECD 1995, 2006). It is also a multisectoral concept, concerned with demographic, economic, social and environmental issues. It emphasizes the importance of cross-sectoral, horizontal integration of activities and policies.

A system of rural development statistics and its associated indicators must closely map the objectives indicated in the policies made by governments. Where policies are not very clearly formulated, statisticians have to anticipate indicators being demanded.

Indicators are statistical variables that help to transform data into relevant information. Indicators have meaning within defined conceptual frameworks and for specific analytical or administrative purposes. To provide meaningful information, they have to be interpreted in the context of these frameworks and purposes. Thorough interpretation is a necessary prerequisite to any reasonable indicator use. Often indicators can be interpreted adequately only as part of a more comprehensive set of indicators. Without explicit reference to a specific analytical task or policy objective, indicators are just statistical data or variables that provide only potentially useful information. The underlying logic relating certain statistical data to specified purposes must be based, at the very least, on a hypothesis, if not on a more elaborate theory or model. In fact, indicators can often be seen as a first attempt to structure complex interrelationships that may, in the end, help to formulate more sophisticated theories (OECD, 2006).

Indicators on rural development need to be based on published statistics that are consistently collected in comparable areas, using the same unit of measurement and based on a clear definition. Indicators should also be sensitive to changes and trends over time that can inform future policy direction. To meet these demands, descriptive indicators for rural development often involve re-valuing well-known concepts and data sets in the rural policy context. In some cases, this process is accompanied by a definition of 'rural' (Bryden, 2001). The PAIS report and the Hay report (2002) focused on the spatial components of rural areas within Europe through the development of a set of indicators.

Rural poverty is a pervasive problem in many developing countries. There is therefore a need to systematically monitor its reduction. To this end, the World Bank uses a core set of indicators that captures certain aspects of rural development and poverty (World Bank, 2000). FAO also produced Guidelines on Socio-Economic Indicators for Monitoring and Evaluating Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (1988). The guidelines were the result of extensive collaborative work by UN agencies and countries.

Material and Methods

The development of countries can be measured in many different ways. The most widely accepted one to measure the economic development is GDP per capita followed by the employment rate. In the case of some underdeveloped countries some other indicators such as life expectancy at birth, death toll and the ratio of literacy can also be used together with the share of agriculture in GDP (%). As underdeveloped nations are predominantly characterized

by agricultural production, the following indicators should also be considered: agricultural land (% of land area), arable land (% of land area), cereal yield (kg/hectare), forest area (% of land area) and rural population (% of total population). The paper deals with the indicators listed so far as well as their correlations on the basis of the typical values of the countries concerned.

We classified the examined 29 countries in the following 5 groups: *group one*: 4 old EU member states (Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain), *group two*: 10 states acceded to the EU in 2004., *group three*: the 3 most recently joined ones (Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia) *group four*: the 6 candidates (Turkey, Macedonia, Iceland, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania) and *group five*: 6 North African countries (Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco).

Countries were graphically illustrated by different indicators in different ways. The graphs made it possible to analyse and compare the indicators in pairs. According to data points plotted on two scale countries can be grouped.

Finally, multivariate analyses (factor and cluster analysis) are used to group the indicators first, and then the countries by considering all the indicators of the examination. We conclude the role that each indicator plays in group formation and it is also presented by graphs.

Results

First, we had a closer look at the changes of GDP per capita as the generally accepted indicator of economic development per country or group.

Iceland, which belongs to the candidate group, stands aloof with its high GDP per capita (45262.5 US\$/capita). The lowest value belongs to Sudan (1752.9 US\$). Nine countries, 4 candidates (MKD, SRB, MNE, ALB), 4 North African countries and recently joined Bulgaria show similar values (2500-7500 US\$/pc). Regarding old EU members two of them have high (ITA, ESP) while other two medium values (GRC, PRT). Figure 1 shows the position of the members of the five groups by GDP/capita.

Figure 1 Changes in GDP/capita (current USD) in the five groups formed deliberately

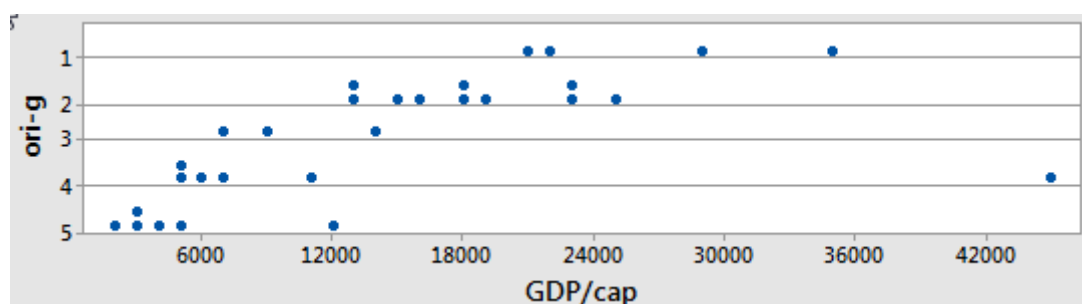
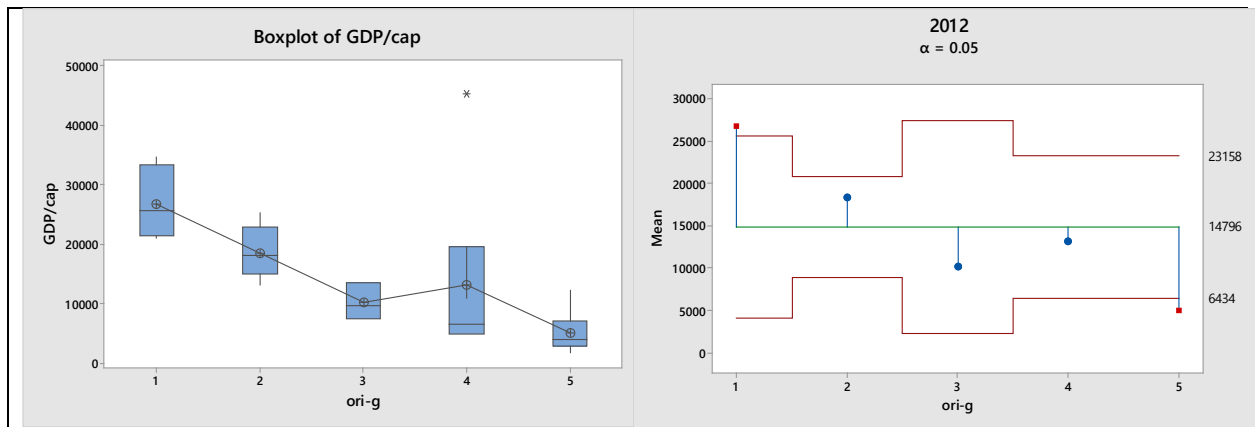


Figure 1 illustrates that the higher the number of the country in the ranking order, the GDP/capita is. The consecutive groups show some overlapping. Iceland in Group 4 (candidates) shows a strikingly high value compared not only to its group but also when compared to each country examined. Checking the significant differences from group means by variance analysis we concluded that only the value of Group 5 differs statistically from

Group 1 and 2 (Tukey method). The means of the other groups do not show significant differences (Figure 2).

Figure 2 The graphic comparison of the five groups by GDP/capita



The relatively higher variance of Group 4 is caused by Iceland with its high value.

The share of agriculture to GDP in percentage also proved to be a differentiating indicator (Figure 3). In this case 3 groups can be separated in which country values do not differ significantly (indicated by similar letters) while the ones not containing similar letters show significant differences.

Grouping Information Using the Tukey Method and 95% Confidence

ori-g	N	Mean	Grouping
5	6	12.85	A
4	6	11.16	A B
3	3	5.747	A B C
2	10	3.147	C
1	4	2.546	B C

Means that do not share a letter are significantly different.

Figure 3 Agriculture value added (% of GDP)

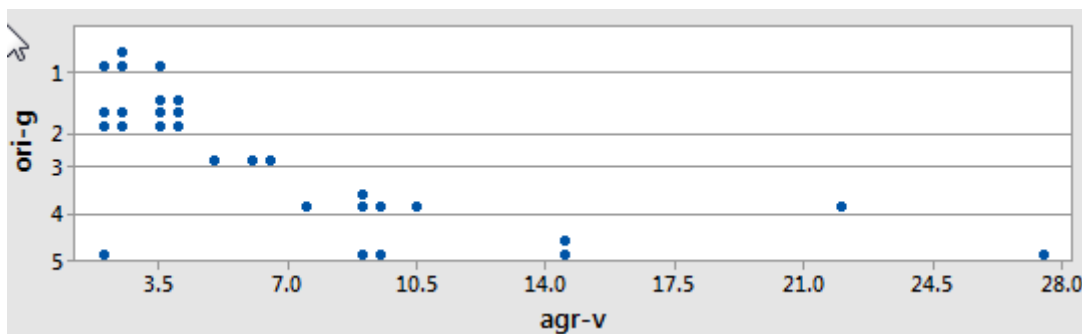


Figure 4 The graphic comparison of the share of agriculture to GDP in percentage

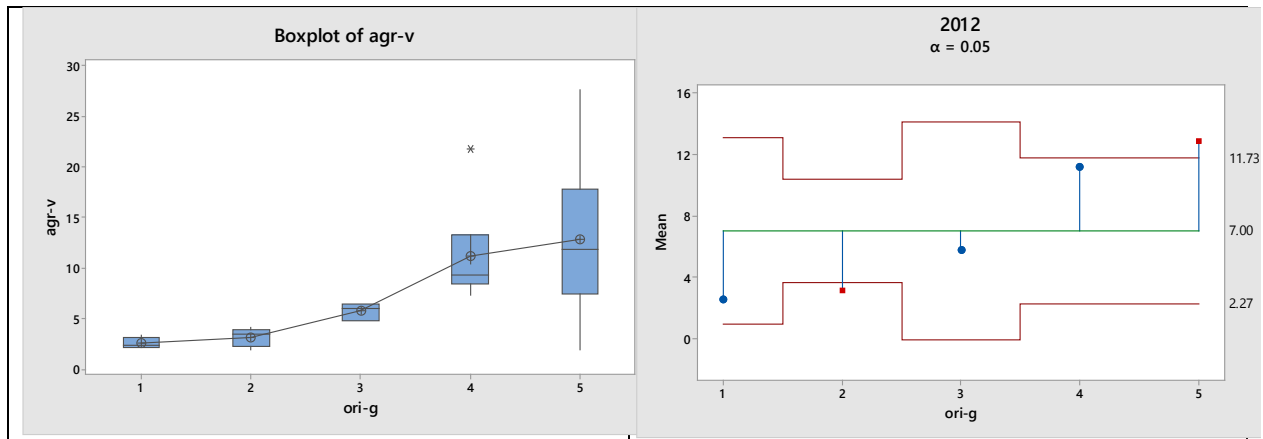


Figure 4 also shows that the share of agriculture in percentage is greater in less developed countries

In the following part we illustrate the changes in some significant agriculture and rural development indicators in the five groups formed.

Figure 5 Employment in agriculture (% of total employment)

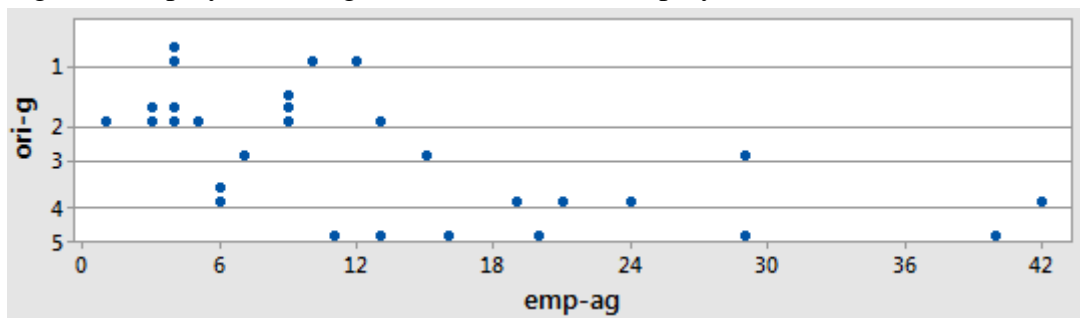


Figure 6 Agricultural land (% of land area)

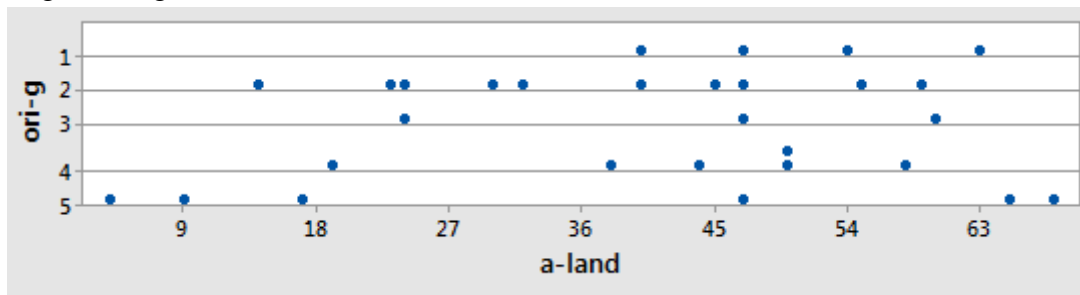


Figure 7 Arable land (% of land area)

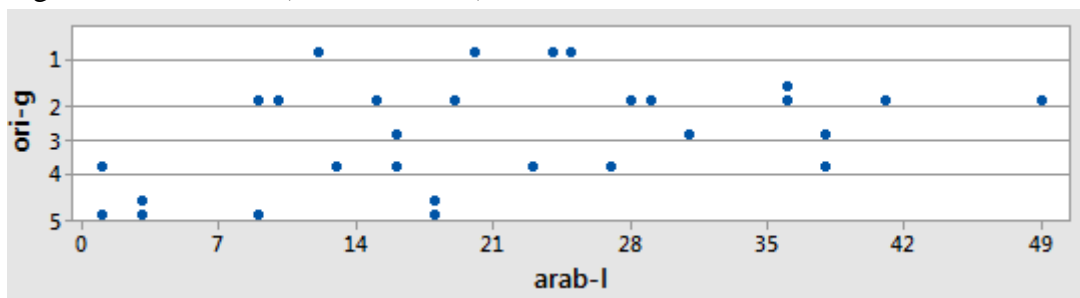


Figure 8 Cereal yield (kg/hectare)

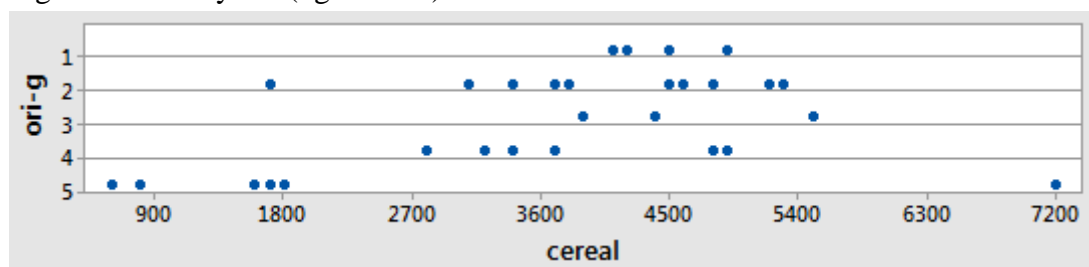


Figure 9 Forest area (% of land area)

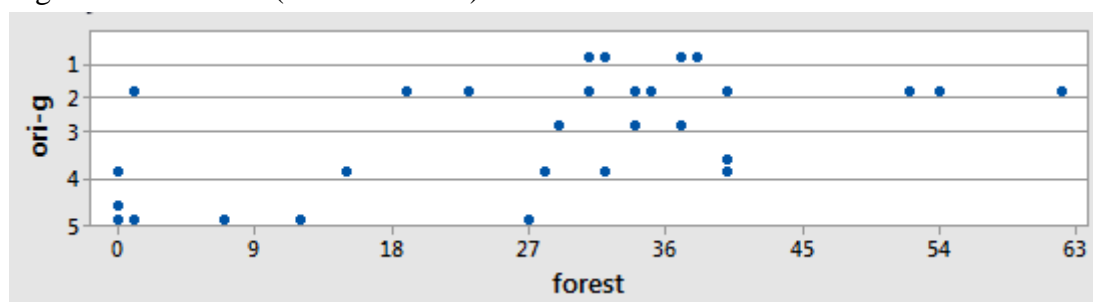
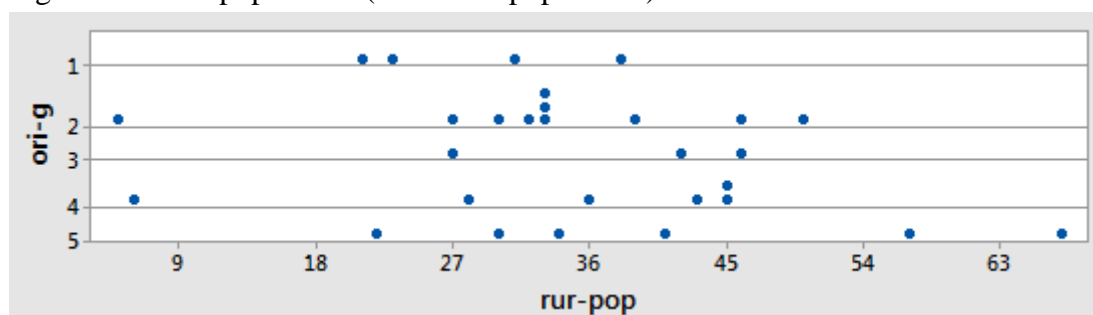


Figure 10 Rural population (% of total population)



When looking at the changes of certain features per group there is no such clear correlation than in the case of GDP per capita (Figures 5-10). The countries of the five groups show overlappings and do not stand apart like Group 5. That is why principal component and cluster analysis are used to examine the groupings of these 29 countries by indicators.

Principal Component Analysis: a-land, emp-ag, agr-v, arab-l, cereal, forest, rur-pop

Eigenanalysis of the Correlation Matrix

Eigenvalue	2.2345	1.8931	1.1839	0.9300	0.3457	0.2667	0.1461
Proportion	0.319	0.270	0.169	0.133	0.049	0.038	0.021
Cumulative	0.319	0.590	0.759	0.892	0.941	0.979	1.000

Variable	PC1	PC2	PC3	PC4	PC5
a-land	0.066	-0.575	-0.422	0.301	-0.010
emp-ag	-0.503	-0.237	-0.201	-0.324	-0.716
agr-v	-0.584	-0.176	-0.031	0.007	0.569
arab-l	0.336	-0.539	-0.272	-0.048	0.170
cereal	0.266	-0.241	0.223	-0.830	0.158
forest	0.228	-0.341	0.636	0.333	-0.300
rur-pop	-0.407	-0.341	0.502	0.044	0.141

The 7 indicators of the examination make up 4 principal components. The first one comprises agricultural employment rate and share of agriculture in GDP, which accounts for 32% of variable variance. The second principal component includes agricultural land and arable land explaining 27% of total variance. The third principal component is made up by forest area and rural population accounting for 1% of variance while cereal yield is in the fourth component explaining 13% of variance. The result of the cluster analysis also justified the group formation of indicators (Figure 11).

Figure 11 The result of cluster analysis by the grouping of variables

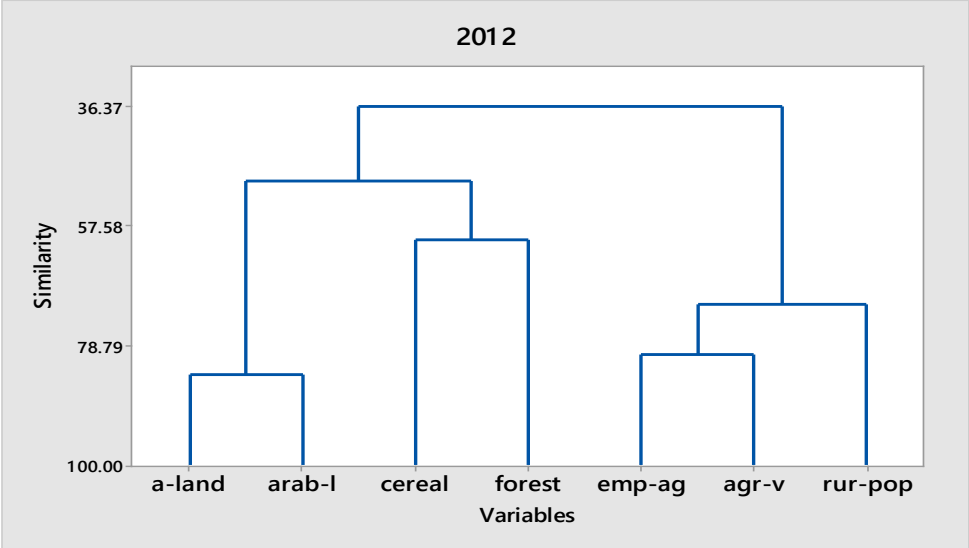


Figure 12 illustrates the grouping of countries by the variables examined. To be able to trace down the changes in the original (subjective) group formation we indicated the number of countries in their group instead of their names.

Figure 12 Groupings of countries by the first two principal component scores

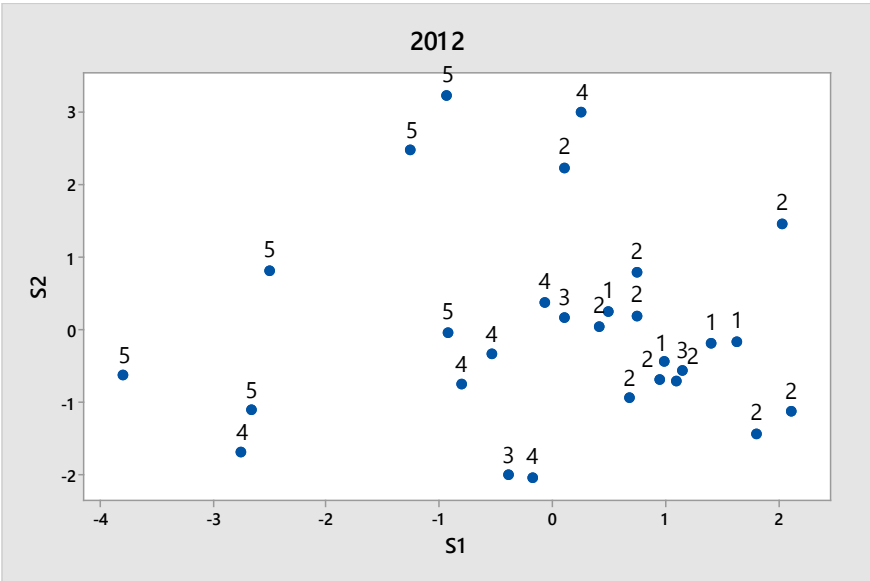
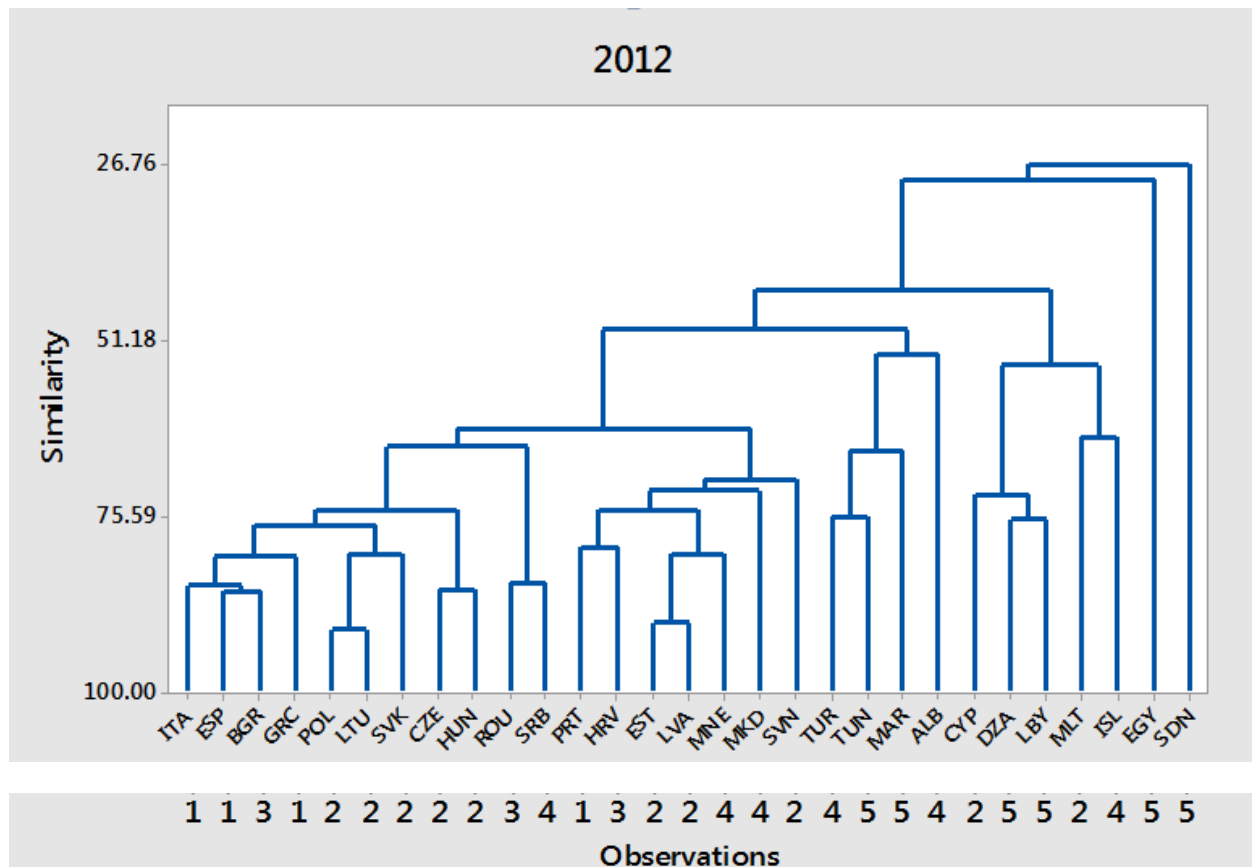


Figure 12 shows that the members of Group 5 (North Africa) are isolated from the others and form a loose group while the countries of the other four groups do not make up an own group. Cluster analysis was used to check the formation of a new group (Figure 13).

Figure 13 Grouping of countries according to the result of the cluster analysis



New groups as a result of group formation are

- Group 1*: ITA, ESP, BGR, GRC, POL, LTU, SVK, CZE, HUN, ROU, SRB
- Group 2*: PRT, HRV, EST, LVA, MNE, MKD, SVN
- Group 3*: TUR, TUN, MAR, ALB
- Group 4*: CYP, DZA, LBY, MLT, ISL
- Group 5*: EGY, SDN

Finally, we compared the separation of the original and new groups based on some characteristics with the help of boxplot (Figure 14-15).

Figure 14 The boxplot of the original (subjective) 5 groups by characteristics

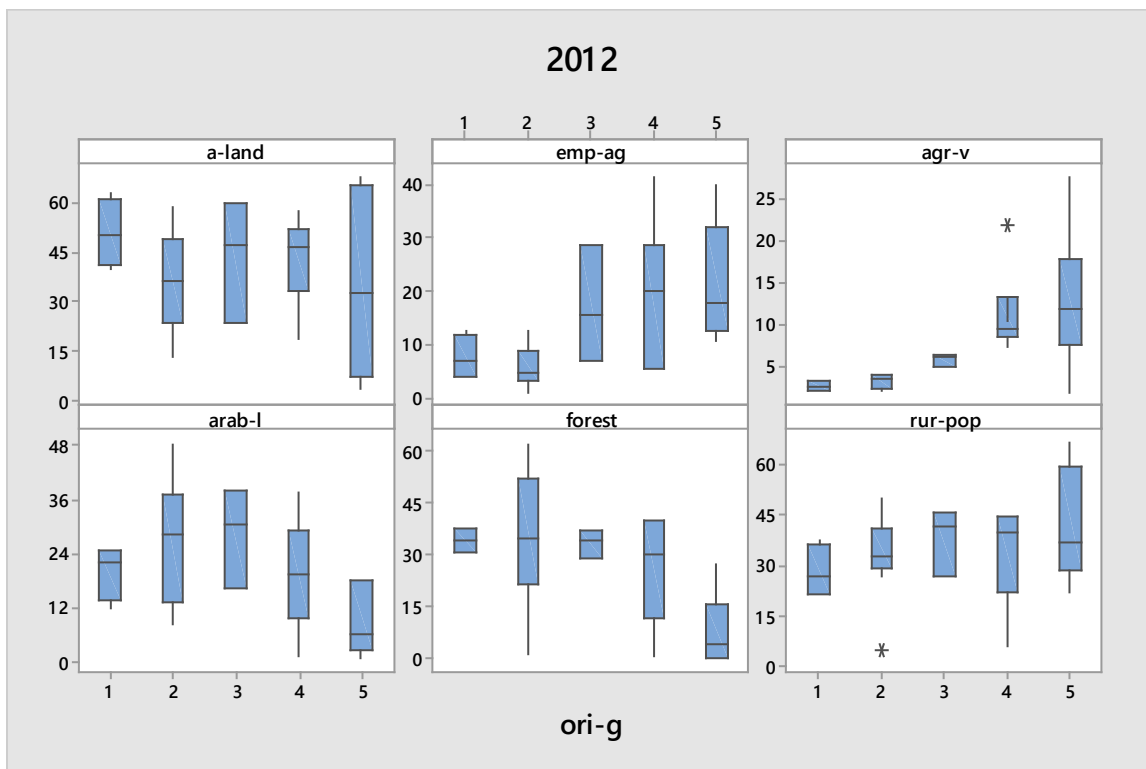
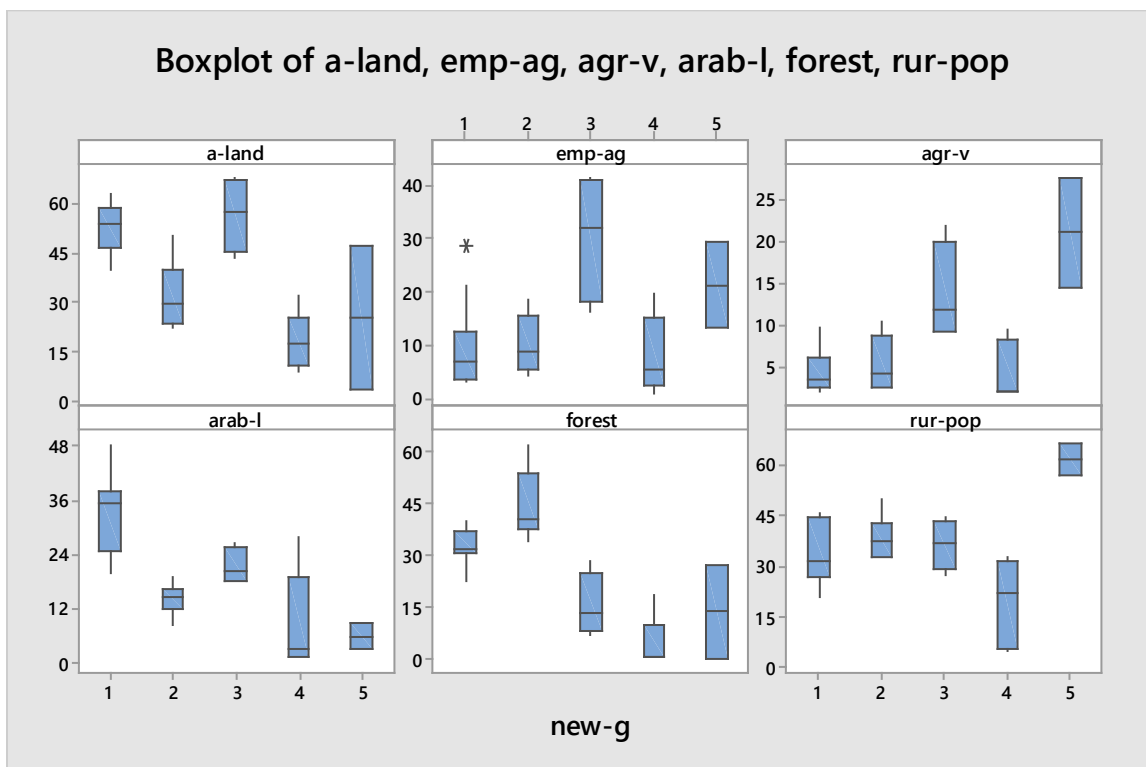


Figure 15 The boxplot of the new (objective) 5 groups by characteristics



The comparison of the characteristics typical of the old and new boxplots justifies the more efficient differentiating effect of the new group formation by the more significant separation of boxes.

The ranking order of the new groups by characteristics

variables	Group1*	Group2*	Group3*	Group4*	Group5*
a-land	2	3	1	4	5
emp-ag	4	4	1	4	2
agr-v	4	4	2	4	1
arab-l	1	3	2	4	5
forest	2	1	4	4	4
rur-pop	3	3	3	5	1

Note: 1= the highest value, 5= the lowest value in terms of characteristics

On the basis of the value rankings we can conclude that agriculture does not play such a significant role in the case of the first two 'new' groups. Members of Group 3 are more heterogeneous regarding the significance of agriculture (indicated by higher boxes). Agriculture plays the least significant role in Group 4 while it is the most significant in Group 5.

Conclusion

We can conclude that the countries of the five groups formed subjectively primarily on the basis of geographical and economic development have been rearranged by some agriculture and rural development indicators examined and created new groups. Even the most stable countries of North Africa, originally in Group 5, have been rearranged in three different groups by the new, objective group formation based on indicators. It means that grouping by agriculture and rural development indicators does not necessary follow the economic development characterised geographically or by GDP per capita.

The country groups of the old (subjective) and new (objective) criteria are the following:

Old groups	New groups				
	Group1*	Group2*	Group3*	Group4*	Group5*
Group 1	ITA, GRC ESP	PRT			
Group 2	CZE, POL, LTU, HUN, SVK	EST, LVA, SVN		CYP, MLT	
Group 3	BGR, ROU	HRV			
Group 4	SRB	MKD, MNE	TUR, ALB	ISL	
Group 5			TUN, MAR	DZA, LYB	EGY, SDN

By looking at the table we can see the original, subjective grouping per row while the columns show the objective country groups by indicators. Countries in one box belong to the same group by following both categorisations. It can be seen that the most stable formation is the five countries that acceded the EU in 2004: the Czech Republic, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and the Slovak Republic. Members of the original Group 4, the candidates are scattered to the greatest extent. They are categorised in four different groups in the new group formation.

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**Development of Rural Housing in China:
Transitions in Housing Development Patterns**

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Abstract

In the last few decades of China's rapid development, housing sector has experienced substantial change and transition. Rural housing, in particular, has become a very crucial part of housing development in China. The conditions of housing market, significant demographic changes and transitions between the rural and urban population have all made huge impact on rural development strategies that include housing provisions and housing policies for the rural areas. On the other hand, the combined effect of Hukou system (a household registration system in China) and housing reforms has given a certain direction to policy development of rural housing in China.

This research paper aims to evaluate the current situation(s) of China's rural housing through brief discussions on selected case studies. Through this analysis, the authors aim to explore development patterns and strategies that are shaping-up and making the so-called transitions of rural areas in China. Through a selection of studied case studies in the context of rural China, this study will identify main elements of transitions in China's rural housing. The study will then explore each element in detail to discuss patterns of development and change. Finally, this research study will offer explanation about potentials and gaps in rural housing development of China.

This research study is part of an on-going EPSRC-DfID funded research programme, under the 'Energy and International Development' scheme. The project is titled 'Energy and Low-Income Housing in Tropical Housing' and has a huge scope of housing and community analysis in both rural and urban areas of China, Thailand, Tanzania and Uganda. The focus of this research paper is on China's rural housing.

Key words:

Rural Housing, Housing Transition, Development, China

Development of Rural Housing in China: Transitions in Housing Development Strategies

Introduction

Rural housing is one of the most crucial but yet the least studied areas of housing development sector in China. Rural housing is often regarded as the traditional one or two storey dwelling that is often built from locally-resourced materials. However, in recent years this traditional trend of rural housing is changing rapidly. The transitions are becoming very apparent, and yet significant, that the national reports (such as the New Urbanisation Plan, March 2014) are considering different possibilities of approaching the rural housing development strategies. The critical view is on the transition of rural housing towards peri-urban model of housing or even urban housing, where medium-rise housing is common. The housing reforms, started from 1979, have mainly targeted the urban housing (Li and Li, 2006). In contrary, the rural land management system is developed to *'provide housing security to all rural residents in an egalitarian way and to protect limited arable land in China'* (Wang et al, 2012, p. 202). Since 1960s, the rural housing has witnessed a series of ups and downs in provision of market, land security and development plans; however, the biggest challenge of all is urbanisation with its impact on the transitions of rural conditions. In this study, these transitions will be discussed through the brief analysis of several case studies in the context of China.

Development of Rural Housing in China: Response to Rural Transitions and Housing Development Scenarios

As identified by Xu (1993, p. 41), China's housing sector, both in the urban and rural areas, have their own problems of development. For the rural the problems of poverty are coupled with issues of population decline, ageing society and deprived living conditions. For the more prosperous areas, rural housing is developed steadily; but for the more deprived ones, rural housing lacks adequate maintenance and development plans. In this section three examples are demonstrated as part of the survey studies undertaken in 2013 and 2014.

a) Haikou Rural Housing, North of Hainan Island, China

The condition of rural development in the northern part of Hainan Island is very much dependant on the condition of economic growth from the tourism industry. The sub-urban and leap-frog development plans in the rural and outskirts areas indicate the growth of housing market for the growing demand of holiday houses and villas. The condition of rural areas, some still very remote in the mountainous regions, is subject to change due to mass housing construction or renewal housing strategies. In the studied areas (20km from the coast and about 30km from the City of Haikou), the tourism industry has its least presence in the area. Meanwhile, the rural communities are transferring in to industrial zones, supporting the growth of industry in the other regions of the island. These most visible industries include material and food production that are the core of rural production in the region.



Figure 1 – Old and New Housing in Rural Haikou, Hainan Island, China (Source: Ali Cheshmehzangi, February 2014)

In the studied areas, the condition of rural housing is changing dramatically; i.e. from one-storey traditional stone housing to two or multiple brick and block housing. The traditional rural dwellings are mostly replaced by the new model of housing as part of the renewal development plan. Majority of old rural housing in the area are very deprived, waiting to get replaced in coming years or even months. Majority of these dwellings are left with no windows (only metal mesh for privacy and security), no indoor toilets, no water facilities, and [sometimes] with no electricity. Cooking activities take place outdoor and washing is central in the main public realm of the community. There is a huge gap between the conditions of old and new housing models. The new housing, accommodate several families in a smaller footprint while the older housing have more courtyards and back gardens for storage, food production and vegetation purposes. The transition of rural housing in the region is very significant, targeted to overcome the issues of poverty and deprivation that are still significant in the rural parts of Hainan Island.

b) Fujian Rural Housing, South-East China

Tulou housing is one type of traditional rural dwellings in South-Eastern China with rammed earth construction and wooden/timber framework. The use of rammed earth construction is common for most of the traditional housing (particularly rural) in the region. Some newer versions of Tulou housing are developed based on the previous plan and structural layouts. The older Tulou dwellings are the main tourism destinations for the rural parts of the Fujian province. The new form of rural housing and material use of building development have significantly changed in recent years. As part of the rural development, majority of the older housing are remained for tourism purposes while the new dwellings are built nearby or even adjacent to the older parts of the rural areas. Some of the new types of rural housing are replication of the traditional Tolou housing with new use of

material and construction methods. The shift from locally-resourced materials to new and modern materials is a significant change of the rural housing in the region.



Figure 2- the contrast between the old (far left) and new housing in rural areas of Fujian Province; the old is kept for both living and tourism while the new development is to accommodate the poor population of rural areas and often replace the old dwellings (Source: Ali Cheshmehzangi, November 2014)



Figure 3 – the new type of housing from low-rise to multi-storey development with new materials, new form of building development and new building features such as large amount of windows (Source: Ali Cheshmehzangi, November 2014).

Figure 4 – the traditional Tolou housing in the same studied area with rammed earth construction and timber framework, small openings and the courtyard layout (Source: Ali Cheshmehzangi, November 2014).

In general, the development pattern of rural housing in the region has kept the traditional and added the new to the rural setting. Similar to the previous case of Hainan Island, the rural communities face severe decline and deprivation. The tourism industry and food production are two major rural activities. The traditional Tulou dwellings are no longer popular for living amongst the local residents and have critical conditions of maintenance and spatial use. The new additions of washing facilities (such as laundry), indoor toilets and indoor kitchen have supported daily activities of the ageing communities in the rural areas. In some cases, occupancy level has dropped by 300% due to the growing demand of rural-to-urban migration. The new rural development in the region is comprised of both renewal and preservation development strategies for the traditional dwellings, which are to respond to community demand for better living conditions and housing provision.

c) Yinzhou rural housing, Southern part of Ningbo, Zhejiang Province, China

Yinzhou district is a fairly prosperous part of Southern Ningbo in Zhejiang Province, which includes a mixture of rural, urban and peri-urban settlements. The rural areas in this district are varied and range from remote and deprived communities to rural resort development areas. One of these areas is an ancient village, called ZouMaTang. The condition of rural development in this region is very much dependant on the overwhelming economic growth and urban development of the City of Ningbo. The local industries and industrialised zones in the region are mostly developed alongside with the urbanisation of the region. In recent years, the impact from this pattern of development has been significant on conditions of the rural areas.

The village of ZouMaTang, as an example, is a small ancient village divided in to two parts, one side is the preserved old area and the other side is the new development zone. The tourism industry has not yet picked-up in this particular area and some leisure activities are introduced over the past few years. The new development zone mainly includes new housing, commercial market street and the village committee and administrative buildings. On the other side, the old district is ancient with many temples, listed buildings, market streets and traditional housing.



Figure 5 – the combination of traditional and new housing in the ancient village of ZouMaTang, Zhejiang Province, China (Source: Ali Cheshmehzangi, May 2014).

Similar to previous cases, the condition of rural housing is changing from the traditional form to new peri-urban housing. The one to two storey traditional courtyard dwellings are less populated than before (due to the population decline) and are mostly occupied by old residents or extended families. The old part of the village includes a mixture of traditional courtyard housing, new housing, traditional one storey and two storey dwellings. In the new part, the new housing is typically two to three storey buildings with new material use and construction methods. The condition of living quality and living environment of the new development area is significantly better than the old part of the village. The transition of rural housing in ZouMaTang is still controlled but there remains a contrast between the new and traditional housing.

Discussions: Transitions in Housing Development Strategies

Based on the three studied cases, we can identify four major transitions that are significant as part of rural housing development strategies in China. In this part of the paper, these four transitions are discussed briefly.

a) Transition of Space and Spatial Use for Housing

One of the significant transitions in rural housing is the change for requirements and usage of spaces. These include both internal (e.g. room layouts, thresholds, and etc.) and external (e.g. garden, courtyard and etc.) spatial uses that are different between the old and new rural housing. The requirement for internal spaces is significantly higher for the new houses, while the traditional rural housing has more external and open spaces where shared activities were traditionally accommodated.

b) Transition of Material Use for Housing

The most tangible transition between the traditional and new rural housing is the change of material use for construction and facades of the dwellings. This transition has created a significant contrast between the old and new housing. Commonly, concrete and new brickwork are replaced with traditional materials, such as, stone, timber and old brickwork. The ratio of glazing in new housing is also significantly higher than the traditional dwellings. Furthermore, this transition is also occurring in maintenance of the older dwellings.

c) Transition of Floor Spaces for Housing

In China, the traditional rural housing is typically a one or two storey building while the new dwellings are commonly three to five storeys. The transition is due to the significant demand for larger internal spaces (i.e. mainly demand for more bedrooms) and a higher compact housing

development in the rural areas. This, to some extent, contradicts the phenomenon of rural population decline.

d) Transition of Rural Housing Occupancy

In contrast to transition of floor spaces between the old and new rural housing, the occupancy level is changing very rapidly. This, in favour of China's rapid urbanisation, has a negative impact on rural settlements, particularly the most deprived ones. In the studied rural areas, majority of traditional rural housing are occupied by either extended families or senior residents. On the other hand, the new housing is commended amongst the younger families with children. The traditional courtyard housing, separated into few residential units, often have lower occupancy in comparison to single residential units. This is mainly due to the rural-to-urban migration, through which the younger residents of the extended families are attracted to larger cities. In most cases, the declining rural housing occupancy has significant impact on rural development strategies that are undertaken by the local committee or the township administrations. Furthermore, the transition of rural housing occupancy is a direct result of deprivation and lack of maintenance for some of the older houses.

Conclusions

China's rural housing is a major part of rural development and transitions that are occurred over the last few decades of China's rapid urbanisation and demographic changes between the rural and urban areas. The housing development patterns in the three studied cases demonstrate the variety of approaches for the rural areas of China; some of which are potentially viable, some need financial support and some are yet to be assessed. In this study, four main elements of transitions in China's rural housing are introduced. This introduction is an opening-up discussion to potential future research on China's rural housing. Currently, there remain gaps in research for rural housing analysis and its transition in the process of urbanisation. More importantly, it is almost inevitable to discuss rural development of China without consideration of urbanisation. Finally, the potential for housing policy development and rural housing strategies are of major interest for researchers, planning authorities, township administrations and the local governments.

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Exploring Land Restitution in Namibia as a poverty reduction tool

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Abstract:

Understanding the social, cultural and economic position of the landless poor rural communities is fundamental for successful formulation and implementation of pro-poor land reform policy. The study, from social justice perspective, explores how the land restitution policy as a poverty alleviation strategy can be formulated and implemented as a means to reduce poverty in rural communities of Namibia. South Africa has implemented a land restitution policy with significant achievements. Namibia and South Africa underwent decades of racially and forceful dispossession of land under apartheid and colonial rule. One of the most contested trends for the past two decades from the social justice perspective is the question that how can land be redistributed through market prices, even to those families who suffered uncompensated colonial expropriation. It is argued that land restoration through recognizing shared values and developing mutual assistance could be vital in combating prevalent poverty. Skewed land ownership is apparent, white minority still holding 30.3 million hectares of commercial land symbolic of the lack of effective mechanism in redressing inherent imbalances. Even though small number of farms totaling 2.4 million hectares was bought from freehold sector for resettling the poor, it is argued that they find it hard to make a meaningful living out of farming due to limited support.

Introduction

Understanding the social, cultural and economic position of the landless poor rural communities is fundamental for successful pro-poor land reform policy formulation and implementation. Restitution of land enables those who were racially and forcefully dispossessed of land through apartheid and colonization, the restoration of lost land. One of the most contested trends for the past two decades from the social justice perspective is the question that, how can land be redistributed through market prices, even to those families who suffered uncompensated colonial expropriation (Carter, 2006: 1; Borras, 2007: 5). This perspective and current Southern Africa land reform dynamics has caught the attention of scholars, politicians and the general public.

The purpose of this article from social justice perspective, explores how the land restitution policy as a poverty alleviation strategy can be formulated and implemented as a means to reduce poverty in rural communities of Namibia. South Africa has implemented a land restitution policy with significant achievements. Namibia and South Africa underwent decades of racially and forceful dispossession of land under apartheid and colonial rule. Therefore the article reflects on conditions that determined the national land conference resolution that there will be no land restitution in Namibia.

For the past two decades of Namibia land reform programmes, critics argue that little has been achieved in terms of land access and poverty reduction (Sherbourne, 2004; Ndala, 2009). Skewed land ownership is apparent, white minority still holding 30.3 million hectares of commercial land symbolic of the lack of effective mechanism in redressing inherent imbalances (RoN, 2005). Even though small number of farms totaling 2.4 million hectares was bought from freehold sector for resettling the poor, it is argued that they find it hard to make a meaningful living out of farming due to limited support (Adams and Howell, 2001: 4; RoN, 2005).

This article argues that land restoration through recognizing shared values and developing mutual assistance could be vital in combating prevalent poverty.

It is concerned with social solidarity, which is links, shared values, and understandings in society that enable individuals and groups to trust each other and so work together (Siisiainen, 2000; Fukuyama, 1999). The growth of inequalities relative to inequitable land redistribution and emergent indigenization movements, in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia, has strengthened the idea of restitution of land, though the process in the three countries have been very different (Dikgang and Muchapondwa, 2013; Hall, 2004). On the other hand, the land market reforms, the World Bank proposal, have influenced national governments and non-governmental organizations to consider redistributive land reform on their programs as embedded within land markets (Deininger, 2003; Binswanger and van Zyl 1996). This view enables academics, civil society and government officials to take into cognizance land reform theory and outcomes whether they achieve broader land reform policy goals. While the underpinning question, being whether land reform institutions are

equipped with sufficient capacities and capabilities necessary to formulate and implement effective approaches and programs of land reforms.

The focus is land restitution in rural communities where abject poverty is common phenomenon and where most people suffered land confiscations under apartheid. Rural population offers the basis to examine social and economic impact and outcomes of land restoration policy.

The Nama and Herero traditional authorities are illustrative case studies. The traditional authorities are situated in central and southern part of Namibia where communities lost many of their members to Germany colonial power who subsequently confiscated large area of their land (Melber, 1985).

Historical Background and theoretical framework

Early work by Hall (2003: 32) in her restitution studies in South Africa's rural areas, shows how significant is land restitution programme, in the new South Africa, in redressing past injustices at both symbolic and material level. Land as a place to belong and as a means of production. Another research by Fay and James (2008: 10) asserted that regime change could be the necessary condition for the formation of land restitution policy. In addition Hall warned that even though progress has been made in settlement of rural restitution claims, South Africa's countryside still has complex unresolved racial imbalances in land ownership. The study by Shaunnagh (1999: 4) recommended that, further studies should be conducted on the appropriate land restoration model that transforms the economy and does not risk land productivity of poor rural communities. What is important for the article is that both authors say little about how land restoration could be employed as an effective tool to reduce poverty in Southern Africa as social justice claim.

The core problem for investigating this phenomenon is that poverty is high among rural communities. The poverty stricken communities live below the poverty line of US\$ 1 per day (Jauch, 2013).

Despite that the national land conference which was held on the 25 June 1991, resolved that there will be no restitution of land in Namibia, it could be true that this has constrained the majority of rural communities to not besiege the land which they previously lost through racial land ownership laws (RoN, 1991).

The Permanent Technical Team study noted that the conference resolution was based on the fact that there could be 'complexities of overlapping claims between various traditional authorities' since there were no demarcated boundaries between communities (RoN, 2005).

It is been observed that farmer's organization formations are based on high social capital, racial and tribal groupings that could limit social and economic integration. These structurizations could jeopardize linkages and flow of expertise among farming groups, an attribution to poor performances by new farmers due to lack of much needed skills and knowledge.

In light of that, return to family farms may require effective planning on land use methods to improve farm yields and sustainability.

The land reform process seems to lack comprehensiveness without land restitution approach. Hence the acquisition methods through the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement (MLR) and the Affirmative Action Loan Scheme (AALS) are slowly progressing.

Restitution is defined as a process by which land and other property that was forcefully removed is restored or compensation provided as a result of past racially discriminatory laws (Hall, 2003; Gibson, 2009). It is argued that restoration of lost land and victim's compensation, achieves reconciliation, reconstruction and economic development (Stickler, 2012). In South Africa where land restitution is conducted through litigation, the number of settled claimants is less than expected. This is due to long court battles and delays caused by bureaucratic processes. On the other hand, high-valued land in terms of mining and conservation or agricultural land faces political and financial constraints. Therefore voluntary land restoration based on positive social capital theory is not advocating interruption of well performing institutions but continued working relationships between original owners and new beneficiaries.

There are no detailed explanations why Namibia is dragging its feet on land restitution while it underwent through similar experiences of racial land dispossession as South Africa. In addition the land conference acknowledged that there were injustices committed in the past in relation to land acquisition and practically the situation should be corrected (RoN, 1991). This article explores this inaction.

According to a survey conducted by Namibia Household and Income and Expenditure during 2009-2010, 62 percent of two million Namibian populations are poor and are in rural communities (NSA 2012). According to the Namibian government poverty is defined by the method of proportional expenditure on food, whereby those who exceed 60 percent expenditure on food are poor and 80 percent severely poor (Jauch, 2013). Former native reserves are currently known as communal areas where landlessness, unemployment and poverty still largely prevalent. Thus confirms the persistence of the impacts and outcomes of Germany and South Africa's racial land policy.

The previous settlement schemes' criterion under German (1890-1917) and South Africa (1919-1989) was unambiguous because those eligible were simply poor and easy to identify. But the current National Resettlement Policy criteria lack clarity as it defines ambiguously the beneficiary categories as people without land, income or livestock; people without land or income but few livestock; people without land but have income and are livestock owner. It is difficult to establish under what category do 243 000 people or 48 600 families of landless people that can claim restitution fall.

The AALS introduced by the state to cater for black emerging commercial farmers is discriminatory in practice. The model does not cover a broader spectrum of society especially the rural poor communities as you need to graduate or qualify with at least 150 large stock units or 800 small stock units or the equivalent in cash (Sherbourne, 2004). The poor

beneficiaries of the resettlement scheme are not able to access financial assistance from banks without proof of land ownership to be used as collateral.

Therefore there is enough evidence to challenge the claim that the current land reform process is pro-poor and does not perpetuate racial and skewed land ownership. What seems to be evolving is the lack of clout by the state to intervene and effectuate the land redistribution process for the realization of the broader policy goals. If the current trend isn't enhanced, generally the land policy might be viewed as protective of the present landholders. In this case an investigation of the possibilities of restitution of land in Namibia was highly necessary, as Namibia Agricultural Union (NAU) has indicated that the dilemma to all stakeholders is finding lasting social and political solution to land reform (NAU, 2003; Sebola and Tsheola, 2014).

Objectives of the study

The main objective of the article from social justice perspective, explores how a wide ranging land restitution policy as a poverty alleviation strategy can be formulated and implemented as a means to reduce poverty in rural communities of Namibia. This article further explores how the current situation came into being and the actions and lack of actions to date. Therefore in view of the above objective the article intends to achieve the following:

- To determine why has land restitution in Namibia not happened?
- To determine the views and perceptions of rural communities towards a land restitution policy.
- To determine conditions under which land restitution might and might not happen.

The objective contrasts views and beliefs that restitution of land hampers economic transformation through agricultural development and investments. It intends to examine relative outcomes and impacts of current state-led and market-assisted land reform policies.

Literature studied suggests that land restitution is significant and shouldn't be ignored, as it transforms unequal societies (Twala, 2013). Studying rural communities under traditional authorities offers an opportunity for what Zenker (2014) calls 'transitional justice'. Comparing their different social and economic environments and livelihoods will enable the research to recommend the best possible strategies for land restoration. The two rural communities to be studied enable analytical generalization of the results for groups with shared values and mutual knowledge of long-standing and embedded social patterns (Rucell, n.d).

The article is a response to requests of Gran (2002); Fay and James (2010); and Zenker (2011) to study how land restitution unfolds itself within societies' quest for moral and institutional modification or state modernity.

Preliminary data and discussion

The participants' resentment characterized the discussions and symbolized land reform policy ambiguity in addressing poverty related concerns of rural communities. Much of the rhetoric

assumes that the state ineptly lost the basis and clout to profoundly avert land policies that had badly impacted on the livelihoods of the rural communities. Regime change supposed to have provided an opportunity to devise mechanisms to address the plight of the previously disadvantaged rural poor communities. State implemented land policy results had not only stirred anger and frustration among the communities but bred revolutionary tendencies against government, despite it being dormant. Most discussants dismissed land reform policy effects since independence as discouraging and unsustainable, as the state still well sustains colonial laws of imbalanced access to land. Only commercial farmers had returned their land rights, acquired during the past colonial regime, which communities are bemoaning as totally unfair. On the other hand, communal land rights only guarantees use rights not ownership, a practice being rejected by other communal leaders that it just facilitates the transfer of land from traditional authority to the state. It is alluded that it is the retention of colonial land management and arguably policy failure to resolve the real situation of skewed land ownership.

a) The Witbooi Traditional Authority

The Traditional Authority is housed in Namibia's most elegant historic town of Gibeon, the birthplace of the Nama clan hero Kaptain Hendrik Witbooi. Its scenery of bloody skirmishes between Germany colonial troops and Nama people is of great interest both to historians and academic researcher.

Geographically, Gibeon is situated in the southern part of Namibia, in the Hardap region, some 68 kilometers from Mariental and 337 kilometers from Windhoek the capital city. Apart from the Witbooi Clan being the dominant Nama group in Gibeon, other groups include Bondelswarts, Afrikaner, Kooper, Topnaars and Rooinasie. Gibeon settlement population has grown to 6,000 plus 5,000 farming communities that get services from Gibeon Village Council.

An estimated 80 percent of unemployment rate is experienced by the settlement's residents. There is lack of employment opportunities apart from working in government offices and nearby commercial farms.

The economic activities in and surrounding Gibeon is large communal goat farming, even though holiday commercial farmers still own most of the farms. According to evidences and observations of both the Traditional Authority and Gibeon Village Council, for the past few years, unemployment, poverty and other social ills are on an increase at an alarming rate. If unattended it will pose fundamental challenges to economic growth and sustainability of the settlement and the region.

In addition to historical analysis, the sitting leader of the Witbooi Clan, Kaptain Christian Rooi and his team emphasized during our discussion that land restitution policy could be the only alternative for Gibeon's economic and social development. What accelerated tensions between colonial rulers and Nama people is wealth that they had, and war shattered everything till today. They hoped that land restoration would have taken place following Namibia's independence, and to be administered

according to their norms and values with adequate government assistance. This was the reason why the Nama fought bitterly against white settlers, to get their land back.

When I visited the settlement, in exception of a post office, no other banking facilities and the nearest financial banks are 68 kilometers away, in Mariental. Therefore, residents must wait for two days if they need cash.

How can the land returned to them which they lost a century ago, and one elder screamed 'there are memories; the land belongs to us'. They claim they are knowledgeable of Nama-land and can identify places where their fore-fathers lived. Most areas are symbolic, like fountains. A deflection of government notion that land restitution may fuel tribal tensions since people's mobility caused the loss of their originality.

About memories, they referred to how their land was lost through atrocities committed against them by Germany and South African troops and the retaliatory wars launched by their leader Hendrik Witbooi in defense of their land and properties. It seems it is not easy to forgive those occupying their land when their subjects are being ravaged by poverty with a sense of hopelessness. The only hope left is to lean on what they claim could be theirs, the land they lost. The other loss of land occurred quite recent, through the 1966 Odendaal Plan, the Bantustan Proposal for both South-West Africa and South Africa. It is in their lifetime, that homelands were created in order to allocate more land to white settlers. The plan's effects are endless conflicts between other tribal groups which existed in the area before the plan. For instance, the Bondelswarts and the Witbooi are at loggerheads that the Bondelswarts were brought in Gibeon area from Karas region under the Odendaal Plan. Therefore they are not supposed to claim jurisdiction in Gibeon area but conform to Witbooi's authority who claims sole ownership to the area.

Similarly, how can the restoration process happen if they never demanded for it for the past 24 years of independence. They thought that government land redistribution schemes such as willing seller willing buyer and expropriation, that been objected as dysfunctional, did not deliver land to them as anticipated. They bemoaned that the redistribution process is a national programme and its major priority is not those who lost their land through past discriminatory land laws, though that differently impacted on their lives.

In objection to land redistribution scheme, they disagree on how farms are acquired and divided into either four or more small farming units depending on farm sizes, and then reallocated to households or families. That is the transformation of farmland land into another communal area with no consideration of future environmental impacts. They also argue that the scheme seems to favor the previously advantaged groups as their farms are not shared.

Finally they concurred that a delegation represented them at the only national land conference that occurred immediately after independence, but land restitution was never discussed extensively rather it was agreed that it might cause unimaginable problems, without further deliberations. While the platform favored majoritarian system composed of foreign land policy experts invited for advisory purposes, their role was simply observatory. That time South Africa was not independent to be

referenced as the only southern African country implementing land restitution policy through litigation.

b) The Bondelswarts Traditional Authority

The other Nama group forming part of the research was the Bondelswarts, who also resides in Gibeon and their land revolutionary hero, was Jacob Marenga, who battled with both Germany and South African colonial forces. They confirmed that their ancestral land is in Karas region, far down south, where they had been forcefully removed and resettled in Gibeon under Odendaal Plan of 1966. They regard themselves aliens in their own country since they often confronted by the Witbooi Authority forcing them to remain in Karas where they originated.

They claim that the loss of properties and animals from dry climatic conditions and diseases were the implications of such removals and thus could be again accrued to poor livelihoods they currently enduring. This also could be associated to the loss of good pasture where they previously grazed their livestock before the evictions, along the Orange River, which is now owned by white settlers. Since then they have never regained what they lost as they had no other alternative but to work on white farms for a living wage. They feel that nothing has tempted yet to overturn their nightmares, even independence which they thought could have delivered them, seem to cast a shadow of hopelessness on ways of poverty reduction.

Even government resettlement programme on farms bought from whites in their area of jurisdiction they are not been prioritized, depending on their landlessness and poverty situations. Despite that been part and parcel of the criteria for considerations, yet other groups are resettled, especially from the northern part of the country which did not largely experience forced land expropriation.

They lost confidence in government officials for lack of clout and ineptly implementing policies to buy stolen land without justification. They dismissed as fallacious and unjust, the selling and buying of stolen properties or that which you got for free, and most whites got land for free and are not entitled to sell land or government to buy land.

Their conviction that land poor governance is constraining the land question resolution is underpinned by lands ministry officials' lack of broader consultations and the imposition of failed land policies mostly imported from other countries such as willing seller willing buyer. They warned that if the land question is not resolved amicably, preferably through land restoration policy the future of this country is unspecified.

Finally they argued that the lack of corporation between blacks and whites is because of the pending land question, true reconciliation will occur only if land is returned to the original owners voluntarily.

c) **Maharero and Ovaherero Traditional Authority**

Otjinene is the headquarters of two Herero traditional authorities situated 357 kilometer from Windhoek the Capital, with a population of about 7000 people according to 2012 population census. Obviously, Herero lost a significant number of their subjects in the war for land with Germany under the leadership of chief Hosea Kutako. The settlement has been proclaimed a village council, surrounded by over twenty communal villages all engaged in small scale cattle and goat farming. Other clans within the Herero like the Mbanderu are teaming together to engage higher authorities for the land policy transformation.

Each traditional authority visited differently gave their views according to collectivized perceptions and knowledge but in agreement with the history of the Herero people in terms of land ownership. All acknowledged that their land was confiscated by Germany white settlers with force, confirmed through elderly tales and written information or history and on some of the white farms they still bury their dead people. According to Herero tradition, burial sites are untransformed, where they buried centuries ago they still formerly bury there even today, reasons been preservation of cultural heritage and evidence of existence and land ownership. While they bury their dead they are confronted by farm owners, that it is private land, the incidences reminding them of the cruelty which befallen their fore fathers during the war for land up to date. Such calamities and unruly behaviors of some white land owners negate successful agrarian transformation and are influential of what could possibly become fast track land seizure. Matters of mutual understanding and assistance between farm owners and the indigenous communities had increasingly became complex. Like assisting them during drought with grazing since some occupy more than one farm and still by foreigners who use the land for commercial purposes such as professional game hunting trophies (PGHT).

Former concentrated camps and currently termed communal areas are explicated as poverty jails for being overcrowded and over grazed while white farm owners enjoy owning large hectares of land some even double farms. They query the possibility of an independent country containing dual laws, like the sustenance of past apartheid laws and on the other hand redistributive policies and programmes.

They again questioned the authenticity of willing seller willing buyer that the approach is an imposition and initially were never been part of its design, that complicates its acceptance and involvement in its implementation. Farm owners inflate prices with the sole purpose of maintaining the status core and to drive far away ambitious black farmers from buying and owning land. How possible will this be is the crux of the matter and for how long will black people be tolerant without owning land is the other hot issue.

What is hindering them getting their land back is lack of strategies to mobilize masses that lost the land through discriminatory colonial laws. Since government have infiltrated them with divide and rule mechanisms that amongst Herero themselves are fighting each other further curtailing measures to seriously ponder about their land. They thought that government decrees are not challenged; therefore they abided with

the current land policies even though they were in disagreement. They conceded that to take head-on government require access to information and skills in cases where there state interest minimal. They claim that at independence remarkable efforts were made about land reform approaches and that Herero position was clear, land be brought back voluntarily but government silenced them that being poor black people will not be able to generate money been generated by commercial farmers if government adhere to their demands. Yet pleasing the international community at the expense of the locals will only escalate tensions among competing groups.

Namibia will legitimately independent only if land is owned by Namibians and at the moment land is in the hands of whites of Germany origin who seem to own dual citizenship. On the other hand, the rural communities who lost land allege that government is never serious about land reform because the northern region the strong hold of the ruling elites was not under Germany Policy Zone, so they didn't lose land and want to benefit also through the current national redistribution scheme. Land reform in Namibia is threatening the future generation's peace and stability if the current trend persists without political will to amicably resolve the matter.

d) Lands Resettlement Ministry Officials

The officials interviewed acknowledged the fact that those who lost their land can still recognize it, for example Windhoek area had a Damara name called //Xomas and Herero named it Otjomuise. Though politically there could be complexities in identifying places of origin among groups due to newly acquired economic and social interest, historical and symbolically Namibians are acquainted with places of origin as they still commune according to tribes and clans. It is only in urban centers where radical infrastructural transformation occurred but in peripherals it is remote, with fountains, hills or mountains, graveyards and tress can still serve as memory sources.

About the land question conference, that no land restitution will ever be entertained was a careless haste decision, taken without prior investigation to gauge public opinion, and officials argued that it was only for reconciliation purposes. Furthermore, that international pressure mostly by Germany, who began lobbying to fund the land redistribution programmes if the outcome favor the interest of Germany community, was at heart of that decision. A decision that still recognizes the supremacy of whites' land rights over indigenous blacks to own land in a Black Country and continent, how thus achieves true reconciliation and social emancipation is paradoxical. It is still an exercise of economic exclusion with no social justice and those barely mean lack of political will and know how. Whenever senior officials meet with the minister responsible he is oftenly briefed of the eminent and imperativeness of calls for land restitution by rural communities.

They also admit that willing buyer willing seller implementation is reasonable in purely free market systems without government overregulation. Thus approach in itself does not attempt addressing aspects of land restitution and it just accelerates poor rural communities' alienation. It functions properly in the developed world

where economic equalization is at an advanced stage and the poor got multiple livelihood options if they ever exist in miniature.

Since no deliberate decision is being taken to socially address the injustices committed by Germany and South Africa, they take cognizance of land matter developments in the neighboring countries as awakening, such as Zimbabwe and South Africa. They emphasized that it is a learning moment when compared to our situation and should not be ignored, there are similarities of incidents of atrocities perpetrated by apartheid rulers against the locals and strategies that seemed operational yet yielded dismal outcome.

They conceded that people suffered during the war for land and that is unforgettable hard realities and what is puzzling is the thirst for land by cabinet ministers.

e) Analysis

The essence of the matter is leadership crisis ravaging most African government's efforts to politically, socially and economically free their societies from the yoke of colonization. The crucial point is the lack of sound educational background to provide sufficient capabilities and knowledge in order to sensor political manipulation by both Easterners and the West whose hunger could be self-gratification. Thus cements the view that the independence of this country is enjoyed by few, the elites and the complacent as they easily yield to enticements in abandonment of their core responsibilities.

The misrecognition within land policy making circles of the concerns and desires of rural poor communities is reflected in current policies. Despite that information is vital when formulating public policy that aims at poverty alleviation, land restitution thought as panacea for the poor is not featuring in any major policy documents.

The fact that both interviewees never disputed that locals are well vested with memories and knowledge of their origin is fundamental to possible land policy reviews. Relocations occurred within the same areas for fear of uprising if other groups were encroached upon. Therefore identification of places is believed an issue of less magnitude, as native reserves provided cheap labor to the settlers and thus supplemented the knowledge of their original places.

It is important that policy reviews reflect those who lost land as they urgently need land for economic development and social emancipation. Hereupon, what had been land reform's epicenter was criteria ambiguity to correctly document the landless, a deliberate move taken to deny those who lost land through violent means, the first priority. Hence, the snail path of land reform experienced for the past twenty four years incorrectly depicted that landlessness is not acute, while land restoration is not yet achieved.

Another critical point is corporation and mutual assistance that seems missing between whites and blacks, and which can help foster understanding of each other's social environment. Though this requires great social investments through civic education and the involvement of nongovernmental organization, is a process needed at the initial stages of every successful socio-economic transformation. If social

capital is at stake and unconsolidated the immediate effects is the widening gap between the have and have notes.

The lack of livelihood assets by rural poor communities is the most humiliating aspect of human life and a threat to social wellbeing and the future generations. Assets offer multiple livelihood options, how to deploy them to sustain one's life, either by renting or selling and invest the profits in one's best alternatives. This characterizes redistributive land reform in Namibia as that narrows the livelihood chances of resettled households, since they are not allowed to own the land but only using it. In this situation how do free market forces dictates land reform if majority of blacks are entitled to limited land rights while their white counterpart has absolute land rights. Land markets in this condition could be distorted as it might prefer top down approach which is not favorable as it could slow the reform process, therefore what is amicable could be bottom up approach because of its massive participatory function. Through this strategy market forces establish themselves in a long run.

Conclusion

Namibia began the land reform process by assuming that the process will structurally provide remedial solutions to itself without adequately engaging human agencies or the stakeholders. These projects were executed without clearly intended outputs and outcomes which would have been correctly informed by indicators in order to facilitate the monitoring and evaluation of such programmes. Improper documentation of landless people is still a problem and its politicization will further complicate the matter.

Reconciliation as a tool for achieving social justice, which seemed the pillar and foundation of land reform shouldn't be treated as trial and error scenario, but requires holistically and integrative approach by parties involved. The land ministry as the custodian of land reform programmes seems to lack ownership and clout to drive reforms sustainably and to foster economic growth. As for now no clear direction how to move forward as most stakeholders embrace the idea that it is slow and lost focus.

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Extreme Dollar: Community Currency and Economic Development in Manitouwadge, Ontario

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Abstract:

In rural Northern Ontario, many communities face challenges to sustainable economic development as populations decrease resulting in business closures, which causes people to shop outside their community for goods and services. The 'Extreme Dollar', an initiative of the Manitouwadge Economic Development Cooperation, an example of a 'shop local' campaign which was launched in November 2010 and was developed to increase the amount of dollars spent in the community. It has proven successful in offering a gift for everyone for all occasions, while supporting the 16 participating merchants which accept the currency.

Keywords:

Local Currency, Rural Development, Northern Ontario, Buy-Local Campaign, Community Development

Festival of ‘Women Friendly Village’: One solution of rural development in Indonesia?

Angel Manembu

Consortium of Global Concern and KOPEL¹

Abstract:

In three districts of East Nusa Tenggara province in Indonesia, the facts have shown that the number of women positioned as decision makers is significantly low, whether positions such as village head or women as parliament members. Furthermore, data concerning abuse of women is difficult to obtain. Villagers say that people are reluctant to talk about this matter. Therefore, in this kind of situation what do we need to do to improve attention and protection towards women’s welfare in a male dominant society?

We are trying to implement the concept of a women-friendly village as one answer leading to rural development success. Villages can compete in a festival next September. The villages who are interested can join this festival and a multistakeholder team can select which villages can be winners for this festival. The criteria of this women friendly village were gathered from poor women in three villages of each of the three districts mentioned above. Local governments are willing to try, with help from NGOs and journalists. A meaningful rural development will be hard to accomplish if women’s position and situations are ignored. However, many questions remain. How are these criteria related to rural development? Could or will a state policy accommodate this idea? In what ways will the criteria improve the situation of village women?

¹ KOPEL: Komite Pemantau Legislatif: Commission of Parliament Monitoring is an organisation who do capacity building for parliament members and monitor their policies and performance.

Introduction

Here we share our experience on how to develop a woman-friendly village in Indonesia as one way to promote rural development. The concept of women-friendly villages will be developed by listening to poor women's ideas and suggestions. In order to achieve this, the Consortium of Global Concern and KOPEL did a qualitative assessment and trial in relation to this matter in three districts of Ende, Alor and East Manggarai districts in East Nusa Tenggara Province and developed a program with local governments. All these interventions have been supported from the Innovation Fund of MAMPU (Maju Perempuan Indonesia untuk Penanggulangan Kemiskinan means Empowering Indonesian Women for Poverty Reduction) is a joint initiative between Government of Indonesia represented by the National Planning Body (BAPPENAS) and the Government of Australia, represented by the Australia Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) to improve quality of life of Indonesian poor women.

By assessing women's position with quantitative data from the three districts, we found that few women are in positions of decision makers, as shown in the following table.

Table 1. Women as decision-makers compared to total number of decisionmakers in the three districts, Feb 2015

	Ende	Alor	Manggarai Timur
Number of Women as Head of village	5 in 278 (255 rural villages+23 urban village)	none out 175 villages	1 among 176 villages
Number of Women as Head of sub district	None out of 21	None out of 17	None out of 9
Number of Women as Head of Sector compared to all heads of sectors	5 out of 33 Head (of Women's Empowerment, Tourism, hospital management, cooperative &SME and sanitation services)	6 out of 40 Heads (of livestock, disaster risk reduction, health, industry and trade, tourism, women's empowerment and family planning services)	2 out of 36 heads (of education, community empowerment & family planning)
Number of Women in parliament compared to number of parliament members	1 out 30	2 out of 35	1 out 30

Source of data: Statistic of East Manggarai, Ende and Alor districts (2014) and interviews result Feb 2015

If we look at the above data, the three districts' decision makers are mostly male. This fact has shown that even at the local government level, the position of women is very low in all categories. Women in parliament are less than 10%, even though the Indonesian Constitution regulates 30% of parliament members should be women. Heads of sectors are in a better position. Ende and Alor have more than 10 % females as heads of services. Nevertheless, there is no single head of sub district who is a woman. Ironically, even at the lower level, as head of village only Ende, the 'best', has five women village heads among 278 rural and urban villages or less than 2 %. Alor District has no women as village head out of 175 villages and East Manggarai District has only one woman as head of village out of 176 villages

On the other hand, all stakeholders stated how important the female role is in daily life since they are the breadwinner for the family especially at rural areas. The question is how in a male dominant society women's voices can be heard and their well-being protected? Specifically, how can women's



issues---violence-sexual abuse- availability of clean water- health services for mothers--- be more reliably addressed?

Accurate data on violence against women and children, including sexual harassment cases, are not easy to get since people do not want to talk about it. Some argued that this is an internal family matter.

It is important to note that each Indonesian village will get funding from the national government of around USD 62,500-80,000 a year. In Ende district the funding will be doubled since the local governments also provide support of around 60,000 USD more or less, depending on the size, access and number of population of each village.

That is why a festival of a women-friendly village prototype has been initiated and may possibly become one approach to addressing some of the constraints that women face. More importantly, there is enthusiasm among the local and national governments to try something new, an innovation. It is also important to note that district heads need their constituents for the next election period and this can be one way to be popular. In addition, champions do exist in these three districts to promote this initiative.

Discussion on women-friendly village criteria in East Manggarai

The intervention

In order to formulate and agree on criteria for a women-friendly village, we discussed and implemented qualitative assessment at village level, discussed our findings with communities and presented them at district level. The sites' assessments are selected based on different types of geographical areas such as coastal areas, mountainous areas, islands and the villages are categorized by national data as poor villages (poor means percentage of poor people or number of poor people in those villages are higher compared to other villages). In some areas we asked opinions of a head of sub district who knows most of villages and we compared his proposed sites and selected them based also on our field observations.

How do we define the poor women?

Poor women as resource persons of this study are defined by a combination of local village criteria and national criteria on poverty. Local criteria are based on which women have the most difficult lives (*perempuan yg hidupnya susah*). National poverty criteria of monthly expenditure, number of people that she supports, land ownership, age and assets were used. We asked the village health cadres and the poor women themselves to identify who the poor women are.

Some of the results pointed out that

- Women who were categorized as the lowest rank by other women and men in a village are various including: as farmers, poor women included those who are widows and have many

children but not many assets, or women who have a husband but the husband has left her. Another type is old women who have no children or who have children who live far away and no help from other relatives. Or women who have received help, but want to be responsible for themselves.

- In many villages, most poor women who are farmers are women who have no assets, especially land to cultivate. As a result of this, the family cannot plant any trees, such as timber or fruit trees. This is one factor in having a limited income. But an old woman who has land but is not able to walk can be categorized as the poorest.
- The inability to speak the national language can also contribute to making a woman's life situation worse off.
- Almost all poor women have never been invited in a village meeting. Women who reside close to village offices will state that they are invited. On the other hand, according to village heads, those who were invited often did not come. It may be true since to come to a village office will require transportation cost and nice clothing; these can be a burden.
- In many assessment villages, cases of violence against women do happen but they have never gone to trial. On the other hand, there is a village in Alor district in which the *adat* (cultural norm) protects women from violence and sexual abuse.
- Even though it is a male dominant society, at least in one village (Woloara village) in Ende district there have been no maternal or neonatal mortality cases in the last two years. The Head of the village is a man who pays attention to mothers who have high risks when delivering a baby. He will use his own motorbike to take the women some days before delivery to a house close to a health centre. In this village, according to poor women, only one case of violence against women has happened and the husband was taken to the police and punished. Other villages have experienced one to three cases of violence against women in the last 2 years. Bearing in mind, not many women will tell about this matter since they think this is a domestic matter. Thus, the number of case of violence against women stated above is the minimum number.

Below we present the important results related to what poor women think in these six villages about criteria for women-villages .

Provide access to clean water is trouble-free.

Some of the villages have plenty of water but there are villages located in islands which have difficult to access clean water. Water is very important for women, since it is often their task to carry it, and access to water is a necessity to fulfill daily needs.

Protect women and children from violence and sexual abuse exist and are implemented

There is a need according to women that protection from violence and sexual abuse are obtainable either from village regulation or another mechanism.

Involve poor women in decision making processes.

Most poor women are not invited by the village officials and they would like to be invited. Some poor women stated 'we may not know how to read and write but we can understand what the important matters to our family are'.

Allocate budget for poor women's initiatives in the village budget.



Women needs their children healthy

Budget allocation for women is an issue since they get only a very small percentage from the village budget. They know that the national government will distribute a significant amount of money to each village and they want the budget to be shared for their livelihood initiatives.

Provide health services so that no more mothers, babies and children die because of their lack.

Remote and small island villages often do not get regular access to health services.

Ensure safe walking conditions at night

In one village women did not feel safe to walk at night and they wanted this situation to change. Women often need to go to their relatives and their neighbors at night time, but this can be difficult if they do not feel safe.

Children education at least up to high school level

Women expect that their children can pass high school. A friendly women village is hoped by the women that can allocate budget for children education

The criteria and rural development

Those above criteria are components of rural development. They concern the health of mothers and children, ensuring availability of education, making certain clean water is available and trying to provide security to women and children from violence and abuse. They will also require that poor women gain access to decision-making processes. The villages who are interested to participate will be selected based on the criteria mentioned previously in a festival of 'women friendly village' next September 2015. Thus, there is a close link between the festival of women-friendly villages and rural development. A women-friendly village will hopefully contribute appreciably to rural development.

Challenges and Opportunities

- Sustainability is an issue. At the moment the three selected districts were chosen because they have champions in the local government and NGOs. However, champions are not sufficient to continue the intervention, since rotation of local government staff does take place. On the other hand, if local government can see the results of the intervention they might replicate it.
- The National Planning Body is interested in a festival of women-friendly villages. However, in order to become a national programme it will take a long process and this is beyond the

length of time of this current project. However, if it can have results in less than a year there might be hope to replicate.

- Among the three local governments, only Alor and East Manggarai districts have counterpart budgets. In Ende district, the counterpart budget is limited but in Alor district, the local government is keen to share its budget. In East Manggarai district, the sector who assist us contain new staff and they are afraid to disburse money . It is a challenge and discussion with their superior is needed
- Currently there is still confusion in relation to authority over village matters. The current new president has created a new Ministry of Villages, Left Behind Areas and Transmigration who will be in charge of village issues. In the past, it was under the Ministry of Home Affairs. There will need to be time to organize who responsible for what between these two ministries in relation to village issues.

End Notes

This is a prototype of women friendly village will hopefully produce good results in implementation and being replicated elsewhere. It is hope through a partnership with local communities and national also local governments this will turn out as expected. Women friendly village expectantly can protect women and their family also improve villagers livelihood and will contribute significantly to rural development in Indonesia.

From “development basket case” to “development model”?

Microcredit, sustainable agriculture and rural development in Bangladesh

Masudur Rahman

Abstract

Development experience of post-independent Bangladesh is a mixed one. On socio-economic performances, its achievements are better than its neighboring countries. But, its political culture seemingly appears to be a dysfunctional democracy. Its annual growth rate is lower than India, yet, it has been surprisingly good at improving the lives of the rural poor. The obvious question is, despite a comparatively lower annual growth rate, and dysfunctional democracy, how the original “development basket case” has managed a disproportionate poverty reduction for its amount of growth? This paper seeks the answer in the social organization of the economy with a strong rural connection on two major dimensions: a. increased agricultural production; b. small scale business activities with microcredit. The combined effects of both these rural economic activities are the increased income of rural household, increased enrolment in educational institutions of the rural poor, female students in particular empowering women. It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into detail of all dimensions. It rather discusses (based on the preliminary findings of a study) what role microcredit played in the process. The positive role of microcredit is recognized however, as the findings suggest, microcredit is not a panacea for macroeconomic growth. Microcredit made contributions to the welfare of the poorest of the poor, the rural women, through providing possible means by which they gained control of their economic life. This achievement, in turn, exerted pressure for social change that included education, empowerment, participation etc. There are also cases of borrowers left worse off. The varied effect, apparently, is due to structures of network relations. Theoretical discussion, therefore, includes a reassessment of how NET (Network Embedded Trust) works including the concept of social capital. It is suggested that the concept should be oriented to broader power structures, which remained neglected in existing studies.

Key words: Adaptability; Agricultural sustainability; Bangladesh; Microcredit

Introduction

Development is social change, a major concern of sociological studies. In development debate, the images of changes are sometime slow, sometime rapid and dramatic. The case in hand, Bangladesh, slow growth has been due mainly to reliance on policies that resulted in the misallocation of resources, waste, policy errors (industrial policy, education policy). The policy of urban-based industrialization made the mega cities unlivable (Rahman 2014) and traditional rural handicrafts like weaving, pottery, metalworking etc., decimated. Rural people are emigrating to the urban-based textile industries, as well as to foreign countries. Those still living in rural areas, the poor peasants, find new ways of earning (Rahman 2014). This paper develops the argument for the rural agro-based economy because it can provide employment and hence additional income in rural areas where poverty and outmigration are common. Rural agro-economy is simple, small-scale labour-intensive, based on traditional technology and interaction between human beings and their social and natural environment. When needs around they cooperate and find a solution without disrupting the interacting relationship. They adjust to the changed environment and find new ways to survive.

Bangladesh is undergoing changes. It is urbanising fast. The old interaction between man and nature is disrupted, which has brought a different suite of problems. The pervasive effects of urbanisation can be observed in building boom, traffic congestion, air pollution, bad sanitation, energy crisis, shortage of pure water etc. Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh and the major commercial and industrial hub, became not only dirty, but a dying city, the most unlivable city in the world. Dhaka is one of the ten largest cities in the world, but has the infrastructure of a one-buffalo town.

Given the problems of promoting industrialisation and urbanisation, the emphasis of this paper is on rural economy. Its focus is on agriculture and small scale entrepreneurial activities where microcredit plays a very significant role. The share of agricultural output and small scale business in terms of GDP has declined in most countries. The picture is different in Bangladesh. There agricultural products now have enormous economic significance. Not only employment in agricultural activities and small business provided the livelihoods for the majority of the rural families, the rural economy added more to the GDP of Bangladesh. The Economist (February 2013) claims the path through the field and microcredit. Most studies also confirms the claim.

Bangladesh was known as the “bottomless basket” in the 1970s. Right after its inception as an independent state in 1971 many doubted the new nation’s potential. Its economic growth throughout 1970s and 1980 has been very poor, due to its devastated infrastructure, poor natural resources, and wretched politics. Last three decades, since 1991, however, show considerably positive development. Bangladesh has made some of the biggest gains in the basic conditions of lives of the common people “ever seen anywhere” (The Economist February 2013). The major indicators of achievements are income per person, life expectancy, education and health, especially for girls. Enrolment of girls in primary schools is than 90% (doubled in less than 10 years). Women can expect living longer than men, and remarkably, life expectancy has been as much among the poor as the rich.

		Poor but impressive		
		Wealth and health		
		Bangladesh	India	Pakistan
Income per person, \$PPP*	1990	540	874	1,200
	2011	1,909	3,663	2,786
Life expectancy at birth, years	1990	59	58	61
	2010	69	65	65
Infant (aged <1) deaths per 1,000 live births	1990	97	81	95
	2011	37	47	59
Child (aged <5) deaths per 1,000 live births	1990	139	114	122
	2011	46	61	72
Maternal deaths per 100,000 live births	1990	800	600	490
	2010	194†	200	260
Infant immunisation rate, %	1990	64	59	48
	2008	94	66	80
Female (aged 15-24) literacy rate, %	1991	38	49	na
	2009	77	74	61
Underweight children, % of total	1990	62	60	39
	2007	36†	44	31

Sources: World Bank; UNICEF; WHO; national statistics

*Purchasing-power parity †2011

Table 1. Bangladesh Development index compared with India and Pakistan

In 1975 the total fertility rate 6.3. In 1993 it was 3.4, and 2010 it was 2.1. Rural women now have better health and more autonomy, thanks to successful family planning

programs. There are a number of other factors, which have contributed to the process of improving the quality of life and reducing poverty; the spread of primary education, more girls are getting education, women becoming earning members in the family etc. Garment industries over the last two decades have put money into women's hand. Women are more likely to spend the money on education, health care for their children and they save more than men. Access to micro credit opened new avenues for women for earning, including new form of cultivation, a new method of agricultural production. All these have their share in restraining the fall in rural household incomes.

The GDP growth of post-independent Bangladesh during the first two decades (1971-1991) was 2% a year. During the following two decades (1991 -2011) the rate increased to 5% a year.

The achievements in education, health, women empowerment are not a simple result of increased income or GDP per capita. The annual growth rate in Bangladesh is lower than India (about 8% yearly during the same period) but the gains of Bangladesh is greater than India.

During last four decades, 1971-2011, rice harvest more than trebled, though the area under cultivation increased by less than 10%. This year the country once supposedly doomed to dependence on food aid became a small exporter of rice.

Yield alone is not the whole story. Experiments with new varieties of vegetable, fruit show the innovative nature of the rural peasants. Floating vegetable cultivation is one example of innovation in agricultural development. In the rainy season, most lower areas become flooded, due to rain and water coming down from the Himalaya. A number of the world's largest rivers are flowing through Bangladesh. Due to siltation and continued erosion, these mighty rivers become overflowed and most low lying areas go under water contributing to shrinkage of arable land. The peasants cannot cultivate enough vegetable according to their needs and for exchange. There are some fallow ditches all over the country. The peasants make use of those ditches for floating cultivation. After cultivation of vegetable, the peasants are using decomposed floating bed as organic fertilizers, producing seedlings of different crops on floating bed and they are minimizing cropping season in the rainy season when the main land goes under water. This new method has contributed to increased food intake of poor people, ensured them nutrition security, as well as provided the poor a new source of income. What required is to set an optimum size long bamboo on floating water hyacinth. One

or two persons stand upon the bamboo and set sequentially according to expected size, using pressure of legs they make the bed compact, making the bed thick. After preparing the bed the bamboos are removed from under the bed. The hyacinths require 20-25 days to decompose. After decomposing the peasants sow and when seedlings appear they transplant those. Small balls are prepared by decomposed hyacinths, excess water is extracted from the ball by hand pressure before transplanting

There are hundreds of fallow ditches in Bangladesh. In those ditches and rivers the floating cultivation now is widely practiced. After cultivation of vegetables the peasants are using decomposed floating bed as organic fertilizers. They are also producing seedlings of different crops on floating beds minimizing cropping season when the main land goes under water. And it is one among other activities which NGOs are doing that make Bangladesh's way of fighting rural poverty a success. Most NGOs gave the rural poor access to small loans so that they can start with small-scale business activities.

Microcredit

It started with an initiative to help destitutes (affected by the 1971 war with Pakistan). The idea of microcredit, first introduced by BRAC (Bangladesh Rehabilitation Assistance Committee,), later, the Grameen Bank (Rural Bank) made them work by targeting them on women. The growth of both these institutions has been explosive. Grameen has 8.4m borrowers and outstanding loans of over \$1 billion. BRAC has 5m borrowers and loans of \$725m. The poor account for roughly a fifth of the total loan portfolio of the country, an unusually high proportion (The Economist February 2013). Microcredits have spread around the world. The benefits have been both exaggerated and attacked. Their impact in Bangladesh has been mostly positive. Studies show people with similar incomes and household assets, the borrowers of microcredit experienced a decline in poverty than those who did not borrow. Among the first group the poverty rate fell ten percentage points, from 78% in 1998 to 68% in 2004. Among the second, poverty still fell, but only half as much, from 75% to 70%.

Microcredit and women entrepreneurship

The success of microcredit in improving the welfare of poorer women, especially that of the Grameen Bank, in Bangladesh, drew attention of the world. It led to a renewed interest in aid policies and served as an inspiration for many researchers. Most research confirmed the positive performances of the Bank (Mosley and Dahal 1987; Hossain 1988). A heavy

investment in inculcating its vision and its organizational culture explains its success (Holcombe 1995). Its vision can briefly be described as a set of values, a belief that poor people, who are regarded as problem, can be resources.

The vision of microcredit is not shared by all. Skeptics doubt both the concept and the precepts. Some incidents contributed to increased skepticism. In Bangladesh, a few borrowers who were unable to pay back loans in due time were forced to sell whatever they had. The most recent crisis to hit microcredit was in some states in India. In Andhra Pradesh, over-indebtedness claimed 100,000 lives of destitute farmers. Suicide due to indebtedness? They had not all receive microcredit financing? Some had other kinds of debt? Following this and some other untoward incidents the government of India took the initiative of revising the entire framework around microcredit. Was that part of a broader initiative to address indebtedness in agriculture? Many economists claimed that microcredit has taken more of the aid budget but it was not the best way to help poor and it cannot make any macro difference (Buckely, 1997; Rogaly 1996). They further asserted that microcredit in fact sustained poverty. Bangladesh (the country of its inception) and Bolivia, are widely known as the two countries with the most successful microcredit programs. Yet they have remained two of the poorest countries in the world (Pollin, Robert 2007). The 2007 UNDP Report on Bangladesh traced the origin of microcredit in the profit-making venture of some big NGOs to the doorsteps of international financial institutions. The government of Bangladesh termed it a debt-trap. Micro credit came under critical scrutiny.

There is a new concern about its worth in terms of outreach (depth, breadth and scope of microcredit) and sustainability (implying permanence). This paper addresses these issues and makes further contribution to an ongoing discussion on what microcredit can do for the poor.

In the section to come, microcredit is seen through the lens of its effectiveness in terms of outreach and sustainability. It includes, first, a brief discussion on credit relations in rural Bangladesh. Section three, focusing Grameen Bank and its exclusive goal of making the rural women economically independent. Section four describes how its performance, in turn, exerted pressure for social changes including women's levels of education, empowerment and participation etc. These positive impacts however were not welcomed by all in the society. Vested interest groups look upon economically independent poorer people as a threat. Religious based political parties resist any effort to make women economically self-sufficient. The major challenge to microcredit is how and to what extent it can withstand the resistance

from these interest groups. This is the subject matter of section five. The concepts and practices of microcredit can be used as mechanisms for the effective involvement and participation of unused human capital. In development theory and research human capital, the social dimension of economic activities and growth is recognized. This recognition has inspired recent approaches to development, the microcredit model is one. Researchers and policy makers increasingly rely on social capital without relating it to the broader structures of power relations.

Microcredit: Virtuous or vicious circle?

The ongoing debate on what microcredit can do for the poor calls for reinvestigating the performances of microcredit organizations. There are a good number of research works that evaluated the performances of microcredit. To justify further study, I have taken two key concepts as the basis of investigation; outreach and sustainability. Many studies, in Latin America in particular, were based on these concepts (Yaron, 1994). Outreach refers to target groups, geographical areas, social values of the output of microcredit organizations in terms of worth to borrowers, including depth, breadth and scope (Schreiner; 1998; Gonzales Vega, 1998). Sustainability refers to the permanence of social goals including services offered (for example welfare of borrower), methods used for providing services, and possibility of maximizing expected social values. Sustainability of microfinance programs depends on the tendency of improving welfare of most borrowers. (Rhyne, 1998).

Depth, breadth, and scope are three major aspects of outreach. Depth implies the value that a society attaches to the gains from microcredit programs. An ideal type example would be the likelihood of a society valuing the net gain from a small loan for a poor woman more than the same gain for a relatively well-off person. Deeper outreach increases social values. The more access to credit poor people get, the breadth of outreach affects the number of poor people served. The scope of outreach refers to the types of contracts, between the lender and the borrowers, savings as conditions for loans, for example. Deposits by whom? The borrower? strengthen the incentives for sustainability (Navajas, S; Schreiner, M; Meyer, L.R; Gonzales-Vega, C & Rodriguez-Meza, J: 2000. World Development Vol.28,No.2,pp.333-346).

We can say little about the performances of microcredit without understanding what credit means for the poor. The need for credit has always been felt among the poor in rural Bangladesh. But, they have limited access to credit and they also have a negative attitude

towards credit. Government credit programs have been small and ineffective compared to their needs (Lovell 1992; Holcomb 1995; White 1991). Commercial banks do not reach the poor simply because, the poor are not considered to be borrowers of commercial interest. Assessing the performances of microcredit requires investigating whether and how microcredit complemented the requirements of credit among rural poor people. Credit and credit relations deserve a discussion in their own right.

Credit and credit relations in rural Bangladesh

It is a general attitude (People) in Bangladesh(, generally, think) that credit is not good. This is due to social values, that reflect previous experiences, and credit relations. Credit may force people to live in debt, which is not desired, and looked down on by others in the society. In the past, the group of people who lived on interests were called “shudkhor”, or social parasites. They were small traders and money lenders, who used to lend money at high rates of interests. Bigger amounts of loan from commercial banks required connections, political affiliations etc. Credit added more to the wealth of the wealthy. Poor villagers and peasants, could get loans from the relatively rich land owners. Borrowing and lending fostered vertical relationships among the villagers characterized by dependency of the poor peasants upon the relatively rich. The dependency is sustained in present Bangladesh.

The great majority of rural people depend on agricultural activities. Most of them are deficit households, owing both to natural conditions (the uncertainty of harvests because of climate) and social relations (patron-client relations based upon ownership of land and the right to cultivate land). Deficit households have to borrow, for their sustenance for the time being, sometime cash and sometime staples like rice, lentils etc, from their neighbors, a few surplus households nearby. Extra needs may arise due to dearth, sudden illness of a family member, wedding ceremony of their children etc. Kin relationship is the first choice when one thinks of asking for help in such situations. One can demand a favor from kin members who are relatively rich. This is due to a relationship of reciprocal obligations (Jansen 1990; Rahman 2010).

The norm of reciprocity, both of kinship and of neighborhood, does not allow them demand any interest on loan and exert any pressure on the borrower for repayment. People are socially obliged to support a kin or a fellow villager in need. Like family, the kinship system defines rights, duties and status of kin members (relatives as they are called in Bangladesh). Kinship, a network of relations among families, is a reciprocal and horizontal relation even

though a family may be better-off than the other. A wealthy family cannot deny the bonds of kinship. If some kin members are poor and have lower status, they support them by lending. Lower status of a kin may be threatening to one with higher income and status.

A rich family may also show its consideration by extending a favor to the members of the village society, called *samaj*, whenever they ask for it. In the absence of these sources, they the villagers turn to small traders and money lenders (Jansen 1990).

A favor, or a credit, is regulated by the norm of reciprocity, which operates in more than one dimension. Social obligation is one aspect. A rich man takes other factors into his consideration when he extends loan to the poor or do them a favor. Any favor, including giving credit is one important way to maintain his dominance and to secure the loyalty of the person who receives a favor. The loyalty may be used for pursuing political interests and for exercising power. The norm of reciprocity also specifies that returning a favor should be roughly in proportion to the favor. If the favor in return falls far short, the attribution of ingratitude inhibits further exchange. The poor borrower shows his gratitude by expressing his loyalty, and extending his support in political matters, to the rich lender, as a strategy for their survival. This is also at the root of uneven distribution of power. The nature of flow of favor or credit determines the position of the person who gives credit and who receives it. Credit thus expresses relationships between households “as part of survival strategies of the poor and investment strategies of the rich” (Jansen 1990). This encourages and perpetuates poor peasants’ dependence (social and economic) on wealthier villagers (White 1991). The richer household directs much of his efforts towards an imposition of its own conditions in the give and take of the relationship and in circumscribing and controlling the scope of action of the weaker party. A poorer household may be forced into debt if it has no other option than to sell the small piece of land it owns (Jansen 1990:10).

Agriculture is the major way of living for the vast majority of the rural poor. Prices of rice, lentil, oil seed etc fluctuate due to seasonal deficits that grip the countryside every year, some parts more severely than others. It is due to economic activities in rural Bangladesh that revolve around agricultural circles. There are two major periods of seasonal deficits; one from September to October and the other from March to May (Jansen 1990; Hossain 1996). December-January is the harvest season and prices of crops usually are low. A dearth may arise during lean season. Flood or drought may cause bad harvests followed by a further deficit in supply of staples and price hike in the lean season. Shortage in supply is one reason, the other is hoarding (Boyce 1983; Ravalion 1990). Traders hoard crops with the expectation

of selling those later at a higher price during the lean season. Very few rural house holdings produce crops that can meet their demand for the whole year. The lean season does not cause problems for a land owning rich family because of a surplus, or at least they have a stock necessary until the next harvest. Most poor households have to establish credit relationship with the few surplus households in order to cover the gap between the harvest season and lean season, between their income and expenditure (Jansen 1990:94).

Ownership of land and the right to cultivate land is based upon an arrangement of share-cropping system. The arrangement allows the land owner take 50% of the harvest. A land owner, let us say, owns 20 acres of land, which he leases out to 10 peasant households. If the yield per acre is 500 kilo grams of rice, as land owner his share is 5,000 kilogram of rice. A peasant, cultivating 2 acres of land, with his 50% gets only 500 kilograms of rice. He sells a part of his share to cover the expenses of maintaining cows, purchase of fertilizers etc. The rest he keeps for the sustenance of his family members. With the lean season approaching in September, the peasant, in acute need, borrows BDT 1000 ((equivalent to U.S.D 15, present exchange rate) from the land owner or a money lender. This amount is used for purchasing 25 kilo gram of rice. He promises to repay the amount in the coming harvest season. The price of rice may be as low as BDT 25 a kilo gram. He will have to sell 40 kilogram rice to repay 1000 Taka. He may also buy 2 kilogram rice, at BDT 40 per kilogram, from a grocery store in the locality on credit. He will require 3.5 kilogram of rice to sell in order to make the payment.

For a higher amount of loan precious goods and land are mortgaged out. A moneylender usually lends money against gold as mortgage. Traditional moneylenders were small traders, called *Marwaries* , and professional moneylenders called *kabuliwallas*(a group of people from Afghanistan spread all over India, lived mainly on interests from the borrowers). Both these groups are not in lending business now as a result of partitioning India in 1947, when *Marwaries* went to India, and the *Kabuliwallas* left Bangladesh after 1971. There was a third group, the jewellers. They had a double role in credit business; a source of credit and buyers of mortgaged gold. Moneylenders used to sell gold ornaments, kept as mortgage, to jewellers when borrowers failed to pay back loans. Following an informant, the family of Dr. Yunus had jewellery business. He knew the practices of lending and its negative consequences for the borrowers very well. That could have influenced Dr. Yunus.¹

¹ Conversation with informants, January 2011, at Chittagong University, where Dr. Yunus was professor.

In present rural Bangladesh, for a bigger amount of loan, land is kept as security. The usual contract is giving the right to cultivate and the full harvest to the lender until the loan is fully repaid. This type of indebtedness acts as a levy on the borrower, it may take many years to repay, leading to further debt.

All these point to the fact that the demand for credit has always been acute amongst rural peasants. Commercial banks do not reach them since the peasants cannot meet the demand of collateral. There are government banks, Agricultural Bank, national cooperative Bank financing agricultural activities. Borrowing from government banks requires connections, which most poor peasants lack. Government credit programs in fact promoted patronage. In 1984-85 agricultural credit of U.S.D 300 million was advanced through government banks. The political parties in power used this credit to buy public support by advancing loans to rural peasants. There was no compulsion to repay the loans. Local party men even announced some forgiveness of loans. There were also graft charges against Government credit programs. A recent investigation reports that the government's attempt to facilitate credit to farmers failed. Despite clear government directive to open farmer's bank accounts across the country with a nominal deposit of BDT 10 (U.S.D 0.35) farmers of some villages, in southern Bangladesh, were denied the opportunity. Bank officials were forcing farmers to open accounts with a minimum deposit of BDT 1,000(U.S.D 35) with additional BDT 100 to 300 taken as bribe. Only in Chalna branch of Sonali Bank, a government bank, 862 farmers had to pay additional money (The daily Star, October 10, 2011).

The adverse effects of informal credit relationships on borrowers and the weaknesses of formal credit programs (both government and commercial banks) placed demands on NGOs. The major pressure came from their clients to provide credit services to them. Donors also wanted to create small business enterprises paving the path towards capitalism. Credit was looked upon as a remedy for cash-flow constraints. Credit became "virtually a sine qua non of NGO programs" of big NGOs like Grameen Bank, Action Aid and BRAC in particular (White 1991). The deprived position of women drew extra attention. Women were thought to be more responsive to development initiatives and responsible borrowers. What did microcredit do for the poor women? The question is addressed in the following section. My focus is on Grameen Bank, the most celebrated microcredit institution and a model for efficacy in rural credit program. It is Grameen Bank that came under attack from skeptics.

Grameen Bank: The vision and values

Due to the cyclone in 1970 and the war with Pakistan in 1971, poverty became pervasive in Bangladesh. The government of post-independent Bangladesh had limited resources. Non government helps were needed to provide services to the poor villagers, women in particular, to give them job, education, health services, child care etc. The first two big NGOs were Gano Shastho Kendro, which took providing health services to the rural poor as its major task, and BRAC, which started its work helping resettle refugees coming back from India. After a year of relief activities BRAC launched a program of integrated community development, targeting only the poorest in rural areas. The major principles that guided BRAC were self-reliance, people-centeredness, sustainability, and women as entrepreneurs. The essential components of an overall rural development program included savings and credit activities, including a self-supporting banking institution (Lovell 1992:1). BRAC now operates as one of the world's largest nongovernmental financial intermediation programs with the rural poor.

Grameen Bank was established in 1976. The first seven years were years of experimentation with an action research project aimed at stimulating income generating activities among poor people (Holcomb 1995; Yunus 1998). It directed the credit flow to poorer women, provided them with some basic skill to make profit out of small capital. It demonstrated that poor women were good credit risk and created its image as “The Banker to the Poor”. Very soon it brought thousands of villages under its operation. In 1991 Grameen Bank operated 808 branches in 19,984 villages, serving more than 884,000 members. By may 1994, it had 1042 branches, 1,915,00 members in 34,243 villages. Assuming that the benefits of savings and credit reach the whole family of 5 to 6, the beneficiary population would be more than five million (Holcomb 1995). After about 30 years the Bank now has more than 8 million borrowers, and more than 30 million individuals are beneficiaries (assuming the smaller size of family, of 4, in present rural Bangladesh). Grameen Bank thus provides the empirical evidence of the theoretical framework for outreach, and the aspects of depth, breadth and scope. In the following I elaborate this.

For Grameen, both loans and deposits (savings) matter equally. Levels of savings and expansion of economic activities by borrowers clearly reflect the stability (sustainability) of membership. Those further explain Grameen's another significant outcome i.e a high rate of loan recovery. The skeptics also agree on this performance. It achieved as high as 98 per cent recovery. For bigger commercial banks it is as low as 35 per cent, the highest being 65% (Hossain 1988). Studies report increased household income of the borrowers (Jansen 2010).

In 1980s, the members of Grameen Bank had 43 per cent higher income than that of non-members (Hossain 1988). Another success is that it has managed to derive profit out of lending small sums to millions of poor borrowers. The critics say, Grameen Bank makes profit by lending money to the poor at a high interest rate.

The critiques have a point, microcredit organizations charge higher rate of interests than government and commercial banks. The Grameen Bank's management attributes a relatively higher rate of interest to higher costs involved in administering small loans. I have observed that the Grameen Bank maintains direct contacts with the borrowers and give them training. This requires a huge staff and involves high operating costs, which are partly covered by interests and partly by earnings from low cost funds from the Bangladesh Bank and donor organizations. The rates of interest in government banks and commercial banks are lower, but those demand collateral. The application process is also complex. And, loans from those banks require bribery. Thus, transaction costs are higher in those banks. The bank staffs also show bias against giving small loans because there is little to expect from poor people.

The borrowers of Grameen Bank I talked to did not complain about the rates of interest. They told, their earnings allowed them to make weekly repayment of loan including interest and deposits. Critics cite the evidence of multiple borrowing that a single borrower takes loan from one NGO for making payment of another. I found, and it is a known fact, that borrowers require payment of a small amount every week to the bank and there is no one-off payment. It means that borrowers must invest in something that would generate income. In my survey, 19 borrowers, out of 22, are doing this. They have expanded their small income generating activities to more entrepreneurial activities. Spending the borrowed money on personal consumption would lead to increase in non-performing properties. I found only one respondents used the borrowed money for her personal consumption (Case #4). It means, it is not a general trend, only a few members may misuse the loan.

The tale of Grameen Bank is now the most familiar one: the phenomenal repayment rate; the documented ability to reach more than 8 million rural poor households; small loans that can make a difference to a family's wellbeing through increasing income of whom more than 90 per cent are women. How to explain its success story?

My findings underscore the importance of joint efforts, of the bank and the borrowers, and of the bank and the state, in combating poverty. A vast number of poorer women managed to come out of poverty. It was not microcredit alone that enabled poor borrowers becoming economically independent. Microcredit was one path which helped millions of poor

to escape poverty. More avenues and actors were there, and would be required, to facilitate the exit as well as for the expansion of the scope of its operation and its sustainability. Borrowers were mobilized and organized to form informal networks that fostered cooperation among the members, created trust and responsibility. Networks, *samities*, facilitated deepening of the formal market, “borrowers’ interactions at group meetings facilitated the ability to establish and strengthen networks outside their kinship groups and living quarters” (Lisa Lawrance 1998:2). Grameen’s relationship with the state also was of crucial importance. Although, Grameen’s recent relation with the government is conflicting, its most successful microcredit programs have been when it complemented with the state doing its job in terms of stimulating small entrepreneurial activities among women. After seven years of experimentation, in 1983 Grameen became a government registered bank. In 1990, it moved from government direct control. The ordinance of 1990 allowed the Bank to elect its Board of Directors, nine out of twelve members from the borrowers. Three members are nominated by the government.

The findings of this study further accord the assumption, of the new economic paradigm that emphasizes the idea of social business, that the only way out of poverty for the poor-particularly for the women, who strain under the yoke of unpaid domestic labour- to work and earn their own. Some academic would claim this complements the supposition of the neoliberal economics, others would claim its association with the new institutionalism. I think, the Grameen model is a combination of both these perspectives. Microcredit and building social business imply, in Dr.Yunus’s words, a new kind of capitalism that is meant to serve humanities most pressing needs (Interview with Dr.Yunus, Lofoten, September 2009). The microcredit sector further offers an instructive context for exploring the different programmatic implications of liberal (Putnam) and Marxian (Bourdieu) theories of social capital. Paradoxically, both perspectives find expression within the dominant “Grameen model” now endorsed by most of the mainstream development agencies.

For the Grameen model, of crucial importance is the recognition that any individual is a potential person and each individual has much more hidden inside, that must be given chance to be explored. What requires is creating an environment that would enable her or him to make use of her or his potential through their interactions (Interview with Professor Yunus, Lofoten, September 2009). Access to credit is necessary but not a sufficient condition. Borrowers must invest loans in income generating enterprising activities. They should be provided with knowledge where to invest and skill how to earn. Spending the borrowed

money for personal purposes would compel the borrower to search for other sources of credit to repay the previous loan. This was a major weakness of government agricultural credit program, which has been in the hands of a number of government and semi-government cooperative banks. As mentioned earlier the government attempt at combating poverty through credit was dashed and promoted patronage. The political interests used credit to buy public support only.

The recognition of individuals as potential persons is the core of Grameen's vision, which distinguishes it from government- and other non-government organizations. Its vision further includes a set of values and its organizational culture: Looking at poor people not as problems or liability, but as resources. They must be supported, empowered and enabled. For the effective realization of these values it introduced an organizational culture that rests heavily on devolving responsibility and authority both to its field staff and to borrowers. The Bank's top management gave both these groups responsibility and authority for the basic work of lending and collecting savings and repayments. Senior management of the bank can rely on decentralized decision making on basic work. It is possible since its values are widely understood and shared both by its staff and borrowers. The management thus fostered staff participation, and empowerment in the long run, within a framework of shared values. In interviews, Dr. Yunus repeatedly claimed that both these groups, because of shared values and their joint efforts, have demonstrated effectiveness in investing credit for productive purposes, creating new demand for, and value of, their products.² This claim is endorsed by earlier studies on microcredit (see for example Holcomb 1995; White 1991).

Right from the start Grameen relied on savings collected as a condition for membership and for access to loan. It gave the borrowers training, provided them with skill and know-how in order to add value to what the borrowers produced. Initially, loans were given to individuals. This appeared to be problematic owing to lacking know-how at individual level and self discipline. This experience led to a new idea of giving loans to groups. Loans were given to groups of ten or more. The purpose was to foster collective responsibility. Those also appeared as ineffective. Members lacked a sense of collective responsibility. They seldom took part in group meeting. A new experiment was undertaken. Borrowers were organized in groups of five members and several small groups in the same village. They were brought under the administration of a centre. I observed that respondents

² Interview in Dhaka, January 2008, and in Lofoten September 2009.

maintain direct contact with the field staff. They can talk to the staff whenever they need any advice or new loans (Holcomb 1995). Direct contact can be problematic in some situation. Though not intended, I had to accept the presence of a field manager when I was interviewing two members in Galachipa. Their presence, I guess, influenced them, had impacts on what they told me, and thus on the quality of my data.

The new way of organizing borrowers, in combination with stimulating business activities through training the members as small entrepreneurs, gave positive results. The practice got stability. Borrowers invest loans in poultry firms, fishing ponds, vegetable production etc. Returns are distributed amongst the members of the groups, and the groups are responsible for paying back loans. The interest rate is 16%-18%, loan default is less than 5%. I asked: What happens if one fails to pay one installment, and repeated failure to repay. The field manager answered, one can get new loan for making payment of the old debt. Grameen takes many factors into consideration. Denial of further loan may force the borrowers to look for other sources of credit, leading increased indebtedness, and other sources of income including prostitution.

The Grameen Bank, by allowing poor and disadvantaged people access to small loans and providing them with skills, helped them to take control of their own lives, make something of themselves, and improve the lot of their families (Holcomb, 1995; Jansen, 2010; Lovel, 1992; White, 1991). The following cases add more evidence.

Case#1. Rowshanara (Hemayetpur village, Manikganj district, in Dhaka division) has been a member of *samity*, a group of five women, for nearly 27 years. Her first loan was 2000 taka (equivalent to 50 U.S dollar in the 1984). She started knitting *patis*, a kind of mat made of cane, in cooperation with other four in the *samity*. The *samity* sold *patis* in the market nearby. Later, they received orders from other families in the village and neighboring villages. All the members paid a small amount to the bank, as partial repayment of the loan, and deposited a small sum as savings. Rowsahara' accumulated savings helped her borrowing bigger amount which she used for expansion of her business. Now she owns a tailor shop. She employed her nephew as the tailor. Her two daughters are working in a garment factory in Dhaka.

Case#2. Shefali Rani (from a village near Chittagong University, Chittagong Division) took first loan 1000 taka (equivalent to 25 U.S. dollar) 22 years ago. She invested in Bettel leaves plantation. Earning from this small investment was used for her daily needs. Her initial saving, during the first 3 years, was 10 taka every week. Later, the following years, she saved 30-40 taka weekly. Increased savings allowed her bigger loan from the bank. Now her loan is

200,000 Taka (nearly 3000 U.S.dollar, present exchange rate). She owns a stationary shop, which is run by herself and her son. She pays 3000 taka every month as repayment of loan including interest (18.5%) and monthly savings deposit of 600 taka. She has two daughters; one took a bachelor degree from the local women's college, now working as a teacher at the Primary School in the village. The eldest daughter lives in Malaysia with her husband.

Case#3. Arati Sarkar (Galachipa, Patuakhali district, Barisal division) has been a Grameen member for last 16 years. Her first loan was 3000 taka (60 U.S dollar in 1995). This was her start capital for buying and selling mats. Increased income and savings allowed her to expand business. Now she owns a furniture shop, making and selling furniture made of cane. Her present loan is 75,000 tk (1100 U.S.dollar present exchange rate). She makes payments in installments of 1000 monthly, 970 taka loan repayment and 30 taka savings deposit.

The cases cited above involved, almost exclusively, are good examples of what microcredit can do for the poor, for women in particular. In my survey, all the borrowers are women and they have a high rate of repayment. Many economists and researchers have pointed out that women are easy prey for microcredit organizations. They are particularly vulnerable to the brutal loan-collection system of microcredit institutions. Economists are also skeptic to collective liability. Susan F. Feiner, Director of Women and Gender Studies at the University of Southern Maine, points out that the 'communal nature' of the microcredit creates the problem of collective liability, where one women's failure to repay her loans will result in collective punishment for the whole group. Some other found microcredit institutions using methods of collecting money that include assault and threats from the local money-collectors in the community and thus degrading women. They claim the methods add more layers of oppression to the world's most destitute population. In my survey I found three defaulters. They diverted borrowed money to nonproductive purposes. They told, pressure came from the *samity*, the group, and from the bank. But they were never been assaulted or threatened by any bank staff. There were other sources around them. They took more loans from them but, instead of repaying the first loan, they rather used new loans for purchasing T.V, cell phone etc. Interests increased, which forced them to borrow from a third source. They became over-indebted. In one case, the borrower thought of her political connections, which she used in forgiving the debt, at least for the time being.

Case#4. Ruma Begum, also from Galachipa, Patuakhali district, was member of Grameen for about 8 years. Two years ago she failed to repay her loan of 10,000 taka, with accumulated interest 16,000 taka. She started with selling *Bhusha mal*, daily necessities of

village households. She bought commodities on credit from the wholesale market in Galachipa. Instead of repaying the loan and making payment for goods she bought for resale she used the money for purchasing a television. She, as a local member of a major political party, was a member of the local municipality. She thought she could make use of her party influence waiving the debt. She is in debt, but there is no pressure from the bank for making an immediate payment.

Loans are given to groups and groups have joint liability for physical collateral. But the claim that one borrower's failure to repay loans results in collective punishment for the whole group does not hold, at least there is no evidence of such a claim in my survey. Furthermore, women receive credit collateralized by group guarantee, not by tangible assets. It means the lender cannot claim the borrower's property if the borrower fails to repay loan. On the other hand, at least theoretically, the women who participate in group lending will identify collectively to resist their common oppression. In the above case, the group stood by Ruma' side and pleaded for forgiveness, however, the more effective guarantee was the borrower's identity as a party member.

The cases are evidence of changed status of women. What impacts such changes at individual status did have for the community? In addressing this question I allow myself to present the findings of an impressive study by Dr.Eirik Jansen. Jansen observed changes that have taken place in a village near Dhaka. During 1976-1980 Jansen participated in a large poverty study carried out by the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies in the village of Bhaimara. During his recent revisit to the village he found "it was not the tractors, scooters, taxis and motorbikes that characterized the changes in the village", but he saw "no more houses with straw on the roofs". All the houses have corrugated iron sheets on the roofs, the walls are built with bricks and on solid elevated concrete foundations. Almost all the 100 families in the village are provided with electricity, 40 of them have their own television. Other visible improvements were access to education, clean water, sanitation system etc. The primary school is refurbished. Many families have their own water pumps in the courtyard and toilets. In Bhaimara there are 52 women active members of Grameen Bank and 40 of BRAC. Microcredit and different types of training gave women the opportunity for earning and thus becoming more independent and confident(Jansen, 2010).

Bhaimara, Hemayetpur, Galachipa are not three chapters of one success story. The impact of microcredit is now felt throughout Bangladesh. Microcredit programs of Grameen Bank cover thousand of villages.

Can microcredit make macro differences.

In Bangladesh, during 1980-1988 there was an annual average growth of GDP of 3.7% (World Bank 1990a). Economic growth barely kept with population, which increased at an average 2.8% over the same period. In 1985-86, 51% of rural population and 65% of urban population were below poverty line. As late as 1990, Bangladesh was among the five poorest countries in the world (The World Development Report 1990). According to the 1991 Human Development Report GNP per capital was 170 US dollars, infant mortality was 116/1000 live birth, adult literacy was 68%, life expectancy was 52 years. 84% of the population lived in rural areas, their predominant economic activity was agriculture; 60% landless depended primarily on the sale of their labor for survival. A restrictive gender division of labor limited, the ideal of female dependence on male provision limited women's room for maneuver.

Both observation and research findings show that rural households in Bangladesh have undergone major socio-economic and demographic changes. In Bangladesh, during 1970s, more than 80% of rural people lived below the poverty level. Today, it is a third of the population. A recent survey of 62 villages (Funded by Research and Evaluation Division of BRAC found the average size of rural household 4.93 in 2008 which contrasts 5.32 in 2004, 5.67 in 2000 and 6.15 in 1988. This decline is partly due to migration, partly to a fall in the ratio of children in the total population etc. As I look at it, the most significant factor is the possibility of women to make decision by their own, when to get married, when to have children and how many. This is empowerment and thanks to microcredit. Furthermore, the proportion of people aged 65+ had been on a rise- implying longer life expectancy. Presently, for the first time history the life expectancy for women is higher than men.

A positive development is often attributed to good governance. Bangladesh is not an example of good governance. Bangladesh has a mixed record of Governance. In the most recent governance data (World Bank Institute) for 2005, Bangladesh scores poorly on all six indicators; political stability, regulatory quality, control of corruption, government effectiveness, and accountability. And its performance has worsened on all six indicators between 1998 and 2005. Despite poor governance, Bangladesh enjoyed relatively strong economic outcomes. Expansion of garment industry, increased productivity in agriculture sector contributed significantly to such changes. NGOs engaged in microcredit have their shares, both for a vibrant private sector and for the state's partnership with NGOs in delivering social services and in managing natural disasters. More importantly, microcredit has been appreciated for its contribution in breaking the cycle of poverty (Catherine H.

Lovel:1992), for the growth of self-confidence among women in rural Bangladesh, for taking financial services to the doorsteps of the poorest of the poor, which were beyond the practices of the traditional larger credit institutions. Grameen as a microcredit institution has advanced from being development partner-supported entity towards almost self-sufficient institution.

Bangladesh now has the reputation of being the pioneer and the home of largest and most efficient microcredit institutions in the world. Microcredit came to be the most favored aid policy in last three decades (Navajas, Schreiner, Meyer, Gonzales-Vega and Rodriguez Meza 2000). Microcredit, especially after Yunus was awarded Nobel prize was “branded as something that was good for the people” (Carine Roenen, 2008). The obvious question now is: Why microcredit came under critical scrutiny?

Discussion

Microcredit has been the darling of the aid community and it has claimed more and more of the aid budget. Meanwhile, many raise a question whether it is the best way to help the poorest (Buckley,1997;Rogaly,1996). They claim that the fervor for microcredit may have siphon funds from other projects that might help the poor more.

As mentioned in introduction some untoward incidents in India the government of India revising the entire framework. The documentary by the Danish journalists questioned the efficacy of micro credit while accusing Professor Yunus brought many people to join the bandwagon to challenge the very purpose of microcredit, including the Government of Bangladesh.

The success of microcredit, the Grameen Bank in particular, and its popularity caused a tremendous increase in number of NGOs and profit making companies that entered into this business. The market became over-saturated and borrowers over-extended. There was competition among lenders. All these and a weak global economy have strained borrowers that put microcredit under microscope.

Relations between the state and microcredit organizations, in fact with NGOs in general, are contradictory. While the government proclaims its support for the NGOs, in practice those find it very difficult to get government approval for their programs. The approval procedure itself is laborious, the application forms are formulated intentionally vague, however, one can overcome all those by bribing.

There is also love and hate relationship between the Gramenn Bank and other NGOs. This is partly due to the Grameen's practice of moving into new arena where other organizations are working and becoming a competitor. In this regard, the NGOs run by religious organizations are the strongest opponents to the Grameen. NOGs working with *madrasah* and mosques provide free accommodation, food, cloth and some stipends to those attending madrasah. The Islamic banks on the other hand give loans without interest.

Finally, and most importantly, the power structure of elite networks controlling internal and external resources. Microcredit programs, to a certain extent, have dismantled the dependency of the rural poor and those have taken the larger share of development aid. In the following I elaborate the process.

I mentioned earlier that the major feature of the socioeconomic structure of the rural Bangladesh can be labeled as dependency, characterizing the nature of the relationship that exists between poor and the rich. Structures of relations in urban societies are different in many ways. Yet, those uphold many aspects of the relationships described above. Urban power elites have rural connections. They frequently visit their village home.

In an earlier study, I developed a framework illustrating the decisive role of elite power networks in the economy and politics in Bangladesh (Rahman 2010). The power to make decisions is seated in political, military and bureaucratic institutions. Economic institutions and business interests are linked with decision makers in those institutions. Political leaders, top bureaucrats and rich business families have always tended to come together to form power triangles through creation of mutual cooperation and reciprocal dependence. Both mutual cooperation and symmetrical dependency perpetuate horizontal relationship among them. The distribution of power is not always even. The uneven distribution of power depends on the nature of flow of resources and one's position in a coalition. In a situation in which resources flow from the political-and bureaucratic elite to the business elite power lies with the former two groups. Next, one's position in the network structure is crucial for his power. Major political parties have their student front, labour front, youth front in urban areas, and peasant fronts in rural areas. Top political leaders maintain ties with the leaders of all these fronts. Both these two forms of power distribution take the form of vertical patron-client relationship. A patron has dominant position and holds central power. In urban areas, businessmen, student leaders, and trade union leaders are dependent on their political patrons. In rural areas, as mentioned earlier, th peasants are dependent on their rich land owning patrons. The rural patrons again are clients of the urban elite. Thus, there are hierarchies or different layers in the

internal structure of those networks. At the top level of the hierarchy are core party members. They participate together most often and intimately and they have *centralised power*. The next level consists of intermediaries and groups of local strongmen, (*mastans*) and sycophants (*chamchas*). Both these groups participate with core members, on some occasions but never as a group by themselves. They are clients of the party leaders and they have *nominal power*. There are groups of those people who lack resources and communication channels to form coalitions. They may contact the core members through intermediaries, those with *nominal power*. Party workers at grass root levels, the rural peasants are examples.

These networks of power relations are the most effective means by which the elite of various kinds, or the patrons, maintained, and maintaining, their control over internal resources and the inflow of external resources, a major source is the aid money. The elite power networks also decide which development projects would be included in development programs, product suppliers, import agents, consultants, contractors in the process of policy making- and implementation of projects.

During the first two decades since the inception of Bangladesh as an independent state aid money was directed towards bigger projects (Hye 1996; Jansen 1988; White 1991; World Bank 1984). The First Five Year Plan (1973-78) and the Second Five Year Plan(1980-85) placed primary emphasis on national economy with the aim of acceleration in economic growth (Holcombe 1995; Hye 1996). Despite such efforts and huge inflow of external aid assistance, Bangladesh remained amongst the five poorest countries in the world throughout the 1980s(The World Development report 1990). Instead of meeting needs of the poor development funds have been diverted to, and served the interests of, the well-off groups, political leaders, top bureaucrats and rich businessmen. (Jansen 1990; White 1991; Hulme and Turner 1990; Sobhan 1993). In addition to extracting internal resources, the political elite in alliance with the bureaucratic-military elite took the lion's share in the resources that came to Bangladesh from abroad. Though the importance of aid was felt throughout Bangladesh, the immediate benefit of aid went to those through whose hands it came; various interest groups who were contactors, consultants, contractors, bureaucrats and policy makers ((Jansen 1992; Sobhan 1991).

The Food for Work Programme (FWP) during 1975-1981) was designed to build roads and assist the landless labourers in rural Bangladesh. A CARE study showed an average of 19 percent over-reporting of the amount of work done on projects and an average of 9 percent underpayment of workers. A World Food Program study revealed a 22 percent over-

reporting of work done, and a study done by the BIDS showed that workers were paid an average of 26 percent less than their entitlement. Overall, these studies reported a misappropriation rate of 30 to 40 percent. Government emergency food relief programmes had an even more abysmal record. The donors had to increase expensive monitoring of Food for Work Projects.

Aid money was used for modernisation of the armed forces, purchase of military equipments, procurement of fighter planes, naval frigates etc. During the period 1982-1990 aid became a lucrative business for the military elite. The other groups benefited most were the contractors and the indentors. Furthermore, development projects included construction of new roads and modernisation of old roads in the capital city, new bridges along the highways connecting the big cities satisfying the demand of newly rich who now owned new cars. The import policy allowed import of cars involving nominal import duty. Furthermore, despite financial constraints, budget included expensive constructions of new residences for the Vice President and the Prime Minister, and major refurbishing of the President's house (Kochanek 1993). Aid money was used for such constructions.

The donors preferred to channel their funds through NGOs. Thus state patronage opened for lobbying by NGOs to include projects and arrange funds for their projects. The indentors and the NGOs used their efforts in lobbying. Networks were the most effective measures for successful lobbying (Jansen 1992, Kocahnek 1993, Sobhan 1992). In this regard bigger indenting houses who had direct connections with top political leaders showed greater success. Firms worked as agents for cars, heavy machineries, fertilizers, food grains etc.

The negative outcomes of macro policies elicited variety of responses from those concerned with development policies. There was also a realization that economic growth does not necessarily mean an easing of living conditions for the poorest people. The need of something new was felt, a new paradigm of development or a new approach that would be people-centered, putting poor people first, meeting their basic needs, empowering them and thus making development more inclusive. Improving the livelihood of the poor became one major goal of development aid.

For the government in Bangladesh, it was not before 1985, it included the tasks of identifying the needs of the rural poor. One major strategy of its Third Five Year Plan (1985-1990) was facilitating provision of a range of financial services to rural poor through commercial banks. The most distinguishing feature of this strategy was to approach the rural employment from a close proximity at the micro-level (Hye 1996). The strategy included the

policy of giving the poor access to small loans, paving the path of partnership between the state and the NGOs.

Concluding remarks

In addressing the question what role microcredit can play in alleviating rural poverty I have focused on Grameen Bank's performances. The outreach and sustainability are accounted for. Grameen Bank, from a credit agency, became a "socio-economic formation" (Fuglesang and Chandler 1986), by engendering the conscientisation of the poor and through the creation of an organizational capacity permitting previously powerless groups to push for social change (Hulme and Turner 1990).

In achieving the goals Grameen's relationship with the state also was of crucial importance. It complemented with the state doing its job in terms of stimulating small entrepreneurial activities among women.

The findings of this study further accord the assumption, of the new economic paradigm that emphasizes the idea of social business, that the only way out of poverty for the poor-particularly for the women, who strain under the yoke of unpaid domestic labour- to work and earn their own. Some academic would claim this complements the supposition of the neoliberal economics, others would claim its association with the new institutionalism. I think, the Grameen model is a combination of both these perspectives. Microcredit and building social business imply, in Dr.Yunus's words, a new kind of capitalism that is meant to serve humanities most pressing needs (Interview with Dr.Yunus, Lofoten, September 2008). The microcredit sector further offers an instructive context for exploring the different programmatic implications of liberal (Putnam) and Marxian (Bourdieu) theories of social capital. Paradoxically, both perspectives find expression within the dominant "Grameen model" now endorsed by most of the mainstream development agencies.

There are cross-sectional linkages among different forms of social capital.³ What I mean by causal conjuncture is such linkages i.e. various forms of interaction between individuals and networks and between networks and macro-institutions. Causal conjuncture may take different forms in different social contexts and under shifting conditions. Contextual factors are important to understand why people put trust in networks or in institutions. I mentioned earlier, a critical phenomenon in many developing societies is that the elites have

³ Harris J. and De Renzio P. 1997:932-33.

the capacity to employ the state to pursue particularistic interest. Organizations may come into conflict with the state elite. Whenever their efforts undermine the elite interests, does not matter what noble motive or performances of those organizations are, state forces may be used against them. The conflicting relations between the government of Bangladesh the Grameen Bank is the clear evidence.

The microcredit sector offers an instructive context for exploring the different programmatic implications of liberal and Marxian theories of social capital. Paradoxically, both perspectives find expression within the dominant “Grameen model” now endorsed by most of the mainstream development agencies. Based on the pioneering innovations of microcredit in Bangladesh, the model evokes sociological theory of structures of network relations through which women receive collateralized by “group guarantee” rather than by tangible assets. The structure of network relations implies that women who participate in group lending will identify collectively their rights, obligations and trust in small groups, usually of five members. It is the attributes of network relations, both forms and contents, that provides the network members with security. A brief account of how networks work is in its place here.

How NET works

An interaction pattern that commonly has the form of A (Borrower, case #1) somehow inducing B (borrower, case #2) to motivate C (Case #3) to do something. A wants or would value, the example is how micro credit works. Groups of women, in neighboring areas, induce each other to repay their loans so that others in the group might also have access to loans. The bank does not have to chase after the borrowers (C) for repayment, because they have in a sense, delegated the incentive for doing so to other members (B). The loans again are too small for the bank to use legal devices to enforce repayment. Micro credit organizations turn clusters into network as resources, one form of social capital, which make individuals capable of getting access to economic capital. For A to call on social capital is to have access to a particular B who can motivate the relevant C to act on B’s behalf. In a market economy the relevant C is usually an institution, but B is more like to be a role holder in an institution. Social capital is a vague, not to say murky, concept that takes on many meanings. Many scholars include trust in the bag of many unrelated things that they say constitute social capital (Putnam 1995, 2000; Brehm and Rahm 1997). The case in hand suggest social capital takes the form of individuals having access to it (Cook 2005), trust can play a role, not necessarily a requirement. It may happen since a particular facilitator, B, trusts A, to some

extent to reciprocate favors. B is induced to try to motivate a relevant C to act on behalf of A. But the facilitator can do this even without trust because A and B can simply enter an exchange in which A pays for B's effort to motivate the provider C. As a crass but evidently very common example in Bangladesh politics, X gives money to Y's political campaign, and B gets a government agency C to do what A wants. In this case, the forms of social capital has negative impacts on the society or people. Despite such varied implications, what is common in both the cases is that people want access to social capital – because it is the only form of access people might have to accomplish their purposes. Hence, although trust might be important in calling on social capital, it is not constituted by trust. In the case of micro credit, neither trust nor ordinary market incentives govern the relations among the borrowers.

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Poverty repudiates to claim dignified life:

A study on “Devdasi Community”

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Abstract:

The Devdasi System was once ubiquitous right across India. There have been several conversations and debates on the origin and intensification of the Devdasi system. And the system was setup according to the “Times of India report (10-11-1987) as a result of a conspiracy between the feudal class and the priests (Brahmins). Poor, low – caste girls, initially sold at private auctions, were later dedicated to the temples. The word devdasi is derived from two Sanskrit words, “Deva”, which means god and “Dasi” which means women servant. The girls, who has not yet attained puberty from particular rural community is married off to God, so that it brings prosperity and upliftment to the family and community to which the girls belong. It was known by different names in different places such as “Devarattiyal” in Tamil Nadu, “Mahris” in Kerala, “Natis” in Assam, “Muralis” in Maharashtra, “Basavis and Muralis” in Andhra Pradesh and “Jogatis” and “Basavis” in Karnataka.

It has been believed that in ancient times, it was a highly appreciated way of life and great respect was given to women who remained unmarried to serve the deity. During that period, the livelihood of the particular rural community were, serving the God, satisfying the local land lords by presenting their bodies, collecting food from communities by singing devotion songs in front of the houses. They didn't own any property like house, land, domestic animals and so on. The bread winner of the family was the women only; men were not doing any significant work says one of the Ex- Devdasi's in Sankonatti village of Belgaum district in Karnataka.

In the 20th century after the formal abolition of the Devdasi system by the initiatives of Government and Non Government Organizations, the system has being considered as social evil. But no proper Sustainable Livelihood Strategy has got implemented by anyone of them, who abolished the Devdasi system, now we find difficult to fulfill even our basic needs told by the victim of Devdasi system. At present the Devdasi system has taken a form in which girls are being trafficked to cities like Mumbai, Pune and many of them become commercial sex workers. This practice continues till date and there is a common tendency of involving the children of sex workers to get in to this field purely based on the grounds of poverty and lack of sufficient alternative livelihoods in rural villages. The two sides like hunger and stigma are pushing women in to vulnerable condition, and they are not in the condition to even think about their dignified life. *“When I was in childhood, I became a prostitute in the*

name of God, after the formal abolition of Devdasi system, the systems have forced me to continue the same livelihood in the name of Stigma” says Sex Worker, who has migrated from Karnataka to Pune Red Light area. Therefore, the failure of social and legal systems has resulted in addressing the core problems and curbing the upcoming generations in getting into the practice of prostitution.

In this paper the researcher would like to spot out the present livelihood condition of the Ex – Devdasi community and the lack of Government and Non Governmental Organizations interventions to implement the effective Sustainable Livelihood strategy framework. To examine the position of women in this group, the researcher has applied Sustainable Livelihood Model to pick out the fundamental factors that has forced women in the live in susceptible condition.

The major findings of the researcher are the young girls and women are getting negative inspiration by seeing their community people return back with gold jewelries, new fashion cloths, money and so on who practice prostitution in the cities, which inspire others to practice since they don't have proper livelihoods. The practice continues as a sadistic cycle largely based on the prime reason called poverty leading to exploitation on terms of social, economic and physiological grounds. Many of the Ex- Devdasi women have passed away due to the sexually transmitted deceases and those who have deceases are currently practicing prostitution in the cities. The community doesn't have proper sanitation, healthcare and water facilities. Due to the awareness on literacy children of Devdasi have pursuing education and asking 5% reservation in the job quota. Still the Devdasi community (Harijan) is facing discrimination by upper castes as well as the same Dalit Community called Mahar. Due to the illiteracy among Devdasi women, the vocational training courses got failure. Since, the children of Devdasi don't have fathers name, they have been rejecting to get admission in the schools. These are the pathetic conditions are exploiting rural women and their rights and it leads to their undignified life in the society. Besides it is crucial to minimize the huge gap between the existing provisions and actual requirements in order to eradicate poverty that revitalizes other wicked setbacks in existence. In this line of poverty decline to provide dignified life to the Devdasi Women Community, the researcher has used case study method based on her observations that she ascertained from her field study in the area of village in the Belgaum district and Pune Red Light area.

KEY WORDS: Devdasi System, Poverty, Prostitution, Livelihood, discrimination.

Introduction:

Devdasi system has been part of Southern Indian life in many centuries. A façade of religion covers the supply of concubines to wealthy women. Trained in classic music and dance, the Devdasi lived in comfortable houses provided by a patron, usually a prominent man in the village. Behind that wealthy scenario, the women have brutally violated in terms of physical, mental and sexual in the name of Goddess without letting them realized. Caste system, gender inequality, superstitious believes in the name of religion are the main causes for evil practice of Devdasi system. The Karnataka Government has strongly condemned the practice of Devdasi and the Karnataka Government has banned the system by implementing Karnataka Devdasis (Prohibition of Dedication) Act, 1982 with the help of other sources to rehabilitate and repatriate the women. But unfortunately due to the lack of livelihood opportunities, women have being migrated and trafficked to the cities like Pune Right Area to pursue sex work as their livelihood. To analyze the current scenario of the Ex- Devdasi women's livelihood, the Researcher has used the Sustainable Livelihood Model in this paper.

Objectives of the Study:

- To cull out the socio – economic and political condition of the X-Devdasi community in Belgaum District of Karnataka and Devdasi prostitutions in Pune Red Light Area.
- To analyze the policies, schemes and interventions which are implemented in the target place with the help of Sustainable Livelihood Model.
- To scrutinize the gap in terms of existing provisions and actual need of women that has compelled to trail in poverty and hunger.

Literature Review:

There are very limited literatures regarding this Devdasi System in India. Chawla (undated) has mentioned different stories in Indian legends regarding the origins of this system. The first reference to a Devdasi is found during the time of Queen Kolavati of Keshari dynasty (6th century A.D). At that time many girls were dedicated to the Brahmeswar temple as devdasis. (Sahoo, 2006). Literally meaning “female servant of god”, Devdasi usually belong to the Dalit community (lower caste community). Once dedicated, the girl is not allowed to marry, forced to serve the interest of upper caste community members, and eventually auctioned into an urban brothel (The Devdasi System: Ritualized Prostitution, 2006).

Belonging to a lower caste is a kind of “prerequisite” to become a Devdasis and almost all the Devdasis belong to Harijan (Untouchable) group. (Torri, 2009) According to an estimate by UNICEF (2006), there would be around 27,000 Devdasis in Andhra Pradesh.

Chawla (undated) further describe that even after decades of legislation abolishing the practice of Devdasis, the practice of dedicating girls to temples continues even till the present time. He explained the following reasons that force the parents to push their girls into a life of misery and prostitution are being a blind, a deaf or a dumb or a crippled girl, well-being of the family, mother was a devdasi, only female child in the family, followed from generations, poverty, it was a religious ritual, to appease Gods for the well-being, fathers brother made her a Devdasi, due to skin ailments. Though there are studies which focus on Devdasi System that exist in different part of India and also about different factors which force girls to involve in this tradition. But there are no studies which explain this Devdasi system in the context of Belgaum district of Karnataka.

After the eradication of Devdasi system, women are finding difficulties for their livelihood opportunities, so most of them have switched their option to sex work due to lack of livelihood options. One of the literatures says, when a young girl wears the red and white beads it signifies dedication to the goddess yellamma. She is in her early teens and says, “Can you give me some work. I can do anything but I cannot read and write. ‘Business here picks up during the pilgrimages or ‘waris’ held annually and during that time women come here from surrounding areas as well. Belgaum, Bijapur, and Kolhapur are some of the common districts from which women migrate to the big cities either as part of an organized trafficking network, or due to socioeconomic compulsions.

Poverty and desertion by husbands are two major factors contributing to women entering prostitution. According to a study, traffickers and sometimes family members are all part of an organized criminal network. They are waiting like hawks for the girls to come of age. Absolute poverty is one of the main reasons. Why are things coming to such a pass? This has to be looked in terms of policies and the issue has to be also fought politically. (‘Third World Resurgence No. 90/91, Feb/Mar 1998).

Research Methodology:

The case study design has been used to explore the reason behind the existence of the Devdasi systems in Belgaum District of Karnataka and also how effectively have our Government and Non - Government initiatives contributed to bring the target group in to

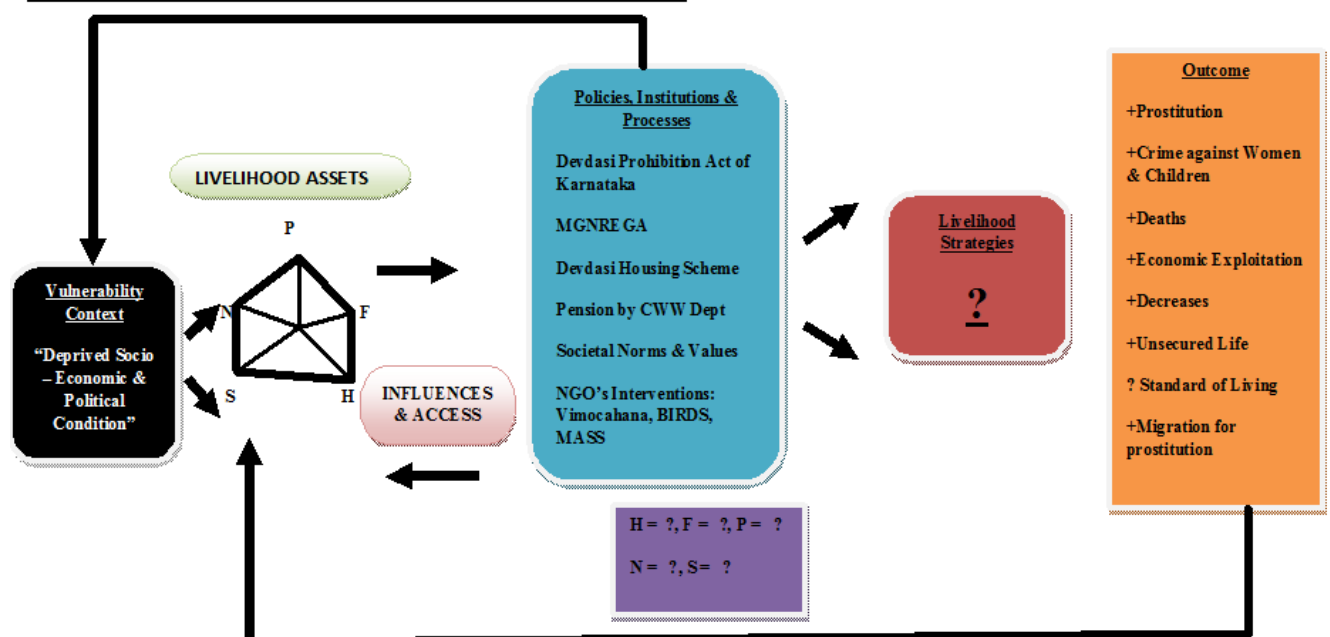
mainstream. The same method was used in Pune Red light area to cull out how the system is forcing the women in to ridiculous situation, even though the Devdasi practice has been eradicated. Case Studies are strategies of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. Cases are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time. (W.Cresswell, 2009) This study was conducted by keeping in mind the following research questions:

- 1) Why the system has been originated for a particular community?
- 2) What were the reasons to have been accepted by the community?
- 3) Why the government and non - government institutions failed to ensure dignified life to all of them?
- 4) How the schemes for rural women's empowerment will address the women, who are playing a role of prostitution in urban place?
- 5) What about the victims' future generation?

The researchers took Purposive Sampling Strategy which basically targets a particular group of people. In this study Ex- devdasi women are the target group as we are exploring specifically the vulnerability of Ex - Devdasis in the Belgaum district of Karnataka and prostitutions in the Pune red light area.

Current picture of Livelihood condition of Ex – Devdasi Community in Belgaum District:

Contemporary Livelihood picture of Devdasi Community:



Vulnerability Context:

According to the Sustainable Livelihood Framework, The *Vulnerability Context* frames the external environment in which people exist. People's livelihood and the wider availability of assets are fundamentally affected by critical **trends** as well as by **shocks** and **seasonality** – over which they have limited or no control.

But the Research considers that the Low socio – economic and political conditions are vulnerable context of devdasi community. Since the Devdasi community hails from an underprivileged caste and class, they are pushed into a system that exploits them in terms of sexual, psychological, and economical grounds. Perhaps, they were not even able to realize their condition. "It was given by god to serve goddess as well as society says one of Ex-Devdasis.

Livelihood Assets:

The livelihood approach is concerned first and foremost about people. It seeks to gain an accurate and realistic understanding of people's strengths (assets or capital endowments) and how they endeavour to convert these into positive livelihood outcomes. The approach is found on a belief that people require a range of assets to achieve positive livelihood outcomes; no single category of asset is sufficient to yield all the many and varied livelihood outcomes that people seek. This is particularly true for poor people whose access to any given category of assets tends to be very limited. As a result they have to seek ways of nurturing and combining what assets they do have in innovative ways to ensure survival. In this context, the study has identified the following assets owned by devdasi community.

Human Capital: illiteracy, lack of awareness on vocational training innovation, No sanitation and nutrition, superstitious believes to cure deceases etc.

Social Capital: taking part in the local body government, social networks with banks through self-help groups, and network with institutions like school, NGO's and government sectors.

Natural Capital: Since, past decades the community were depending on upper caste and upper class community for their requirements, they don't have land, but the village has so many acres of government lands, even most of the upper caste people are holding lands within the premises of devdasi community.

Physical Capital: Better transportation & house, no sanitation and water facility, and no effective communication to access resources.

Financial Capital: They don't have any savings, but some do have livestock's, few women are getting pension from Women and Child Welfare Department, apart from that they have nothing.

Policies, Schemes, Institutions & Processes:

After the eradication of Devdasi system in Belgaum district, women started receiving so many provisions and had intervention programs offered by government and non – governmental institutions which were quiet new for them. Earlier they were less involved in physical work and the only means they had to earn money was through sex work. But the new opportunities provided by various institutions after the abolition of Devdasi practice helped them to earn money through alternative source and it gave them a sense of satisfaction. So, they decided to completely get rid of the Devdasi cult.

After few years, the institutions have been started to stop their direct provisions like material and non – materials items slowly. This was the time; women started to face difficulties in terms of fulfilling their family needs.

So, the government has camped up with the provisions called **MGNREGA**, which provides hundred days work per year with the wage of Rs.70, but during the study, it was noticed that there were no devdasi women in the field. On discussion with Gram Panchayat leader, he mentioned that all of them are hesitant to work here. It was cross checked with women; they said it is difficult to manage their home with Rs. 70 per day. That's why we work in agricultural field as daily wagers, where we are getting Rs.120 per day with lunch, but also at the same time we are able to collect food for our livestock's during our free time. Later during the interview with Gram Panchayat leader it was known that through Devdasi housing Scheme of Karnataka, all women have got houses, The research showed good houses there, but unfortunately among 13 devdasi women of Sankonatti, 6 of them have got houses by non – government organization called MASS. Though this provision came for the devdasi community, it got sold to non devdasi community by local panchayat. Pension of Rs.400 per month is provided by Women and Child Welfare Department. Apart from that women have got no provisions to improve their standard of living from government side.

On the other side, the research has observed the non- governmental institutions interventions, **Vimochana**, an organization has been started on 1985 to work towards Eradication of Social Evils such as Devdasi system and Untouchability. Rehabilitation was also provided to the victims of Commercial Sexual Exploitation and devdasi system. They were also Educated and trained after the intervention of Government of Karnataka in Belgaum district. The important intervention of this organization was the establishment of residential school for the

devdasi children. At present, many of the children have got jobs in the Government sectors. More than 400 children of Devdasi were married off in a dignified way. Further monetary assistance is given for the marriage of the Devdasi women. But there are reports on deceitful marriages, because there are many cases where men married Devdasi women only for monetary benefit. However, Vimochana as an organization have continued to make efforts and have provided the women with housing, animal husbandry, vocational training for self-help groups etc, to bring them in to the main stream society. **Mahila Abhivrudhi Mathu Samrakshana Samsthe (MASS)** is a membership association of former Devdasis of Balgaum district. It was the Devdasi women who came forward and contributed Rs.500 for their rehabilitation work in 1997. It focuses on preventing the dedication of more young girls as devdasis, improvements of livelihoods of former Devdasi women and their children, its campaign messages on child marriage and child prostitution. And **BIRDS** were established in the year 1986. An organization has been distributing Condoms to the Devdasi people through Self Help groups. But the Devdasi people are really against this act. What they feel is that they have come out from the wicked life, yet these people are falsely portraying our continuation in prostitution. Besides this, people reported that the BIRDS were getting money from the Government and other places in the name of Devdasi people.

In spite of organizations working towards welfare of Devdasi community the level of interventions are very limited. Vimochana gives vocational training through Self Help Group to the Devdasi women but due to their lack of awareness they are in complex condition to find out marketing or mediators to sell their products. They said that they could not make very innovative products so, they dropped it. The provision from MASS, helped them to build houses, whereas they don't have basic facilities like sanitation, water etc.

These are the realities of Government and Non – Governmental organizations at Belgaum district. The research enumerates that there are no effective livelihood opportunities for women to uplift themselves to get dignified life.

Case Study:

Nabiya (Name Changes) is a Scheduled caste woman who was a dedicated Devdasi during her childhood. She suffered from various kinds of illnesses so her parents decided to dedicate her as a Devdasi so that Goddess Yellamma would protect her. In this practice period every Tuesday and Saturday she used to sing songs in front of every house of village. This is one of method for begging and in this system she was earned little bit money for livelihood purpose. The remaining week days she went to labor work. As she was growing old, she became

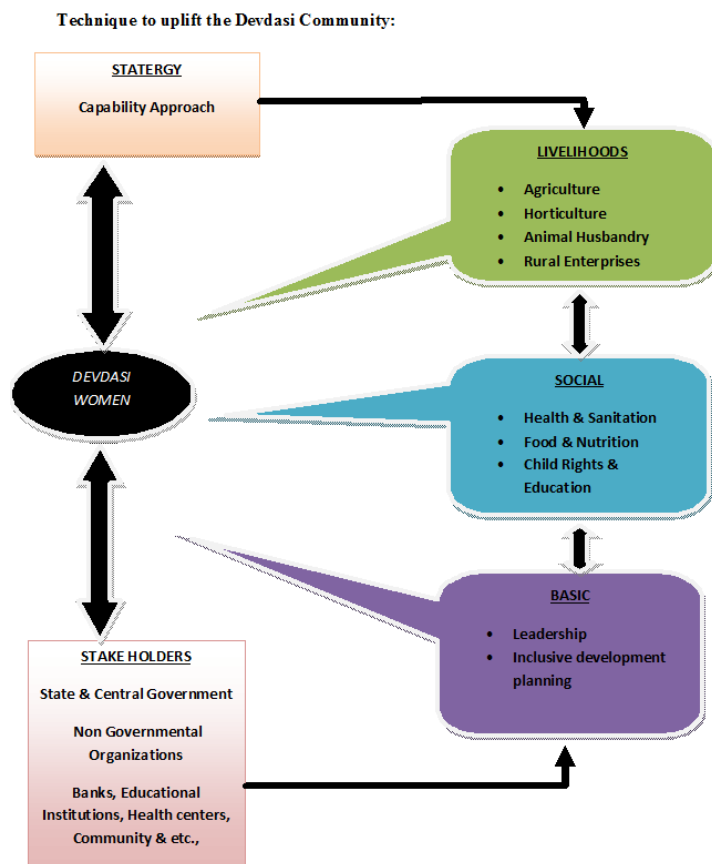
increasingly aware of her condition and the other Devdasis. Questions started emerging in her head as to why only scheduled caste women were dedicated as Devdasis and had to follow the tradition? And why did upper caste men regularly visited her community? During the same time, organizations like Vimochana and MASS started creating awareness among the women. . They also provided two goats, two buffaloes, and given 10,000 Rs with 50 paisa interest for improvement of economic condition.

She said that earlier twenty four (24) Devdasi lived in their village but now only twelve (12) Devdasis are living in this village. The remaining are died with HIV disease. She said that this disease is also one of reasons for minimization of Devdasi system in this village. Now she is working as a daily wage laborer and getting 70 Rs per day. She has an adopted son who is currently studying in 7th standard.

Livelihood outcome:

The current livelihood outcomes are migrated to cities like Pune, Mumbai, Calcutta and Bangalore to continue their work as prostitute. As a result, violence against women and children are being hastily increasing in this country. The research signifies that every woman is forced to endure undignified life in the absence of sustainable livelihood.

Techniques to uplift the Ex - Devdasi Community:



Here, the researcher used the strategy called “Capability Approach”, which designed by Dr. Amartya Sen. He argues that while evaluating social arrangements or designing policies, the focus should be on what people are capable of doing and being, on the quality of their lives, and on removing hurdles from their lives so that they have more freedom to ‘live the life they value’.

A capability is a perspective in terms of which the advantages and disadvantages of a person can be reasonably assessed. Sen searched for measure to adequately represent people’s well-being and deprivation and found that neither income and command over commodities, nor happiness and fulfillment of desires constituted good enough indicator of human well-being or lack of it. Thus, he focused on something more direct such as human functioning’s and capabilities.

To improve, socio, economic and political condition of the Ex – Devdasi women community, the researcher has been insisting the three main parts to be considered.

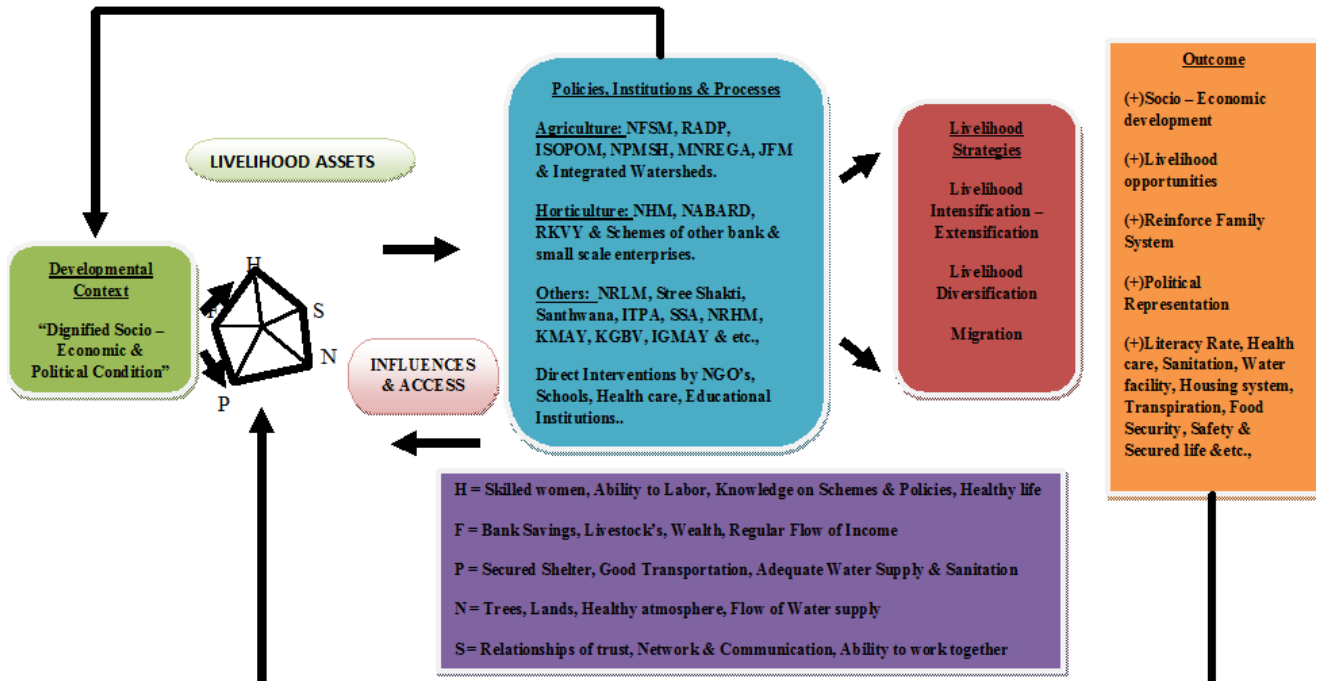
- a) Livelihood opportunities
- b) Social condition
- c) Basic Needs

And to make positive changes in these areas, we need stake holders (Government, Non – Governmental organizations in all departments) supports. Once we got everything ready in our hand, we use Capability Approach to examine the target group capabilities. The technique, which developed by the researcher will be used in her “Convergence of Livelihood Model”.

A proposed Livelihood Model for Ex – Devdasi Community:

To create a platform to improve dignified socio, economic and political condition of Ex – Devdasi women headed community, the researcher had come up with the new Convergence Livelihood Framework Model.

Estimated Livelihood Model Framework (Convergence of Policies & Schemes):



This Model is recommending the effective schemes and policies to the Ex – Devdasi community to make them also dignified.

Recommended some of the Schemes and Policies are listed below:

NFSM (National Food Security Mission):

The National Development Council (NDC) in its 53rd meeting held on 29th May, 2007 adopted a resolution to launch a Food Security Mission comprising rice, wheat and pulses to increase the production of rice by 10 million tons, wheat by 8 million tons and pulses by 2 million tons by the end of the Eleventh Plan (2011 – 12). Accordingly, a Centrally Sponsored Schemes, 'National Food Security Mission' (NFSM), was launched in October 2007. And 12th Five Year Plan will have five components a) NFSM – Rice, b) NFSM – Pulses, c) NFSM – Wheat, d) NFSM – Coarse cereals and e) NFSM – Commercial Crops.

RADP (Rainfed Area Development Programme):

The main objectives of the RADP are

- Increasing agricultural productivity of rainfed areas in a sustainable manner by adopting appropriate farming system based approaches.
- To minimize the adverse impact of possible crop failure due to drought, flood or un-even rainfall distribution through diversified and composite farming systems.

- Restoration of confidence in rainfed agriculture by creating sustained employment opportunities through improved on-farm technologies and cultivation practices.
- Enhancement of farmers' income and livelihood support for reduction of poverty in rainfed areas.
- Convergence of relevant developmental programmes in project areas for optimal utilization of resources by establishing an integrated and coordinated system involving different sectors and institutions.

ISOPOM (Integrated Schemes of Oilseeds, Pulses, Oilpalm & Maize):

The salient features of ISOPOM are as under:

- a) Flexibility to the states to utilize the funds for the scheme/crop of their choice.
- b) Annual action plan to be formulated by the State Governments for consideration and approval of the Government of India.
- c) Flexibility to the states for introducing innovative measures or any special component to the extent of 10% of financial allocation.
- d) Involvement of private sector by the State Governments in the implementation of the programme with a financial cap of 15%.
- e) Flexibility for inter component diversion of funds up to 20% for non - seed components only.
- f) Diversion of funds from seed components to non - seed components with the prior approval of the Department of Agriculture & Cooperation.
- g) Increase under staff & contingency not permitted except by revision of pay scale and increase in rate of Dearness Allowance with the prior approval of the Department of Agriculture and Cooperation.

MGNREGA (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Gurantee Act):

The MGNREGA was initiated with the objective of "enhancing livelihood security in rural areas by providing at least 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year, to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work".

Another aim of MGNREGA is to create durable assets (such as roads, canals, ponds, wells). Employment is to be provided within 5 km of an applicant's residence, and minimum wages

are to be paid. If work is not provided within 15 days of applying, applicants are entitled to an unemployment allowance. Thus, employment under MGNREGA is a legal entitlement.

JFM (Joint Forest Management):

1. To elicit active participation of villagers in (a) creation (b) management and (c) protection of plantations;
2. To achieve ecological needs consonant with sustainable productivity of wood and other non-timber forest resources;
3. To wean away the land owning communities from shifting cultivation by adopting an alternative i. e. Tree Farming;
4. To productively utilize the degraded jhum land thereby checking soil erosion;
5. To conserve Biodiversity through people's action;
6. To create and generate forest –based economy for the villagers.

IWMP (Integrated Watershed Management Programme):

IWMP is a modified programme of erstwhile Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), Desert Development Programme (DDP) and Integrated Wastelands Development Programme (IWDP) of the Department of Land Resources. This consolidation is for optimum use of resources, sustainable outcomes and integrated planning. The scheme was launched during 2009-10. The programme is being implemented as per Common Guidelines for Watershed Development Projects 2008.

The main objectives of the IWMP are to restore the ecological balance by harnessing, conserving and developing degraded natural resources such as soil, vegetative cover and water. The outcomes are prevention of soil erosion, regeneration of natural vegetation, rain water harvesting and recharging of the ground water table. This enables multi-cropping and the introduction of diverse agro-based activities, which help to provide sustainable livelihoods to the people residing in the watershed area.

NRLM: Aajeevika - National Rural Livelihoods Mission was launched by the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD), Government of India in June 2011. Aided in part through investment support by the World Bank, the Mission aims at creating efficient and effective

institutional platforms of the rural poor enabling them to increase household income through sustainable livelihood enhancements and improved access to financial services.

NRLM has set out with an agenda to cover 7 Crore rural poor households, across 600 districts, 6000 blocks, 2.5 lakh Gram Panchayats and 6 lakh villages in the country through self-managed Self Help Groups (SHGs) and federated institutions and support them for livelihoods collectives in a period of 8-10 years. In addition, the poor would be facilitated to achieve increased access to their rights, entitlements and public services, diversified risk and better social indicators of empowerment. NRLM believes in harnessing the innate capabilities of the poor and complements them with capacities (information, knowledge, skills, tools, finance and collectivization) to participate in the growing economy of the country.

NHM (National Health Mission):

The National Health Mission (NHM) encompasses its two Sub-Missions, the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) and the newly launched National Urban Health Mission (NUHM). The main programmatic components include Health System Strengthening in rural and urban areas- Reproductive-Maternal- Neonatal-Child and Adolescent Health (RMNCH+A), and Communicable and Non-Communicable Diseases. The NHM envisages achievement of universal access to equitable, affordable & quality health care services that are accountable and responsive to people's needs.

RKVY (Rashtriya Krishi Vikas Yojana):

This is a special central assistance scheme of the Government of India and implemented by the Government of Kerala, primarily aimed at evolving a strategy to rejuvenate the agriculture sector of the State. As per the scheme, the Government of Kerala has to prepare the State and District-level plans in the field of agriculture and allied sectors, based on guidelines issued by the Planning Commission, for availing financial assistance from Government of India.

The objectives of the scheme, in general, are to provide incentives to the State for increasing public investment in agriculture and allied sectors, and in particular, (1) to ensure that agriculture for the State and districts are prepared based on agro-climatic conditions,

availability of technology and natural resources; (2)to make sure that local needs/crops/priorities are better reflected in the agricultural plan of the State; (3)to reduce yield gaps in important crops through focused interventions; (4)Maximization of returns to farmers in agriculture and allied sectors; (5)to bring about quantifiable changes in production and productivity of various components of agriculture and allied sectors by addressing them in a holistic manner. The allocation for the scheme is Rs.6011.10 lakhs

SSS (Sree Shakthi Sathwana):

1. To strengthen the process of economic development of rural women and create a conducive environment for social change.
2. To form one lakh Self Help Women Groups based on thrift and credit principles which builds self reliance and enable women to have greater access to control over resources.
3. To create self confidence in rural women by involving them in income generating activities thereby contributing to poverty alleviation.
4. To provide opportunities to the members of the groups to avail the benefits of other departmental schemes by converging the services of various departments and lending institutions to ensure women's access to credit financing.

SSA (Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan):

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) is Government of India's flagship programme for achievement of Universalization of Elementary Education (UEE) in a time bound manner, as mandated by 86th amendment to the Constitution of India making free and compulsory Education to the Children of 6-14 years age group, a Fundamental Right.

SSA is being implemented in partnership with State Governments to cover the entire country and address the needs of 192 million children in 1.1 million habitations.

The programme seeks to open new schools in those habitations which do not have schooling facilities and strengthen existing school infrastructure through provision of additional class rooms, toilets, drinking water, maintenance grant and school improvement grants.

Existing schools with inadequate teacher strength are provided with additional teachers, while the capacity of existing teachers is being strengthened by extensive training, grants for developing teaching-learning materials and strengthening of the academic support structure at a cluster, block and district level.

SSA seeks to provide quality elementary education including life skills. SSA has a special focus on girl's education and children with special needs. SSA also seeks to provide computer education to bridge the digital divide.

Karnataka State Women's Development Corporation:

- To promote schemes for 'sustained income generating activities' among women's groups and women from the weaker sections of the society. Priority shall be given to single women, and women belonging to households eligible for assistance under the Integrated Rural Development Project
- Identification of women entrepreneurs (individuals, co-operatives, associations, etc.)
- Preparation of a shelf of viable projects and providing technical consultancy services
- Facilitating the availability of credit through banks and other financial institutions through the scheme of margin money assistance.
- Promotion of marketing of products/goods manufactured or produced through tie-up arrangements with State Level Marketing Organizations
- Promoting and strengthening of Women's Co-operatives and other Organizations
- Arranging and training of beneficiaries in the concerned trade, project formulation and financial management through existing institutions such as Women's Polytechnics and ITIs

Expected Outcome:

- a) Increasing Socio – Economic condition of the particular community
- b) More livelihood opportunities at their region itself
- c) Increasing standard of living
- d) Strengthen family system
- e) Political Representations from the community
- f) Increasing Literacy Rate among Ex – Devdasi Community
- g) Healthy living condition with good sanitation facility

- h) Decreasing migration
- i) Safety and Secured Life
- j) No violence, discrimination, exploitation, inequality, suppression and oppression

Major findings from the study:

The study facilitated the researcher to comprehend on Devdasi system and the current scenario. This enabled the researchers to step further to scrutinize the long standing legislations pertaining to Devdasi women that substandard in addressing the sexual antagonism. Apologetically, the devdasis cannot be brought under the purview of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic (in women and girls) Amendment act because other than devdasis who live in the regular brothels of Indian cities, devdasis do not admit to practicing prostitution because their entire functioning is based on their blind trust and devotion to Yellamma. Moreover it is socially sanctioned. The following are the key aspects mentioned in the Devadasi prohibition act (1984)

1. “Dedication” means the performance of any ceremony or act, by whatever name called, by which a woman is dedicated to the service of any deity, idol, object of worship, temple and other religious institutions, and any woman so dedicated is a devdasi.
2. Notwithstanding any custom or law to the contrary, the dedication of a woman as a devdasi, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, and whether she had consented to such dedication or not, is unlawful.
3. All marriages of devdasis are regarded as valid and their children are regarded as legitimate.
4. Whosoever performs, permits, takes part in or abets the performance of any such ceremony is punishable for a maximum of three years imprisonment and a fine of Rs.2000. (around \$40.00)
5. The above punishment is enhanceable up to a maximum of five years imprisonment and a fine of Rs.5000.00 (\$100.00) “if the abettors are parents, guardians or relatives of the girl.”

It may be noted that the word ‘husband’ is not used in the last-mentioned rule. This is a grave omission considering that many husbands and in-laws are known to dedicate their wives and daughters-in-law to the Goddess as a way of earning through these women.

But all these efforts have been hopeless in bringing about change. Most of the women are caught in the debt-traps of pimps, agents and touts. Others say they are helpless and cannot

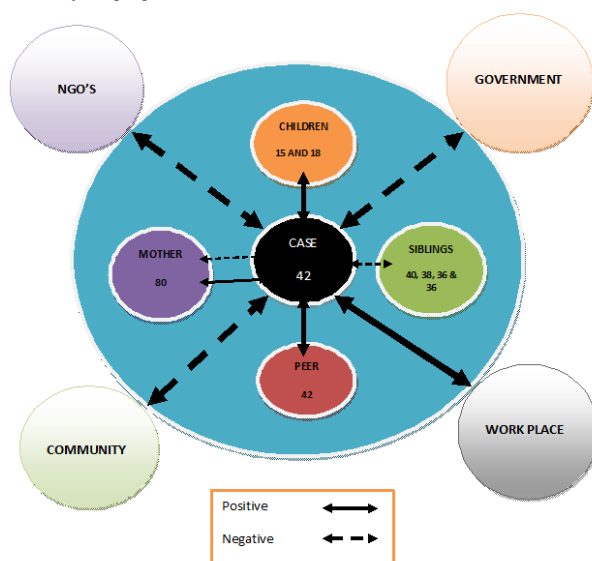
wait long, because by then, their children would starve to death. A third group of women are so set in their lifestyle that prostitution seems an easier way of earning a living than knitting or weaving baskets. The ‘need of the hour’ is to reinforce the laws and impede this contamination of humanity and protect the interest of ‘few chosen’. The measures should embrace effective empowerment. Most importantly, a social opportunity is to be created for the victims of Devdasi system.

Vulnerable Livelihood Condition:

Interventions like housing facility; vocational training and free residential school facility have been done by the Non Governmental Organizations. MNREGA, housing schemes have been implemented by the Government for the Ex – Devdasi community after the eradication of Devdasi system. When the researcher has been to the field, she could see women on the agricultural field, which own by the upper caste people of the villages. They earn Rs. 150 per day and lunch as well. During their break time, they collect food for their animals from the field. Nobody is willing to go MNREGA work, since they get Rs. 120 per day and no lunch. Since, every woman in the community is an illiterate; they are able to cope up with vocational training, which got taught by the Non Governmental Organization. So, there are no livelihood opportunities for them. This scenario makes them to migrate to cities to continue their livelihood as sex workers.

Case Study:

The Eco System perspective:



Introduction:

Rathika (Name Changed) is a 42 year's old Ex- Devdasi woman migrated from Solapur, who practices Sex Work as a livelihood at Budhwarpeth in Pune red light area. Since, Solapur will come under the limit of Maharashtra region, most of the Karnataka population are living over there. She earns approximately Rs.8, 000 to Rs. 10,000 per month; and she doesn't need to share her earnings with anyone, because she works as an independent worker. Currently she pursues Vocational Training (Tailoring) at Rehabilitation centre of Chaitanya Mahila Mandal in Budhwarpeth.

Family:

Her family lives in Pune City, but not with her. She has two children, the girl child works as a house maid and boy child pursues education. And both of them are living with their Grandmother. Case lost her father, when she was young. And she has one brother and three sisters. Though everybody got married, still they are depending her only to fulfil their needs. But no one wants to keep her children with them, due to the social stigma.

Role of Culture:

When she was at age 12, she got dedicated to Yellamma due to the superstitious believes of the community. The reason behind the superstitious believes was that when her grandmother was young she got dedicated to the Yellamma, after she died, no one from her family has not dedicated to the Yellamma. So her grandmother's malediction made her unwell, when she was young. To prevent her from death the community people were suggested her parent to dedicate her to Yellamma. Along with her there were 20 girl children were dedicated to goddess from her community.

Since, she is the eldest one in the family; she had pushed in to the condition to take responsibility. She was not allowed to stay at home; she stayed at the temple of the goddess only, where she started to get involved with the sexual activities. And she paid for that also. Slowly she got in to the relationship with one guy. Even he was also exploiting her economically, physically, mentally and sexually. But due to her vulnerable condition, she lived with him. The result of that relationship was her two children

Role of Community:

After the eradication of Devdasi system, she was not able to earn money in the name of Devdasi. So, her boy friend had left her alone, and he went off. And her family also left her on the street with two children. So, she had decided herself to move city to search for a job. But unfortunately she has not found any decent job. But she was in the condition to earn money to feed her children at least. And due to the stigma, nobody in her community also helped her.

Finally, her friend helped her to get a job at Pune Red Light Area. From that day onwards she works as a sex worker and earns money to fulfil her family's needs

Role of State Government:

She got a house by housing scheme of State Government of Karnataka. But it got sold by her brother without her permission.

Role of Non Governmental Organization:

She was not able to cope up with the vocational training which got done by Non Governmental Organizations due to her illiteracy.

Future Aspiration:

She wants to give education to her boy child. And the girl child has to be married with dignity.

Discrimination among Dalits:

The researcher has personally gone to the two villages in Belgaum District of Karnataka. In both villages the researcher has found that there is a separate residential place allocated for the Ex – Devdasi families. When she had an opportunity to ask the reason behind it was really pathetic. There is a separate hamlet for Dalit community, which never mingle with other caste people. Among the Dalit community there is a division, the people who belonging “Harijan” part only the owner of the Devdasi Cult. The other category people called “Mahar” are the dominant one among Dalit community. They themselves won't mingle with the Devdasi community.

Negative Inspiration:

After the eradication of Devdasi system, the women have left with nothing. Though many policies, schemes got implemented by the Government and so many interventions like housing, vocational training, education for their children, animal husbandry have been doing by the Non Governmental Organizations like Vimochana and MASS at target places, there is something lacking and pulling the victims in to the vulnerable condition. To make their life sustain and prevent themselves from hunger, many of women have gone to the cities like Pune and Mumbai to work as sex workers. When they come back to their villages with accessories like Jewells, good cloths, money and so on rest of the women who facing hunger are getting negative inspiration and going themselves to work as sex workers or sending their girl children to follow their path.

Exploitation – Physical, Mental, Economical and Sexual:

The Ex – Devdasi women, who work as sex workers in the Pune Right Area are getting well paid by the customers. And most of the women are working under the brothel owners. So, in this condition they have to share their 50% of their earnings with their brothel owners whether they help to get customers or not.

Apart from this, another miserable picture is, the regular customers of the women are becoming their life partners not to share their life, sorrow, happiness but to share their earnings and sexual feelings. Here, the men are playing a role of unpaid customers not a life partners. Outcomes of this unhealthy relationship are violence, exploitation, abuse and so on.

Unsecured Life:

We have not permitted to use Condoms when we have sexual intercourse with the customers to make them feel the actual feelings of sex. And the customers will say that if they use condoms they won't get satisfaction. And our brothel owners also will insist us to not use condoms, because the rate has been fixing according to that said by the one of the Ex – Devdasi Sex Workers, Pune Right Area. After their some years of journey, women are getting affected by the deceases like HIV. And many of them are working in the same field after they got diagnosis also to save their life from so called hunger, but the customer's life?

And the researcher could see bunches' of older Ex – Devdasi women heads on the street with pots. Yes, they have become beggars now. After the women become old, they have been

rejecting by the sex market. In the second phase they work as pimps, they will be on road at the end of the day. “We collect dead bodies of old women on the streets” said by the one of the workers of the Pune Corporation.

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REVITALISATION STRATEGIES FOR RURAL REGIONS IN A DEVELOPING COUNTRY: THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Abstract: On a global scale, rural regions have been placed high on the developmental agenda of developing countries. Rural regions are in dire need of revitalization. A paradigm shift is needed to focus more on rural regions due to over population and congestion in urban areas, technical development which leads to “space shrinking”, growing pressure of food security and a need for a sense of community and belonging. Since 2011, rural development has been prioritized as part of government policy in South Africa, after it has been neglected for more than two decades. In this article, rural development in South Africa is analysed by looking at current policy and a rural development process is formulated which is known as the “*Feza Isimangaliso*” model, consisting of ten steps. A number of best practice rural development strategies are also listed as solutions for rural development in developing countries including the building of governance capacity, support for the agricultural sector, maintenance and extension of infrastructure and other strategies.

Keywords: Revitalisation, rural development, strategies, local economic development (LED), local government, South Africa.

Introduction

This study seeks to explore possible solutions that would allow for the revitalisation and development of rural areas in South Africa. Rural South Africa has deteriorated consistently over the last few decades. The main reason for this phenomenon is urbanisation. Rural areas are competing with urban areas, which have comparative and competitive advantages, and are identified globally, as “*engines of growth*” due to skewed resource allocation. Turn-around strategies are required to ensure that rural areas provide economic and social opportunities for local communities (DRDLR, 2010a).

Globally, as many as 1.4 billion people live in extreme poverty on less than \$2.00 per day and more than two-thirds live in rural localities in developing countries. Despite large-scale urbanisation, poverty remains largely a rural problem, with up to 70 percent of the world’s poor living in rural settings (IFAD, 2011). In South Africa, 43 percent of the population is regarded as rural and 57 percent as urbanised. The average rural population for Africa is approximately 60 percent, and for developed countries, the level of urbanisation is approximately 80 percent (Nationmaster, 2011). According to Hemson (2004), approximately 70 percent of the poor population in South Africa live in rural areas. Mokopanele (2006) confirms this and states that half of all households in South Africa have to survive on less than \$ 2.00 per day and up to 70 percent of reside in rural areas. The two main priorities of the South African government are job creation and rural development. In October 2011, the National Planning Commission (NPC) released its diagnostic report (the National Development Plan), which lists the main priorities that are linked to national priorities (The Presidency, 2011). In October 2010, the New Growth Path (NGP), was released (Chabane, 2010). The NGP supports the national priorities and is aligned with the findings of the NPC. The focus of the NGP is on job creation, poverty alleviation, infrastructure development, agriculture, and rural development. In collaboration with these policies, the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) was formulated and released in 2009 as a strategy focused on rural development (DRDLR, 2010b).

Rural revitalisation and development is a complicated process, and an integrated and comprehensive process is required for success. Most issues link to economic planning and strategic spatial planning. These two tools, in conjunction with others, could play a key role in the revitalisation process (OECD, 2007). According to the DRDLR (2010a), the situation in rural South Africa is dire and complicated and intensified efforts of rural revitalisation are required to turn this situation around.

This article investigates the various concepts affecting rural development. Other issues also addressed are South African rural development policy, and the formulation of a rural development model and generic rural development strategies.

Concepts, definitions and provisional solutions

The South African Rural Development Quarterly (SARDQ, 2004) defines rural development as “the positive advancement of rural people in rural areas through improvement of rural institutions and systems, expansion of rural infrastructure and growth in rural economic activities for a better quality rural life.” According to the World Bank (1997) rural development is “a process leading to sustainable improvement in the quality of life of rural people, especially the poor.” Rural development can make a powerful contribution to the four critical goals of poverty reduction, namely wider shared growth and development within a specific rural region; access to basic needs; food security improvement; and sustainable natural resource management.

According to Kenyon (2008), rural areas require revitalisation. He defined rural revitalization as, “a process which seeks to reverse rural decline, to develop a more resilient, sustainable and diversified local economy, and to enhance the quality of life of rural communities.” Furthermore, revitalisation needs to focus on the creation and stimulation of opportunities that will generate income and jobs, while preserving and enhancing the unique dynamics and features that make rural life special.

Kenyon (2008) states that the positive outcomes sought by rural revitalisation include aspects such as stabilising and increasing the local population, diversifying the economic and employment base, maintaining an acceptable level of service, and preserving special rural attractions.

According to Wilkinson (1986), rural areas have three main problems, namely, the lack of social and community facilities, they appear to be out of fashion, and there is a lack of efficient policies and strategies to encourage rural development. Wilkinson provides some solutions to the phenomenon of rural revitalisation, namely the creation of jobs and generation of income, quality services and infrastructure, the reduction of inequality within the local community, and informed and committed local leaders. Wilkinson (1986) further states that, over the last few years, rural localities have become more popular due to over-congestion in cities, the move away from manufacturing to service industry, and the possibility of local solidarity in a rural community. According to the OECD (2006a), "Rural areas face several new opportunities and challenges which call for appropriate rural development policies and a more efficient use of scarce resources." Definitions of rural areas include that they are sparsely populated, possess limited educational and other community services, are areas where people farm or depend on natural resources, land is cheap, and transport costs are high (Heimann, 2010; Buxton, 1976; Duxbury, Campbell & Keurvorst, 2009; and Ashley & Maxwell, 2001).

A successful rural development strategy will make people less poor, rather than comfortable in their poverty. Rural development aims at improving the countryside or peripheral areas, with a mostly agrarian character (The Presidency, 2000). Characteristics of the rural poor include a lack basic needs, inability to improved their quality of life due to social exclusion and poor governance, limited land ownership or access to capital and employment, stagnating economy, underdevelopment of agriculture, lack of quality services and poor health conditions (Kakumba & Nsingo, 2008; Djukanovic & Mach, 1975).

Heimann (2010) lists the following rural challenges in South Africa namely, the underutilisation and sustainable use of local natural resources; poor access to socio-economic facilities, public services, infrastructure and other essential services; the low levels of skills; unresolved land reform and land ownership issues; and the unexploited opportunities in labour intensive industries such as agriculture, tourism, mining and manufacturing. South African rural areas are characterised by traditional agricultural processes, low income families, lack of finances, a lack of technical skills, and a high percentage of poor people, largely black (Bester, 1994).

Myrdal (1957) states, "It is in the agricultural sector where the battle for long term economic development of a region will be won or lost." The agricultural sector is of major importance for rural development. Agricultural supply chains need improvement and reform to move from traditional to modern methods of agricultural production (Henson, 2006). In traditional economic development theory, the agriculture sector plays a supportive role, providing sufficient low-priced food and labour to the industrial economy. The agriculture sector used to play four specific roles in economic development, namely provide inputs for industrialisation including agro-processing, contribution to foreign exchange, provide rural communities with income and assist with capital investment (Todaro & Smith, 2011).

Effective institutions could assist in creating an enabling economic environment in the rural and urban areas of a rural region. Improved institutionalisation can be achieved by means of inter-sectoral communication, strengthening local government, high levels of community participation, improved links between communities and politicians and partnership development (Davis, 2004). According to De Satge (2010), key issues for successful rural development include the involvement of local communities in the planning and implementation process, understanding local gaps in livelihoods, provision of basic needs, risks and vulnerability. Other factors listed are to ensure interventions with minimum input and maximum results for the majority of local people, and optimisation of innovation and learning.

Possible rural planning proposals for sustainable livelihoods could include decentralisation of planning decisions, funding and responsibility to local role players, promotion of people-focused and poverty-based planning, expansion of local capacity for local economic development (LED), conducting poverty audits, the inclusion of local knowledge in planning processes and decisions. The development of strong communication channels between officials, councillors, community development workers (CDWs) and the public (ward committees) is also of importance (IIED, 2000). Delius and Schirmer (2001) list some possible solutions to rural development in South Africa namely: the capacity of the state must be maximised within an integrated approach; a change in the structural position of rural people by government is needed, such as access to economic opportunities and infrastructure development; land reform and agricultural development policy needs to be implemented more effectively; capacity of provincial and local government officials is very low and needs improvement; and alienation of farm land is a slow and expensive process requiring improvement. Such policy should totally transform the rural crises. Furthermore, the provision of basic services to rural people is critical and welfare provision such as old age pensions and disability grants. Rural people should be assisted to help themselves. Government must provide encouragement, funding and expertise to local organisations and play the role of a facilitator in rural development.

Most rural development strategies and projects do not have the required impact, as they are not spatially referenced. A rural development strategy must attempt to lessen the impact of apartheid policies regarding access to jobs, distribution of assets and economic and spatial marginalisation. Building an asset base is important for poverty reduction and includes improved access to basic services and safety nets, improved local skill levels, and integrated housing development to reduce transport costs and allow economic opportunities (Sibisi, 2009).

Rural development also has a strong social component. Netshitenzhe (2011) listed government interventions to address rural poverty, which included social grants, free basic services, housing, skills training, wage subsidies, public employment programmes, support for micro enterprises and entrepreneurs, and full time employment opportunities. The United Nation Development Programme (UNDP, 2012) defines the “rural triple wins model” as consisting of three components, namely economic development, social development and sustainable development. The aim is to include all three components in any rural development strategy and project to allow for inclusive growth, with jobs resulting in improved quality of life of rural communities and support for the green economy.

South African rural development overview

Rural regions and towns in South Africa are characterised by high levels of unemployment, the under-utilisation of local resources, a decrease in agricultural activities, lack of linkages and transport routes, decay in maintenance of infrastructure, lack of community facilities, inability to generate a sustainable income base, and a lack of spatial and land use planning. Although rural towns are seen as potential growth points for rural development, the perception is that rural areas and rural towns have been neglected when compared with urban and metropolitan areas in South Africa. Rural towns are struggling to provide the basic level of service delivery required, and there are limited efforts to provide an enabling local economic development environment by local government (Meyer, 2013). In the past, rural development efforts have been poorly coordinated between the different spheres of government and implementation occurred in an ad hoc manner (DRDLR, 2010a).

With the repeal of all apartheid legislation from 1994 to 1996, the focus of the new government was to improve the quality of life of the disadvantaged rural poor, introducing a number of rural development initiatives. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was released in 1994 to actively address the imbalances created by the apartheid era, with one of the key components being rural development (ANC, 1994). The RDP was based on five pillars, namely to provide in the basic needs of people, building local economies, development of infrastructure,

promoting peace and stability, and promotion of human resource development. The RDP listed development targets impacting on rural development such as job creation, building of houses, provision of services and infrastructure, and the distribution of 30 percent of agricultural land to emerging farmers. The programme failed due to uncoordinated implementation and duplication by government agencies (DRDLR, 2010a).

The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISDRS) of 2000 (The Presidency, 2000) was introduced to address the uncoordinated efforts of the RDP. The ISDRS had a rural development vision based on the creation of stable rural communities with viable institutions, sustainable economies, access to social amenities, and the ability to attract and retain skilled people to ensure rural growth and development. The idea was to have successful rural development by means of participatory and decentralised planning and implementation. The need for a spatial plan to guide the national investment and development programmes led to the formulation of the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP). Introduced in 2003, the NSDP aimed to address the spatial and economic imbalances of apartheid policies. Other important issues contained in the NSDP include, to provide a spatial framework of the national space economy by indicating areas of severe need and those with development potential, to act as a national guideline for sound spatial principles, to act as a spatial development vision in line with the Development Facilitation Act (DFA), and to identify key areas for infrastructure investment (DRDLR, 2010a; The Presidency, 2003).

The National Cabinet approved the Comprehensive Rural Development Strategy (CRDP) in August 2009. This is the latest rural development policy, different from previous plans in that it is a proactive, participatory and community-based planning approach, rather than an interventionist approach. The vision is to create vibrant, equitable and sustainable rural communities. The CRDP intends to reduce poverty, malnutrition, unemployment and lack of infrastructure capacity in rural South Africa. The CRDP is based on three pillars, namely agrarian transformation, strengthening of rural livelihoods and land reform. The goals include accelerated distribution of the country's agricultural land, creation of rural business opportunities, and expanding opportunities for women, youth, disabled and the aged. The concept is to allow rural people to take control of their own destiny and to adapt their indigenous knowledge to their advantage. Priorities of the CRDP include a review of the land reform process, review of the rural land acquisition models, and increase in the pace of settling outstanding land restitution claims. The CRDP process has three phases, meeting the basic needs of rural communities, large scale infrastructure development in rural areas, and the emergence of small, micro and medium enterprises (SMME) development in rural industries and village markets (DRDLR, 2010a). More than thirteen national government departments are involved in rural development with a lack of integrated coordination. National government needs to consider rural development and LED as significant goals to achieve, and re-prioritisation is needed. The Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (DRDLR), Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) have made some effort to facilitate and co-ordinate rural and LED implementation. Improved inter-departmental and cross-sector collaboration is required at an accelerated pace, while national and local capacity needs to be increased, especially in rural areas (Rogerson, 2009).

A rural development model

A number of attempts have been made regarding rural development and local economic development (LED) models in order to develop, redevelop or revitalize rural areas. Table 1 is a summary of some of the main models available regarding rural development processes within the literature.

Table 1: Summary of the main rural development/LED models

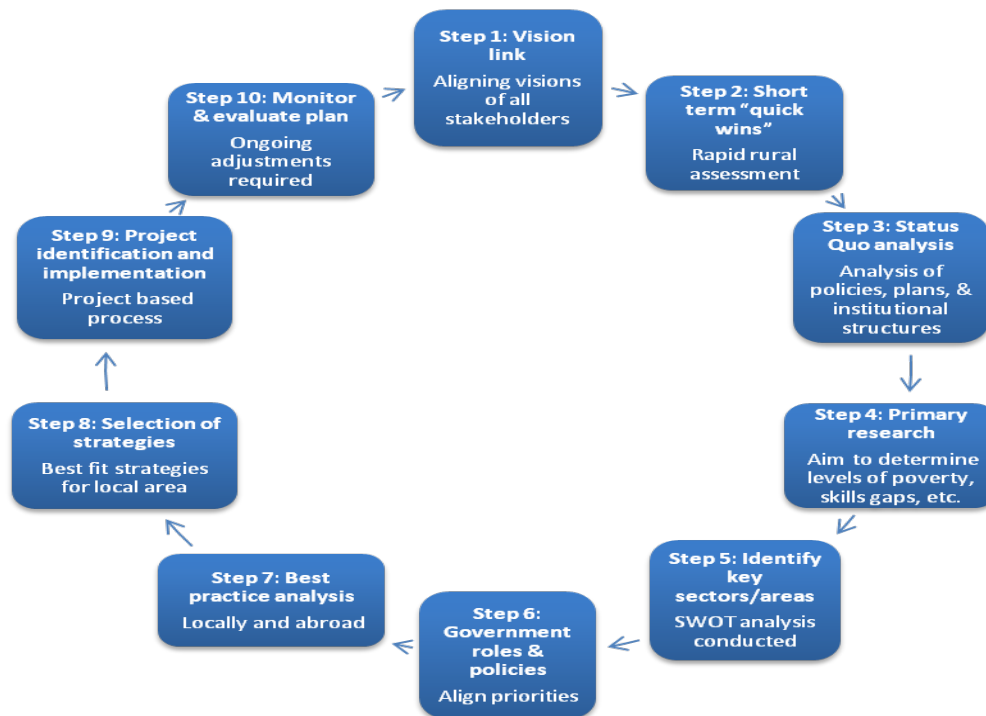
ORGANISATION	MODEL/PROCESS
DPLG: LED resource book for municipal councillors and officials, 2003 (DPLG, 2003)	No specific step-by-step process. Aspects include sectoral strategies, outcomes and target formulation, public participation, data collection surveys.
The Presidency: Towards an anti-poverty strategy for South Africa (The Presidency, 2008)	No specific step-by-step process. Aspects include economic sectoral strategies, social development strategies such as education, health, provision of basic needs, social cohesion.
The World Bank and support partners: Investigation of pro-growth and pro-poor LED in South Africa (World Bank, 2006)	The investigation listed a specific research methodology when doing LED/rural strategy formulation.
Australia South Africa Local Government Partnership (ASALGP): A handbook for officials about LED (ASALGP, 2005)	A seven-step process, namely allocation of responsibility, engagement of stakeholders, collection of data, involvement of public, analyse data, develop action plans.
US Dept of Housing and Urban Development: Economic development toolkit (US Dept of Housing and Urban Development, 2010).	A 10-step process, namely assessment of existing conditions, local resources and barriers, select goal and market sectors, determine general approach, identify intervention activities, write mission statement, prepare economic strategy, develop action plans for implementation, monitor and evaluate plan.
UN-Habitat: Promoting local economic development through strategic planning (UN-Habitat, 2005).	A 10-step process, namely getting started, stakeholders and participation, situation analysis, visioning, setting objectives, identifying and evaluation of strategic options, action planning, plan implementation, monitor, evaluate, adjust and modify.
LGSPA: Strategic local economic development (LGSPA, 2009).	A five-step process, namely organising the effort, local economic assessment, formulating, implementing and reviewing the strategy.
Swinburn, Goga and Murphy: Local economic development: A primer developing and implementing local economic development strategies and action plans (Swinburn <i>et al.</i> , 2006).	A five-step process, namely organising the effort, local economic assessment, strategy making, implementation and review.
Oklahoma State University: Blueprints for your community's future: Creating a strategic plan for local economic development (Oklahoma State University, 2008).	A 10-step process, namely begin the process, engage local community, form an organised structure, conduct community assessments, develop strategic plan, seek community feedback, implement plan, evaluate effort, celebrate the success and create an ongoing process.
Planning LED: Theory and practice by Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002 (Blakely & Bradshaw, 2002).	A step-by-step process for compilation of a LED strategy.

Source: Author's own compilation from various sources as listed in the table.

In designing a model for rural development strategy formulation, the attempts as listed in table 1 by other organisations and researchers have formed the basis of this newly-formulated model. The proposed model, named the “*Feza iSimangaliso*” model, which is the isiZulu term for “*achieving a miracle*”, is based on the strategic planning process. It is a step-by-step process for compilation of a rural development strategy. Although it is accepted that every rural locality is unique with different challenges and opportunities, which requires a “best fit” process, the aim of the model is to provide a basic guideline for rural development implementation country-wide. The model follows the principles of participation and partnership promotion, with an integrative approach linking spatial planning with economic planning.

Figure 1 lists the various steps in the process, with a detailed description contained in Meyer (2013).

Figure 1: Summary of the ten step “*Feza iSimangaliso*” rural development model



Source: Author’s own figure.

The various steps in the process are explained as follows:

Step 1: Vision link

The first step must ensure that all stakeholders in the region are united with an acceptable regional development vision. The vision of the local authority in terms of the local strategic planning process needs to be assessed regarding its relevancy regarding rural development and linked with that of the relevant stakeholders such as local communities and businesses in the area, as well as relevant local policies such as the LED, and spatial development framework (SDF) regarding spatial planning. The overall vision must form the basis of the rural strategy and serve the purpose of providing a unified vision for the region supported by local business and local communities. In the formulation of the local vision, local community participation could be obtained through the ward committee system and the integrated development planning (IDP) system. Another important factor that must be taken into account in vision formulation is the impact of national policies such as the NGP and the NDP, and policies on the provincial levels such as the provincial growth and development strategies (GDS). This step must include aspects such as rural development approaches and main pillars for development.

Step 2: Short term “quick wins” projects

This step is initiated through a “rapid rural assessment” (RRA) focusing on key sectors such as agriculture, public services, community development, environment, infrastructure development and skills development. Such an assessment must be completed for the area in the early phase of the policy formulation. This assessment should be completed within a week. Some pre-planning work is required before a RRA could be conducted. Local strategic policy documents such as the local IDP, LED, SDF and annual report must be studied for example.

A range of short-term or “quick wins” projects, which are easy to “kick-off” must be identified and implemented immediately. Examples of projects could include food gardens, skills acquisition, on-the-job training programmes, expanded public works programme (EPWP) projects, community clean-up projects, and the provision of infrastructure for the informal sector. Such projects should be implemented in order to show immediate positive results. This will enhance stakeholder confidence and support in the overall, long-term strategy process, by showing early positive results.

Step 3: Status quo analysis

This step is initiated by the in depth analysis of local strategic policy documents such as the annual report, the budget, IDP, LED, SDF, and any other existing strategic planning documents. These documents will provide the framework for the development of the integrated rural strategy for the region including spatial planning. The availability of up-to-date base line socio-economic data also needs to be determined at this stage, including information on level of poverty, unemployment, skills gaps, level of basic services, etc. Local infrastructure and local institutional structures should also be analysed in order to determine its suitability with regard to the implementation of the strategy.

Step 4: Primary research

At this point in the process, a decision needs to be taken with regards to the usefulness and “up-to-dateness” of existing statistics. The usefulness of available socio-economic data as listed in step 3 must be determined as soon as possible. Based on the principle that good information leads to good planning, socio-economic data, business surveys (for example an early warning system), unemployment rates and skills levels are needed and a database of the relevant data must be created. Further research will be conducted to determine trends in the area. A skills gap analysis is required in order to determine what skills are needed by local business compared to the skills that local communities have acquired. This analysis will also inform the task team as to the type of skills training projects that is required in the area.

Primary research will be required if recent base line information is not available. The type of survey needed will determine the type of questionnaire to be utilized. If so required and in most cases it is recommended, an early warning systems (EWS) business survey should be conducted annually. Such a survey will allow the local municipality to identify negative and positive trends in the local business environment and implement interventions.

Step 5: Identify key developmental sectors/areas

This step aims to identify those sectors and areas which are critical in unlocking the development potential of the area. Major stumbling blocks must be identified and addressed. A SWOT analysis could be completed in this regard to assist with the identification of key areas and sectors for development. Areas and sectors as listed in the national economic development policy, the (NGP), such as industrial development, manufacturing, mining the green-economy, agriculture, agro-processing, tourism and the informal sector, to name but a few, must be identified and will form the core of the strategy. The provincial GDS should also be taken into account, as well as the NDP.

In this step, the economic sectoral development strategies must start to take shape, but also the spatial aspects of the SDF. The SDF must guide the spatial development direction, the nodes, development corridors and mixed use economic zones. These spatial development directives must be linked to the economic sectoral planning initiatives.

Step 6: Analysis of government roles and policies

This step aims to align the priorities of all spheres of government involved in the rural region and will prescribe how these policies could be implemented in the area. An analysis of all policies, funding options, the roles of the various spheres of government, partnership formation and skills development will be completed. This analysis will be conducted within the scope of the NSDP,

NGP, NDP, community works programme (CWP), EPWP, CRDP and national youth development programme (NYDP), as well as any other applicable provincial and local policies and programmes.

The analysis of all three spheres of government will point out any duplications or gaps in the policy formulation and implementation process. This step must also analyse the institutional arrangements existing in the region with regards to all spheres of government. Aspects such as the involvement of national departments, the involvement of provincial department and capacity and structure of local government must be analysed. Especially with regards to local government, the following aspects needs attention with the view to accelerate implementation of projects namely, the existence and capacity of the LED unit, the level of focus of the departments on economic and social development, the quality and existence of the IDP, LED, SDF and engineering master plans, the extent and capacity of a projects implementation unit, the level of operationality of the ward committees linked to CDW's in the region, the existence and functionality of portfolio committees regarding rural developmental aspects and the local partnerships between local government and local business.

Step 7: Best practice analysis

This step includes an analysis of local and global best practice, procedures, principles and projects that could be suitable and similar to the local economic and spatial situation of the specific region. For example the economic strategy for Fezile Dabi District Municipality in the northern Free State Province and the economic strategy in the Fetakgomo Local Municipal area, Limpopo province, where the mining and industrial sectors were also dominating the local economy with a threat of diminishing production, will be analysed. Lessons learnt from these case studies could assist in local policy formulation.

Step 8: Selection of strategies

Various strategies that focus on job creation, sustainable development and improvement of quality of life must be identified. Strategies can include a pro-poor focus, demand driven projects, mass job creation or the provision of “decent jobs”, agro-processing in agricultural economies, provision of basic needs and improvement in quality of life. In order to guide future policy developers at local government, the following generic strategies are listed as a guideline of use in most areas including rural areas:

- Improvement and strengthening of **institutional structures and arrangements**: Strong institutional structures are needed for successful implementation of strategies. This strategy could include an institutional analysis of internal and external structures in the region, a regional marketing and investment plan, and a focus on partnership formation and co-ordination on all spheres and business.
- Support and strengthen the **agricultural sector**: Study area, as with most rural areas, is dominated by agricultural land use. This strategy could include a strategy to train local people by means of agri-business incubators centres, improve rural infrastructure, support the improved optimal use of agricultural land, accelerate the land reform programme to allow rural people access to land, and the development of the agro-processing and value added sectors.
- Support and improved linkages to the **mining sector**: Mining is an important sector in the rural economy and the sector is in general decline. Specific strategies in the sector include improved linkage with existing mines by linking local industry and service providers to mining operations, support existing and declining mines, and research regarding the potential new mines in the region.
- Support and strengthen the **manufacturing/industrial sector**: In a rural development plan, any manufacturing/industrial development plan needs to be linked to the agricultural sector which can provide the raw products for value added manufacturing in agro-processing. Other strategies could include the improvement of the local economic environment by providing incentives, land

and infrastructure, support to high growth and struggling industries and ongoing research such as an annual EWS.

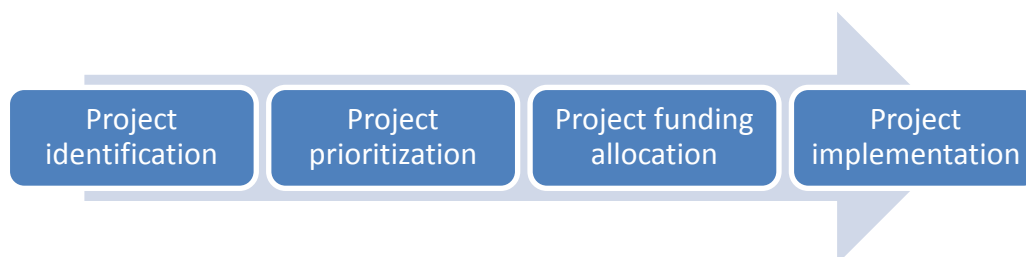
- The optimal development of the **“green economy”**: This strategy could also find linkage to the manufacturing sector. Renewable energy source production strategies should be investigated, access for communities to renewable energy sources, improved waste management, re-cycling and a cleaner environment, improved water access and security and the provision of sustainable food sources.
- **Tourism development**: In rural economies, tourism has the highest development potential after the agricultural sector. Rural areas, with its attractive and relaxed environment have all the ingredients to attract tourists. The tourism sector is also known for its labour intensive character. This strategy could include an analysis of the local institutional structure, municipal support to the sector through marketing, grading and training support and other initiatives, and ensure tourism facilities are well maintained.
- Support and development of the **informal economic sector (second economy)**: Strategies include assistance with linkage to formal business, access to finance, provision of facilities and trade areas, provision of technical and business skills, set-up of small business support centres, and encourage “home industries”.
- **Entrepreneurial and small, micro and medium enterprise (SMME) development and support**: This strategy links with all the other strategies and could include training incubators centres with mentors, research in new markets and products, annual EWS, support small black business development, relaxation of local regulations, provision of key infrastructure, and creation of a positive local business environment.
- **Education and skills development**: This strategy includes an assessment of skills development in the region and the education facilities in the region, implement a skills development plan focused on technical and business skills development, and the integration of this strategy into all the other strategies as listed. An educational plan including all levels of training from early childhood development to adult education must be completed by projects be identified for implementation.
- **Infrastructure development**: Infrastructure development is a support system for economic and social development. Infrastructure development include both “hard” and “soft” infrastructure. This strategy could include regional “hard” infrastructure planning and implementation strategies, and provision of “soft” infrastructure such as community facilities.
- **Provision of social development and basic needs**: This strategy should be initiated through a community facility assessment. This study would identify gaps in the provision of social and community facilities regarding education, health, sports and other community facilities. The next step would then be to prioritise the provision of social facilities in a specific region. Existing community facilities needs to be analysed in terms of feasibility and impact on local community and be improved if need be. A key component in the identification of community facilities is the input of local CDW’s. A basic needs analysis will also be required in order to determine backlogs regarding basic needs such as food, housing, services and education. The development of food gardens and local agricultural projects are important for improvement of quality of life.
- **Regional rural possible flagship projects**: Flowing from the above-listed strategies, projects need to be identified in order to achieve strategies. Two key flagship projects which could address all strategies. The two types of flagship projects are listed as follows; firstly the development of a regional affordable housing development project. Such a project will have as its end goal to provide housing for all people living in informal settlements. In this process people’s quality of life will be improved, skills development will take place and economic

development will occur. Local people must be trained to construct their own homes, only then the spin-offs will be significant. Secondly, the establishment of a skills development incubator centre with a focus on technical and business skills development. Such centres will train local people in skills that local business require and local business people must act as mentors in the process.

Step 9: Project identification and implementation

This step includes the following actions as listed in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Project identification process



Source: Author's own diagram.

In the project identification process all stakeholders in the rural development environment must be consulted namely government, business and the local communities. Key participation structures include ward committees and CDW's. Local project prioritization requires a selection criteria process for examples projects will be evaluated regarding priorities as set out in the local area. Criteria could include aspects such as improvement of quality of life and sustainability. Projects can only proceed if funding has been allocated by any of the stakeholders as listed previously. Project implementation can commence and each project must have a project sheet indicating a project description, budget, funding source, duration, local champion/driver, and possible risks which could affect the project.

Step 10: Monitor and evaluate plan

The successes and failures of the strategy must be monitored and evaluated. Success needs to be reported and marketed while failures need to be addressed. Ongoing adjustments will be required to ensure success. Measurable development indicators must be formulated in line with both national and local development goals. Examples of indicators are listed as follow: level of economic growth, percentage of unemployment, number of jobs created, poverty levels, literacy rate, housing backlog and house delivery, services provided such as water, sanitation and electricity, crime rates, health issues such as HIV infection rate, gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, skills provided, levels of education, sectoral contributions to local GDP, government activities and level and extent of "red tape" procedures, Gini-coefficient on income, access to finance, infrastructure provided, number of new and extended businesses, export growth, level of economic diversification, EWS (surveys, confidence, perceptions), and LED projects.

Conclusion

The contribution of rural regions and the agricultural sector are pivotal for economic growth, food security, social cohesion and political stability. The global tide is slowly turning to an increased interest in rural development and rural areas. Reasons for this discourse in rural attractiveness are over-population and congestion of large urban areas, global climate changes, globalization and technological advances leading to space shrinking, an increasing need for food and land, a growing need of belonging and lastly sustainable development initiatives.

There has been a rural development paradigm shift over the last few decades. This has been from an agricultural-focused rural development policy with a narrow approach on farming and food

security, to an integrated rural development approach including a multi-sectoral attitude, diversification of the economy, value-added processes, and an attractive rural environment with strong local community development and decentralised decision-making processes. This led to a vision of rural development and a strategy should focus on job creation, economic stability, diversification of the economic base and quality community facilities (Blakely & Bradshaw, 2002). Rural development is an integrated and comprehensive war on poverty, unemployment and inequality, which includes all aspects of society *inter alia* social, economic, political, spatial, environmental, cultural and institutional components.

A rural region will develop if the rate of economic development (not economic growth) exceeds the population rate. Economic development must lead to improved quality of life of all residents of a region, which is achieved through access to basic needs leading to social and economic freedom. Usually, rural areas and the agricultural sector are seen in a negative light, and industrial development is seen as the solution to economic development. This viewpoint has been proven incorrect, and a balanced economic developmental sector approach is required. The “big push theory” as formulated by Rosenstein-Rodan (1943), requires a nation to come together and unite with one vision; this unity must be on such a level that dynamic cooperation and coordination will lead to high levels of economic development.

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**Rural development classification, solutions and best practice guidelines
in a developing country**

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Abstract: Rural regions globally are usually characterized as poor regions with two-thirds of the world's poor people residing in rural areas. This article focuses on rural development in South Africa, where 70% of the poor population live in rural localities. The South African government has placed rural development high on the developmental agenda, but the integrated implementation of a comprehensive rural development strategy is still lacking. Rural South Africa has deteriorated significantly over the last 20 years due to globalization, urbanization and poor local government service delivery. The research methodology included a theoretical review of rural development in South Africa as well as a socio-economic household survey in the Northern Free State region. Solutions with regards rural development include the classification of rural regions, requirements for successful rural development and best practice rural development aspects. Some findings of the research include that rural regions have the potential to be in "fashion" again due to reasons such as a quality rural environment, technological "space shrinking" and food security. Rural development requires strong and committed government, strategies should focus on specific labour intensive economic sectors such as tourism, agro-processing linked to manufacturing. Also of importance are the development of indigenous knowledge and the protection and maintenance of rural towns.

Keywords: Rural development, classification, solutions, best practice, developing countries.

Introduction

Rural areas globally are generally characterized as poor regions, with more two-thirds of the world's poor people residing in rural areas. As many as 1.4 billion people of the total world population live in extreme poverty at less than \$2.00 per day. More than two-thirds of the people living in poverty, reside in rural localities in developing countries. Most rural people, up to 80% residing in developing countries, are involved in the local agricultural sector, indicating the importance of this sector for rural development. Despite large scale urbanization, poverty remains, to a large extent, a rural problem (IFAD, 2011).

In South Africa, 70 percent of the poor population or 3.6 million households, also live in rural areas. In the last three State of the Nation Addresses (SONA) in South Africa by President J Zuma since 2011, rural development has been placed high on government's developmental agenda with the introduction of the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) (Zuma, 2013). The coordinated implementation of rural policy by all spheres of government is however still lacking. In South Africa, a large percentage of the poor and especially the black population, live in rural areas. These rural areas have limited access to services and basic needs, education and employment opportunities. Resources and opportunities are not evenly distributed, resulting in a lack of quality of life in especially rural areas (Molefe, 1996). Table 1 provides a summary of the rural poverty situation in selected countries across the world, including South Africa.

Table 1: Poverty dynamics in selected developing countries

Country	% of population never in poverty	% of population that have exited poverty	% of population that have entered poverty	% of population in chronic poverty
Egypt	58.7	8.3	19	15.9
Ethiopia	40.3	18.3	18.6	22.8
Indonesia	64.2	19.7	9.6	9.6
South Africa	9.8	5.3	32.5	52.4
Uganda	39.4	31.5	11	18.1
Tanzania	42.8	14.2	24.2	18.7
Vietnam	20.4	39.2	12.2	28.1

Source: IFAD, (2011).

From table 1, South Africa's poverty crisis is evident. Only 9.8% of all people have never felt the impact of poverty, only a limited number of people have successfully exited poverty in the past, and more than 52% of the total population are captured in chronic poverty. The majority of people in poverty reside in rural regions and small towns in South Africa. Primary research included a community socio-economic survey in the Northern Free State region in 2013 to determine levels of rural poverty, unemployment, services delivered by local government and skills. In this survey of poor rural areas it was found that:

- Close to 50% of all households were living in poverty,
- 50.7% of all households lack employment,
- 40% of households have an income of less than R 1 500 (\$128) per month,
- The average annual household income in the area is less than R20 000 (\$1710),

- The ratio between formal and informal jobs is 1: 0.25, which indicates a low level of informal job opportunities and low levels of entrepreneurship,
- Most job opportunities are found in agriculture, manufacturing, community services and tourism,
- The tourism sector only provides in 3.1% of the regional GDP.

Government policies, on a global scale, favour urban areas rather than rural areas. Cities will continue to be more attractive places to live if compared to the rural hinterlands. Rural-urban migration will continue while public spending is biased towards urban users. Services such as infrastructure, social services, education and transport are lacking in rural areas if compared to urban areas (Herrich & Kindleberger, 1995). Urbanization, rural/urban migration and globalization had a major impact on the existence and feasibility of rural areas since the 1970's. The wheel of global economic development is however turning slowly in favour of rural areas. Rural areas are slowly becoming more popular and in "fashion" again due to a global turn to sustainable development. With the growing demand by a growing global population, the demand for water, food and other commodities are increasing rapidly. Food security will have to drive the move to rural focused policies away from "cities as the growth centres". Rural-urban linkages are of importance and the two environments should co-exist and support each other. Rural development is still in some instances misunderstood as only agricultural development without the inclusion of other sectors of the local economy or rural nodes and urban centres. The role of agriculture is important in rural development, but governments globally as well as in South Africa underestimates the role of this sector in economic development (Meyer, 2013).

This article has its focus on rural development in South Africa. Aspects analysed are general concepts of rural development such as definitions of rural development and rural regions, classification of regions and solutions to rural development issues and best practice aspects.

Literature review

In the research field of rural development, no universally accepted definitions exist for the terms rural, a rural region, rural development or what is a rural town. The reasons for this gap are twofold, firstly because of the magnitude of different opinions regarding rural development by specialist researchers and secondly, due to the wide ranging global perceptions of what is rural, depending on the spatial and geographical composition of different regions and the relationships between rural and urban areas in a country of region. For example, in South Africa a small rural town could have a maximum population composition of 30 000 people, while a small rural town in India could have a population of 300 000.

Rural development could be defined as "the positive advancement of rural people in rural areas through improvement of rural institutions and systems, expansion of rural infrastructure and growth in rural economic activities for a better quality rural life" (SARDQ, 2004). According to the World Bank (1997), rural development is a process leading to sustainable improvement in the quality of life of rural people, especially the poor. Rural development can make a powerful contribution to the four critical goals of poverty reduction namely, wider shared growth and development within the rural region; household level access to basic needs; national and global food security improvement; and sustainable natural resource management.

Rural development is aimed at improving the countryside or peripheral areas, with a mostly agrarian character. The rural poor lacks basic needs, are powerless and don't have the ability

to improve their quality of life due to social exclusion and poor governance. The rural poor have limited land ownership, access to capital, employment and opportunities to improve quality of life (Kakumba & Nsingo, 2008). Rural development should be people-centred and community involvement is of key importance (Sewpaul, 1992). In terms of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) (The Presidency, 2000) rural development in South Africa is defined as multi-dimensional and is a much broader concept than poverty alleviation by means of social programmes. The process places focus on changing environments to enable an increase in the income levels of the poor, investment in local communities and contribute to the maintenance of social infrastructure. A successful rural development strategy will make people less poor, rather than comfortable in their poverty.

Rural development could therefore be defined as a study field which aims to achieve sustainable, viable rural communities and improvement of quality of life including the poor section of the rural population. The provision and maintenance of infrastructure, community facilities, economic development initiatives and strong institutional structures are requirements. Rural development must lead to the reduction of poverty and include shared and inclusive growth. Rural development must also lead to improved food security and improved resource management. Local rural communities must be empowered to plan and shape their own destiny. Non-agricultural sectors also need to be strengthened in order to create a diversified rural economy.

According to the CRDP framework of 2009, no national legal definition exists for rural areas in South Africa, but the framework listed a definition as “sparsely populated areas in which people farm or depend on natural resources, including villages and small towns that are dispersed throughout these areas” (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2010). Buxton (1976) defined a rural area as an area which lags behind in population densities, in education facilities and in the power to control its own destiny, if compared to more urbanized areas. According to Bester (1994), rural areas in South Africa are characterised by traditional agricultural processes, low income families, lack of finances, a lack of technical skills, and high percentages of poor people of which large percentages are black people.

Djukanovic and Mach (1975) stated that rural communities could be characterised by the following criteria: economic stagnation and even decline; utilization of traditional agricultural outdated methods; lack of diversity and access regarding employment opportunities; poor quality of life due to lack of security of availability of goods, facilities and money (basic needs); isolation caused by long distances and poor communication systems; and poor environmental health conditions, which expose people to diseases and malnutrition such as a lack of clean water and proper sanitation and insufficient health facilities. According to Duxbury et al. (2009), rural areas are defined by population size and density, and distance from and access to services. Ashley and Maxwell (2001) listed the features of rural areas as spaces where human settlement and infrastructure occupy only small patches of the land, places where most people are involved in the agricultural sector, availability and relative cheapness of land, high transport cost due to long distances, and poor infrastructure.

Taking into account the literature, a rural region could be defined as a geographical area with a hierarchy of nodes connected by a hierarchy of corridors which are spatially dispersed and could include towns and villages, within the rural hinterland. A rural region is sparsely populated with low population densities, and high levels of dependency on natural resources. Primary economic activities are focused on agriculture, agro-processing industries, mining, tourism, essential services and energy sectors. Rural regions include areas of high isolation and long distances to the primary and other nodes in the region and to other regions and

nodes. Rural regions have strong community relationships and social interaction in rural nodes. Rural economies are small, undiversified and comprise of a lowly skilled labour force.

Myrdal (1957), a Swedish economist and Nobel Laureate said the following, “It is in the agricultural sector where the battle for long term economic development will be won or lost”. The modern consensus is that agriculture must play a major role in economic development for developing countries and rural areas. Poor performance in the agricultural sector in developing countries is due to neglect of the sector by the specific governments (Todaro & Smith, 2011).

Rural development is concerned with the improvement of the quality of life of local communities, the reduction of poverty levels, reduction in the unemployment rate and lessening inequality through decentralized decision making. It also includes the formulation of “best fit” strategic planning, active participation and pro-active planning. The agricultural sector is supported by non-agricultural sectors such as manufacturing and tourism. The rural “deepness” determines the level of dominance of the agricultural sector in the region. A rural region’s economy is usually specialized with only a few economic sectors with limited diversification. Rural regions have limited agglomeration advantages, limited economic activities, relatively small number of businesses with a limited local market, resulting in low demand for locally produced products. Rural regions are characterized by high levels of unemployment, and low levels of productivity especially in the dominating agricultural sector. Productivity is generally low due to low levels of technology and innovation and low skills levels. Rural areas have generally strong direct and personal relationship within communities if compared to large urban areas. A sense of belonging to a community exists with high levels of social cohesion (Meyer, 2013).

Rural classification

Various attempts have been made globally to classify rural regions and areas. A globally acceptable classification does not exist due to the vast range of opinions and scale of development. This section provides a rural classification for South Africa. Although it may not be possible to replicate it as is to all other countries, the principles could be useful. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2006b) has the following guidelines regarding the classification of rural areas:

- A threshold population density of 150 persons per square kilometre.
- Predominantly rural area: more than 50% of the local population lives in rural communities.
- Significantly rural regions: 15% to 50% of the population lives in rural communities.
- Predominantly urban areas: less than 15% of the population lives in rural communities.

In 2010, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in South Africa provided guidelines for the categorization of different areas as follows (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2010):

- Metropolitan areas: areas within metropolitan municipalities with population of more than 1 000 000.
- Other urban areas: local municipalities with a large city of more than 500 000 that have mostly tarred roads, piped water and sanitation, with a wide choice of services.

- Close rural areas: local municipality that has towns and small towns and more than 50% of people live within 5km of tarred roads, piped water and sanitation, but with a limited choice of services.
- Deep rural areas: Local municipality that has small towns and less than 50% of people live within 5km from tarred roads, piped water and sanitation and people have very limited choice of services.

In the classification of rural regions and towns, various degrees of “ruralness” could be listed from very isolated and remote regions which are known as “deep” rural areas to rural regions on the periphery of large metropolitan areas which could be termed as “near” or “fringe” rural areas. In the formulation of classifications, it should be kept in mind that rural areas have urban nodes centres and on the other hand, even metropolitan regions have rural areas. Rural regions in South Africa are classified as listed in table 2.

Table 2: Rural regional classification in South Africa

Type of region	Characteristic of the region
Deep rural region	The region is located in a compromised geographical location for example very mountainous areas and is isolated in terms of distance and access. The region is located 4 hours or more driving distance to a major metropolitan region. The region has no clear primary node but a number of small service centres in the form of small villages. More than 90% of land uses and economic activities are involved in the agricultural and/or primary sectors. Examples of such regions include the central and southern parts of Kwa-Zulu/Natal Province and the remote rural areas of the Eastern Cape Province and North-West Province.
Rural region	The region is isolated in terms of distance and access, but less so than a “deep rural region”. The region is located 2 to 4 hours driving distance from a major metropolitan area. The region has rural nodes in the form of medium to small rural towns as service centres with a clearly defined hierarchy of nodes with a primary node and connectivity corridors. More than 75% of land uses and economic activities are involved in the agricultural and/or primary sector. An example of such a region is the parts of southern Free State Province.
Fringe/peripheral rural region	The region is strategically located on the fringe or periphery of an urban region. The region is located within 2 hours or less driving distance from major metropolitan areas. This locality allows for economic opportunities in sectors other than agricultural. Less than 50% of land uses and economic activities are involved in the agricultural and/or primary sector. The region has a strong hierarchy of nodes and corridors. The nodes range from large rural towns to small rural towns. The northern Free State region (Fezile Dabi District Municipality) is an example of a fringe rural region.
Urban to metropolitan region	The region comprises mainly urban areas in the form of large metropolitan cities with rural areas dispersed along the periphery of the region. Less than 30% of land uses and economic activities are involved in the agricultural and/or primary sector. Examples of such regions include the Gauteng City Region, the Durban Functional Region and the Cape Town/Cape Flats Region.

Source: Author’s own compilation.

An attempt was also made to classify rural towns in South Africa. Rural towns in South Africa still display the results of the “apartheid” separate development policies of the past. Rural towns in most cases have two components namely the original town area which used to be a “whites only” area with the adjacent or even physically removed traditional township area which houses mainly the black population. Over the last 20 years some integration has however taken place of the two areas regarding the geographical layout and population, but this dual system is still clearly evident in most rural towns. This dualism today still exists regarding quality of life and levels of income. Traditional townships are home to the majority of people living below the poverty line of \$2.00 per day. The townships also still lacks in terms of access to economic opportunities, services and community facilities. This situation

needs to be kept in mind in the classification of rural towns. Generally more than 50% of people living in townships, lives in poverty as proven in the socio-economic community survey in the Northern Free State region. This situation has a negative impact on the viability of a rural town in terms of buying power, and economic functionality. Rural towns in South Africa could be classified in terms of economic activities, population size and population densities or a combination of the above criteria. For the purposes of this study, rural towns will be classified according to population size due to the limited scope of this study regarding this aspect. Rural towns in South Africa are classified in three main groupings in terms of population namely (Towns located in the study area are listed in bold):

- Rural villages: population of less than 2 000 people, for example in the rural areas of Kwa-Zulu Natal.
- Small rural towns: with a population of between 2 000 to 20 000 people. Examples of small towns include Adelaide, Grabouw, Howick, Tzaneen, Utrecht, Qumbu, Ulundi, Glencoe, **Deneysville**, **Koppies**, **Villiers**, **Vredefort**, Calvinia, Ixopo, Nkandla and Matatiele.
- Medium rural towns: with a population of between 20 000 and 50 000 people. Examples of medium towns include **Parys**, Ermelo, Vryburg, Stanger, Margate, **Frankfort**, **Viljoenskroon**, Secunda, Lady Frere, **Heilbron**, and Kokstad.
- Large rural towns: With population of more than 50 000 people. Examples of large rural towns include Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom, Witbank, Rustenburg, **Kroonstad**, **Sasolburg**, Vryheid, Bethlehem, and Upington.

Generally rural towns have a density of less than 15 residential units per hectare, while urban cities have densities higher than 15 residential units per hectare. Rural towns have a challenge of being viable in terms of service delivery, community facilities, infrastructure, services and businesses. A population of 2 000 people or 500 families allows for a general shop of approximately 2 000 square meters, a primary school and a doctor with some limited community facilities. This is the minimum size which will allow for some feasible local facilities. The larger the population and the higher the level of income, the more feasible a rural town will be (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2010).

Requirements and solutions for rural development success

This section provides an analysis of possible requirements and solutions for successful rural development. The three main problems in the South African society, namely, poverty, unemployment and inequality, are concentrated in rural areas. The challenge of solutions to rural development is to break the “vicious cycle of poverty” and replace it with a “virtuous cycle of wealth”. The “vicious cycle of poverty” leads to a downward cycle of increased poverty and frustration for the poor and especially the youth in rural areas. The “virtuous cycle of wealth” on the other hand as referred to in the National Development Plan (NDP) aspires to resolve this situation by improved leadership, improved community development, more active citizenship, entrepreneurial development, a capable and skilled government, and rising living standards through economic opportunities to poor and isolated communities (IIED, 2000; Kakumba & Nsingo, 2008; National Planning Commission, 2011a & 2011b).

According to De Satge (2010), key issues for successful rural development include the involvement of local communities in the planning and implementation process, understanding local gaps in livelihoods, provision of basic needs, ensure interventions with minimum input and maximum results for the majority of local people, and optimization of innovation and learning. According to IIED (2000), possible rural planning proposals for sustainable livelihoods could include decentralization of planning decisions, funding and responsibility to local role players, promotion of people-focused and poverty-based planning, expansion of

local capacity for LED, the inclusion of local knowledge in planning processes and decisions and the development of strong communication channels between officials, councillors, community development workers (CDWs) and the public (ward committees). De Satge (2010) listed more rural development strategies for South Africa which include: Invigorate land reform process/projects, address shortcomings in policy, support mixed farming and emerging farmers, streamline ownership to productive units, ensure that water and irrigation are available for farming projects, ensure access to capital is available, focus on agro-food processing, make incentives available, ensure skills promotion and availability of mentors. Other strategies listed include infrastructure development, support and promote downstream industries, allow for good market access, availability of information, and support and promote the “second economy”. The introduction of new technology in agricultural processes such as irrigation, identification of local value chains, improvement in jobs and living conditions in commercial farming, provision of basic services to rural areas, maximisation of governmental job creation efforts, assistance to street traders, and the creation of institutions to support SMME’s.

Rural development and revitalization of rural areas are complicated and difficult processes to achieve. The following aspects are of importance according to the IIED (2000):

- *Partnership formation*: the private sector plays a vital role in job creation and incomes in rural areas. The current relationship between the public and private sectors is only based on delivery of services by the relevant local authority and not as partners in rural development. The partnerships need to be extended and improved.
- *Improved rural/urban linkages*: linkages regarding health services, employment, housing provision, planning products and markets, educational facilities, and transportation.
- *Participation*: improved participation in all strategic planning processes are required by local rural communities.
- *Planning based on up-to-date information*: good information leads to good planning and decision making processes. An example of collection of local information is through community surveys.
- *Linkages between all spheres of government*: good linkages through services, support and capacity building between all spheres of government is essential.
- *Role of funders/donors*: the role of external funders and donors are important in building capacity and importing new methods to improve services and product development.
- *Lack of institutional sustainability*: poor governance will prevent rural development.

Investment in education and skills development is a priority of rural development. An increase in the collective capabilities of rural people will provide security and power. Growth in the agricultural sector generates the greatest impact for rural people of all economic sectors (IFAD, 2011). A 1% growth in GDP in a rural area, as a result of the agricultural sector in a specific region, will result in 2.5 times income increase to at least 30% of the rural population (Ligon & Sadoulet, 2007). Key market factors of importance for successful rural development include the formation of rural producer organizations such as co-operatives, investment in infrastructure, availability of information and communication, financial services, regional and global linkages to local value chains, labour intensive opportunities, and public/private partnerships (IFAD, 2011).

Entrepreneurship is also vital for economic development of rural regions. Weak entrepreneurship in South Africa is a result of issues such as high level of taxation and

regulations, weak support structures such as business development services, weak focus on the informal sector, poor access to credit and lack of skills. Practical solutions for business and entrepreneurial development include the creation of small business “estates” and clusters to improve security and visibility, improvement of business linkages and communication and improvement of the local business directory data basis (Meyer-Stamer, 2003).

Delius and Schirmer (2001) stated that land reform and agricultural development policy, capacity of provincial and local government officials is very low, and alienation of farm land is a slow and expensive process in South Africa. Such policy could totally transform the rural crises. The state should buy land and transfer to sustainable groups and individuals with on-going support. Agriculture should not be the central pillar of a rural development programme, but an integrative approach is required. The OECD (2006a) listed three key fields for public rural investments. These fields include firstly, the provision of quality public services including community facilities, secondly, the investment in promotion of rural innovation to create a competitive advantage regarding processes, institutional and government tools, and lastly, investment should be geared to the maximization of rural-urban linkages.

Rural development requires not only economic aspects but also social aspects. Obstacles to rural development from a social point of view include illiteracy, resulting in an inferiority complex in local individuals; customs and traditions, for example, submission to traditional leaders and the inferior position of women in rural society; fostering dependency as people get used to being given hand-outs and subsidies and they cannot overcome that mind-set; and apathy as people accept their impoverished position as a way of life (Molefe, 1996; Netshitenzhe, 2011). Building of the rural poor’s asset base is important for poverty reduction. Asset formation include improved access to basic services and needs, improvement of access to safety nets, improve local skills levels, and lastly allow economic opportunities by integrated housing development to reduce transport costs and allow economic opportunities (Sibisi, 2009).

Lastly the United Nation (UNDP) in 2012 defined a rural model known as the “rural triple wins” model. The model consists of three components namely economic development, social development and sustainable development. The aim is to ensure that all three components are included in any rural development strategy and projects. This will allow for inclusive growth with jobs resulting in improved quality of life of rural communities and to support the “green economy”.

Best practice principles

The following section provides a best practice analysis regarding rural development principles, processes, approaches and methods. Rural development entails much more than just agricultural development as a multi-sector and a multi-dimensional development strategy. The strategy must integrate spatial, economic and social planning. The development of a rural region is dependent on factors such as population and market size, strategic locality, infrastructure, local leadership, good governance, economic diversity and the level of local entrepreneurship. Although rural development is a long term process, the importance of short term “quick win” projects should not be underestimated to create confidence and momentum. Rural development planning is a complicated process and a “one size fits all” approach is not appropriate. Rural development projects fail mostly due to poor planning and limited local market size and demand, poor feasibility and sustainability and limited involvement of local communities.

Role of government

Best practice principles for rural development as provided by the study field of public management include the decentralization of local decision making, skills development, the dissemination of information, formulation of measurable benchmarks such as targets and outcomes, and audits through monitor and control actions. Government has a major role to play in rural development, but government is only one of a range of role players. Government alone can't provide rural development salvation but needs strong partnerships with the local community and business. Dynamic rural development occurs by means of increased coordination, as proven in the classic "Big push" theory (Rosenstein-Roden, 1943). One of government's key roles in rural development is to create an enabling environment for the private sector and local communities to prosper and be successful. In this process government needs to remove barriers for development, show strong leadership and coordination with effective service delivery. Actions leading to an enabling supportive local environment include service and infrastructure capacity, provision of land and development zones, marketing, skills development, tax policies and incentives, access to finance, and research. Government also needs to step in if market forces fail, for example through skills training and land development. For government to be successful in rural development, it needs to have capacity and skills. Political stability and commitment is just as important as economical and social stability.

Local leadership and partnership formation

Local leadership is critical and essential for rural development success. The term "local leadership" includes members of the "triangle" of local stakeholders namely government, local communities and the private sector. Government leaders are expected to take the lead in coordination and facilitation, but other leaders from the community and business must contribute. Under the term "local leadership", two other terms are also listed namely "local champions" and "local drivers". Local leaders and champions must work together as partners to maximize local resources and actions. Local leaders must make sure the local economy is driven and to create momentum. Local government must take quick and effective decisions to the benefit of the local community.

Spatial planning

Spatial planning is based on the strategic planning process and is therefore vision based and gives direction in local economic planning. Economic development planning must be integrated with spatial planning. The integration of spatial planning with economic planning will ensure the spatial and geographic grounding of economic activities at optimal localities within a region. Spatial planning is integrative in nature and has the aim to ensure integrated land use planning to address spatial imbalances of the past, assists in the creation of enabling environments, improved economic rural-urban linkages through development corridors, ensure compact urban areas, supports active participation and ensure sustainable environments with a sense of place and viable local communities.

Economic development and job creation

Inclusive economic development, leading to growth with jobs, is required for any successful region. Jobs lead to improvement in quality of life and development. For rural economies to grow more people needs to be working, increased productivity through skills development and technological progress. As stated in the NGP, economic sectors which have the potential for labour intensive job creation, known as "job driver" sectors, needs to be supported. These sectors include manufacturing, mining, tourism, agriculture including agro-processing, the "green economy" and retail. Although the agricultural sector is important for rural

development, the non-agricultural sectors need to be supported, which will lead to a more diversified economy. The agricultural sector must lead to agro-processing and eventually industrial development. Strategies to develop the non-agricultural sectors include provision of improved transport, a focus on competitive advantages, strong rural-urban linkages, entrepreneurial development, incentives, infrastructure development, industrial cluster development and the improvement of the enabling economic environment.

Agriculture

In a rural region, agriculture is usually the dominating economic sector. Agriculture is a labour intensive economic sector and has the potential to create jobs and plays a key role in food security. Agricultural sub-sectors that require intensive labour include the sugar cane industry, citrus, cotton, apples, pears, and vegetables. According to the NDP, agricultural development include agrarian transformation, land reform and environmental management. Agricultural interventions are required to improve productivity in the sector. Examples of such interventions include the provision of irrigation systems, hydro-phonic systems, fertilizer, training and mentorship, land, markets and product research. Emerging farmers and commercial farmers need to be protected and supported. Emerging farmers especially need support in access to land, mentorship from commercial farmers, access to markets, skills development and finance. Lastly, urban agriculture in rural areas or as it is also known as “food gardens” are important for food security, reduction of poverty, provision of nutritional food and income to the rural poor. Further benefits of food gardens include skills training, improvement of livelihoods, greening of areas, environmental management and waste management.

Tourism

The tourism sector, as a labour intensive economic sector, provides for economic opportunities within a rural region. This sector has been the salvation of a number of rural regions and towns. Tourism could be successful if the region has reasonable accessibility and a natural attractive environment. Tourism is an important rural economic sector because it assists in reducing poverty, is highly labour intensive, assists with food security, plays a role in linking the region to other regions and assists in protecting the local environment. In addition to these aspects, tourism also plays the following vital roles in a regional economy: it strengthen local supply chains, assists with SMME development, promote local arts and crafts, job creation, formation of partnerships, the diversification of the regional destination, government must play a role as a major client, and assist with the marketing of the region.

Role of rural nodes

Rural nodes or towns act as service centres within a region, but also play a key role as catalysts for development of the region. Globally, rural towns have been neglected but governments are now realizing the importance of rural towns in regional development. The development potential of a rural town depends on a number of factors which could be placed in a matrix to test the development potential of rural towns. The main factors are listed below: Locality, climate, geographical and environmental attractiveness, quality of soil and land, accessibility of town, quality of local government, level of economic diversity, extent of culture, social cohesion, level of entrepreneurship, availability of services, quality of spatial planning and the type of role of the rural town in the region.

Rural-urban linkages

The successful development of a region depends on the strengths of the linkages between nodes within the region and the linkage between the rural areas and nodes in the region. External linkages to other regions and nodes within other regions are also important and will

assist in the strengthening of the economic base of the region. Linkages are not limited to economic linkages alone, but also include social and cultural linkages. Rural policies to strengthen rural-urban linkages include industrial linkages, migration policies, and rural urbanization policies. Infrastructure development is a tool in the improvement of the linkages and integration of regions. The aims are to establish a regional economy with integrated nodes and rural areas linked with development corridors, and create a region without dualism.

Local resource utilization

Rural regions need to maximize the local and in most cases limited resources. Local resources include natural resources such as minerals and water, man-made resources such as local infrastructure and local human resources. Local human resources need to be improved by means of skills development. Skills training need to be provided in locally required skills including technical and business skills. As part of the establishment of a local enabling environment a quality environment is important as it will attract people and businesses to the region. On the other hand, a poor environment will push people away. Local SMME's, entrepreneurship and youth development needs to be encouraged.

Housing

The role of housing provision in rural areas is fourfold. Rural housing projects should be seen as flagship projects with a major impact on local receiving communities. Housing is one of the basic needs of poor communities and will provide decent shelter. Housing projects, if implemented effectively, must be a community driven and a benefitting process in the form of a "people's housing project (PHP)" for example. In this way a housing project will include skills development for local contractors. A community housing project will also have a strong job creation component. Lastly, a housing project will ultimately lead to the improvement of quality of life of local communities.

Local community involvement and indigenous knowledge

Local rural communities must take their destiny into their own hands. Local communities must be part of local decision making, planning, implementation and ownership of projects. Local communities must be allowed access to ownership of projects, community facilities, housing and land. The quality and intensity of local community participation determine the level of rural development. Rural communities have higher levels of community involvement and social cohesion than highly urbanized areas. This sense of community and belonging is one of the comparative advantages that cities don't generally have. An appealing community life could attract city dwellers. A strong and healthy rural community must have modern ITC, strong levels of entrepreneurship, availability of jobs, export sectors with a strong economic base, social cohesion, industrial specialization, inter-firm collaboration and good governance. Local rural communities know their area best and the indigenous knowledge needs to be taken into account in local planning processes. Local people know and understand the local needs best and also know local conditions best. Local indigenous knowledge can add value in maximizing local economic opportunities.

Basic needs and social-welfare

Rural development is not only about economic development, but also improvement of the quality of life of people. The provision of basic needs and social-welfare facilities forms the pro-poor component of rural development. The NDP states that quality services in rural areas are important for rural areas to compete with cities. As part of any rural development strategy, a community development plan needs to be included with specific projects. The lack of basic needs keep people trapped in poverty. Local rural people can climb the ladder of social and economic success if basic needs are provided. Basic needs include nutrition, health

care, water, sanitation, shelter, education, skills, sense of well-being and belonging, access to land and the ability to find work. The poor needs to be protected from shocks as the vulnerable section of the rural community by means of the provision of a “safety net”, which include tools such as pensions, social grants, housing subsidy, and access to services and finance.

Recommendations and conclusion

Excessive urbanization leads to high levels of unemployment and social problems in urban areas. The perceptions of possible “urban jobs” can lead to higher urban unemployment with rural workers streaming to the city where only one in four job seekers will find work over the long term. The possibility of subsidised wages needs more analysis in order to restore the rural-urban unbalances and programmes of integrated rural development should be encouraged (Todaro & Smith, 2011). According to Kofi Annan, former Secretary General of the UN “Cities will increasingly become the main players in the global economy” (UN, 2001). It is generally accepted that the higher the level of urbanization, the higher the level of development within a specific area (Todaro & Smith, 2011). Continued global urbanization is leading to increased unequal distribution of population in mega nodal concentrations, with increased congestion and pollution, with over-supply of labour (Herrich & Kindleberger, 1995). In order to prevent over population in urban areas, rural/urban migration needs to slow down. Rural support policies could be considered and include issues such as to retard rural migration by providing rural infrastructure and public works projects; the deflection of migration to large cities towards medium sized rural centres with infrastructure, and incentives; and accept rapid urban growth and attempt to provide acceptable basic needs for all.

In South Africa, those communities most in need of strong local government are the rural communities. These communities however have the weakest local government with a lack of information, skills and capacity. Some of the main findings of the research regarding general rural development aspects are listed:

- Rural regions are slowly but surely becoming in “fashion” as popular regions again due to a number of reasons such as quality environments, the need for a sense of community and belonging and food security.
- Well formulated strategic rural development strategies, which are implementable in a coordinated way, can make a positive impact. Rural areas could be seen as a viable alternative, but requires strong governance, especially at the local sphere.
- The integration of spatial planning and LED could lead to accelerated rural development, especially when national policy exists and are implemented in a coordinated manner.
- The creation of jobs will lead to improved quality of life. Labour intensive sectors of the economy such as tourism, agriculture including agro-processing, manufacturing and retail should be the focus of an economic strategy.
- Rural development is dependent on hard and soft infrastructure provision and strong local government.
- Rural development must be people centred, with the utilization of local indigenous knowledge.
- Rural towns are critical for rural regional development and creation of rural-urban linkages.
- The “pull factors” to rural areas include quality of life and environment, sense of belonging, unique culture and history, and a positive economic environment.

Rural development for success requires a holistic approach including components such as the local economy, social environment, the physical environment, and the political environment. Rural development is a team effort consisting of local government, the private sector/business sector and the local communities. The utilization of local knowledge will also improve the quality of policy interventions. Every rural area has unique locations, resources and environments which requires “best fit” policies. The “one size fits all” approach adopted in many areas is due to lack of the understanding of local areas and is an easy way to compile a policy. This approach does not lead to long term benefits for local rural communities.

Rural development is an integrated and comprehensive “war” on poverty, unemployment and inequality. Rural development strategies and policies must be people-centred with projects driven by local communities. Local people must decide on their own destiny and should therefore be involved in the identification, planning, implementation and the taking of ownership of rural development initiatives. Economic development must lead to improved quality of life of all residents of a region. Improved quality of life is achieved through access to basic needs leading to social and economic freedom.

At the end of the day we need to understand what drives rural development. Wealth creation and investment policies on the one hand and redistribution policies on the other hand, should be implemented simultaneously, rather than just a process of redistribution. The key components driving rural development are listed as the following: the extent and quality of local skills and entrepreneurship, the levels of leadership, quality of partnerships and good governance, the levels of linkage with national and provincial policies, the way in which natural resources are utilized, local market size, closeness of large markets and the extent of export focus, the level of innovation and technology, agricultural development leading to agro-processing and industrial development, and lastly the levels and extent of capital investment and infrastructure development.

Finally, good governance within a rural region is critical. Governance regarding coordination of all initiatives, clear policy formulation, well planned interventions and the creation of quality physical and economic enabling environments are needed. In the 2011 World Economic Forum (WEF) report known as “The future of government” it is stated that, globally governments need to transform themselves into “FAST” (flatter, agile, streamlined, tech-enabled) governments. The concept of “FAST” government consists of best practice governance aspects such as increased citizen engagement, administrative efficiency, decentralized decision making, an agile highly skilled workforce with problem solving capabilities, a streamlined government with a reduction in the size of the public service, and a highly innovative and tech-enabled government service (World Economic Forum, 2011).

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**RURAL DISASTER INTERVENTION THROUGH EDUCATION:
A CASE STUDY ON SAKYA HOSTELS**

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Abstract:

The impact of the tsunami was greatest on the poor. They are characterized by having the least access to resources and this weakens their ability to recover. Many have lost households and productive assets, and have few possibilities to earn an income and sustain a livelihood (Pomeroy et al. 2006). The Tsunami disaster in Tamil Nadu has affected and reduced significantly the social and ecological resilience in the coastal communities. The large number Government and Non Governmental organizations have taken initiative to rehabilitate and repatriate the victims of the Tsunami. But the particular community called “Dalit” in the rural Tamil Nadu has been left out with nothing due to the discrimination against them. To make them also self sufficient the sakya team has come up with the tool called “Education” to the Children to do the effective Socio – Economic Transformation. This paper describes the initiative has been taken by the Sakya Team by setting up the residential place for the children along with all services in Chennai, Tamilnadu. The researcher has been used the case study method, interview method and native ethnography / observation method to cull out the information about the sakya hostels, which got established by the Sakya team in Chennai, Tamil Nadu, India.

Key Words: Tsunami, Discrimination, Education, transformation

Objectives of the Study:

- To examine the Sakya Hostels
- To make others get inspired by the work, which does by the Sakya Team.
- To make sure that an education is a fundamental tool to do socio – economic transformation.

Research Methodology:

The case study method has been used to explore the rural tsunami intervention by providing education to the rural children to do the socio – economic intervention. Since, the researcher has been living the children at the sakya hostels; she used her observation method to cull out the information and works doing by the sakya team. And the researcher took some interviews with children and care takers of them to do analyze the effective intervention. Case Studies are strategies of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. Cases are bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time. (W.Cresswell, 2009) This study was conducted by keeping in mind the following research questions.

- a) Why the particular community has being discriminated to avail their rights?
- b) How will an education makes the particular community self sustain?
- c) Is really an education will helps to do the effective socio- economic transformation?
- d) What would be the solution to uplift the particular community?
- e) What can be the future goals of the sakya hostels? And how will that helps to provide a dignified life to the community?
- f) Is really the sakya hostels beneficiaries will contribute to their community's development in future?

The researcher took Purposive Sampling Strategy also, which basically targets a particular group of people. In this study Sakya Hostels Children the target group as we are exploring specifically the educational intervention to the Tsunami victims in Rural TamilNadu, India.

Meaning of Tsunami:

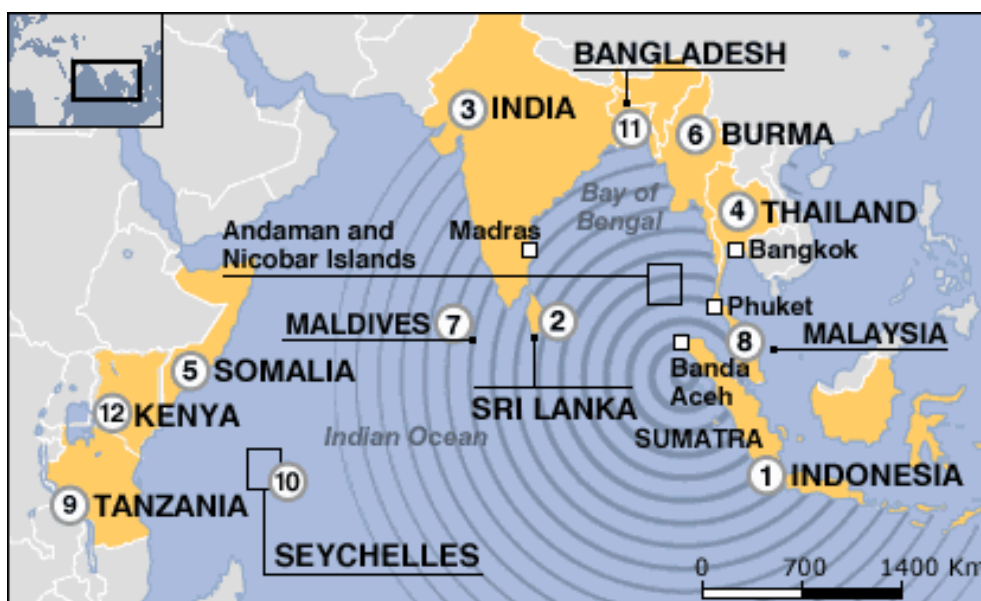
It is a series of water caused by the displacement of large volume of water body. Typically an ocean or a large lake. Earthquakes, Volcanic eruption and other underwater explosions

(including denotation of underwater nuclear devices), landslides, glacier, calving's, meteorite impacts and other disturbances above or below water all have potential to generate a tsunami. Tsunami is generated by seismicity, it can also be generated when sea floor is abruptly deforms and vertically displaces the overlying water. Tectonic earthquakes that are associated with earths crustal deformation, when these occurs beneath the sea, water above deformed area is displaced from its equilibrium position. More specifically tsunami generates when thrust faults associated with convergent or destructive plate boundaries move abruptly, resulting in water displacement, owing to the vertical component of movement involved.

Characteristics of Tsunami:

- Travel at the speed up to 400-500 Miles per hour
- In deep water , tsunamis are low and wide , often less than three feet high
- As much as 95 miles between the crest of one wave and the next
- At the shallower water they get more deadly
- Can reach up to heights of 100 feet or more and crash inland.

Tsunami December 2004 Origin time and Epicenter: The great Tsumigenic erthquake occurred on Sunday 26 th Dec. 2004, at 00:58:50 UTC (6:58:50 am local time). The epicenter was at 3.298 N. 95.779 E and Focal depth was very shallow (much less than 33 km or possibly 10 KM).

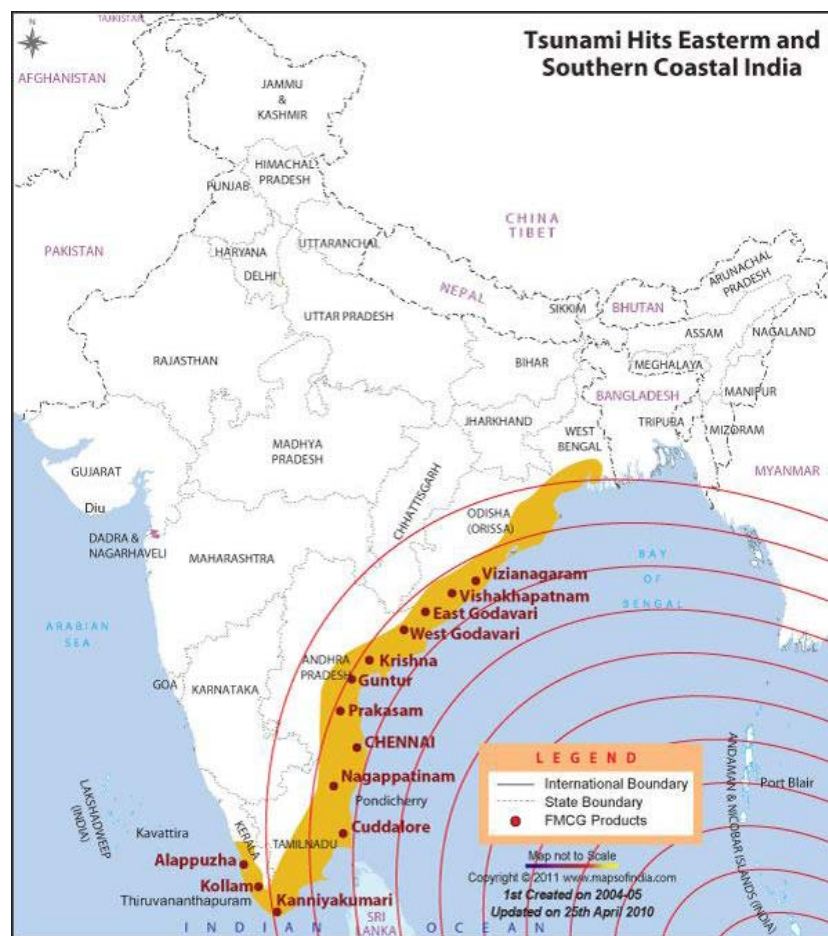


No Tsunami warning issued

The large Tsunami which struck 11 of nations that borders Indian ocean was complete surprise for the people living there, but not for scientist who are aware of the tectonic interactions in the region. Many seismic networks recorded the massive earthquake but there was no tide gauges or other wave sensors to provide confirmation as to whether a tsunami had been generated, no established communications network or organizational infrastructure to pass warning of any kind to the people coastline.

On Dec. 2004 it was greatest earthquake since last 40 years occurred about 150 Km off the west coast of northern Sumatra. It is one of the most destructive Tsunamis known to have hit India and 13 other countries in the Indian Ocean region. With a combined toll of 238,000 casualties (including 51,500 people missing), and roughly more than 1.5 million people displaced in fourteen countries, this tsunami resulted in damage and destruction of property, assets and infrastructure in the coastal areas. In India 10,749 people lost their lives due to the tsunami and 5,640 people were missing in the Tsunami affected areas.

Area affected By Tsunami in India:



Overall /Total Death Toll:

COUNTRY	DISPLACED	DEAD	MISSING	INJURED	HOUSING DESTROY/ DAMAGE D	TOTAL DAMAGE AND LOSSES	NET – TOTAL AFFECTE D
INDIA	650,000	16,389	N/ S	6913	100,000	2.1 Billion	654,512
INDONESIA	532,898	165,708	N/S	N/S	N/S	4451.6 Million	523,898
MALDIVES	13000	102	N/S	2214	N/S	470.1 Million	27,214
SRI LANKA	480,000	35,399	N/S	23176	114,069	1316.5 Million	1,019,306
THAILAND	N/S	8,345	N/S	8,457	4,806	405.2 Million	67,007
MYANMAR	N/S	71	N/S	N/S	N/S	500 Million	12,500
SOMANIA	N/S	298	N/S	283	N/S	100 Million	105,083

India's Death Toll:

Total Death Toll	Missing Person	Tamilnadu	Andaman and Nicobar	Pondichery	Kerala	Andhra – Pradesh
9675	6107	7941	1196	583	583	105

(Source – Home Ministry – Govt. of India as on 08 – 01- 2005)

Worst affected towns in Tamilnadu, Nagapattanam and Karaikal – Karaikal town suffers Rs. 256 cr damage and in Nagapattanam 800 people were washed away at the beach.

Overall loss: total damages are estimated to be US \$ 470 million, 62% Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Of these losses, direct losses are US\$ 298 million, or about 8 % of the replacement cost of the national capital stock. Severe damages was caused to houses, tourist resorts, boats and other fishing equipments, schools, health facilities, Transport and communication equipment's, water and sanitation and electricity infrastructure.

Background of the Study:

On 26th, as usual the coastal area of Tamilnadu was busy with fish workers and the family members, to receive the boats which had gone into the sea for fishing. That was the time, usually fish landing will take place and the sea shore would be busy with allied fish workers,

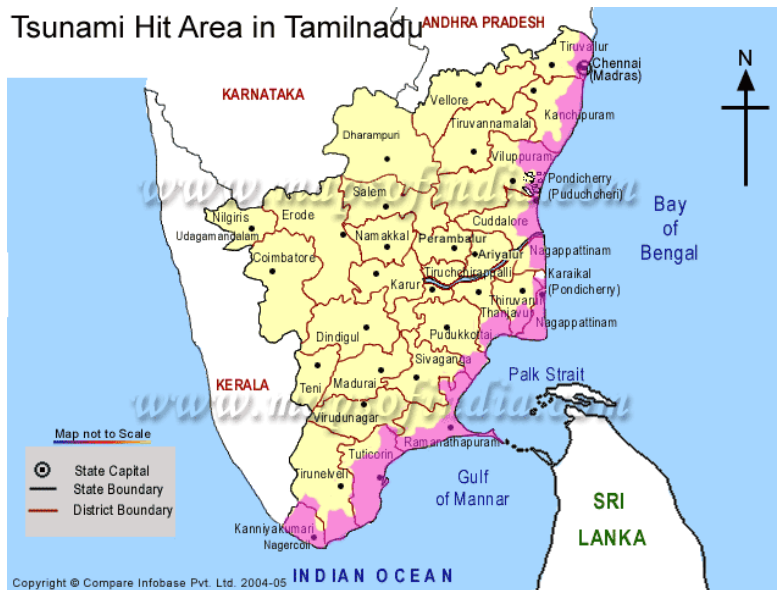
vendors, buyers and sellers, women and children with the Tiffin carriers filled with morning breakfast for the fishermen who get back from the sea.

Velankanni a pilgrimage place for the Christians, the morning mass was just over and all the worshipers stood at the sea shore watching the tides joyfully. The tourists the swimmers were enjoying the morning tides of the sea.

In Chennai the morning walkers and joggers have just finished their walk and usual exercises and sat on the sea sand for the breathing exercises. At this point, suddenly the tidal waves rose to the unimaginable height and the harbor waves entered into the seashore like a fort wall.

The people could not understand what is happening and before they realize the danger they were drowned, swallowed and carried inside the waves. The waves heavily rushed to 0.5 to 1.00 k.m. into the coastal area and engulfed the entire people who sit in their houses / huts. No one was able to understand what it is and by that time all was over and they were either carried inside the sea or buried under the sand. Huge boats anchored in the waters and stationed in the sea shore have been thrown away after 0.5 kms. The houses damaged heavily, huts torn into pieces, all house hold belongings smashed and carried inside the sea. As a result within minutes the entire coastal belt was submerged into the water and there was no sight of what had been already situated there.

Besides fisher folk, the Dalits who live closer to coastal areas and the people who were in the sea shore as tourists or pilgrims have lost their lives and livelihood. It took a few hours to government and others even to realize what had happened. Before they realize, thousands were buried and taken into the sea. The unbelievable but the fact is that the fishermen who had gone into the sea for fishing just faced raised waves and as usual they managed and returned with their catches to sea shore to see the new gory sight. Their hearts were turned into pieces and many swooned and collapsed. This was the situation in the coastal belt of the 14 districts in Tamilnadu.



Relevance of the Action by the team:

Immediately after the Tsunami in Tamil Nadu, many civil organizations went for relief work. At the same time, many organisations witnessed various kinds of discriminations against Dalits in the process of the relief work and related activities. The Dalits were discriminated by both the governmental and non governmental agencies on some pretext or the other. Most of the agencies were not allowed by the dominant castes to do relief work for Dalits. This unfortunate social exclusion during a disaster increased the trauma and hardships of the Dalits in manifold. Thus it is obvious that the women and children among Dalits were more affected by the natural disaster.

The Organisations like National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR), Human Rights For Dalit Liberation (HRFDL), Our Team who espouse the cause of Dalits, took some steps to ensure that the Dalits got their due in the relief and rehabilitation relief work. These organizations mentioned above as you would be aware are also involved in monitoring caste based discrimination, advocacy activities with Government as well as NGOs.

The situation of Dalits:

- a) Dalit colonies are closer to most of the fisher inhabitants
- b) Dalit also faced loss of life
- c) Their livelihood was fully lost
- d) The huts of Dalis were totally washed away
- e) Their drinking water sources have got filled up with sea water

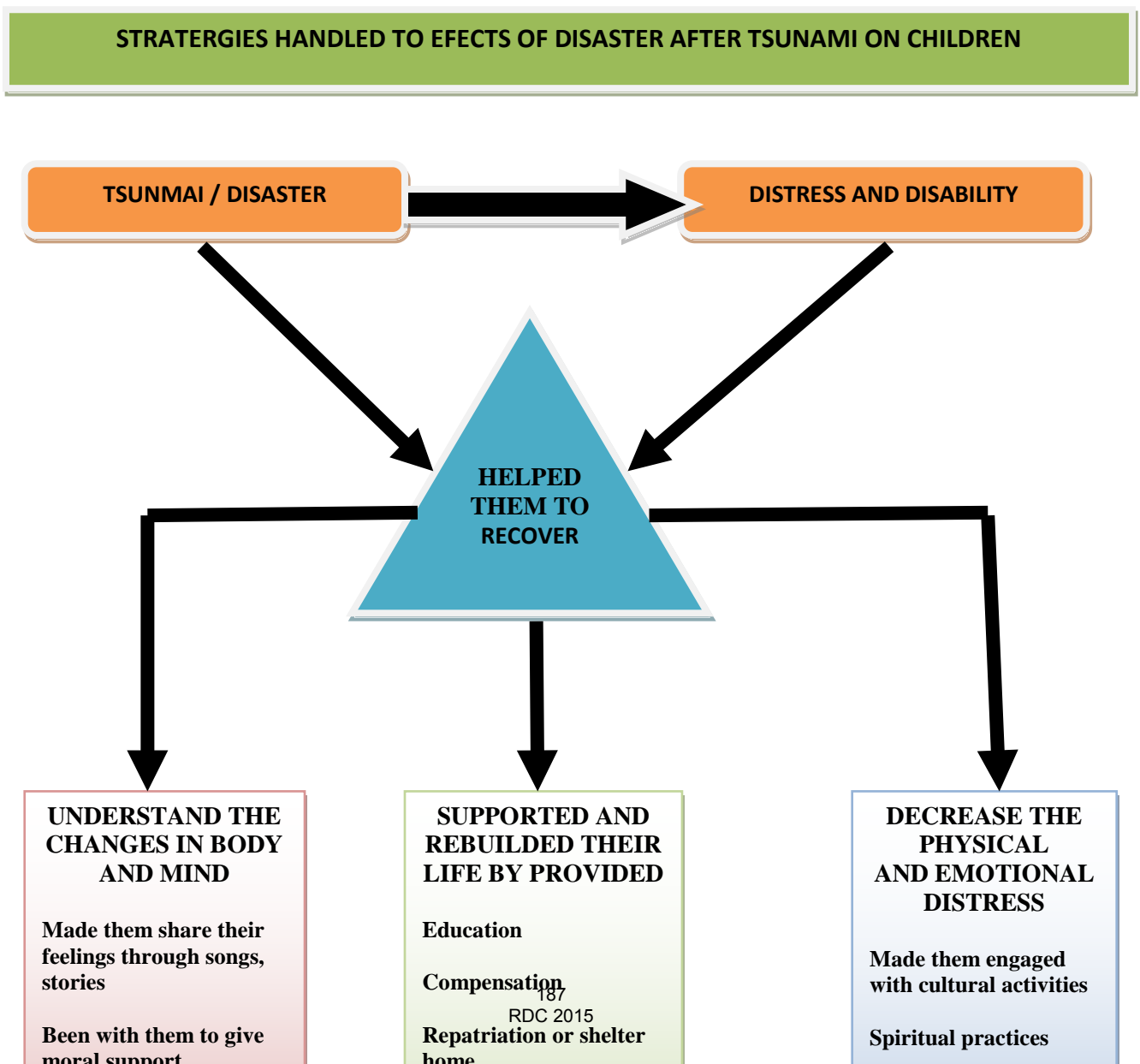
- f) They have got discriminated in the Camp sites
- g) The fisher people were chasing Dalits from the camps
- h) The Dalit people were not able to get the relief measures, as the fisher people got
- i) The entire attention of the Government and other organizations was towards the fishing community only
- j) The Ex- gratia payment to the kith and kin of the deceased, are not given to Dalit families
- k) Even in enumeration, the officials show apathy towards the Dalits
- l) The missing list of the Dalit persons have become lengthy day by day
- m) The fisher people didn't allow the Dalits to get the relief measures either from the Government or from the philanthropists.
- n) The dead bodies of the fisher people were buried in the dalit area.
- o) The restoration of Drinking water, road, public health and communication has been started only in the fisher area and Dalit areas were discriminated.
- p) Cleaning of the area has been done to fishing area only and Dalit colonies were left abandoned.
- q) Dalit victims mostly went to the homes of their relatives in the adjacent villages, rather than staying in the relief camps as they were discriminated and fear of attack by fisher people.
- r) The certificates, books and note books of Dalit students and children were totally washed away. But Government didn't give adequate attention to the hue and cry of Dalits.
- s) Even the help and assistance of the Philanthropists didn't reach Dalits.
- t) Manual scavengers – dalits only – from adjacent corporations and municipalities were brought in to the affected areas to remove carcasses and debris.
- u) They were not given even gloves and masks to protect themselves during the time of their work. They were not provided with any Government privileges for that additional and filthy job.
- v) Their health and hygiene was not taken care of by the Government Agencies.

Though, Sakya Foundation worked with Dalit groups in the Tsunami affected areas, we felt like the children were the most vulnerable among the all. So, we had chosen the particular group to focus more and more in depth.

At the end of the final discussion among us, we have had decided to work for the target groups education, since we felt like education is the main tool to do the effective socio – economic transformation. But their pathetic condition was not allowed the children to pursue their education in their region itself and many of them have lost their educational materials and certificates too. So, we the team have had decided to provide an education along with other services.

Intervention work done for the Children:

The team has been used the following strategy to read out the children mind and actual need of the rural community. At the end of the all activities, the team has had found that an education only will put a base to the particular community to make their life dignified and sustain. So, with the permission of the parents, relatives, community people and local leaders, we the team have had taken the vulnerable children to Chennai to give a quality education.





ADJUSTMENT OR MAJORITY OVER EMOTIONAL DISTRESS

Sakya Foundation sent proposals for the educational development i.e. residential schools etc. of Tsunami affected Dalit children to donor organizations including Karuna Trust, UK. The team from Sakya Foundation visited the field and selected children from the Tsunami affected family with the help of local NGOs i.e. Good Will, Cudallore Dist., Village Development Society (VDS), Nagappatinam Dist. REDS, Kancheepuram Dist. The children were in the Tsunami relief camps at the time of selection. Due to the expected resource crunch we formulated selection criteria so as to be able to protect the most vulnerable amongst the vulnerable. Some of the parameters were: orphan children, children of single parents, family with conflicts, alcoholism, land less laborers etc. Some of the non-Dalit children were also selected based on the above mentioned criteria.

In the year 2005, Karuna Trust, UK came forward to support the children through Trailokya Bouddha Mahasangha Sahayyak Gan (TBMSG), Nagpur. TBMSG, Nagpur run the hostels in Thiruvallur district with the capacity of 50 children (25 boys and 25 girls) until March 2009. Bhoomika Trust helped another 50 children (25 boys and 25 girls) between June 2006 and May 2007. These children were supported by New Entity for Social Action (NESA), Bangalore till December 2007 and Tamil Nadu Volunteer Health Association (TNVHA), Chennai till May 2009.

In the beginning, as often seen in the wake of a disaster, many organizations came forward to provide humanitarian relief. Most of the relief was short term and devoid of any long term rehabilitation supports for the people of Tsunami affected areas. Thus the above said organizations withdrew their support to the children in the Sakya Hostels. At present, both Visuddhaloka and Udhavum Idhayam take care of these children in the both these hostels.

It is indeed a great burden for both these organizations to run this hostels with fully depending on the local funds from individual donors, SHGs and welfare organizations. At present both Visuddhaloka and Udhavum Idhayam supports these two hostels with about 50 children in each.

Descriptive of the action and its effectiveness

Visuddhaloka manages a hostels with the capacity of 25 boys and 25 girls at near infant Jesus Church, Manali New Town, Thiruvallur District, Tamil Nadu. The children are taken care with food, cloth and shelter. All the 50 children, who are deriving basic benefits, due to any child, through these hostels, are from the tsunami hit coastal districts of Tamil Nadu, i.e. Thiruvallur, Kancheepuram, Vizhupuram, Cuddalore and Nagapattinam.

Aims and objectives of the hostel

The main aim of the hostels is not only to rehabilitate the Tsunami affected children, but also to rehabilitate Dalit children from the caste ridden Indian/Tamil villages, where they are brutally discriminated by their peers, members of the caste-Hindu communities as well as teachers in the schools. These hostels projects also rescue them from dysfunctional family situations such as those afflicted with conflicts and alcoholism. The aim is to empower them by providing the children an enabling environment which would be the genesis for their education.

- To promote humanity.
- To educate and train people for self sustainability.
- To protect and promote the human rights (including right to food, shelter, health, education etc.)
- To spread Universal Path based on Morality, Wisdom and Compassion.

About the organization:

The Sakya Hostel is run by the Visuddhaloka Welfare Association, which is registered under Societies Act, Government of Tamil Nadu. Regular and correct accounts of the Society, its funds, receipts and expenditure is maintained. The Executive Committee members appointed a Chartered Accountant to audit accounts of the Association. This Society complies with TAMIL NADU ACT 27 OF 1975. This Society shall apply to the Commissioner of Income Tax to get it registered for U/S 12 A & 80 G as per Income Tax Act, 1961. Visuddhaloka Welfare Association is also registered under FCRA and permitted to receive foreign contribution. The income and funds of the Association will solely be utilized towards the objects and no portion of it will be utilized for the payment to the Association by way of profit, dividend and interest. Not more than Rs. 1,000/- of Association fund to be used for

day to day expenditures but only with the approval of the Managing Committee. All the activities of the Association shall be carried out without profit motive.

The annual budget is prepared by the General Secretary of the hostel and approved by the members of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee monitors and evaluates the fund flow of the hostel every four months in the meeting and authorises the release of funds for the running cost. The hostel gets the feed backs from the funding organisations yearly basis and evaluates it. The funds which is raised for hostel building projects is deposited in the fixed account and raised for running cost is deposited in the saving account. The hostel submits appropriate financial statement for the individuals and organisation as required. The hotel spends money as per the policy and procedures stated in the Societies deed.

We ensure satisfactory accountability for funds through financial recording and control systems, regular fraud risk assessment, internal reporting and reviews, and staff training. We provide annual reports to our stakeholders which include financial reporting. We have systems in place to manage regular purchasing of the goods and significant assets we have bought using the funding. We can provide evidence that demonstrates our effective financial management practices.

Our Inspiration to start the project / Sakya Hostels:

The founder of the Nagarjuna training Institute, Dh. Lokamitra, has been involved in the community development work since early 1980s. During these years, he has developed various projects and built team of the local communities all over the state of Maharashtra and other parts of India.

He was the person, who made a path to start up the Sakya Hostels in Tamil Nadu.



Children's Education through Formal and Informal System

Children are admitted in the government and corporation schools situated near to the hostels. Apart from formal education in the school, the children are trained with various bridge courses through tuitions held in the evening and special classes in the vacations and holidays. Special care is taken for boys and girls, who are going to face government exams in this year. Even though many of them studied through formal educational system for last 5 to eight years, still they are unable to follow the existing system. The wardens, tutors and volunteers have periodical meetings to discuss the students' educational progress.



Present Condition of the Hostels:

At present, 21 boys and 28 girls is benefits through Sakya hostel. The children, who stay in the hostel, are admitted in the nearby Government school. Some of our children after graduating from school have joined engineering colleges and technical institutes. The hostel was initiated for the Tsunami (2005) hit Dalit (Scheduled Caste/ so-called Untouchables) children who were discriminated in the relief and rehabilitation. While admitting children, the special attention given to the children who are orphan, children of single parents, family with

conflicts, alcoholism, land less laborers and Children from the poorest of the poor families. Sakya Hostel was started with the motive of uplift the children who have come from the Dalit community, who have been deprived of education for centuries due to the caste based discrimination. Apart from Dalit students, the hostel also accommodates, a few children from other categories who are economically marginalise. The children are from different districts in all over the state of Tamil Nadu. Since all students are from the marginalized sections of the society, they don't have proper care and protection in terms of family support, health, education and legal aspects. The hostel is trying to provide all aspects social life to them including the psychological needs. The hostel tries to ensure them to attain strong physical and mental wellness. The hostel tries to remove all disadvantages of the children, which they have faced in their respective villages. Through the children, who benefits from the hostel, the communities, they belong to, would be empowered. So far the hostel has produced 2 Engineers, 1 Diploma Graduates, 4 Technical Graduates, 1 Nurse and 2 Teachers. Currently 1 student is pursuing Post Graduation in Azim Premji University, Bangalore and 9 students are pursuing Bachelor's Degree in Arts and Science and 2 students are pursuing their engineering in Chennai itself. And one of the staff has pursued her Master in Business Administration while working with the children and continued another Master degree in Social Work at Tata Institute of Social Sciences Mumbai. It would have been somewhat impossible if these students remain in their respective villages. Obviously they are the role model of the community to get empowerment through education. Through benefitting the students, the hostel plays a major role in the empowerment of all marginalized section of the society in general and Dalits in particular.

Meditation:

Children regularly undergo meditation training in children's meditation camp organized by Vipassana International Academy in Dhamma Setu, Thirumdivakkam, Pallavaram, Chennai. Children regularly practice meditation in morning at 7:45 am, in the evening at 6.00 pm and in the night at 9.30 pm for 10 minutes. These meditation practices help the children to establish in a good moral, ethical and spiritual path.



Library & Reading Room:

Sakya hostel has a small reading room with a collection of about 500 books. These include study books and books related to social and educational issues such that Jadaka stories, Thirukural and atlas, grammar books, dictionaries etc we also subscribe to daily news papers and magazines.



Picnic and outing:

Children will go to the picnic once in a year to Queens land, VGP Golden Beach, Nagaloka training institute, Ngapur, Maharashtra and so on. Sakya hostels children every year visit the Chennai Book Fair in month of January Children will enjoy with seeing different kind of Books like Education, Language, Story, Science, History & Spiritual in one place, they walked several time to mostly all the stalls. They choose much collection of books for our Sakya hostels library.



Parents Meet:

Once in a month, we organize parents' meeting to update the children's growth to their parents. And make their parents to understand the children's educational, health and psychological needs.

Arts and aesthetic:

The sakya hostel gives adequate time and opportunity to develop their skills and ability in art and aesthetic. Various talents of children are identified and special efforts are taken to develop them further. Children also practice dances, street plays, dramas etc. They perform many cultural programmes in the special vocations i.e. celebrations of Children's day, Independence Day, New Year etc.



Health Care:

Our area government hospital health inspector, Doctors and nurses visit our hostel to do a medical checkup to the children and if there are affected in any disease they give the medical treatment regularly till it will get cure. Also we are consulting private doctors for emergency at Manali New Town, Thiruvottiyur and Minjur for girls Dr. Deepa M.B.B.S. (Sonologist) giving medical care. Dr. N. Malikharjuna Rao M.B.B.S. Dr. G. Kirupanandam M.B.B.S. M.S.D.L.O. we consulted these doctors for the children's health. We have the weight machine and height tap to measure children's weight and height and we do once in a month.

Technology interaction at Sakya Hostels:

The children are given space to get exposures in the technology. 10 computers have been donated by the TATA ELXSI, Chennai.



Sports and other competitions:

Our children play Kabadi, Kho-Kho, Skipping, Ring Ball, and Cricket. They even participate in inter school competitions. We have a small play ground in front of the hostels, where they practices every day in the evening.



Case study:

Case 1:	
Basic Details:	
Name	Soniya. E
Age	19
Sex	Female
Education Status	B.E in Second Year
College Name	Vel Tech High Tech Engineering Collage Avadi, Chennai, India.
Address	Kallur village and post Ponneri Taluk Thiruvallur Ditric PIN – 601 201

Family Constellations:

S.No	Name	Age	Educational Qualification	Employment
1	Ethiraj. M	Demised	Nil	Nil
2	Kumari.E	48	Nil	Cooly
3	Nabiya.E	24	M.B.A, M.S.W	Counselor at Sakya Hostels and Research Associate at The Banyan
4	Mathiya.E	22	B. Sc, B.Ed	Student
5	Divya.E	20	B.B.A, M.A	Student
6	Tamizharason.E	18	B.E in Civil	Student

Socio Economic Status:

The family has located in the district of Thiruvallur in nearby the coastal area. During the Tsunami period only we have identified the family of case. Basically they have belonging very deprived and marginalized community in the context of Indian scenario. Her father has died in 2006 due to the cause of alcoholic addict. With five children the only woman has struggled a lot for their basic needs and education as well. So, as a part of our work we have given space for case to continue her studies at Sakya Hostel on 2007 itself. She has started her studies from 7th standard over here. Due to the very low economic condition her elder sister also started to work with us as warden till 2011 at the same organization itself. After worked with sakya hostels, her elder sister continued her masters in social work at Tata Institute of Social Sciences, now she works as a Research Associate at the Banyan, and student's counselor at Sakya Hostels itself, Chennai, Tamil Nadu, and India. She helps for all siblings' education. Her mother does agricultural works as a wager. Per day she is getting Rs. 80, with this amount she has to maintain her family.



Achievements and Rewards:

She is basically very active student. She is the best student in her class as well school. She is the first rank holder always, she never give chance to anyone to overtake her in the terms of education and other curricular activities as well. Her big achievement is she was the school topper of public exam in 10th standard. So, she has awarded by political leaders, Teachers and donors as well. She always participate in all level inter school competitions and school level competitions. She never comes without prize.

Her interest area is a) Tamil and English speech b) Running c) Debates d) quiz e) Cultural activities f) active participation in seminars.

Hobbies:

Reading story books and reading text books. She always spends time with younger ones to clear their doubts in their academic field. Whenever she will get time, she will ready to do any drama which had read by her in books. She is an out speaker; always motivate other inmates to develop in their personal and professional skills.

Aspirations:

She wants to done with her Ph.d in Bio Technology in Unites Status. And she wants to uplift her community.

Exposures to the Children:

Our children will have regular visitors from the United States yearly once. Dhammcharini. Daya Muthra is from San Francisco, she teaches about Buddhism, Ambedkarism, meditation guidelines, games, dances and songs to our children. And Ms. Shaun Guidice and her husband Mr. Alan are the Science and teachers in Delmar. They come and teach our students everything they teach to their students in USA. All of them stay with our children once in a year in alternative months.



The two Pillars of the Sakya Hostels;

Mr. Jayasridhar and Mrs. Nancy are full time care takers of the Sakya Hostels. And we could say two of them have sacrificed their life to the children. They play roles of parents, care takers, administrators, accountants, coordinators and so on. They stay with children and share their life for their development.



Sustainability:

Sakya Hostel has identified regular donors in local areas, who pledged for next five years to carry forward the task in the future. Sakya Hostel has explored the possibilities of getting

regular funds from the State Government of Tamil Nadu and the Central Governments of India. There are some funding possibilities through Ministry of Social Welfare, Ministry of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, Ministry of Women and Child Welfare etc. Sakya Hostel is also planning to initiate private education institutes i.e. computer centres, tuition centres and schools to generate income for the sustainability of the hostels.

The intended outcomes

1. Community Empowerment (Marginalized section)
2. Sustainable Livelihood
3. Physical and Psychological support
4. Healthy and safe environment
5. Developing a brotherhood

Activities which will lead to intended outcome:

Programme	Activities leading to outcome	The outcomes affected
a. Education and vocational workshop	i. To create effective and efficient development of the marginalized community	Non formal education Developing a brotherhood
b. Community awareness	i. To sensitize the community people on the existing issues. ii. To mobilize and create a public space for the marginalized people	Community empowerment Sustainable livelihood
c. Home visit	i. To understand the student's physical, psychological, economic, education and social needs.	Physical and psychological support Healthy and safe environment

Indirect Beneficiaries:

Micro level:

a) Family member of the hostel Children:

Most of the family members of the children are daily wage laborers. They were not able to help children due to their economic conditions. Since Sakya hostel takes care of the children they are relieved from the economic burden and financial stresses. The children of the hostel indirectly benefit the family members in the terms of education for the other children. The interactions with hostel children also help them to get social awareness, empowerment, and health conscious etc. since the children empowered in the hostel through our awareness program, personal counseling and parents meetings. Even they could be able to see their development among their community people. The hostel connects children and their family with different social networks which helps the family members to get support for their development initiatives. The children who completed their schooling with the support of Sakya hostel get support through our network to pursue higher education and also attain their career goals.

b) Staffs and their Family members:

Most of the family members are Dalit and come from the rural. The hostel helps them to support their livelihood, health care, training etc. They are also involved in various activities organized in the hostel, which benefits them to their empowerments.

Case Study:

Nabiya Ethiraj was joined at Sakya Hostel as a Warden in 2004, after she done with her under graduation. Sakya had given a space to pursue her Masters in Business Administration. After her 4 years of experience at Sakya Hostels, she had moved to Mumbai to continue another master degree in Social Work at Tata Institute of Social Sciences, since she believed that the professional degree is must to do social work on the field. While pursuing her education itself, Nabiya had started to contribute back to Sakya Hostels by writing funding proposals on behalf of the Sakya Hostels. Now, Nabiya works as fund raiser, student counselor and committee member of the organization. Without Sakya, it would have not been possible.



Macro Level:

a) Community development:

The children are the indirect source for the social, political and spiritual empowerment of the community from where they come from. The children are constantly interacting with the community members in their villages. Inspired by the hostel children, the members are trying to find the ways to educate their children. The Sakya children are becoming the role models for the children in the community. It's influencing the community development through empowering the members. The community members in the respective villages are also many ways using the social network developed by Sakya hostels for their development and empowerment.

b) Society empowerment:

The Sakya hostel is also playing major role in bringing social changes in the state of Tamil Nadu. The Sakya hostel is run by group of people who were student of Nagarjuna Training Institute. The hostel plays a meeting point to all students in Tamil Nadu and connecting with ex-students of across the country and also connected with the Sangha initiated by Hon'ble Bhante Sangharakshita. There are regular programmes to spread Dhamma along with developing awareness in the society about social, economic and political rights of the people.

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