

Development **BULLETIN**

Volume
38

July 1996

The private sector and development

Inside

Discussion papers: The privatisation of aid and development, private sector development in Asia, changing relations between NGOs and official donors, the public-private mix in healthcare and public utilities

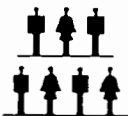
Briefing paper: Structural change, economic transformation and the moral economy: Children in South Africa

Viewpoint: Technology and community empowerment through Community Utilities

From the Field: Sustainable development in the Palestinian Territories; Neighbourhood empowerment in Westside Long Beach

AUSTRALIAN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES NETWORK

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You may have information you wish to share with others in the development field: conference announcements or reports, notices of new publications, information about the work of your centre or courses you offer, or you may wish to respond to articles or *Briefing Papers*. If so, please write to the Editor.

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

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Editor's notes

Editors' notes

Global economic change, structural adjustment, privatisation and the increasing role of NGOs in delivering public services have all inspired debates about how to get the right public-private mix in development. This issue of the *Development Bulletin* examines the changing roles of the private and public sectors in relation to development aid, local governance, foreign direct investment and so on, and how these issues are affecting specific sectors such as healthcare, small business and public utilities.

Briefing paper

Reginald Herbold Green provides an interesting perspective on children in relation to structural change and economic transformation in South Africa, and outlines lessons from other SADC countries which have recently undergone structural adjustment programmes.

Viewpoint

Bernard Woods discusses technology and community empowerment through Community Utilities in rural sector development.

Updates

We have reprinted Alexander Downer's address to the Crawford Fund's 2020 Vision Seminar, which includes information on the current review of Australia's aid programme. We have also edited some of the background documents published by the UN Department of Public Information for the UN Conference on Human Settlements - Habitat II.

From the field

Damian Conlan and Erika Schwarze address the issue of sustainable development in the Palestinian Territories, and discuss the framework and goals of the Permaculture Development Programme in two villages. Elisco M. Cubol discusses neighbourhood empowerment through the Healthy Start programme in Westside Long Beach, and recommends strategies for collaboration and participation in urban poor communities.

AusAID

The Australian Development Studies Network gratefully acknowledge the ongoing assistance of AusAID in publishing the *Development Bulletin*.

The back half

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

Next issue

In concert with the current review of the Australian overseas aid programme, the next issue will provide a variety of perspectives on the future directions of Australian aid. If you have any queries or would like to contribute please call, fax or e-mail us.

Pamela Thomas, Lisa Law and Rafat Hussain

Discussion

The private sector and development

A review of development literature, participation in national and international conferences and debates and a cursory glance at the annual reports of government and non government aid agencies clearly indicate that the ideologies and processes of social and economic development are in a state of upheaval. Donors are reviewing their experience and looking for new donor-recipient relationships and new aid delivery mechanisms. As government aid programmes become increasingly commercialised and NGOs compete with commercial consulting companies for project funding there is growing concern with finding the most effective public-private mix in development.

In an age of the free market and increasing privatisation of social services, governments, non government organisations, multinational aid organisations and development banks are reviewing their development agenda and the ways in which they do business. Ironically, in this International Year of Poverty Eradication development processes have become increasingly privatised and poverty has become more entrenched.

This issue of the *Development Bulletin* focuses on the privatisation of development and the growing role of the private sector in meeting basic human needs. Underlying these issues are the questions - what is the role of the private sector in eradicating poverty and supporting social and economic development and what future impact will the privatisation of development have on the very poor?

The papers on this section show that as the ideology of the free market gains ground and key social and economic decisions are increasingly left to the free market to decide, aid itself is becoming privatised. When these trends are combined with a rapid increase in direct foreign investment to developing countries there are obvious questions about the likelihood of reducing poverty in the poorest nations of the world.

The role of NGOs in particular has changed considerably. In many countries, including Indonesia and the Philippines, large NGOs have found that their access to foreign funding and the domestic private sector have increased considerably and this has improved their bargaining position with government. However, increased government funding has led to many NGOs becoming more conformist and less able or willing to address the issues of the very poor or to tackle the political issues which often underlie poverty. In the Australian situation, the need for NGOs to compete with commercial consulting companies together with the decline in government funding for small innovative projects has meant a decline in the number of projects which directly address the needs of the poor.

Globally the conditionality of aid has increased, with structural adjustment policies as one of the more glaring examples. Privatisation of social services - most particularly health and education - has often been the direct result. The World Bank maintains that the best means of providing health and educational services is to allow the private and public sectors to coexist. Increasingly these services are being provided by NGOs, voluntary and for-profit organisations who are more cost efficient and effective than government.

Privatisation of public utilities is increasing in many developing countries and is accompanied by fee for services. In many situations the very poor are excluded from access to these utilities.

The papers in this issue provide a variety of perspectives on these issues.

The privatisation of development

Russell Rollason, Regional Manager, Greater Mekong International Development Support Services

The current 'debate' over the abolition of the Development Import Finance Facility (DIFF) by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Alexander Downer, appears to have more to do with a new government finding its feet and a new opposition finding its teeth than a real debate over the objectives and level of the aid programme. It has, however, highlighted the issue of the link between aid and trade at a very opportune moment: the Minister's announcement of a review of the aid programme.

DIFF was the cornerstone of the Labor Government's efforts to commercialise the aid programme and to ensure that it was an opportunity to 'showcase Australian goods and services' (AIDAB 1994). Commercialisation of aid programmes caught on as a trend in the international donor community in the mid-1980s, but by the early 1990s the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD (the aid donors' club) had moved to stop the trend. Other forces were at work, however, and the commercialisation issue has led to a broader debate about the role of private enterprise and investment in development. In this article I review the commercialisation trend, look at the forces that are driving the privatisation of development and discuss the problems of this approach.

The commercialisation of aid

The fastest growing element in Australia's aid programme through the 1980s was the DIFF scheme, which grew from A\$1 million or one per cent of total aid in 1982/83 to A\$120 million or 8.5 per cent in 1993/94 (Bunbury 1994). A mixed credit programme, the DIFF scheme mixed aid money with a loan from the Australian government-sponsored Export Finance and Insurance Corporation to assist Australian companies win development contracts principally in China, Indonesia and India.

The Jackson Report of 1984, the aid review instigated by the then incoming Labor Government, was sharply critical of the DIFF programme, regarding it as inimical to development objectives. The report said mixed credits had a 'capacity to distort development priorities' and 'encouraged countries to increase their debt exposure' whilst 'diverting aid from low income countries to middle income countries where debt service is less of a problem' (Jackson Report 1984). Yet a decade later, not only was DIFF viewed by AusAID (then AIDAB) as one of its most successful programmes, but the then Director General of AIDAB, Philip Flood, told the National Trade and Investment Forum: 'Over time, AIDAB commercial strategies will cover all major elements of the aid programme.'

Apart from the commercially designed programmes such as DIFF and the Private Sector Linkages Programme, the government has also increasingly tied aid funds to the purchase of goods and services sourced in Australia. Some 80 to 90 per cent of bilateral aid is now tied.

The OECD recently examined the issue of tied aid and concluded that aid tied to procurement in the donor country results in higher prices because of a lack of competition. It is estimated that tying aid increases costs by at least 15 per cent. In 1991, 55.3 per cent of Australia's total aid, according to the OECD, was tied to the purchase of Australian goods and services. As a consequence, recipient countries paid some A\$77 million more than if they had been able to purchase the needed goods and services on the open market (Randel and German 1994). International concern about development and trade distortions resulting from commercial pressures on aid programmes led the OECD in 1991 to endorse a new set of rules to control mixed credits - the Helsinki Package. The Package essentially required countries using mixed credits to report to the OECD and have their programmes 'checked' against a set of standards. The application of the new rules is changing the nature of mixed credits and increasing their development impact (Rollason 1996).

Global economic changes

The optimism and commitment to international cooperation that inspired the first 'development decade' of the 1960s soon gave way to uncertainty as cold war competition and confrontation increased. In the early 1970s, the oil price hike ushered in economic turmoil for rich and poor alike. Developing countries formed the Group of 77 to fight for their share of global economic opportunities and resources. Aid levels hit all time highs, as the West and the East competed for the allegiance of Third World countries.

After the profligate spending and investing of petro-dollars in the late 1970s, the 1980s ushered in the debt crisis, which was as much a crisis for private banks in the US and in Europe as it was a crisis for the economies of several countries of the South. However, by the end of the 1980s, the third development decade had become known as the 'lost decade', because many developing countries ended the decade worse off than they had been at the beginning.

The 1990s have seen even greater upheaval with the collapse of the Soviet Union and communism, and conflict and turmoil in former Eastern Bloc countries, most notably in former Yugoslavia. The scale and brutality of humanitarian crises in Somalia, Iraq, Liberia and Rwanda shocked the world.

Furthermore, there has been an unprecedented globalisation of communications and the international economy.

Another fundamental change (one beyond the scope of this paper) came in 1994, after eight years of protracted negotiations, with the signing of the GATT Uruguay Round agreements and the consequent formation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995. The power of the WTO, and its ability to positively influence the process of development, has yet to be tested. A ministerial declaration annexed to the Uruguay Round text calls for the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO to 'follow consistent and mutually supportive policies'. Under current economic wisdom, the role of the private sector will be further strengthened. Only time will tell whether or not these three powerful institutions can take the lead in the eradication of poverty.

Rethinking the role of government

Many powerful influences have emerged from the turmoil of 1980s and 1990s, but I wish to highlight three. First, governments of the North and South have had to deal with their debt and balance of payments problems and, as a result, government spending has been cut and aid has generally not been exempted. Second, the ideology of the free market is in the ascendancy and key economic decisions are increasingly being left to the irrational free market to decide. Third, the globalisation of the world economy has continued unhindered.

This rethink of the role of government in the economy has also had its effect on the approach of aid donor governments to development and development assistance. Not only have funds for development assistance been cut, but donors have increased their expectations of developing country governments with expanded conditionality being applied. Developing country governments have been required to cut public expenditure, increase cash cropping for exports, introduce free market policies and free-up their domestic economy for foreign investment. Private investment and private enterprise are seen as the new engine for development.

Private investment and development

Private capital flows to developing countries have quadrupled to \$170 billion a year over the past five years (World Bank 1996). According to *The Economist* (1996), over a third of the world's foreign direct investment now goes to developing countries. The newly industrialised countries of Asia - especially Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and Malaysia - have substantially increased their investments in neighbouring developing countries. The Asian Tigers are resisting pressure from the international community to contribute development assistance, preferring the path of investment to concessional finance.

Increased foreign direct investment (FDI) is no substitute for aid. As the 1996 publication of *The reality of aid* points out, FDI is highly selective with most going to China and a handful of other growth centres in Asia and Latin America, and 'unlike

aid it is not possible to focus FDI on need or on the kind of long-term investments in people which are the key to growth with equity' (Randel and German 1996). The World Bank has reported that over the past ten years, 43 poor countries have seen their ratio of trade to GNP drop, and over half of these are in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The globalisation of the world economy and the near universal availability of computers and fast reliable communications have facilitated the free and rapid movement of capital across national borders. International capital flows are now estimated to run at \$1 trillion a day. Whilst capital flows could greatly assist development, most of these trillions moving through the money markets of the world are speculative or chasing exchange rate fluctuations. A Nobel Prize-winning economist, James Tobin, has observed that 'such massive capital movements distort the signals that markets give for long range investments and for trade' (UNDP 1994). In response, he has proposed an international uniform tax be levied on spot transactions in foreign exchange. The intent of the so-called Tobin Tax is to slow down speculative capital movements as well as raise immense revenue for development or for funding the United Nations. The United Nations Development Programme has undertaken a study of the proposal and the report is due for release in July 1996.

NGOs and privatisation

In the 1980s, NGOs became the 'flavour of the month' and donor governments are still enjoying the taste for a variety of reasons. First, local and international NGOs are increasingly delivering services to people where governments either cannot deliver for political reasons, or are failing to do so due to insufficient capacity or inadequate resources. Second, NGO participatory approaches give people a greater sense of ownership thus increasing the potential sustainability of the development process. Third, NGOs are a more cost competitive way to deliver development assistance.

As the NGO movement has grown, its analysis and understanding of development has evolved and matured. NGOs have moved from a charity response to poverty to a development approach emphasising self-reliance and sustainability. NGO programmes regularly include income generating projects, especially for women, and around the world NGOs have become key providers of credit for farmers and urban poor. The Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, for example, has become an internationally accepted model for the provision of micro credit. NGOs are actively promoting the growth of the private sector in developing countries.

Getting the mix right

Few actors in development would doubt the critical role of the private sector in assisting sustainable development. The key issue is how the privatisation of development can contribute to increased global equity and the eradication of poverty, governed as it is by the value-free philosophy of the free market.

The World Bank, the UN system and donor governments remain interested in working with NGOs because of: international commitments to eradicating poverty (such as that made at the World Summit on Social Development); a desire to nurture democracy and good governance (and NGOs have an important role to play in motivating and facilitating increased popular participation); and a need to involve people in environmental protection for the global good. On the other hand, NGOs, in their analyses of development, expect governments

and the World Bank to exercise greater control over the international economy and private enterprise to ensure the objectives of development - poverty eradication, participation, sustainability, human rights and equity - are achieved.

The forthcoming review of Australia's overseas aid programme provides an excellent opportunity to define the complimentary role of public and private financing in development.

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Government policies for private sector development: Small-scale indigenous entrepreneurs in Indonesia

Peter van Diermen, Institute of Development Studies, Massey University

Since the mid-1980s neo-liberal ideas have come to dominate discussions of socioeconomic development. These ideas emphasise the declining importance of the government sector and the significance of market driven solutions for development. Compared with the government sector, the private sector is seen by practitioners of neo-liberalism as a more efficient allocator of resources. Advocates of neo-liberalism for the Third World point to the failure of public sector production as proof of the state's failure to allocate resources efficiently. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are instrumental in practising neo-liberal solutions for the Third World, along the way forcing national governments to comply with their agenda.

The resurgence of neo-liberalism is intertwined with the growth of global economic activity. As new technologies have allowed the growth of global markets, private enterprises have pressured governments for greater trade liberalisation. Correspondingly, in order to entice highly mobile capital and compete against each other, national governments have deregulated their economies. In this way government and private enterprise are not diametrically opposed, but rather linked to each other. The implications of governments as facilitators for an efficient private sector needs to be examined in a local context. Responses by the private sector to government initiatives is greatly influenced by time and place, which provides contextual knowledge for future policy initiatives.

For Indonesia employment remains an enduring problem, well over two million new job seekers enter the market each year. Since much of the country's employment continues to be in small businesses, great emphasis has been placed on this sector. The government's attempt to foster the growth of small-scale indigenous entrepreneurs in the private sector has met with mixed success. In this paper two case studies are provided to illustrate and analyse the role of government policies in private sector development. First, the well known Indonesian 'Foster-Father' scheme is examined using a sample of 118 small-scale indigenous entrepreneurs producing garments and wood furniture from three locations: a government managed industrial estate for small indigenous entrepreneurs identified as PIK (*Perkampungan Industri Kecil*) in East Jakarta; a naturally occurring garment cluster in the middle class suburb of Sukabumi Udik in West Jakarta; and a wood furniture cluster in the impoverished suburb of Klender, also in East Jakarta. Second, a government-sponsored cooperative is investigated, located in the previously mentioned PIK industrial estate.

'Foster-Father' scheme

The Foster-Father scheme (*Bapak-Angkat*) is one in which large companies are encouraged by the government to create inter-firm linkages with small-scale enterprises. It is expected that these large firms will use their expertise to promote, develop and take a paternal interest in their 'foster child'. In particular the government hopes to: (a) increase their contribution to the growth of GNP through assistance with domestic and export marketing; and (b) increase the value-added of products through innovative technology and new equipment designs. The language of the Foster-Father scheme reflects the government view of small-scale enterprises as an economically weak group.

The programme was initiated by the Ministry of Industry during the Third Five Year Development Plan (Repelita III, 1979-1984) and later strengthened by government regulations related to industry and the Chamber of Commerce. In 1989 these were supplemented by a decree from the Ministry of Finance which required all state-owned enterprises (BUMN) to contribute between one to five per cent of their net profit to weak economic groups. The following year state enterprises were directed to limit their Foster-Father relationships to Small-Scale Industry and Handicraft Cooperatives (KOPINKRA) and Village Unit Cooperatives (KUD), concentrating on rural industry and agricultural activities. The general thrust of the government policies has been to create linkages between large and small firms, including encouraging large companies to sell 25 per cent of their shares to cooperatives, and allocating 20 per cent of bank credit portfolios to small-scale enterprises.

On 14 February 1991 the programme was given an extra boost when President Suharto endorsed the Foster-Father linkages as a national movement. In addition to the affiliated 200 state corporations, private enterprises were encouraged to participate. This process has been promoted by the creation of the *Upakarti* Awards, which the President personally presents to executives of large companies which displayed 'outstanding performance in promoting small business development'. These awards are very public, often with prominent photos in the Jakarta press of the President handing over the award to chief executives of companies. The President's personal support for the programme has placed additional pressure on large companies to enter into Foster-Father relationships. By the end of 1991, at least 4,698 large companies had made agreements with 21,983 small-scale enterprises in 22 of Indonesia's 27 provinces (Thee 1993:15).

The linkages created have varied and included: (a) managerial or technical assistance; (b) provision of equipment, tools, etc.; (c) provision of raw material; (d) assistance with finance; (e) subcontracting; and (f) assistance with marketing.

During 1993, from a 118 small-scale garment and wood furniture entrepreneurs interviewed, only 11 per cent of these entrepreneurs were involved in Foster-Father relationships. These consisted primarily of large companies providing working capital, or to a lesser extent, assisting in the marketing of products. Garment enterprises had a slightly higher number of Foster-Father agreements (13 per cent) compared with wood furniture (8 per cent) when disaggregated by both industry and location. Variations between the garment and wood furniture industries were not of great significance, and could be explained by the former's larger average size. More significant were the differences between locations. The more substantial difference between locations is explained by PIK's role as a government-sponsored initiative (PIK, 26 per cent; Klender, 4 per cent; and Sukabumi Udik, 2 per cent). Both the Jakarta Government and the Department of Industry officials have a vested interest in PIK's success. These same officials also promoted the Foster-Father movement. Thus, PIK facilitated the Foster-Father programme and it, in turn, contributed to the 'success' of the PIK project. For example, several Foster-Father agreements between PIK entrepreneurs and the state-owned Krakatau Steel company were for soft loans worth between 20 to 30 million Rupiah. In finding suitable partners or, perhaps more accurately, recipients, Krakatau Steel consulted the Department of Industry who referred them to the Jakarta Government officials located at PIK.

The Department of Industry and the Chamber of Trade and Industry (KADIN) have often acted as intermediaries in arranging Foster-Father links. Their activities include finding and assessing potential small firms, introducing the parties and executing the agreement. In particular, the Department of Small-Scale Industry and Artisan within the Chamber of Trade and Industry has played a key intermediary role. The Chamber of Trade and Industry's function as a facilitator in Foster-Father linkages is illustrated by reference to a series of meetings in late April 1993 between Pak Dani, an employee of the Department of Small-Scale Industry and Artisan, and several small entrepreneurs in PIK. Pak Dani had interviewed the entrepreneurs a number of times to calculate their cash flow and credit worthiness. The intention was to identify several small entrepreneurs suitable for receiving small 'loans' for use as working capital. These loans were provided by the state-owned Bank Bumi Daya and arranged by Perum Angkosa Pura II, the state-owned airport authority. Present at the final April meeting were Pak Dani, two agents from Perum Angkosa Pura II, a member of the PIK cooperative and myself. The two agents from the airport authority were part of a division within the state-owned company whose sole responsibility was to manage a budget of approximately one billion Rupiah for creating Foster-Father linkages. Pak Dani showed the group around the factories of the selected entrepreneurs. The Perum Angkosa Pura II agents had not previously met the owners or visited the factory sites. They

showed little interest in finding out any information about the enterprises. In subsequent conversations, it was revealed that Perum Angkosa Pura II would 'lend' 10 to 25 million Rupiah to each entrepreneur through Bank Bumi Daya on the recommendation of Pak Dani - the exact sum depended on their cash flow. These were one-off loans, and no follow up or permanent links were maintained once their current PIK activities were concluded. The Perum Angkosa Pura II agents, once finished in PIK, would look elsewhere for new opportunities to create Foster-Father linkages.

Creating linkages between large- and small-scale enterprises continues to be a major strategy of policy makers in Indonesia as illustrated by the degree of media and government attention. According to Thee (1993:15) it is too early 'to make an assessment of the impact of the linkage programme and its sustainability'. Certainly, no thorough study has been undertaken of the Foster-Father linkages programme. It is possible, however, to make some observations based on interviews with over a hundred small-scale indigenous entrepreneurs, several large manufacturers, trade associations, and various government officials and academics in Indonesia. Clearly, linkages motivated by sociopolitical considerations do not necessarily make good economic sense for either partner (Thee 1993:15; Hill 1992:248). There is no economic advantage for either party in the Perum Angkosa Pura II/Bank Bumi Daya example beyond the small entrepreneur receiving a cash grant which may or may not have to be paid back. If there was, the airport authority would take more interest. Indeed, where economic gains were made, the relationships were no longer temporal and both parties would benefit. Promoting linkages is not questioned, but the method of application needs to be scrutinised.

Vertical linkages are an essential part of an efficient manufacturing sector. Policies to promote them, as Dae-Woo (1993:47) and others have argued and demonstrated, may also have enhanced the performance of the manufacturing sector. In Jakarta, however, linkages are in an embryonic state, with great efforts being applied to develop them, unfortunately with little consideration of their economic viability.

Cooperatives

The Indonesian Government actively pursues the creation and delivery of services through clusters of small-scale industries. The cooperative *Koperasi Perkampungan Industri Kecil* or KOPIK located on the government estate of PIK in East Jakarta is examined here. The principle of mutual cooperation is well established in Javanese society. The present 1967 cooperative law has drawn its inspiration from Article 33 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution which stated in part: 'The economy shall be organised as a joint endeavour based upon the principle of brotherhood.' In theory, cooperation has been a means of promoting strong effective industrial networks. The occurrence of natural industrial clusters, according to Pyke (1992:59) should provide the best possibility for developing cooperative networks - the hallmark of modern post-Fordist production. The recommendation has, however,

not been followed in the development of both cooperative and the Bekasi Jaya cooperative cluster. This experience has confirmed Grizzell's (1988:49) belief that delivering services to clusters may do little more than delay their inevitable decline.

All residents in PIK are required to be members of the cooperative at an initial cost of Rp25,000 and a monthly fee of Rp1,000. As the chairperson of the cooperative has admitted, however, not all PIK residents were members, and a significant minority (less than 25 per cent) did not pay regular fees. The cooperative elected its current chairperson in January 1993 for three years. Previously the cooperative had been inactive. In 1985 the Jakarta government supplied Rp100 million to the cooperative for members from small garment firms in PIK to produce trousers which would be sold through various outlets. The intention was to provide the capital for a large number of small garment producers to enter into continuous production, with the sale of the initial trousers financing subsequent production. Unfortunately, the project failed, and the ensuing arguments as to who was to blame and where the money had gone, led to the demise of the cooperative and some distrust of the organisation as a vehicle for achieving collaborative action.

In 1993 the cooperative was revived at the urging of the PIK administrators and the present board consists of individuals untainted by the previous scandal. Significantly, the new chairperson is a well educated and successful businessman in his own right with no connection to PIK's garment enterprises. The present cooperative executive has indicated plans to improve marketing, supply subsidised credit, and act as supplier of textile material - a programme not unlike the failed project. At the end of 1993, none of these plans had materialised, and individuals on the executive freely admitted they were unlikely to be realised. The small office occupied by the PIK cooperative was attached to a general store. It contained two chairs and one small desk. Generally, the office was unoccupied and locked. The importance of being a member of the cooperative executive, however, should not be underestimated. The cooperative serves as a conduit for delivering government aid to projects, and a means by which executive members receive privileged access to resources. Already, the current chairperson had been to Australia on an Indonesian Department of Industry-sponsored and financed small industries export promotion tour. Access to resources provided by membership of a cooperative, however, have often exacerbated tensions and divisions within the community and, at times, have created new ones.

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Several conclusions can be drawn from these and other case studies (Thurston 1986:167; Vatikiotis 1993:54). A policy of developing cooperatives as an 'article of faith' regardless of the prevailing condition is inherently flawed. Such a policy creates the impression that cooperatives are a means by which to capture government favours and causes members to pursue a range of different interests which are self-destructive to the unity of the organisation. Vatikiotis (1993:56), for example, echoed the common person's perception of cooperatives in Indonesia when he wrote, they are 'good for little else except the pocket-lining of local officials'. Cooperatives which emerge as local initiatives to service clearly defined needs are most likely to succeed. However, the clearest way to destroy small cooperatives with well-defined goals is for government agencies to pressure them into serving a larger constituency than intended, and provide easy access to limited resources over which members can compete against one another.

Conclusion

As neo-liberal ideals continue to create global markets, national and local governments proceed to determine the environment in which individual entrepreneurs and groups compete. Market operations, as portrayed by private enterprises, need not necessarily be in conflict with the government sector. Government policy can facilitate private sector development, but where it does it needs to enhance rather than restrict market forces. In the previous two case studies government policies have inadvertently created additional distortions in the operation of local markets. If the Indonesian Government is serious about facilitating development for small-scale indigenous entrepreneurs, future policies need to focus on correcting existing market failures, not creating additional market imperfection. Small-scale indigenous entrepreneurs operate in far from perfect markets, and they are hampered by restrictions in access to resources including finance and existing government regulations. Addressing these distortions in the first instance can go a long way to aiding indigenous entrepreneurs. For development of marginalised groups, direct government intervention may continue to be more effective than long-term gains from applying neo-liberal principles. However, for small-scale businesses which by their very definition are part of the market, reducing market imperfections provides the best practise for private sector development.

Economic populism under pressure: NGOs and the new capitalist ethos in Indonesia

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Introduction

A common theme within Indonesian studies in recent years has been the gradual diminution of state control in various aspects of social life. Political economists have given particular attention to the erosion of state domination of the economy, and noted a corresponding increase in the political influence of the business sector (Robison 1986; Soesastro 1989; MacIntyre 1992). This development is significant because, for historical reasons, the Indonesian political culture has fostered widespread suspicion of capitalism and a general faith in the capacity of the state to advance the common good. During the emergence of Indonesian nationalism in the early decades of this century capitalism came to be associated with colonialism and imperialism. In the two decades following the declaration of independence in 1945, various social movements further encouraged this antipathy towards economic individualism and a number of measures were taken to bring the economy under popular control. Today, senior public figures still frequently express their opposition to 'free fight liberalism' and the depredations that would occur if the market was allowed to operate unhindered. In this light, the recent retreat of the state from the economy has important ideological implications. This paper explores the impact of economic deregulation and liberalisation of economic thinking.

Legitimising capitalism

The element of Indonesian ideology critical of capitalism is unquestionably still strong, but an important change in the public discourse on economic life seems to have taken place in the last decade. Making money has now become respectable, even praiseworthy, in a way that would have been surprising twenty years ago, and virtually inconceivable before that. One indication of this shift is to be found at the level of the top political leadership. In the recent past, members of the President's family were extremely antagonistic to exposure of their business interests; a series of publications were closed in the 1980s, reportedly for divulging such information.¹ Yet in the last few years the President's children and his associates have been actively seeking publicity for their business interests, seeking to cultivate an image of responsible entrepreneurship. This is perhaps the most obvious sign that the ideological ground for public debate about economic issues is changing in important ways, and that capitalism is becoming more politically legitimate.

The aspect of this new political culture most relevant to this paper is the greater public respectability given to the principles associated with economic liberalism. Deregulation was initially forced upon an unwilling state apparatus in the mid-

1980s. But the views formerly advanced most forcefully by economic advisers of international agencies are now being put forward by local commentators and senior economic ministers. In the Indonesian press we frequently read statements by senior ministers proclaiming that the government's long-term objective is to build an internationally competitive economy, and that it will do so by whittling away at obstacles to the operations of the free market. In short, economic liberalism now has a new ideological legitimacy.

Most recent discussion of the Indonesian political economy focuses on the inroads that economic liberalism has made into state control of the economy, and asks important questions about the changing role of the state. Policies of deregulation may have been forced on the government by economic circumstances, but how deep is this commitment to the market? To what extent has it eroded the propensity for state officials to intervene in economic life? In this article I shift the focus somewhat to ask: what does the new legitimacy of the free market mean for economic populism? In particular, how have non government organisations (NGOs) responded to the challenge of market forces? Recent literature on the NGO movement itself has concentrated on the question of the extent to which it can remain independent of state control (eg, Eldridge 1990, 1995). While it is not surprising that Indonesia's NGOs are most concerned with the treatment they receive from a powerful state, I suggest here that the shift towards economic liberalism presents them with a more profound challenge.

The economic populism of the NGO community and the development debate

Debates over development policy have long given rise to political controversy in Indonesia. Although senior state officials constantly refer to the need for society to pull together to advance the development effort, the government has not been able to establish an effective monopoly on the definition of 'true' development. Indeed, the most serious challenge to the Suharto regime since it came to power occurred in January 1974 after several months of mounting public criticism of development policy; serious riots broke out during a visit by the Prime Minister of Japan, Tanaka (Schwarz 1994:33-35). Economic policies have since remained the outcome of sometimes fierce political struggles within the administration and in society more generally.

Broadly speaking, development debates in Indonesia have involved three schools of economic thinking, namely economic populism, statist-nationalism and economic liberalism (Chalmers and Hadiz forthcoming). The first,

populist stream draws on the ideological basis of the Indonesian state itself, which gives special attention to issues of equity. Prior to the physical struggle for independence, Dutch control of the tiny modern sector and widespread poverty in the massive agricultural economy had created a strong commitment to socialist ideals. Colonialism was equated with imperialism and economic inequity, and virtually all republican leaders were determined that, after independence, state authority would be used to realise social justice. Even the moderate economic thinker and future Vice-President, Mohammad Hatta, proposed that the state initially encourage self-help efforts, and that a network of cooperatives be established to eventually bring the economy under national control (Reeve 1985:36-41). Hatta's ideas were almost universally accepted by nationalist figures prior to independence, and the 1945 Constitution - still the most important document governing the economy - is unequivocally collectivist in both word and spirit. Its best known article concerning economic affairs (Article 33) declares that: (1) the economy will be organised collectively, on the basis of the Family Principle; (2) the state will control the branches of production which govern the lives of the masses; and (3) that the state will control the earth, water and the resources they contain, which will be used to maximise the welfare of the people (Pringgodigdo 1966:92). After full independence was gained in 1949, all political leaders were thus avowedly socialist in some sense of that term, and virtually all favoured populist policies giving the state a prominent role in promoting the common good.

The colonial experience had thus given birth to a highly politicised definition of the development effort which implied a general and state-controlled uplifting of the welfare of the masses. The central components of this stream of thought are a distrust of foreign capital, opposition to capitalism and especially economic liberalism, and a faith in the capacity of the state to realise development aspirations. The state commitment to economic populism deepened in the 1950s and early 1960s as frustration with the pace of development gave rise to increasingly communitarian definitions of the national interest. This populist formulation still provides a constant backdrop to economic policy debates, and an ideological armoury for critics of government seen to be too pro-capitalist.

When it came to power in 1966-1967 the 'New Order' government of President Suharto based its legitimacy on its success in promoting development - *pembangunan* - which led to the second stream of economic thinking. Following a short period of rehabilitation and reconstruction in the late 1960s, priority was given to maximising growth. Foreign investment was encouraged and the government relied heavily on foreign aid and loans. This was far from an open market approach, however, but a system which required tight planning and strong state controls. A series of Five Year Development Plans mapped out the trajectory for Indonesia's growth, as the initial focus on agriculture gave way to the development of light industries, the expansion of service industries and, more recently, to the promotion of tourism and capital-intensive sophisticated technologies.

Coordinated and overseen by a powerful state, the Plans have become more than programmes to marshal economic resources. They are symbolic of the school of thought that came to dominate economic thinking following the two oil booms of 1974 and 1979, which injected vastly increased reserves into the state budget. This school is statist-nationalist: 'nationalist' because economic initiatives are justified in terms of building national strength; 'statist' because an emphasis on unity and hierarchy entails corporatist state intervention to marshal social forces. The leadership constantly legitimises political initiatives by reference to the goal of development, and demonises opponents for being anti-*pembangunan*. Developmentalism has thus become an ideology in the strongest sense of the term, prescribing the ultimate purpose of political activity, the manner in which state policies should order society and the attitudes which political figures should express in public, while serving as an effective weapon against opponents of the regime and proponents of alternative visions of the future.² Not surprisingly, senior state officials are the most important advocates for this ideology, which has until recently dominated planning processes.

The growth of NGOs in the 1970s can be directly linked to the pattern of state-led development that had already emerged. In an intellectual atmosphere increasingly critical of foreign investment, of growing wealth disparities and of the perceived failure of 'trickle down' policies, there was a proliferation of NGOs promoting alternative strategies intended to benefit more directly the majority of the population. They undertook small-scale development projects such as the provision of drinking water, irrigation, the formation of cooperatives, village-based industries and cottage handicrafts. There are now in excess of 1,000 NGOs throughout the country, with a membership ranging from three or four activists in small village-level organisations, to over one hundred organisers in the larger urban NGOs (Mahasin 1989:31). These organisations popularised economic self-reliance and ideas like 'grassroots mobilisation' and 'bottom-up development'.

Their growth was aided, paradoxically, by the tight restrictions placed on political activity. The pre-existing political parties had been effectively emasculated, and in 1973 were forced to merge into two unwieldy political organisations. Buoyed up by increased revenues with the dramatic increase in state income following the two oil booms, state controls on the formal political process tightened further. Yet, whereas increased resources meant that the government was able to exert tighter controls over political organisations, it was less successful in establishing its hegemony over development ideas. When the government drew up plans to recycle increased state resources into ambitious development projects and allowed the consolidation of national business conglomerates able to realise its aspirations, the NGO movement and other middle class activists responded by drawing on Indonesia's populist heritage, particularly those elements of the 1945 Constitution that stress social justice. In the 1980s the NGO movement became an effective locus for political opposition. NGOs drew on the tradition of

economic populism for ideological support, and the most important constituency for this school of economic thinking has thus existed outside both the state and private sector, amongst activist middle class intellectuals and students.

This advocacy of populist development goals and the involvement in indirect political activity eventually allowed the NGOs to win important concessions from the government. More attention was given to basic needs policies in the mid-1980s, for instance, a policy shift at least partly a response to pressure from NGOs. There are also pressures from within the NGO movement to become more deeply engaged in negotiations with government agencies, serving as intermediaries protecting the interests of the masses (Mahasin 1996:5). Yet the task for NGOs has become far more complex in the last decade, because both economic populism and statist-nationalism have come under challenge from a third stream of thought, namely economic liberalism.

Oil prices fell sharply in the mid-1980s, and the government was required to jettison many prestige development projects. The deregulation 'package' of 1986 was followed by further moves to privatise large sectors of the economy.³ The state-dominated banking sector was liberalised, while a number of large state corporations were privatised. Ministerial advocates of economic liberalisation had initially faced stern political opposition from within the administration, but their influence grew with the rapid expansion of the private sector in the late 1980s. Economic liberalism in Indonesia has a weak political tradition, but in the last decade this ideology has gained ground within certain government circles and amongst important academic and middle class groups.

Corporate growth and an expanding middle class

The expansion of the middle class in Indonesia is immediately evident to even the casual observer. The steady increase in private vehicle ownership, the appearance of vast housing estates on the outskirts of the major cities, and the plethora of new supermarkets and shopping malls all point to the fact that a growing proportion of Indonesians are enjoying an identifiably middle class lifestyle - a development especially noticeable in urban areas.⁴ There has also been a steady increase in the readership of newspapers and magazines, providing the market for a far more diverse media than was the case even a decade ago. The emergence of sizeable middle class groups has been one of the most significant changes that Indonesian society has undergone over the last two decades. But what are its political implications? How will it effect development policy specifically? Commentators are divided on these issues.

Proponents of social change have tended to place their trust in the expansion of the middle classes as laying a social base for an end to authoritarian rule, and have argued that the expansion of an educated urban middle class has encouraged democratic tendencies, reducing the domination of politics by the armed forces and providing a social base for further political reform (Lev 1990:39; Wirosardjono 1994). Most

commentary is more cautious, however. The contributors to *The politics of middle class Indonesia* collection, for example, stress the obstacles facing middle class reformers (Tanter and Young 1990). Crouch (1984, 1994) also feels that the middle classes are still too few in number and too dependent on patronage to challenge political power structures. Finally, Robison (1992) argues that the lack of access to state institutions has critically weakened their political influence.

Yet while we can accept that the middle classes are generally apolitical, depend on others for employment, and tend to be preoccupied with a concern for fashion, housing and education, their lack of overt activism does not mean that the middle classes are politically irrelevant. In Indonesia, as elsewhere in Asia, the expansion of middle class groups has made society far more complex, complicating the task of an authoritarian government. Political sociologists have noted that the growth of the intermediate classes has, historically, served to reduce the political power of a dominant state or class, injecting a degree of unpredictability into political life. Some have associated the growth of the middle classes with greater political uncertainty (Roberts *et al.* 1977:169). Others have concluded that the influence of the middle classes 'can in part be explained in terms of their function in preventing the domination of any single element of social life, ie, by capitalists, or state bureaucrats, or professionals' (Abercrombie and Urry 1983:144). In contemporary Indonesia, the existence of a sizeable section of the urban population with access to education and printed information gives the politics of legitimacy added importance. While the term 'middle class' covers an heterogenous coalition of social groups, a common feature is the consumption of printed and other media. The considerable growth of these classes has created a social mass whose loyalty is important to the survival of the regime, a relatively well informed social force which must be accommodated by the political leadership.

In attempting to evaluate the political implications of this social change, it is important to relate the expansion of Indonesia's middle classes to its changing political economy. This demographic change was given impetus by the process of deregulation that began in the mid-1980s and accelerated after 1988. A few examples will illustrate this phenomenon.

As the corporate sector has expanded so has the demand for business managers increased, and in recent years we have witnessed a rapid increase in the number of private business schools offering MBA courses.⁵ The growing diversity of the Indonesian economy has also increased the need for media-related activities supplying information on economic and political developments. Since the mid-1980s there has been a substantial increase in the number of business and economics publications. A number of 'racy' journals and newspapers dealing with business affairs such as *Swasembada*, *Warta Ekonomi*, *Prospek* and *Bisnis Indonesia* have sprung up to serve this middle class market.⁶ Muslim scholars have traditionally been at least ambivalent about -

and usually openly hostile to - the evils of 'free fight capitalism'. In recent years, however, Indonesia's two largest Muslim social organisations are taking shares in businesses owned by large national corporate conglomerates.⁷ Finally, the atrophy of the state sector and the growth of national corporations has meant that the most likely career path for university graduates who had traditionally sought employment in the civil service now lies with business.

These examples indicate that since the early 1970s, and especially over the last decade, the middle class groups that have expanded most rapidly have been those integrated into a rapidly expanding economy. Few members of the middle classes will transform themselves into capitalists, and their interests remain distinct from those of the Indonesian bourgeoisie. But these examples do indicate that capitalist social relations are penetrating more deeply into Indonesia's social structure, underpinning the increasingly materialist values of the urban middle classes.

The significance of this economic change for our purposes is that it has begun to impact on the NGO movement, the personnel of which is largely middle class. Their programmes have a broad appeal and the movement does draw a wide range of people into its operations, including worker and peasant activists, unemployed people and well-off philanthropists. But its core membership is from the urban professional class, which is middle class in terms of employment, lifestyle and education. NGOs are beginning to adapt their operations to an increasingly capitalistic environment, competing with private organisations for consultancy work provided by the large corporate groups. The crucial issue is, can NGOs remain a coherent force for promoting the interest of the popular classes within this changing social and economic climate?

The advent of economic liberalism and new tensions within the NGO community

Economic liberalism traditionally has had few advocates in Indonesia, giving it a weak political tradition on which to draw. This stream of thought did have its advocates in the early 1950s and again in the early years of the New Order, between 1966 and 1971, as new solutions were sought for the problems then faced. But in the earlier period its advocates were too weak politically to halt the lurch towards economic nationalism, while the increased revenues following the oil booms of the 1970s relegated economic liberalism to virtual political irrelevance. Even today there are few neo-liberals and virtually no doctrinaire free-marketeters in Indonesia. Until recently, its most influential advocates have been foreign economists and officials associated with bodies such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, who have long urged the Indonesian government to implement policies of economic deregulation, but with little effect.

As mentioned earlier, however, the economic downturn of the mid-1980s dictated measures to rein in government spending, and a raft of deregulation measures were introduced

in 1983/84, chiefly intended to fill the hole in the state budget. But the process of economic liberalisation which gathered pace towards the end of the decade was increasingly the outcome of an ideological shift, rather than budget necessities.⁸ The freeing-up of private sector activity since 1988 has increased foreign investment and led to the significant expansion of domestic corporate capital, laying a firmer social basis for economic liberalism.

These developments mean that economic liberalism now has a new legitimacy in economic policy debates. It has some prominent proponents in state circles, predictably within the financial departments, but also in departments such as the Ministry of Industry that were erstwhile bastions of statist-nationalism. This orientation has also developed an important constituency within sections of the media and academia, and these middle class groupings are becoming increasingly important participants in development debates. The idea that the market is the most effective means for marshalling economic forces has steadily gained in legitimacy, and there are strong signs that economic liberalism is in the midst of developing an ideological tradition that is challenging both statist-nationalism and economic populism.

The advent of economic liberalism presents the NGO movement with a major political and organisational challenge. This has always been a highly diverse community, one split along religious, cultural and political lines, divisions which have occasionally given rise to a degree of acrimony. Yet during its 'heroic' period in the 1970s, the NGO movement effectively submerged these differences in the common struggle against the government's elitist development strategy, which encouraged private investment while restricting political activity.⁹

In the 1980s a further cleavage reflected changes at an international level. By this stage many NGOs had found that the obstacles to improving popular welfare were political rather than economic, and were urging popular mobilisation to bring about structural economic change. This agitation coincided with increased international concern for human rights and the promotion of basic needs, and there was a greater readiness on the part of foreign agencies to finance organisations promoting alternative development strategies. There was a proliferation of links with European, North American, Australian and, more recently, Japanese organisations. Perhaps inevitably, a division emerged between the large, foreign-linked NGOs and the hundreds of small organisations directly involved in development-related activities. Nevertheless, the movement was, once again, able to forge an effective *modus vivendi* to span this divide, partly as a result of the internal criticism launched by the small NGOs. The larger NGOs - often dubbed BINGOs (Big NGOs) - became advocates for the NGO community at large, and acted on behalf of the smaller organisations in dealing with the government and foreign funding agencies. In return, they relied on the smaller organisations to maintain their grassroots contacts. And, once again, the ideology which held this disparate network together was economic populism.

The changed conditions of the 1990s, however, present the NGO community with a much more difficult situation, for the gradual engagement of BINGOs with the corporate sector has widened the divide between them and smaller organisations. Large organisations have found that their access to foreign funding agencies and the domestic private sector has improved their bargaining position with the government. While their influence is still limited and the government has attempted to maintain a monopoly over policy processes, there are signs that the more influential and established NGOs are becoming involved in decision making. On the other hand, the economic expansion of the last decade has led to the radicalisation of opinion within large sections of the NGO community. Unlike the movements of the early 1970s, when radical NGO activists were overtly anti-government, these groups are now explicitly anti-capitalist.¹⁰

Conclusion

The changed social environment in which the NGO community operates thus presents it with a dilemma, one perhaps beyond its capacity to influence. The sense of purpose which originally came from the struggle to change the policies of a powerful government has gone, and calls are heard more often that large NGOs have 'sold out' or 'been coopted'. In the past, larger NGOs were able to tolerate such criticism, and many privately acknowledged that it was precisely the existence of the more radical NGOs that empowered them in dealing with the government.¹¹ But the expansion of capitalism and its engagement of growing sectors of the middle class makes such ties more difficult to build. The ideology of economic populism which has provided the ideological cement binding together an extremely heterogeneous movement is therefore unlikely to do so in the future.

Endnotes

1. In early 1984 a new weekly magazine, *Expo*, was banned soon after it began listing the fortunes of '100 Indonesian millionaires' (4, 18 January). The same fate soon befell *Fokus* after it published a list of major business groups and began to get close to those with strong connections to the Palace (5, 10 May 1984). Since the late 1980s such lists have become commonplace, and regularly include analyses of conglomerates such as Bambang Soeharto's Bimantara group and his sister's Citra group.
2. Of the few references to developmentalism as an ideology under the New Order, see the noteworthy work of Feith (1980) and Heryanto (1988).
3. There is now a large literature on this subject. See Hainsworth (1990) and Robison and Hadiz (1993) for references.
4. The lack of reliable data makes this sort of exercise perilous. But it is reasonable to estimate that a combined minimum income of about Rp500,000 (A\$350) per month is necessary to support a middle class family in Jakarta. While it is likely that families with such an income probably constitute less than ten per cent and perhaps as little as seven per cent of the total population, they are overwhelmingly concentrated in urban areas. With about one-third of the total population of Indonesia living in the cities, simple arithmetic suggests that more than 15 per cent and perhaps as much as 30 per cent of the urban population is middle class.
5. A handful of private business schools emerged in the mid-1980s, and by 1993 there were almost 100 of such schools producing several thousand graduates each year. The comments in the following three paragraphs and the observations on the politics of the MBA programmes chiefly derive from field research carried out in 1992 and 1993.
6. Indeed, many of the larger corporate groups are shareholders in such ventures, as Hill (1994) notes.
7. In addition to the well known link between Nahdlatul Ulama and the Chinese-owned Summa conglomerate, Muhammadiyah has also been able to combine its proselytisation (*dakwah*) activities with money raising. 'Muhammadiyah mulau menekuni sektor bisnis,' (Muhammadiyah begins to explore the business sector), *Kompas*, 13 July 1990.
8. An early indication of this shift in thinking was the support for economic liberalism by a former economic technocrat and the New Order's most senior policy architect, Prof Sumitro Djojohadikusumo. His seminal article, originally published in 1985, is reproduced in Chalmers and Hadiz (forthcoming).
9. The following paragraphs primarily draw on observations of the NGO community made over the last decade, including a two year period working with a large Jakarta-based NGO, LP3ES. Billah (1996) and Eldridge (1995) both provide good summaries of the different interests within the NGO community.
10. For example, at the Tenth International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) conference recently held in Canberra (26-28 April), quite a number of presentations related problems over land distribution to Indonesia's incorporation into global capitalism. Representative of the contribution of these more radical NGOs were papers entitled 'Changes in agrarian strategy: Agrarian capitalism and agrarian reform in Indonesia' and 'Symptoms of the marginalisation of the people's economy in the capitalist economic system'.
11. The mainstream environmental organisation WALHI, for example, has close ties with the Department of Population and the Environment, and is often accused by radical environmentalists of being too moderate. Yet its personnel readily acknowledge that their capacity to influence policy would be less if they could not argue that there was a danger more radical elements might take over (personal interviews 1990-1991).

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NGOs and official donors

Overseas Development Institute

In the 1950s and 1960s, non government organisations and official donors tended to pursue different development agendas. Beyond support to emergencies, they were usually disinterested in each other's activities and occasionally suspicious of the other's motives. This began to change from the early 1970s when most donors followed the earlier example of countries such as Norway and Canada in directly supporting NGO development programmes. The shift of official funding towards NGOs accelerated in the 1980s. Part of this shift is explained by the growth in emergency assistance in the period but it also reflected a growing recognition of the role of NGO programmes in meeting official aid objectives in areas such as poverty reduction, environmental conservation, health and education.

The financial contribution

One of the most tangible indicators of growing interaction between NGOs and official donors has been the change in the quantity of funds official aid agencies channel to and through NGOs for their *development* activities. Figures from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) indicate that the total amount of official aid going to NGOs for development in 1992/93 was US\$2.2 billion, while data from the World Bank put the figure at \$2.5 billion. These figures seriously underestimate actual flows.

The financial contribution of donors to NGO development activities is commonly presented in terms of two ratios:

- the proportion of official aid channelled to NGOs; and
- the contribution of official aid funds to total NGO income.

Published OECD data suggest that in aggregate about 5 per cent of all official aid is now channelled to NGOs. Not only are these figures an underestimate, but they fail to capture wide variations among different donors in the share of official aid going to and through NGOs. For individual donors, the ratio ranges from less than one per cent for some donors to up to 30 per cent (Table 1).

Published aggregate figures indicate more accurately the growing importance of donor funds to overall NGO income: the World Bank judges that whereas in the early 1970s about 1.5 per cent of total NGO income came from donor sources, by the mid-1990s this share had risen to about 30 per cent. Yet these figures, too, conceal wide variations across donor countries, ranging from about 10 per cent of total NGO income to 80 per cent or more (Table 2).

Also of importance has been the pace at which donors have increased the funds they channel to NGOs. For instance, in

the ten years to 1993/94, the United Kingdom increased its official funding of NGOs by almost 400 per cent to £68.7 million, raising the share of total aid channelled to NGOs from 1.4 per cent to 3.6 per cent. In the same period, Australia increased its official funding of NGOs from A\$20 million to A\$71million, raising the share of total aid going to NGOs from one per cent to six per cent. Similar expansion occurred in the case of Finland, Norway and Sweden from the early 1980s to the early 1990s.

Funding arrangements

In terms of donor-NGO funding arrangements, there are variations across countries. In Australia, there are 32 different funding mechanisms through which NGOs can obtain funds from the government. However, the dominant type of NGO activity funded by donors today remains projects and programmes put forward for funding by the NGOs themselves, and utilised for projects and programmes in particular developing countries. In the United Kingdom, this is through the Overseas Development Administration's (ODA) Joint Funding Scheme; in Sweden, through the NGO Programme; and in Finland, through the NGO Support Programme. Additionally, a small proportion of donor funds are channelled through a range of international NGOs, while most bilateral donors have also provided funds to NGOs which specialise in sending volunteer abroad, and to NGOs working on education and information initiatives within donor countries.

All donors have introduced criteria to determine the eligibility of potential projects put up for funding: some use sectoral specialists to review project proposals, others provide funds almost on a self-monitoring basis within general guidelines. Donors vary, too, in the share of total project costs which donors are willing to fund, from 50 per cent or less (the UK) to 75 per cent and upwards (Finland, Sweden). Donors have also differed in the relationship between the level of funds requested by the NGOs and the official funds available: some parliaments (Sweden) have, until very recently, repeatedly voted more funds each year than there are projects available to fund. Others (such as the UK) have to reject a high proportion of projects, because of a shortage of funds allocated.

Different donors have also applied varying degrees of conditionality on the non project funds they provide for NGO work. In contrast to the United Kingdom, which has stringent conditions attached to official funds used for development education and information work, other donors, such as the Scandinavians, have a more permissive approach and even provide funds for activities and campaigns critical of official aid policy.

The role of NGOs in donor programmes

What all these particular funding schemes have in common is that they are official contributions to the NGOs' own development projects and programmes. Increasingly in recent years, however, NGOs have been coopted to assist official aid agencies execute donors' own projects and programmes. For these types of initiative it is usual for donors to contribute all the funds required to execute these particular projects effectively on a 'sub-contract' basis. Although aggregate data on the amount of official funds channelled to these types of initiatives have not been gathered, country studies conducted by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) indicate that, in recipient countries with a large and growing NGO presence, five per cent and more of total bilateral aid funds are commonly used for these NGO sub-contracted initiatives.

There are three factors which have influenced donors to utilise the skills and services of NGOs to help further their own agenda.

First, donors have been using NGOs to support their emergency and relief activities for some time, so providing funds for NGO development projects has often been viewed as a natural progression.

Second, poor performance of official donor programmes in reaching the poor and carrying out successful rural development projects in the late 1960s and 1970s, married with the clear popularity of NGOs for their work in the fields of education and health, and claims by NGOs that they were able to reach the poor and improve their lives, has led donors to turn to NGOs to help them achieve a greater poverty focus in their own aid programmes.

Third, and relatedly, donors have seen NGOs as a means of getting around obstacles to aid impact caused by inefficient and corrupt governments, as well as a way of reaching people in those countries where they had suspended official aid programmes.

Official donors and southern NGOs

Historically, most official funds have gone to support the work of NGOs based in donor countries, even though the bulk of the funds have been spent in developing countries. An early reason for this was that there were few viable, and effective, indigenous NGOs. Yet over the past 15 years there has been rapid growth in the number, as well as the capabilities of NGOs based in developing countries - *southern* NGOs.

The growth of southern NGOs has varied from country to country but, in general, effective southern NGOs emerged earliest in south and east Asia (such as Bangladesh and the Philippines) and in a number of countries in Latin America such as Chile, Brazil and Nicaragua. Only in the last ten years has there been a rapid growth in the number and importance of indigenous NGOs in Africa and their influence varies markedly across countries.

Table 1: The share of official aid going to NGOs - selected donors

Country	% of official aid channelled to NGOs	Year
Sweden*	30	1993/94
Switzerland	29	1994
Norway*	25	1992
Canada*	14	1992
Netherlands	10	1993
US	9	1992
Germany	7	1992
Finland	6	1993
Australia	6	1993/94
UK	4	1993/94
Japan	1	1992

* denotes inclusion of emergency aid

Sources: OECD 1995, *Development assistance committee report 1994*, OECD, Paris; World Bank 1995, *World debt tables 1994-95, Vol. 1*, The World Bank, Washington DC; AusAID 1995, *NGO programs effectiveness review*, Canberra; Smillie, I. and H. Helmich 1993, *Non-governmental organisations and governments: Stakeholders for development*, OECD, Paris; ODA 1994, *British aid statistics 1989/90 -1993/94*, Government Statistical Service, London; Tvedt, T. 1995, *Non-governmental organisations as a channel for development assistance: The Norwegian system*, Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo; Swiss Development Cooperation 1994, *Annual report 1994*, SDC, Berne; and Independent Review of International Aid 1995, *The reality of aid*, Earthscan, London.

The donor view which saw increasing merit in working through NGOs, together with the growing strength of southern NGOs, has led more and more donors to supplement their support of northern NGOs with direct funding of southern NGOs. Such donor-NGO initiatives became prominent in the early 1980s and have continued to expand thereafter.

In 1988, the ODA channelled £3.4 million to 40 Bangladesh health-related NGOs under the Bangladesh Population and Health Consortium, and over a five year period to 1993 has provided over £5 million to a large NGO in Bangladesh, the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee. The United States, Canada, Norway and Sweden are amongst the leading bilateral donors who have all channelled substantial funds to local NGOs, with a heavy concentration in South Asia. The European Commission (EC) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have been among the leading multilateral agencies to fund southern NGO activities. Mirroring the support given to northern NGOs, official funding of southern NGOs has taken two forms: the funding

of initiatives put forward by southern NGOs, and the utilisation of the services of southern NGOs to help donors achieve their own aid objectives.

Early moves by donors to fund southern NGOs directly have often been viewed with misgivings by northern NGOs. Yet when donors have embarked on this type of initiative in consultation with their home-based NGOs, and especially when they have used the experience of northern NGO personnel on the ground to assist these direct funding initiatives, the process has often stimulated northern NGOs to assess their own comparative advantage and has been welcomed. Donor funding of southern NGOs has received a mixed reception from recipient governments. Clear hostility from many non democratic regimes has been part of more general opposition to any initiatives to support organisations beyond the control of the state. But even in democratic countries, governments have often resisted moves seen as diverting significant amounts of official aid to non state controlled initiatives, especially where NGO projects have not been integrated with particular line ministry programmes.

The rise of the 'reverse agenda'

The growth in official donor support to NGOs has not always been welcome by NGOs. Reluctance by many northern NGOs to accept large amounts of official aid funds has been based on two mutually-reinforcing ideas: that their development approach was qualitatively different from that of official aid agencies, and that, as donors continued to apply conditions to funds channelled to NGOs, a rise in donor funding would increasingly be likely to compromise the integrity of NGO approaches to development.

Using NGOs to help achieve donors' own aid objectives only heightened these concerns, though the degree of concern has always varied across different donor countries. For example, in most Scandinavian countries, NGOs have received from the state upwards of 80 per cent of income for their projects and most have not felt their integrity threatened as a result. Some major US NGOs, on the other hand, have refused to consider official funding.

Though NGO anxiety about being over-run by the official donor agenda has persisted, the growing role and status of NGOs has fuelled a different phenomenon, increasingly referred to as the *reverse agenda*. This is the process whereby the approach and methods of NGOs now influence the activities and perceptions of donors and official aid programmes, in some cases as a direct result of donors seeking out NGO ideas.

There are a number of ways in which this has manifested itself. For instance, some of the characteristics of the 'NGO approach' to development - participatory planning, assessing a gender dimension, and concern with the environment - have gradually been incorporated into mainstream donor thinking. Additionally, some donors (such as Australia, Germany, the Netherlands and Norway) regularly seek out the views of NGOs in drawing up particular official bilateral aid

Table 2: The share of total NGO income derived from official funds - selected donors

Country	% of total NGO funds obtained from official aid sources	Year
Sweden	85	1994
Belgium	80	1993
Italy	77	1991
Canada	70	1993
US	66	1993
Australia	34	1993/94
Austria	10	1993
UK	10	1993

Source: as Table 1

programmes; Norway did this in 1993 for their programmes in Ethiopia and Nicaragua. Of particular interest has been the willingness of the World Bank (which has often attracted the hostility of NGOs) to engage in discussions with NGOs and to include some NGOs in the implementation of World Bank projects.

The further expansion of a common agenda?

A direct effect of the growing influence of the reverse agenda has been to increase the common ground between donors and NGOs. No longer is it easy to talk of distinct differences between NGO and donor approaches to development.

One manifestation of a growing common ground has been the way most donors have broadened their aid objectives. Thus, most donors now include poverty alleviation, concern with the environment and enhancing the status of women as major aid objectives. Perhaps of even greater importance is that most donors now view action to enhance human rights and democratic processes as a constituent part of their development agenda. Additionally, many donors have taken up 'strengthening civil society' as a specific aid objective. This is doubly beneficial to NGOs both because NGOs are seen to constitute an important part of civil society, and because one of the core objectives of NGOs has been to work to 'empower' poor people, especially by strengthening the organisations to which poor people belong.

One concrete result of a growing overlap of objectives is that donors themselves are now increasingly willing to bring those projects and programmes, which for a long time were typically initiated by NGOs, within the umbrella of official aid. It is now not uncommon for donors to take over (and often expand) the funding of projects in the developing countries which were started and have been funded by (usually northern) NGOs.

Though these examples provide evidence of a widening cluster of initiatives where it is no longer possible to make a strong and clear distinction between donors and NGOs in terms of project approach and execution, it is important not to press the common agenda argument too far. Thus a number of NGOs, including a high proportion of the long-established and larger northern NGOs and a growing number of southern NGOs, remain wary of these recent developments and are still concerned to maintain their distance from donors. Some argue that the growing convergence of the NGOs and official aid agenda could well turn out to be more a convergence of *language* about development than convergence in the overall approach to development. In particular many large NGOs remain extremely critical of donors' support for economic policy reform (or structural adjustment) programmes.

The future

The common ground between donors and NGOs can be expected to grow, especially as donors seek to make more explicit their stated objectives of enhancing democratic processes and strengthening marginal groups in civil society. However, in spite of a likely expansion and deepening of the reverse agenda, NGOs are likely to maintain their wariness of too close and extensive an alignment with donors.

In aggregate, the direct funding of southern NGOs by donors, now emerging as a significant form of interaction, is likely to expand in the next few years, even though some donors (such as Norway) may not follow this trend.

Ironically, this expansion could well be accompanied by greater involvement of northern NGOs and northern NGO personnel, by contracting them to help administer and monitor

the impact of such funds. This is in part because many officials of donor agencies often do not have the skills and expertise necessary to liaise effectively with the often small and dispersed organisations which make up the southern NGO 'community'. It might be assumed that these trends will result in increased funding of NGOs by donors in the years ahead.

For growing number of northern NGOs, such an expansion would help to compensate for what appears to be falling aggregate income from private (non official) sources (down to US\$5.4 billion in 1994, compared to US\$6 billion in 1992). However a new, if very recent, phenomenon is that some donors who have provided large amounts of money to NGOs (Canada, Sweden and Finland) have announced cuts of 10 per cent or more. In contrast, USAID intends to channel 40 per cent of its bilateral resources through NGOs by the end of the century, up from 34 per cent in 1994. In general, however, where donors have started to cut aid to NGOs, this has been mainly due to overall pressure on, and often absolute cuts in, the aggregate aid budget, in some cases reflecting doubts about the entire aid enterprise in the post-cold war era.

Together these differing trends may enable donors and NGOs to cooperate even more closely than in the past. If a deeper sense of mutual interests and mutual purpose between donor agencies and NGOs does emerge, this might lead NGOs to devote less energy and fewer resources to criticising those aspects of the donor agenda they dislike, and more to building and widening the common ground they increasingly share.

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Non governmental inertia and local governance in the Philippines

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Within the last decade or so, the growth of the Philippines' non governmental sector has been significant. Profound changes in the country's social, political and economic landscape can be greatly attributed to the emergence of non governmental and people's organisations (NGOs and POs). Indeed, such initiatives have now come to represent a distinct branch of discourse on civil society and mass movement for social transformation especially in the developing world.

NGOs, democratisation and decentralisation

Within the previous decade, a most revealing development in the Philippines has been the rapid rise in organised private initiatives coming from the basic sectors of society. Indeed, since the mid-1980s, the literature that has accumulated over the last ten years or so on NGOs and POs in the developing world (the Philippines especially) has, in effect, matured into a distinct field in public administration and the social sciences (*see* Korten 1990; Clarke 1993; Osteria and Okamura 1986). In the fields of development work and public administration, NGOs and POs have now become the bywords.

Democratisation and empowerment strategies, whether undertaken as a state project or by elements of civil society, necessarily involve the principles of promoting enduring and functional public accountability and transparency, popular representation and decentralised governance. Moreover, internal political stability and resilience are more likely to be ensured when a society adopts a functional and enduring democratic and empowering mode.

Non governmental activities and entities figure prominently in the democratisation and empowerment calculus. Such initiatives perform an important function in the democratisation and empowerment process in that they provide one of the critical linkages between the bureaucratic and administrative machineries of the state and the rest of unorganised civil society. These initiatives may tend to represent civil society's response to state intolerance and/or benevolence.

In the Philippines, where the state has been historically weak, there has evolved a strong NGO/PO movement. These non governmental undertakings and initiatives are usually seen as performing an auxiliary function in delivering basic social services in particular relation to the state as principal purveyor of development and social transformation. However, the notion that the state is the only paramount mover of society is now in serious doubt. The idea may have worked for some in the past but, as in the case of the Philippines, it has failed for many others. Today the very essence of effective governance conveys with it the notion of a state becoming increasingly decentralised, resilient, transparent and empowering.

Philippine NGOs have been historically linked to religious missions and activities focused mainly on relief and philanthropic work partly because of the nature of such institutions and mainly because of the prevailing political climate. During the 1970s, the NGOs that emerged became more involved in development work and community organising and were consequently seen as subversive organisations out to undermine state authority. Much of the NGO/PO activities during this time took place clandestinely or at least semi-formally; that is, although many had sought registration with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), they were not openly recognised as development partners of the state.

By the time of the Aquino administration, NGOs and POs began to openly organise and flourish. Non governmental initiatives became enshrined in the 1987 Constitution and in the 1991 Local Government Code. Although the Philippine Constitution does not define NGOs, it does attempt to clarify the meaning of people's organisations as 'bona fide associations of citizens with demonstrated capacity to promote the public interest and with identifiable leadership, membership, and structure' (1987 Constitution, Article 13, Section 15).

The Philippines' principal economic planning agency, the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA), by the latter half of the 1980s, adopted a rather generic definition of NGOs and NGO activities to include even the affairs of people's organisations including cooperatives and trade unions. It defines NGOs as 'private, non-profit, voluntary organisations that are committed to the task of socio-economic development and established primarily for service. Cooperatives shall be considered as NGOs for purposes of this definition' (*see* Clarke 1993).

BINGOs, GRINGOs, COMENGOs and FUNDANGOs

Since before the time of the Aquino administration, however, NGOs and POs in the Philippines have undergone a sense of auto-legitimation in that their legitimacy lies in the fact that they subscribe to an alternative vision of society and of social change. Increasingly, some NGOs have begun to distinguish themselves from run-of-the-mill NGOs. Today, NGO observers and practitioners say that there are NGOs and there are 'development' NGOs, the latter being those that combine or see development work with or as part of political goals (Bautista n.d.). Moreover, traditional NGOs are further sub-categorised into BINGOs (business-initiated NGOs), GRINGOs (government-initiated NGOs), COMENGOs (the fly-by-night initiatives) and FUNDANGOs (funding agency dependent or initiated NGOs).

Given these rather broad and confusing definitions and distinctions, different sources reveal different estimates of the number, extent of institutionalisation and scope of operations of NGOs and POs. A survey undertaken by the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) in early 1990 estimates these organised private initiatives to be slightly over 65,000, a significant portion of which being classified as agricultural, religious and social initiatives (Tigno 1993).

Organisations registered with the SEC totalled 77,697 as of June 1993. Estimates indicate that about 75 per cent of this figure can be considered NGOs (Clarke 1993). While certain members of the NGO community themselves as well as the media forward a figure of about 18,000 (Goertzen 1991:20; Constantino-David 1992:2; Tigno 1993:65).

It is not so much their numbers that are important, however, as their exact nature and extent of operations. In the Philippines, NGOs/POs operate at practically every level of society although their strength can be said to be at the village or *barangay* level. In a survey conducted by the Philippine Partnership for the Development of Human Resources in Rural Areas (PHILDHARRA), around 40 per cent of the 160 NGOs surveyed were found in the Luzon area (PHILDHARRA 1988:127). Almost all of those surveyed were engaged in education, community organising work and cooperative credit targeted mainly at small farmers, women and the youth.

Non governmental initiatives rely mainly on external funding support to finance their major activities. A major source of NGO/PO funding is through foreign assistance and grants. Some NGOs have received significant funds through official development assistance (ODA). In 1986, NGOs in the Philippines received US\$3.338 billion in ODA support mainly from the governments of industrialised countries like the US, Britain, Australia, Germany and Japan.

One of the largest and oldest NGOs in the country, the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) had some 360 full-time staff with an annual income of P49 million in 1992. Another large organisation, the Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP), has 288 staff members and has units or extension offices in 69 provinces. Given that NGOs are ambiguously defined as organisations that operate outside the framework of government and are managed by voluntary members, a serious concern is raised with respect to big NGOs that tend to reflect a structured bureaucracy and managed by full-time staff (Clarke 1993). Are these big NGOs really NGOs?

Legislating democracy in the Philippines

The 1991 Local Government Code provides for the participation of NGOs and POs in local governance through specific modes of participation that include:

- membership (of up to one-fourth the total number of members) in the local development councils and other Local Special Bodies (LSBs);

- sectoral representation (involving women, workers and a third sector designated by the council) in the local legislative councils or *sanggunians*;
- preferential treatment by the Local Government Units (LGUs) for local cooperatives;
- mandatory consultations of the NGO/PO sector by national government agencies prior to the implementation of development projects; and
- joint undertakings (including build-operate-transfer arrangements) between government and the private sector in the delivery of basic social services.

To that extent, the Code envisions to transform not just the scope of relations between National Government Agencies (NGAs) and LGUs but also the nature, character and organisation of governmental systems and procedures for accommodating the basic (and previously marginalised) sectors of civil society as represented by organised grassroots initiatives.

Civil society participates?

The following are some of the highlights in the implementation of the Code as of January 1992, observed in selected localities (however, it is safe to assume that very little has changed since then) (*see* ISDS 1993).

1. In some localities as much as 70 to 100 per cent of the NGOs/POs that applied were eventually accredited by the *sanggunian*. According to the National Coordinating Council for Local Governance (NCC-LG), an umbrella NGO/PO entity devoted to facilitating non governmental involvement in the Code, for all 76 provinces nationwide, the average ratio of NGO/PO applications and the number eventually accredited was 72 per cent as of December 1992 (NCC-LG 1992). The latest figures from the DILG's Bureau of Local Government Development (BLGD 1993) indicate that there are now as many as 16,834 NGOs and POs already accredited by their respective local legislative councils (provincial, city and municipal).

2. It is important to mention at this point that not all NGOs/POs operating in the localities have applied for accreditation with the LGU. The reasons have yet to be empirically validated but they may have something to do with the LGUs previous negative experiences with these NGOs and POs or grassroots organisations being suspicious of the intentions of LGU officials. Indeed, one can almost sense the operative ideological preferences for many of these organisations that do and refuse to participate. Likewise, there is a need to further examine the quality of grassroots organisations that have sought (and later been granted) accreditation for LSB membership. A quick scan of the list reveals that many are civic organisations, sports leagues, 4-H clubs and the like.

3. As far as their actual membership is concerned, a number of accredited NGOs and POs have met and later appointed themselves as members of the local special bodies. The problem, however, is in meeting the desired number of NGO/

PO representatives in the local development councils; and convening the LSBs once the funds for such are available. In practically all the sites observed at the time, the LSBs, particularly the local development councils, have yet to be convened. The reasons vary: the required number of NGO/PO members has yet to be met; insufficiency of resources (snacks and transportation honoraria) for the numerous participants to the meetings; lack of a venue to hold council meetings; among others. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that some *barangays* and municipalities do not have a sufficient number of NGO/PO members.

4. Essentially, the factors that bring about harmonious linkages between the NGO/PO and government sectors at the local levels are the relative openness of the LGU leadership to commence cooperative ventures with NGOs/POs primarily brought about by the existence of previous positive experiences shared by both parties in the partnership, and the absence or existence of minimal resource constraints (eg, drought, lahar, insurgency, etc.) on the locality. However, with regard to the prospect of the Code to address the problems of local patronage and bossism, current empirical evidence fails to conclude this as a general instance, although there are exceptional cases. Another point that has been made minor in the course of the Code's implementation is that of sectoral representation. In a survey in the early 1990s conducted by the Commission of Elections (COMELEC) to determine the specific sectors to be represented in the *sanggunian*, as many as 20 per cent of those that responded had requested a deferment of the first sectoral representative (women) on grounds that their *sanggunians* already have elected women representatives; the NGOs/POs do not possess the same mandate as the elected officials of the LGU; and electing additional representatives would incur costs which the LGU can ill afford at the moment.

5. Attempts to introduce mechanisms to regulate and monitor the activities and participation of NGOs and POs in local governance are faced with a number of stumbling blocks. One such problem is enforceability. The Code does not provide any clear-cut timetables for the process of involving NGO/PO participation in governance and if it does provide such a schedule it does not sanction LGU officials for non compliance. Another problem is the general mistrust felt by the NGO/PO sector with respect to their participation. Many groups continue to suspect the government's motives in allowing them a chance to participate in decision making saying it is an attempt to undermine their strength at the grassroots level by 'mainstreaming' their activities.

Issues and concerns internal to NGOs/POs

A number of issues that relate to inter-NGO/PO relations are worth mentioning at this point, as they also impact on the nature and extent of NGO/PO participation in the formal structures and mechanisms of local governance. One such issue is the latent tension that exists between NGOs and POs. Such a tension which can and does translate into actual rivalry is caused by the NGO strategy of providing assistance to mass

or people's organisations. In some cases, a sense of competition exists between organisations especially in the sourcing of necessary funds. Recently, these rivalries have developed into full-blown hostilities as a result of the long-standing ideological debates that have occupied the attention of mass movement personalities.

Ironically, despite their overlapping concerns and organisational structures, NGOs and POs have also been seen as generally 'fragmented, riddled with intrigues and distrust, and unnecessarily divided' (Diokno 1988). This is partly because of the historical experience of the NGO/PO community under the previous Marcos administration where distrust became a virtue, and partly because NGOs in general have a peculiar set of visions and philosophies of society and social transformation that even members of the movement have yet to reach consensus on. Recent ideological rifts between NGO/PO networks and alliances have aggravated these cleavages to the point that it has both weakened their effective operations as well as impeded the flow of external financial support.

In spite of this, however, non governmental initiatives have achieved a measure of success in developing closer contacts with, and effecting successful development programmes among, grassroots sectors and communities, as well as articulating and acting upon specific and local issues and problems. These positive features are also the reasons why government needs to coordinate and operate with them, especially concerning development programmes implemented at the local levels.

Going where no one has gone before: Exploring democratic space

The NGO/PO sector is treated on the same level as the private sector in the Code - an arrangement that does not sit well among NGO leaders who would like to imagine themselves (almost condescendingly) as socially conscious and development-oriented. Steven Rood observes that there is a danger that this condescending attitude can lead to an NGO perspective that they constitute the alternative to the ineffective state, which can eventually lead to overt competition as the former engages more and more of its attention and resources on organising communities to empower them (Rood 1992:6,7). The NGOs, in spite of their comparative advantage, cannot replace the state. Such a prospect may later on cause the reappearance of statist-authoritarian restrictions on civil society, or the breakdown of social arrangements that hold civil society together. NGOs and POs in general are structures that have no official character, having no real (ie, electoral) mandate at the moment nor legal authority and accountability towards their 'constituents' to exercise public governance.

The alternative would be, as Rood suggests, for the state to accommodate the non governmental sector only to the point that the latter's interaction with the former is towards breaking down the state's exclusionary character (eg, NGOs being

brought into the policy making and implementation process). The idea is to strengthen the capability of the state to be penetrated and engaged by the more progressive (less crisis-causing) sectors of civil society - the NGOs and POs. It is not simply a matter of reinforcing state capacities as such but of reorienting the state to be more sensitive to the margins.

Mass movements assume a distinct importance within the context of a prevailing social and political landscape. When, however, the terrain has changed dramatically, the movement must not just re-examine the social topography but must also

re-examine itself. NGOs and POs now operate over a different terrain. It is a terrain where they are expected to participate in local political exercises and mechanisms. Experience, however, shows that their participation has been limited and in some cases nominal.

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The lamb lies down with the lion: The privatisation of aid and NGOs

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Nobody has all the answers ... Phoney expertise is neurotic ... The wise leader has learned how painful it is to fake knowledge. Being wise and not wanting pain, the leader does not indulge in pretending. Anyway, it is a relief to be able to say: 'I don't know' (Heider 1985:141).

The nature of privatisation

There are two key aspects to the privatisation of aid: the delivery of aid through a variety of non government bodies and institutions; and the effects on local economies and administrations of development policies put in place by bilateral and multilateral donor bodies. In Australia the government has never been operational in its aid programme. Most aid has been carried out through consulting companies who bid for projects and programmes conceived by aid bureaucrats and designed by private consultants. This is changing, however, along with trends elsewhere in Europe and North America. More of the bilateral programme is being channelled through development NGOs, academic institutions and a widening circle of consulting bodies. It is with this aspect of privatisation that this paper is primarily concerned.

There is a second aspect to the privatisation of aid: the push by donor countries and multilaterals, through their structural adjustment schemes and tied aid deals, to force recipient country governments to adopt 'free market' economic policies and reduce administrative spending on 'non productive' social services. This often means the erosion of state bodies responsible for the delivery of essential services such as health, education and welfare, and the transfer of responsibility for these services to the private sector. Services become available either on a user-pays basis, in which poor people are increasingly marginalised, or through under-resourced private voluntary agencies which struggle to provide basic services. Whilst this may not always come about through aid coercion, it does usually result in the diminishing of state sovereignty, and all too often a decline in the services available to poor people. One notable move against the privatisation trend within global bilateral aid is the tendency for national military bodies in industrial countries to become increasingly involved in humanitarian relief and rehabilitation (*see* Sogge 1996; SCJEEAR 1996).

Changing elements in the context

With increasing official overseas development assistance (ODA) funding over the last decade or more, many development NGOs have grown in status and size. Many

have enjoyed an increasing say in matters of international policy and often sit at the table with bilateral and multilateral donors. With this new source of funds has come a whole new range of accountabilities and the need to 'professionalise'. This has led to the 'corporatisation' of NGOs, with increasing bureaucratic needs and structures. They adopt the fashionable management language of the day and corporate approaches to fundraising. Attention moves away from members of the public and people in recipient communities, towards decision and policy makers and public funding bodies. This sometimes leads to a sense of unease due to the tension created by a progressive, even radical, organisational culture sitting uncomfortably within a conventional, even conservative, organisational structure. These changes in focus have led to agencies facing a new set of dilemmas:

At issue are the legitimacy, credibility and autonomy of the 'community' of private aid agencies as progressive citizens' organisations, and as organs of civil society. The weaknesses of the sector will eventually force a reconsideration of the agencies' basic character, and a shaking-down and sorting-out seems inevitable (Saxby 1996:41).

In the Australian context, attempts to address the issues of credibility and accountability are being made through strengthening existing Codes of Conduct and developing industry standards. At the same time southern NGOs have found their own voice, they seek a new deal, no longer needing their northern cousins to stand and speak for them. Southern NGOs are increasingly accessing funds directly from northern governments and multilateral sources, sometimes putting them in direct competition with their erstwhile partners in the North. There is also an increase in raising their own funds domestically. Some southern NGOs are becoming wary of this alliance between northern NGOs and government, sometimes seeing collusion rather than convenience. Accordingly, they are moving into new alliances with people's organisations locally and other southern networks regionally.

Added to this mix of changes is an uncertain and ambivalent perception on behalf of the general public with regard to both foreign aid and the organisations which deliver development assistance. With the exposure of the corruption and gross inefficiency of a number of NGOs and multilateral aid bodies over the last few years, along with growing confusion over seemingly incomprehensible and insoluble international trouble spots (Bosnia Herzegovina, Somalia, the Middle East,

Rwanda/Burundi, Liberia, Northern Ireland), there is growing scepticism as to the effectiveness and viability of foreign aid. There have been a series of crises in domestic welfare programmes and the election of a number of conservative governments who drink from the philosophical cup of neo-liberalism. Many aid organisations are experiencing serious declines in public funding, making them even more reliant on official sources of funds.

Differing visions for development

Historically, official aid bodies and the NGO sector have had quite different philosophical and methodological approaches to development. The debate over these differences has been long, and at times unproductively polarised, often handled in a rather unsophisticated and belligerent manner. From the official perspective aid and development are often seen in terms of economic growth and good governance, although good governance in this instance is somewhat restricted to 'efficient government administration'.

The major features of this paradigm are open, market-based economies, high levels of human resource development and physical capital formation, and the efficient use of that capital in both the private and public sectors. The high priority to be given to human resource development is critical, together with the full participation of women, and a willingness to directly address the needs of the poor. In all these areas, effective government and efficient, accountable administration which is in touch with the needs of its people and not overly interventionist, is an essential feature of the new paradigm (Flood 1994).

Official aid programmes and bureaucracies are not without their own problems. Northern donors are faced with funding cuts and the task of creating a coherent programme from a set of conflicting agendas that attempt to bring together national commercial interests, foreign affairs policy agendas and humanitarian assistance (Kilby 1996). This mix makes it difficult to build a programme of development assistance that has both integrity and credibility in relation to poor people and the alleviation of poverty. The result is a compromise approach which tends to address these issues at the macro-level in the hope that benefits will eventually reach the poor. The exceptions are a few well designed and well executed programmes that genuinely reach poor people, often, but not always, implemented by NGOs.

The view of most NGOs and other actors within the 'third sector' as to what constitutes sound development is usually somewhat different. Whilst there are virtually as many definitions of development as there are minds inquiring into its nature, the approach of NGOs tends to focus much more directly on people and on development as a process. This approach has two aspects to it. The first is a process of empowerment of people, and begins as a psychological unfolding whereby people's self-esteem and confidence are

strengthened, and activities centre on reclaiming culture and community values. The process then moves on to address, through the peoples' own actions, their basic needs and rights. The second aspect to this approach is to act on overcoming the intricate web of forces at work in the larger society that converge to create poverty in the first place. This approach to development has at its heart the belief in the need for strong civil society and the processes that lead to it as key components to any development strategy.

Maintaining a crucial balance

Many dialogues about development philosophy and methodology have been typified by confrontational debates which have posed either/or type options. It may be time to ask whether in fact seemingly opposed approaches to development are not complementary. One approach has its emphasis on content and output with minimum concentration on process or 'people development'. The other concentrates largely on process and the development of people, whilst often ignoring material content. We have to ask the question: if either of these approaches were given unimpeded sway by themselves, would they be successful? Several decades of the former have shown that a concentration on economic growth and 'trickle down' theory alone do not succeed. Whilst NGO development practitioners are very keen on process, poor people are usually also looking for some sort of material improvement in their lives. Surely there is a need for a balance between output and process, between economic growth and empowerment of people, between administrative efficiency and social justice, between a healthy democratic state and a strong civil society? Indeed, it is possible to go further and argue that in each case it is not possible to achieve one without the other being present.

One of the real values of privatisation is that official aid and the non government sector are working together in a potentially cooperative way, a way which may lead to a balance of these crucial elements. One of the dangers however is that the official aid machine, being so much larger and more powerful than the non government sector will overpower their development colleagues and coopt them into a rather blind and narrow agenda. One of the most valuable ways of replicating and upscaling successful and appropriate development methods is through the cross-fertilisation between official aid programmes and NGO efforts.

Currently there is a real danger in privatisation. NGOs, academic institutions and the like, desperate to maintain themselves and their funding base, are not tackling the issues arising from eroded autonomy (their own or that of recipient communities), neglected multiple accountability (to donors, participants, governments and intermediary NGOs), outdated project methodologies and linear concepts of development. Instead they are dancing to the tune the piper plays, tending to see bilateral and multilateral donors only as further sources of funding. ODA sources on the other hand often tend to see the input and role of NGOs as being either a cheaper form of delivery for traditional aid programmes or the necessary

community development facet that will help make a particular programme more acceptable to potential beneficiaries - a means of overcoming resistance to change.

This danger arises from two directions, including the failure on behalf of many decision makers within official aid programmes to see how important process is in achieving effective development, and hence how important process specialists are to these programmes and their design. Designs must move away from the old linear mode to become much more flexible and dynamic. The second danger arises from the dearth of imagination and innovation within NGOs when it comes to negotiating room to manoeuvre with official aid sources over methodology, autonomy and multiple accountability.

The opportunities are as exciting as the dangers are serious. NGOs come from a long tradition of 'relevance'. Their focus and work are generally centred on people, and seen by those people as being immediately appropriate, but they have often lacked rigour. Official aid bodies have tended to concentrate on delivery of professional programmes, with the emphasis placed more on 'rigour' and accountable practice, but they have often been of limited relevance to poor people. This is what these two different groups, who at least through their rhetoric aspire to the same ends, have to offer one another.

Conclusion (or delusion?)

Governments in the North struggle to come to terms with the changing nature of global society and its intricacies. Recently, they have sought solutions in neo-liberal agendas and a return to simplistic stance and dogma. Organisations in the foreign aid 'third sector' perpetuate their own dilemmas through procrastination and denial. They have only to look to the fate of their cousins, domestic agencies involved in social welfare, to see how far they can fall. In the end it is not the

fate of individual organisations and their relationship to government, partners or the poor that matter. It is the fate of the issues they were originally established to address that should concern us. In a rapidly changing world, a world in which 'North' and 'South' are increasingly mixed, their location being more demographic than geographic, the question arises: how do we concern ourselves with the questions pertaining to the maintenance of civilisation?

If a test of civilisation be sought, none can be so sure as the condition of that half of society over which the other half has power (Martineau 1992).

How do we strive for the inclusion of as many people in meaningful participation in society as possible? How do we turn back the tide of poverty and despair that engulf a quarter of those on the planet? How do we ensure a future for our children without mortgaging the environment? The way forward can only be through creative dialogue between all involved in the current development efforts, through listening, compromise and experimentation. No one sector of society holds the answers, but through addressing fundamental questions together we may move closer to creative solutions. Above all a useful path forward will not be found through rigid ideological stances, professional mistrust or 'ultimate' choices.

So the move towards the privatisation of aid has created something of a crisis for NGOs. But, in what is fast becoming a cliché, we know that the ancient Chinese character for crisis is made up of the two symbols for 'opportunity' and 'danger'. So it is with the current relationship between ODA bodies and their counterparts in the not-for-profit sector. There is a need to transcend past ways of communicating and perceiving each other, to transcend ideological argument which is bound to get hung-up in the conceptual realm. On the basis of working together, all parties may move to the point of exchanging the very practical gifts of relevance and rigour.

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Public-private mix in health care in Pakistan

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After nearly 50 years of independence, Pakistan is faced with growing socioeconomic disparities. The most striking example is the disparity between resource allocation for the social sectors on the one hand, and for non developmental sectors on the other. To meet the growing budgetary deficit - caused by servicing the massive external debt and rising defence expenditure - each successive government since the late 1980s has opted for privatisation of not only industrial ventures, but increasingly of major utilities as well. In most cases, this has been done without adequate analysis of its effects on the citizenry. This paper is concerned with the potential impact of the private-public mix in health care, a euphemism for partial privatisation that is being enthusiastically promoted by the donors and the country's economic wizards as a panacea for the crumbling health care system. In order to better comprehend the consequences of privatisation of health care, one needs to have an understanding of the structure and problems of health services in Pakistan.

The health care sector

Pakistan's health care sector comprises public and private subsectors. Services in the public sector range from basic health units/dispensaries to district hospitals and are supposedly provided free, or at a nominal cost. The private sector includes both allopathic and traditional healers and provides all levels of diagnostic and curative care on the principle of services 'for those who can afford to pay'. The issue of cost of health care is discussed at length below.

The major problem with the health care delivery system in Pakistan is its almost exclusive orientation to the provision of curative care and heavy emphasis on training medical doctors. It is one of the few countries which has an inverse doctor-nurse ratio. For example, of the 41,000 allopathic providers in the private sector, less than ten per cent are nurses, and similar ratios exist in the public sector. Moreover, although two-thirds of the population live in rural areas, health services are heavily concentrated in major urban areas. Despite being a signatory to the declaration of 'Health for all by the year 2000', Pakistan is far from achieving even a modicum of reasonable basic health services for the majority of its populace. In the 1960s and 1970s, for example, public investment in the health sector was almost exclusively concentrated on building more hospitals and expanding medical training facilities in urban areas, with less than ten per cent spent on rural health. As a result, 83 per cent of doctors are currently located in urban centres, and the urban population has over ten times more favourable doctor-population ratios (1:1,120) than the rural population

(1:13,850). Furthermore, out of a total of about 60,000 hospital beds, 82 per cent are in urban areas (Zaidi 1986). There are over 8,000 NGOs in Pakistan, two-thirds of which function in urban areas. A recent study showed that over half of these NGOs deal with education, and approximately 40 per cent have health as their primary objective, although most of them undertake more than one activity (UNDP 1991). Some health-related NGOs are large and well managed and provide in-patient services. Their services are frequently limited to walk-in clinics, however, with few or no referral mechanisms to other health services. The overall contribution by NGOs to the health sector is therefore modest.

The combined public and private expenditure on health is 3.5 per cent of GNP, of which the public sector only contributes 0.75 per cent. Given limited public spending on health it is obvious that the budget allocations are barely enough for recurring costs. Of the total budget allocation in all provinces, salaries take up about 55 per cent, leaving 20 per cent for medicines and 25 per cent for other expenses. There are inappropriate budget allocations within the different levels of care. Hospitals take up two-thirds of the provincial budget's recurrent expenditure (Government of Pakistan 1992). The private sector accounts for 60 per cent of total health care expenditures (World Bank 1991).

Public versus private

The public and private sectors run parallel with little or no interaction. Services are often duplicated and at times are even at cross-purposes. The private sector makes up almost 70 per cent of health care provision. The national health survey 1982-1983 (Government of Pakistan 1986) showed that only 14 to 16 per cent of the total sample population sought health care in the public sector. Government facilities at first level health care are mostly underutilised. According to a study conducted in rural areas of Sindh province, average participation rates were estimated to be 0.35 visits per person per year (Karim 1987). This is hardly surprising. Long distances and waiting times, inconvenient hours and non availability of doctors - particularly female health personnel in rural areas - are some of the factors contributing to low participation.

In contrast, public tertiary hospitals - which are mostly in urban areas - are grossly overloaded. The in-patient facilities at teaching hospitals consistently run at around 100 per cent occupancy, and in some situations over 100 per cent occupancy, with district hospitals usually having rates of around 75 per cent. Moreover, almost half the patients seen at out-patient clinics are those who could have been

adequately treated at the primary care level. Another one-third of patients are from rural areas and travel hundreds of kilometers to get a reasonable diagnosis. In some cases, their mistrust of the public health care system runs so deep that they go through a mind-boggling array of irrelevant and expensive diagnostic tests and treatments at private clinics before finally coming to a public tertiary care facility in sheer desperation. This unnecessary load on tertiary hospitals could be easily avoided by improving the quality of care offered at primary and secondary levels and establishing an effective referral system.

The imbalance between demand and supply of health care in the public sector contributes to a huge demand for the private sector. As a result, health services in the private sector have grown tremendously, with huge variations in the quality of services provided. The government has neither been able to frame or implement any regulations for the private sector, nor undertake any major reform of its own health sector. Moreover, almost all senior doctors at public hospitals also run very busy private practices which, needless to say, consume more time and attention than their public hospital work.

Financing mechanisms

Government health care is financed by revenues generated through taxes. There is no specific health or social security tax. In addition to the funds received from government sources, the public health sector receives funds from two different sources. One is from the collection of *Zakat*¹ and the other, to a small extent, from user fees.

User fees

In Pakistan user fees have been implemented in some public health facilities. The user charge is nominal; in the Sindh province, for example, Rs1 (A\$0.04) is charged per out-patient visit, and Rs5 per in-patient per day. There is no uniformity in user fees across the country, and in a number of cases these charges are not collected. Thus the revenue generated from user charges is very little (estimated at 4.6 per cent of the health expenditure in 1986/87 and 2.5 per cent of public hospital budgets [Government of Pakistan 1994]). Furthermore, the revenue from user fees does not remain at the facility where it was collected. The funds are returned to the Treasury for general reallocation.

The seemingly affordable user charges conceal the fact that there are no equity-based differential charges for the users of government health facilities. Those who can afford to pay for health care are the ones who bear the minimum cost. Despite the so-called free or subsidised care, the poor end up spending a considerable amount of money including the direct costs borne by patients due to shortages of drugs and surgical supplies, the poor quality of food and other in-patient services. Furthermore, the indirect costs of transportation and loss of earnings (most work as daily wage workers), as well as the costs incurred by family member(s) accompanying the patient, goes unaccounted from total health care expenses.

Household health expenses reported in the latest national survey report show that, on average, five to six per cent of household income is spent on health care (Government of Pakistan 1988). These figures are, however, a serious underestimate of the actual amount of direct and indirect costs borne by families. The biggest problem in obtaining accurate figures is that, except for hospitalisation, most of the expenditure in the private sector is billed on a daily basis. Information from surveys conducted by the Aga Khan University in rural Sindh showed a mean expenditure of around 15 per cent on health care (Karim 1987). These figures assume nightmarish proportions for the over 30 per cent of the population living below the poverty line.

Third party payment

Financing intermediaries including health insurance options are few and undeveloped. Only a small proportion of the population with stable wage-earning employment is covered by third party payment schemes. These benefits are only provided by a small number of long-standing large organisations who are able to successfully establish and maintain the necessary procedures and investment.

Social security programme

A social security programme has been in place since 1965. The agencies provide, in addition to other services, health services for employees and their families. This provision, however, is only available to those workers whose salary is below a certain predetermined limit. The financial effect amounts to six per cent of wages of respective workers, and is paid for by the employer (Mubarak 1990). All employees of the armed forces have access to their own facilities. These institutions cater to both serving and retired personnel of the armed forces and their families, and are some of the best-resourced facilities in the country.

The role of government in determining public-private mix

Until recently, the policy or planning directives of the government regarding public-private mix, or the recognition of the private sector as a major contributor to health care, was limited. Given the global shift towards privatisation and the current emphasis on this issue in developing countries, the present government is also thinking along these lines. The Seventh Five Year Plan (1988-1993) was forthright in recognising the limited role of the government as the sole or major provider of health care and put major emphasis on promoting the private sector (Mubarak 1990). The latest Five Year Plan (1993-1998) raises the issue of shifting some recurrent expenditure to users, particularly for tertiary care in the public sector. The Plan proposes a system of user charges including: a consultation fee for out-patients and admission fees per in-patient day, and a fee for procedures and diagnostic tests. Furthermore, the Plan proposes that support services and private beds in government hospitals be charged at full cost recovery rates. Although it proposes that hospitals be allowed to utilise the generated income for the

requirements within the hospitals, it does not specify a system of checks and balances to ensure revenue is generated on an equitable basis.

In Pakistan free market ideology has gained tremendous impetus in the last two decades, and the capitalist movement has grown markedly. It is important to recognise that historically private health services have not tended to be responsive to the needs of the poor. Although the government claims to be aware of this, and promises to promote a more balanced blend of public-private mix, the real fear is that the health sector will become increasingly inaccessible and unaffordable for those in greatest need. In the absence of a national health scheme, some of the measures under consideration - such as contracting out diagnostic services and drug services and a proportion of clinical services, including tertiary and secondary care and non clinical services like diet/food management - mean the user will end up paying considerably more for services even at public facilities.

The government is also looking at other alternatives for financing health services. One alternative under consideration is health insurance schemes. It is suggested that the premiums for those employed in the public sector would be paid for by the government, and those in private sector, whether in small or big organisations, would be paid for by their employers. This scheme would also be extended to families without employment-linked health coverage. The issues of the cost and affordability of this insurance scheme have not been examined, however, including how those in greater need and at higher risk - but having poor capacity to pay - will be covered.

It is conceded that despite any government's best intentions and strong sense of responsibility, it is beyond its means to be an effective provider of health care. Even the much touted

National Health Scheme in Britain is now moving towards a public-private mix. Within the Pakistani context, however, the question of who pays for curative care should be a distant second to the more critical issue of provision of comprehensive basic care facilities. This is a fundamental responsibility of the government and cannot be shirked due to budgetary constraints. It is unethical for the government to be spending less than one per cent of its GNP on health expenditure, when the corresponding figure is six times as high for defence expenditure (UNDP 1995).

The basic infrastructure has to be in place to improve the health status of the population. Thousands of children and adults die every year of illnesses that could be prevented and/or treated at the primary health care level or by timely referral to tertiary care.

The first steps towards developing appropriate and relevant health care financing policies call for a better understanding of the existing situation. Major gaps exist in understanding the operation of the public and private health care sectors. At present there is no way of telling how a healthy balance between the public and the private sector is possible, and how they can complement each other rather than negating each other's advantages. The gaps are at policy, legislative and implementation levels. The literature on the effects of raising user fees at government health facilities in Pakistan is sparse. One study shows that following a price rise, there will be a reduction in the use of government services with a greater use of private care providers rather than an increase in self-care or the foregoing of care (Alderman and Gertler 1989). This increased dependence on the private sector, in the absence of strict regulations, will not only promote more unethical practices but will further polarise the society into the 'haves' and 'have nots'.

Endnote

1. *Zakat* is a religious tax of 2.5 per cent of assets payable annually (in addition to income tax) by all Sunni Muslims, and is disbursed in grants to the needy. It is paid out under six headings: subsistence, rehabilitation, post-primary scholarships, medicare, grants to social welfare institutions and grants to religious schools. *Zakat* and *ushr*, another religious tax levied on harvest, together brought in Rs2.6 billion in 1988-89.

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Neither public nor private: Report urges a mix for health, education

The best means of providing health and education services is to allow the public and the private sectors to coexist side by side, because neither system alone can assure the highest quality, efficiency and equity in access to all strata of the population, according to a new World Bank study. The study, *Private and public initiatives: Working together for health and education*, debunks what it claims are widely held misconceptions - from both sides of the political spectrum - about the alleged advantages of putting health and education in the hands of either the public or the private sector.

'Many of the biases people hold, either for or against public or private sector-oriented strategies, are not correct,' the report states. 'Equity, quality and efficiency are not always better or worse when government is dominant, or when the private sector has the larger role. Reality is more subtle.' The only reliable way to redress this 'information gap' and to arrive at appropriate solutions, the report says, 'is to rely on what has worked in the past and adjust it to meet the specifics of each new or changing situation.'

The world has changed dramatically in recent years, the report notes, and many decision makers have limited information on, and experience with, the diversity and subtleties of issues and solutions surrounding the private sector and what it can do in the health and education fields. What has worked best in most cases, according to the report, is a mixture of private and public health and education systems in which both sides complement each other, playing different roles. 'Governments have had a very important role in making major advances in health and education in developing countries over the years,' says Jacques van der Gaag, the report's author. 'But the private sector has always played and still plays a big part.'

The study found that the private sector usually outperforms the public sector, where the two work side by side in providing social goods and services. Because in many instances these services can be provided efficiently by private agents such as NGOs, voluntary organisations and for-profit institutions, the report suggests that governments 'should focus on what they do best' and that governments 'can often serve the needs of the poor most effectively by concentrating on regulation (to facilitate access and guarantee quality) and financing.' In other words, says van der Gaag, governments still have an important role to play in providing basic services, 'but they do not necessarily have to supply the services themselves. They must be there to ensure equity and quality and to provide financing for the poor so that everyone has access to education and health.' All this includes enacting appropriate policies and regulations. This is particularly important, the report stresses, 'given the public interest in ensuring appropriate investments in people.'

As for the Bank's role, the report provides examples of projects aimed at arriving at whatever form of public/private mix is best for the particular circumstances in each individual country. The Bank's lending for education, health, nutrition, population and other aspects of human capital development has increased sharply in recent years. The Bank is now the world's largest financier of social services, supplying US\$2 billion for health and US\$200 million for population activities. Over the next three years, new commitments are expected to reach a record US\$15 billion.

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The International Finance Corporation in the South Pacific and the transitional economies of Indochina

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The International Finance Corporation (IFC), one of the institutions that make up the World Bank Group,¹ was established 40 years ago to encourage private enterprise in developing countries. Today, it has over 160 member country shareholders and about US\$3.6 billion in paid-in capital and retained earnings. IFC has three main roles:

Structuring and financing private sector projects in its developing member countries

IFC provides a range of project financing products. While its charter requires that it not accept government guarantees and that its investments have a positive development impact, the corporation is required to operate on a commercial basis and it charges market rates for its products. In its most recent financial year, it approved investments in 213 projects in 67 countries, totalling US\$2.9 billion. It recorded a profit of US\$188 million. Today, IFC is the largest source of multilateral finance for the private sector in the developing world.

Mobilisation of capital

In addition to its own direct investments, IFC mobilises financing directly for sound projects in developing countries by syndicating loans with international commercial banks and underwriting investment funds and corporate securities issues. During its most recent financial year, the corporation mobilised US\$2.6 billion through such operation.

Technical assistance

IFC provides a range of technical assistance services to companies operating in the developing world. These include market and feasibility studies, technology evaluation and advice on financial structuring. In addition, it also advises governments on how to improve the environment for productive private investment. Common themes in this area include legal, trade and tax frameworks, capital markets, the particular needs of small- and medium-sized enterprises, and restructuring and privatisation of state-owned enterprises.

IFC and the Pacific Islands

Nine Pacific Island countries are members of IFC.² The total population of these nine countries is about 5.5 million, covering a land area of 0.5 million square kilometres. Papua New Guinea (PNG) dominates, with about four million people occupying about 0.45 million square kilometres. Areas of ocean in exclusive economic zones are, however, large: over 14 million square kilometres.

Despite the region being the highest per capita recipient of concessional aid flows in the world (on average, about 20 per cent of GDP, and over 50 per cent in several countries), its recent economic record has been dismal relative to other island regions. Key social indicators are not showing improvements and in some cases are sharply deteriorating.

This disappointing growth has occurred despite the fact that the region has, on average, invested nearly 30 per cent of GDP over the last decade; a figure comparable with the high growth countries of East Asia. One possible explanation is that public investment tends to dominate, averaging about 17 per cent of GDP, compared to about 11.5 per cent for private investment. World Bank research undertaken in the region suggests that where public investment has tended to dominate, growth has been substantially lower.

In part, this situation is due to factors beyond the control of Island governments. While a few countries, especially PNG, are resource rich, most are not. Many have small populations, costs of air and sea transport are high and they are remote from major markets. The atoll states have poor soils that limit agriculture and related activities, and several countries are subject to periodic and damaging earthquakes, volcanic activity and cyclones.

In many countries in the region, problems in obtaining secure long-term access to land are a serious constraint impacting on both domestic and foreign investors. In some countries, lenders are unable to obtain valid mortgages over land. Neither equity investors or lenders are prepared to risk substantive amounts of medium- to long-term capital, where such uncertainties exist. While issues relating to land are obviously sensitive, these issues must be constructively addressed if longer-term, productive, private sector investment levels are to increase.

Governments have generally dominated economic activity, and there are numerous examples of failed state-owned commercial ventures. Public sector payrolls account for substantial amounts of expenditure, leaving little for investment in, or maintenance and operation of, key social and physical infrastructure. Government salary rates set country-wide wage rates at levels that often make it very difficult for export-oriented enterprises to be competitive, given the generally low labour productivity levels. Many governments run significant fiscal deficits, necessitating substantial domestic and offshore borrowing. Apart from debt service implications, these government borrowings have also reduced the availability of capital to the private sector.

Some positive indications are, however, present. Several governments are now realising that they do not have the financial, technical or managerial resources to successfully operate commercial businesses. There is growing (but by no means universal) recognition throughout the region that the private sector must be encouraged and promoted, especially if there is to be any chance of creating anywhere near the employment growth required to cater for the increasing numbers of young people entering the formal sector workforce. The severity of the fiscal problems faced by some countries, and tougher conditionalities on concessional aid flows, are forcing governments to adopt more stringent budgetary measures. This should ultimately free-up more resources for use by the private sector.³

It is not surprising that IFC, and other organisations supporting the Pacific Islands private sector, have found the going extremely difficult in this environment. The small size and remote location of most Island businesses also cause problems for a large Washington-based organisation such as IFC. Standard procedure IFC investments in the region have been restricted to four projects in Fiji (involving tourism, garments and capital markets), one in Vanuatu (tourism) and one in PNG (fish canning). A garment factory in Western Samoa, which would add about 35 per cent to the country's formal private sector employment numbers, is also under consideration.

To better service the needs of Island businesses and governments, IFC (in collaboration with other agencies) has implemented the following two initiatives.

The South Pacific Project Facility (SPPF)

SPPF has three main functions:

- to support individual private sector entrepreneurs by helping them with feasibility and market studies, preparing business and financing plans and for projects that are considered commercially and economically viable, assisting in raising finance;
- in close collaboration with other agencies, promoting and arranging training and capacity development programmes aimed at developing managerial skills of entrepreneurs and personnel in private sector support agencies; and
- advising governments on issues relating to private sector development.

SPPF, which is based in Sydney, is managed and part funded by IFC. Other funding is provided by the Asian Development Bank and the governments of Australia, Fiji, Japan, New Zealand and Western Samoa. The facility has established representative agents throughout the region to identify potential projects and to undertake initial prescreening activities. The fact that two Island governments are now contributing to its budget, is a reflection of the reputation the facility has established.

SPPF is recognised for bringing a 'hard-nosed', pragmatic approach to business development in a region where grants

and soft loans have traditionally dominated. One interesting aspect of the Facility's operations has been the impact of recent increases in the level of cost recovery extracted from its clients, up from a level of about only 2.5 per cent of total costs to about 7.5 per cent. The number of sponsors that have refused to pay these fees has been quite high, even though the great bulk of these fees are success-based (ie, only payable when finance has been raised due to SPPF efforts). Not all of those who refuse to pay these modest fees are small business operators, some are managing apparently successful businesses with quite large turnovers. It is yet another indication of the pervasive aid mentality of the region. SPPF will continue with its policy; a major plus has been that those entrepreneurs who are prepared to make some contribution to costs are far more committed to their projects and this has been clearly reflected by the far greater success rates of these projects in terms of attracting external commercial debt and equity investors.

Pacific Islands Investment Facility (PIIF)

Most Island businesses are quite small. The costs and difficulties in evaluating and processing these small transactions through Washington-based staff, and using regular IFC procedures, are prohibitive. At the same time, there is a general lack of equity type risk capital in the region. The PIIF has been established by IFC on a trial basis. The concept is to make investments ranging from US\$100,000 to US\$350,000 in viable projects identified and evaluated by SPPF. IFC is never the largest individual investor and the project sponsors are required to have a significant amount of their own capital at risk. This latter element is always a major precondition of any IFC investment. IFC's processing procedures have been simplified and decentralised to the region. Investments are made on a commercial basis, with no element of subsidy or 'soft' loans involved.

To date, PIIF investments have been approved in Western Samoa (tourism), Marshall Islands (banking) and PNG (fishing). Other projects are currently in various stages of processing in PNG (ecotourism, business servicing large-scale mine developments and ecotimber), Fiji (fishing and agribusiness), Tonga (insurance), Marshall Islands (ecotourism) and Western Samoa (medical clinic). PIIF investments are usually structured as either unsecured or subordinated venture loans or preference shares. In both instances, the investments carry a base interest rate or dividend, and also have attached performance related income 'kickers'. Straight equity investments are rare, given the difficulties of exiting these small investments at an appropriate stage.

The experience so far suggests that viable small- to medium-scale private sector investment opportunities do exist in the region, though they are not large by number. In addition to the constraints already identified, inadequate managerial and technical skills are a problem, export marketing is often logistically difficult and many project sponsors do not have the capacity or willingness to commit reasonable amounts

of their own risk capital. To help strengthen investee companies during the early stages of investment implementation, special technical assistance inputs are often arranged in collaboration with executive volunteer programmes such as the Australian Executive Service Overseas Program (AESOP). The PIIF experience indicates that the best prospects for internationally competitive investment are in the areas of small-scale tourism and related services, high value fishing, services related to large mining and petroleum ventures, small-scale gold mining, high value agribusiness ventures and financial services (insurance, banking). Small domestic markets and high cost structures limit the opportunities for viable manufacturing and many lower value resource-based ventures. Even with its decentralised procedures, it is not practical for the PIIF to invest in the very small businesses that predominate in the region. For these latter businesses, the strategy must continue to be to develop the capacity of local financial institutions and support agencies.

IFC and the transitional economies of South East Asia

Of the smaller South East Asian countries in transition to market economies, Vietnam and Laos are already members of IFC and Cambodia has been accepted into membership. Burma is also an IFC member, though the corporation is not currently operating in the country.

Economic growth in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos has been high in recent times, averaging about eight to ten per cent per annum over the past five years. Much of this growth has come from the private sector. Per capita income levels are, however, very low, averaging only about US\$250 in all three countries.

Vietnam, because of its size (over 70 million people) and economic growth potential, has generated a lot of offshore investment interest, and nearly US\$20 billion of projects involving foreign investors have been approved since the economic liberalisation of the late 1980's. Many foreign investors have, however, found Vietnam to be a difficult place to conduct business and perhaps as little as 25 to 30 per cent of approved investment capital has yet been expended. The legal environment, though evolving and improving, remains uncertain and the bureaucratic requirements and delays in obtaining a host of approvals and licences from a variety of city, provincial and national government agencies are daunting.

Over the past five years, the number of State Owned Entities (SOE's) has fallen by about 50 per cent, and number of employees by about one-third, but the State still dominates economic activity in Vietnam with almost all licensed joint ventures being with SOE's. These SOE's have preferred access to land (often the sole local contribution to a joint venture) and credit, and various key economic sectors are reserved for the State. The proportion of GDP generated by SOE's has actually increased (from 32.5 per cent in 1990 to over 40 per cent in 1995). While the government has a policy

of privatising SOE's in non core sectors, only a handful of them have been privatised due to indifferent official support for the policy, resistance from managers and workers, the lack of transparent and accurate historical accounts and the lack of capital. The slow pace of this privatisation exercise will be a major stumbling block in establishing a viable stock exchange, an initiative which was supposed to happen during 1996, but which has now been pushed back to 1999.

In this environment, IFC has played a leading role in providing and arranging limited recourse project financing (ie, finance without government guarantees, or full guarantees by offshore investors) to projects with majority private sector control. To date, the corporation has approved investments in eight joint venture projects involving total investments of about US\$600 million.

Most Vietnamese private companies are small, with an average capital base of only US\$35,000, compared to an average of over US\$750,000 for SOE's. Their numbers are, however, rapidly increasing and private sector investment today accounts for almost all employment growth in the country (though a declining share of GDP). Most private businesses are small household-based enterprises. Many other, larger ones are involved in retailing and trading operations where capital requirements and barriers to entry are relatively low.

There are no stock markets in Vietnam and what loan finance is available is generally short-term (6 to 18 months) and at high interest rates (20 to 30 per cent per annum). While these small- and medium-sized enterprises have the benefits of low cost and productive labour, and access to a large domestic market with growing disposable income levels, they also face problems and uncertainties. They are not allowed to compete in certain key sectors of economic activity reserved for SOE's. Private firms also have reduced access to bank credit relative to SOE's. Foreign investors are not permitted to buy equity capital in Vietnamese companies. Most private firms (and SOE's, for that matter) employ obsolete production technology. While traditionally they have been able to compete in a highly protected domestic market, this market is now increasingly opening up to imported products and products locally manufactured by major international companies with better technology and large and sophisticated advertising budgets. Vietnam's recent admission to full ASEAN membership will accelerate this competitive trend.

Despite these constraints, a number of medium-sized private businesses have developed, especially in the Ho Chi Minh City area. These are mainly involved with light manufacturing, garments, construction materials and agribusiness processing. A number of private banks have also been established.

Both domestic and foreign investors in Vietnam are keenly awaiting the outcome of the Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party, scheduled for June. This is a very major event, which will play a significant role in shaping the economic direction of the country over the next five years.

There are strong indications that conservative elements within the Party are worried about the direction and pace of economic reform, would like to reinforce the role of the State in commercial matters, and lessen the impact of western influences in society. The Party has just released a major paper, which actually calls for the share of SOE's in the economy to increase even further from the current level of about 40 per cent of GDP to over 60 per cent by the end of the decade. Many observers seriously question, however, the compatibility of the State maintaining such a controlling position during a period when ASEAN membership will require further opening up of domestic markets to competition, and the country will have a huge requirement for investment capital to maintain competitiveness and the pace of economic growth. Others also point to the experience of the nearby high-growth countries of Asia and suggest that Vietnam will not be able to sustain high growth rates in a more competitive market environment without reducing the role of the State and fostering the expansion of a dynamic private sector.

IFC, and several international donors, have recently approved the establishment of the Mekong Project Development Facility (MPDF). A similar operation to SPPF in the Pacific Islands, MPDF will work to promote and assist local private sector enterprises in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in three main ways:

- helping individual companies to evaluate and prepare investment proposals, and obtain technical assistance for the implementation of investments;
- provide training and related inputs, both to individual companies and also to agencies and firms involved with the private sector (banks, chambers of commerce, industry associations, local consultancy companies); and
- help companies with viable investment plans to raise debt and equity type capital.

To support MPDF activities, IFC's Board has also recently approved a special line of capital for investment in private sector companies in these three countries. This capital will be mainly provided as long-term 'venture' debt, with interest rates partly tied to performance, in a similar manner to PIIF investments in the Pacific Islands. This is recognised as being a high risk, and high cost, venture for IFC. Accurate and transparent financial accounts are not readily available, current laws do not permit IFC to take effective mortgages, and

modern management and technical skills are lacking. The entrepreneurs of these countries have, however, demonstrated a capacity to grow their businesses in a difficult environment and there is little doubt that many of them will develop into regionally important business operations.

Conclusion

The development of a vibrant Small- and Medium-Size Enterprise (SME) private sector has been an important element in the successful growth record of the Asian 'tiger' economies over the last decade. Some analysts go so far as to suggest that such development is a precondition for sustainable economic growth. In the small Island countries of the Pacific, such a vibrant SME sector is not evident today, while in the transitional economies of South East Asia the sector is more dynamic, but also faces constraints to its future development.

IFC has promoted special initiatives to foster private sector SME's, with these initiatives aimed at improving the environment for private investment, within the context of stated government social and economic objectives. Improved business planning and investment evaluation, access to focused technical assistance and access to long-term risk capital on commercial terms are areas where IFC is active in promoting private SME's. While these are high cost and high risk ventures for IFC they do fit with the corporation's developmental charter and private sector orientation.

These initiatives are also consistent with a growing realisation among some governments that the private sector can and must play a larger role in the development process. In the Pacific, this trend is at least partly due to problems of large government fiscal deficits in several countries, growing recognition that the record of publicly owned and managed commercial enterprises has been generally dismal, and tougher conditionalities on concessional donor assistance. In the transitional economies of Asia, the introduction of market reforms in societies with a strong tradition of thrift and entrepreneurship has already resulted in a major boost to private sector activity.

**The author is based in Australia and works for IFC in the Pacific Islands and South East Asia. The views in this paper are strictly those of the author and do not reflect the views of IFC.*

Endnotes

1. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD); International Development Association (IDA); International Finance Corporation (IFC); Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA).
2. Fiji, Federated States of Micronesia, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, PNG, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Vanuatu and Western Samoa.
3. Quite often, however, governments face considerable political problems in implementing and sustaining these fiscal reforms, especially if they are seen as being imposed by external agencies such as the World Bank.

Private sector development in Asia: Trends in policies and strategies for foreign direct investment

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Dramatic changes are taking place in the flows of foreign direct investment (FDI). Instead of the developed world regions - principally North America and Europe - being both the source and destination of the major part of global FDI flows, East Asia (excluding Japan) seems set to assume the role of the major source region, with the developing world (dominated by East Asia) becoming the major recipient. As these changes are of great significance, this paper attempts to identify and explain some of the factors which are bringing them about, particularly the massive increase in the inflow of FDI to Asia.

FDI outflows

Accurate data on the outflow of FDI from East Asia are not available, but there are some data which provide an indication of the relative magnitude of this movement of capital. On an intraregional basis, for example, investment between the nine largest East Asian economies has increased to the extent that the percentage of the total stock of FDI held by those same nine countries has risen from 25 per cent in 1980 to 37 per cent in 1993. This has occurred despite major growth in total annual inflows from all sources (as discussed below), resulting in vastly increased total stocks of FDI in these countries.

Another example is that, in absolute terms, outward FDI from East Asia to all developing countries reached A\$4.6 billion in 1995, with this level making East Asia the largest source region for investments in the developing world. In addition, significant levels of investment by East Asian companies are also taking place outside their home region and other developing countries. The extent of these outward flows of FDI demonstrates that an increasing number of East Asian companies are now significant players on the world stage, adopting a global approach to the conduct of their business. Having reached this stage of development, they are subject to the same structural forces that drive FDI outflows from the OECD countries: international competition, domestic market opportunities in rapidly growing developing countries (most Asian FDI is within the region), free trade agreements and the requirements of global production.

FDI inflows

Inflows of FDI to the developing world, as a whole, have been increasing steadily for more than a decade. Within this period there have been intervals of exceptional growth, for example, almost 40 per cent per year for the period 1990-1993. Although 1994 and 1995 (17 and 13 per cent respectively) have been somewhat slower, the developing countries' share of global FDI reached 38 per cent in 1995,

compared with just 12 per cent in 1990. Virtually all the growth in global FDI is taking place in developing countries, with East Asia and the Pacific (just under 60 per cent of all FDI to developing countries in 1995) dominating this growth. In fact, the growth in this region in 1995 slightly exceeded the total growth for all developing countries.

Factors influencing inflows

Taking into account the factors mentioned above as pushing FDI on a global basis, what is it about Asia - and the East Asian region in particular - which has led to these countries being the favoured destinations of international investors? Three factors come to mind. Although not all apply to each of the East Asian countries, examples of countries where individual factors have been important are easy to identify.

Domestic market opportunities. With the East Asian region demonstrating the fastest sustained rates of economic growth in recent years, there has been considerable interest by investors from outside the region in ensuring that they are well positioned to participate in the expanding markets such growth provides. In some cases, the investment decision is based on the desire to provide non tradeable services in the new market. In others, exporting, though feasible, is not seen as an appropriate long-term strategy, even where tariff barriers are being reduced as part of ongoing liberalisation processes. When high rates of growth and large populations are combined, the pull effect is substantial, with China, which has accounted for almost three quarters of the total FDI inflow into East Asia over the last two years, clearly the outstanding example.

Availability of internationally competitive factors of production. Principally, though by no means exclusively, labour has driven the investment in export-oriented production - a major component of FDI in most host countries. Numerous examples are available. In earlier years, Thailand, then more recently Bangladesh, China and Indonesia and now Vietnam, are countries where the mix of low labour costs and productivity levels have attracted significant volumes of investment for export production and so provided a major boost to economic development.

Improvements to the investment environment. Though harder to define - and certainly not amenable to objective measurement in the way factors of production, such as labour, are - the policy, regulatory and procedural changes which have occurred in Asia over the last decade should be recognised as having been the essential preconditions which allowed much of the growth to occur. Easily the most

prominent examples of such changes encouraging inward flows of FDI are India in the early 1990s, when substantial liberalisation of the environment for FDI followed several decades of substantial restriction, and Vietnam since the economic reform process commenced during the same period. Indeed, the previous experience of the group of countries now known as the emerging economies is a clear reminder that an unattractive policy environment is, for most companies, an insurmountable hurdle.

It is not an exaggeration, therefore, to consider the policy and regulatory environment as a crucial ingredient in the basket of factors which companies consider when making a decision to invest outside their country of origin. Nor is it unreasonable to claim that improvements to the environment in countries where the first two factors discussed above are not favourable is a necessary precondition for substantial increases in FDI. The example of India is, again, relevant here; despite the large market and low labour costs, the inflow of FDI was minimal prior to 1990, in the absence of a more investor friendly policy environment.

Improvements to the environment for FDI

In examining the reasons for the widespread and wide-ranging improvements which have taken place to the environment for FDI, three factors again emerge. Perhaps the most fundamental has been a far *greater appreciation by governments* of all persuasions *that an active and dynamic private sector is essential for economic growth*. To realise this objective and create strong levels of domestic private sector investment, through improvements to the general business environment, is to improve the environment for FDI as well. Conversely, foreign investors cannot be expected to invest when local investors do not.

Flowing from the appreciation that private sector development is fundamental has been the *realisation that FDI is an important - in many cases necessary - component* of this process. For the large majority of countries, the additional capital resources associated with foreign investment bring major benefits, by supplementing both private and public domestic sources. The latter is of particular relevance as governments have realised that they cannot finance the infrastructure which is required to support the levels of growth and development to which they aspire alone. However, even in the few cases where the additional capital associated with FDI is not of great importance, the technology transfer and export market links which are generally embodied in foreign investment have a special significance, as the speed of technology development and the pace of globalisation increase.

Perhaps less obvious but nonetheless important as a factor in the process of changing the investment environments in Asia has been the *changed attitude to multinational companies*, which in most cases are now seen by governments as partners in development rather than adversaries. The demonisation of multinationals in the developing world, seemingly so prevalent in an international context during the 1970s and

early 1980s, has been replaced in Asia by a fuller understanding of the process of the globalisation of business, the role of individual corporations in it and the benefits which can accrue. This informed appreciation of international commercial activities has been translated into overall FDI promotion strategies which have brought changes in a number of areas.

Changes to FDI strategies

Among the most important aspects of the new strategies which have been adopted by Asian governments has been a recognition that their focus should be more on the removal of impediments to investment - policy, regulatory or procedural - and to a much lesser extent on incentives. A decade ago, much more of the focus by governments was on the level of fiscal incentives which they could afford to give - or felt obliged to match, when their perceived competitors provided tax holidays and the like at higher levels than their own.

A second important inclusion in the promotion strategies has been greater emphasis and higher standards of investor facilitation. This has arisen through the realisation that, irrespective of the extent to which the official investment process (approvals, if these are required, and other licences, etc.) has been simplified, foreign investors will still feel more comfortable if they have access to people who know the processes intimately and who can identify and contact the appropriate official when a problem occurs. This type of investor servicing is, of course, in addition to the provision of information on specific aspects of the investment environment during the period when the potential investor is examining the feasibility of the project.

Conclusion

The changes to the environment for FDI described above have not been limited to the Asian region; most are recognisable to some extent in all other regions. However, what has distinguished Asia, and more particularly East Asia, from the rest of the developing world has been the speed and extent to which these countries have decided on and implemented policy changes. Across the region, there has been great variation in the impact of the improvements undertaken by the various governments concerned, which has led to substantial differences in the quality of the investment environments created. However, an important common factor has been the focus on the policy environment, demonstrated by the constant monitoring and refinements made to it. This, coupled with heavy investment in relevant education and training, has set the East Asian countries, as a group, apart from those in all other regions in their performance in attracting foreign direct investment.

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Private involvement in the southern Vietnam electricity industry

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The consumption of electricity has been growing extremely rapidly over the last decade in southern Vietnam. Over the period 1986-1994 it grew at 12.6 per cent per annum in the Ho Chi Minh City area and adjacent provinces, but in recent years the growth has accelerated: over the past two years, the growth has been about 25 per cent per annum (Energy Center 1995). The growth rate of GDP has also been very high, at about 15 per cent per annum for this area. It is usual, at this stage of development, for the growth rate of demand for electricity to outstrip the growth of GDP. The rate of investment is high, and this has led to a boom in the demand for electricity for industrial purposes. The growth of residential demand has also been very high, with electricity replacing wood for cooking and the increasing use of electrical appliances. This growth is taking place on a low base, and it can be expected to continue at very high rates provided that economic growth in the region continues at something like its present rate.

Vietnam is fortunate in its endowment of resources needed for electricity generation. Up to now, most of the larger generating plants have been hydro plants, sited mainly in the north and centre of the country. The hydro sites in the south are smaller and fewer, and do not have high rainfall in all seasons; thus their output needs to be augmented from other sources (*see* World Bank 1993). Since 1994, the regions of the country have been linked by a 500Kv transmission line which goes from north to south. This enables the hydro generators in the north and central regions to supply the south.

Most of the generators currently being built or planned in the south are gas fuelled. The offshore gas fields now coming into production are off the coast of southern Vietnam, and reserves are sufficient to provide supplies of gas for electricity generation for one or two decades at least. There are few competing uses for this gas, since the sizes of the fields are not great enough to make export a viable proposition as yet, and there are limited domestic uses for gas (one use is in fertilizer production). As a result, gas is relatively cheap and provides an economical feedstock for power stations (Nguyen Viet Hung 1996; Nguyen Manh Hien 1996). Unlike in other countries, it is worthwhile using gas fuelled stations to produce base load power. Some stations, for example that at Ba Ria, are already in production, other large ones, at Phu My, are being constructed. There are also plans to convert existing fuel oil stations to gas. Apart from being relatively inexpensive gas also has the advantage that gas fuelled power stations have a short lead time and can be planned to match demand growth. Already it has been necessary to accelerate the growth of capacity by quickly installing gas generating units.

Private involvement in the electricity industry

There is already some limited private involvement in the electricity industry in the region. This takes the form of power stations based in industrial estates. Several of these are small, high cost diesel generators which are provided to improve reliability of supply to the factories in the estates. Private investors are building a medium-sized fuel oil powered plant, using refurbished equipment purchased overseas at the Tan Thuan Export Processing Zone south of Ho Chi Minh City. This will be sufficiently large to be able to supply to the grid at times when demand in the estate is not at capacity. There are plans for new power plants in industrial estates to be gas fuelled. In all of these cases the plants are built by the industrial estate owners primarily to supply electricity to factories within the estate.

There are plans to allow and encourage private participation in the electricity industry on a more general basis by permitting privately-owned power stations to supply to the grid. To this end, private investors would build new stations and sell their output to the state-owned electricity company, EVN. There are proposals for several of the generators at the large Phu My complex to be privately-owned. There are also plans for a fertilizer plant which would cogenerate electricity at this site (Craven 1996).

The main motivation for this reliance on the private sector is probably financial. Vietnam is growing very rapidly and this puts enormous demands on capital availability. The electricity industry is not self-funding; rather, it returns low rates of return, and most finance for investment needs to come from outside. Its owner, the government, is faced with many competing demands for capital, and the industry has no track record as a borrower in private capital markets. Unlike many other forms of infrastructure, such as roads, electricity investments are capable of generating revenues, and thus can be left to the private sector. Hence the government is choosing to rely on private investment to help build up the electricity industry, while using its scarce investment funds on other areas of the country's infrastructure.

While the main motivation for this private involvement is probably financial, it may have other impacts. One of these is technology transfer; efficient electricity producers from overseas may be able to provide lessons for the rest of the electricity industry. They may also be of value in benchmarking; the industry will have some local standards with which to compare itself. It does not appear that the government is trying to foster a competitive electricity industry

in the manner that the UK and Victorian governments have done. Further, the main focus for private involvement is to be in generation, at least for the present. Of the three parts of the electricity industry, generation, transmission and distribution, the latter two both involve a degree of natural monopoly. Generation by contrast does not, and it is possible to have several generating stations each with a different owner. This means that it is relatively easy to allow private investment in a capital-intensive part of the industry (in other parts of Vietnam, contracting out refurbishment and/or operation of distribution networks to foreign distributors is going ahead).

Implications of private involvement

The introduction of private ownership of generators within the Vietnam electricity system can, and probably will, lead to a considerable restructuring of the industry. Up till now, the industry in southern Vietnam, as well as in other parts of the country, was dominated by the state-owned monopoly, EVN. This company controls most of the output of electricity, its transmission from generator to consumer, and the selling of the product. In conjunction with the government, it determines price structures and levels, and chooses the investment programme.

Like comparable electricity systems, EVN is able to operate cross-subsidy structures. It is able to charge different prices to different consumers, and it does not need to set prices at cost. For social reasons, it charges lower prices to residential consumers than it does to industrial consumers. Further, it charges more to foreign customers, such as foreign businesses with factories in Vietnam, than to domestic customers. Within the system it has not needed to implement accurate prices. Since the system is treated as a whole there has been no need for specific pricing of elements such as transmission.

EVN also has considerable freedom over its policies in terms of investments. It is not forced by the market to adopt an efficient pattern of investments. Like other systems, it can invest in a particular technology even though it is less economic than others. It is not required to earn a market rate of return, and in fact it makes a low financial return. In spite of this, its investment programme does appear to have been efficiently devised.

Allowing private investment into the electricity industry means that new firms will be introduced into an integrated system. This is more complex than introducing private firms into other industries. It also involves much more than permitting small generators to sell to a defined group of buyers in an industrial estate. The terms and conditions under which the new firm joins the system are critical, and their introduction imposes considerable adjustment requirements on the existing firm. Even though allowing new firms into the industry may seem a small step, it has the potential to set in train forces which will change the industry.

There are ways of attempting to minimise the adjustments to the rest of the system. If private generators are offered long-

term contracts, under which they supply the system with power at specified times and at specified prices, firms will decide whether to enter the industry or not. If they do, they will be locked into these contracts. If these contracts are not changed, the impact of the new firms will be minimised.

If this approach is taken the pricing problem is critical. The government will need to set prices so as to balance the risks of encouraging too much high-priced electricity supply from the private sector, and of setting prices too low to enable private generators to be viable. To encourage efficient private sector supply, the contract price should be set at marginal or incremental cost of the publicly-owned company. If this is the case, private operators will add to supply when they have lower costs than the public company but they will not supply if they have higher costs. This is a general principle and there are several complexities in applying it.

For a start, the notion of marginal or incremental cost is not necessarily a simple one in electricity. Marginal costs of supply differ over the periods of the day, with the marginal cost at peak times being higher than at off-peak times. Marginal costs differ across seasons, and this is of particular relevance in southern Vietnam where there is a lower availability of hydro power during the dry season. A contract with a private supplier would have to make allowance for different prices for electricity at different times. Secondly, marginal cost is an easier concept to discuss than measure. Until now, the electricity company of Vietnam, being a fully integrated company, has not needed to have precise estimates of marginal costs of electricity generation (there are some estimates in the World Bank Report, *see* World Bank 1993). Work on the cost structure of electricity, and on the incremental costs of new generators, will be essential to inform price setting. Finally, it will be important for resource allocation overall in Vietnam that competitive neutrality between public and private suppliers of electricity applies. This means that neither form of organisation has an artificial advantage over the other. For example, if one was required to pay taxes but the other was not, the untaxed firm would have an artificial advantage. Different required rates of return would also give one firm an advantage over another. Over time, the cost of electricity to Vietnam would be higher than necessary if reliance is made on a high cost, but tax favoured, supplier. Achieving competitive neutrality may not be simple in the short-term, but it will be essential for efficient resource allocation if public and private firms are to operate in the same industry.

One dilemma that Vietnam may face is between the efficiency and financial aspects of private projects. What should it do if a private generator has higher costs than could be achieved by the public firm, but the private firm comes with its own finance and does not make any demands on the scarce funds of the public sector? It may well choose the higher cost option because of lack of finance. This dilemma will probably not be too serious, since it is not likely that the private generators will often have higher costs than public generators. It could arise, however, if a private firm invested in the wrong technology and found it had high costs.

Another issue that the government will have to resolve is how prices paid to private generators and prices charged to end users relate (*see* Thai Phung Ne 1995). Normally, to promote efficient use of electricity, the price to end users would be equal to the generation cost plus the costs of transmission and distribution. The government may wish to subsidise certain users, such as residential consumers, and it may choose to do this by direct subsidies to the electricity company, or it may require it to cross-subsidise residential consumers from industrial consumers. To an extent, both are in place at present. It will be feasible to allow private generation and maintain this subsidy pattern. It will, however, involve the electricity company buying power from a private supplier at one price and then later selling it at a lower price to the favoured consumers.

The approach of using long-term contracts to define the relationship between the private generators and the system will be feasible, but it will give rise to tensions. It is not possible to forecast electricity prices accurately, and over time it will appear that contract prices have been set too high or too low. The private investors may feel they are being squeezed, especially relative to contracts which are entered into later, or the government may feel that private investors are getting too good a deal. Thus there will be pressure to revise the contract, and possibly move to a more open system.

Extensions of private involvement

Even if the contract system works well, as the economy develops and the private sector throughout the economy grows, there is likely to be pressure for more extensive private involvement in the electricity industry. It is often the case overseas that when a government makes minor changes to a tightly controlled industry, this leads to further opening up. This has been happening in electricity industries in the UK, Australia, New Zealand and the US. Pressures for this are likely to develop in Vietnam.

Once there are private generators, these companies will wish to sell direct to (initially, large) customers, and not just to the grid. Private firms may be interested in becoming involved in the distribution networks (just as, in the UK at present, the generating companies are buying up distribution companies). Some firms may seek to become integrated electricity companies, embracing generation, transmission and distribution in an area. The government itself may wish to promote further changes, in order to encourage competition in those parts of the industry for which it is possible, such as generation.

If any of this is to take place, there will need to be major changes to the way the industry is structured and regulated. At the very least, prices for the different parts of the system, specifically prices for the use of the transmission system and

the distribution network, will need to be established. Since the public electricity company will have a monopoly over their areas, regulation will be needed to ensure that it does not prevent competition by using its monopoly power. If there is private involvement in distribution or integrated systems, these firms will possess monopoly power, and there will need to be regulation of prices to final customers. The government may wish to go further and vertically separate the different parts of the industry to facilitate competition in those areas where it is feasible. This has been done elsewhere when governments have been actively promoting competition.

When governments open up industries which have been dominated by publicly-owned firms to allow for private participation, the issue of competitive neutrality between the public and private firms in the industry arises. This, in turn, leads to the issue of privatisation. Achieving competitive neutrality is often difficult and one way to resolve the issue is to put all firms on the same basis by privatising the public firm. If private firms have been performing well, privatisation will be an attractive option for a country like Vietnam. It will yield funds for investment in infrastructure which are in short supply. The government can still exercise strategic control over the industry through its regulatory powers. While privatisation is not on the agenda at present (though it has been canvassed, *see* Thai Phung Ne 1995). At a later stage, especially if private investment in the economy continues to grow and is seen as a success, the government may decide that ownership of the electricity industry is not a priority and that it can use its funds more usefully elsewhere. Many countries have privatised their public firms essentially for financial reasons, and Vietnam may choose to follow their example.

Conclusion

Rapid economic growth in the southern Vietnam region is leading to even more rapid growth in the demand for electricity. To meet this demand, major investments are needed. The scarcity of funds for infrastructure development is leading the government to allow private involvement in the industry. This is taking the form of private ownership of generating plants. While this is a fairly restricted form of involvement, even this poses several issues that need to be resolved - mainly issues of pricing and competitive neutrality. Private involvement could remain at this level, but once it has been introduced, it tends to lead on to more fundamental changes in the structure of the industry. There will be pressures for more extensive private involvement in the industry, and the government will need to resolve whether it wishes to promote a competitive market for electricity, and how it will regulate the industry. As changes in the industry unfold, the government may give consideration to partial or complete privatisation of its own interests in the industry.

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Cambodia's economic development 1954-1995: Economic transition and the role of the private sector

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According to the Royal Government's 1995 national programme, 'Cambodia is now a fully-fledged democratic society and it is operating a free market economic system'. Cambodia is, in fact, a society in transition, from the centrally planned economy of the 1980s to the market economy of the 1990s. Pursuing the stated aim of 'sustainable growth with equity and social justice', the government seeks rapid economic growth through the expansion of the private sector. It is committed to a strategy of macroeconomic stabilisation, structural adjustment, a planned process of privatisation, and the promotion of foreign trade in an export-oriented economy. In its stated role as partner of the private sector, the government proposes to create an *État de droit* – or a state governed by the 'rule of law' in a market economy – and to focus its attention on human resource development, capacity building, rehabilitation of physical infrastructure, rural development and certain aspects of income redistribution within the process of economic growth. With a per capita annual income of only US\$217, the former French colony has long been one of the world's poorest countries. Figure 1 outlines the country's recent political development.

Periods and models of development

Tight control was exercised by the French in Indochina, according to Hall (1981). In his 1959 account, Khieu Samphan argues the availability of cheap French imports halted the division of labour towards handicraft production, and indigenous silk, cotton, tobacco and foodstuff industries went into decline. Landlords and royal officials, the principal consumers of French imports, demanded more produce from the peasantry and moved to accumulate land. About 15 per cent of paddy went to export, extracted from the peasantry by rent, usury and commercial practices amounting to theft. Very little of the extracted wealth was reinvested in agriculture but rather was consumed, gambled, exported or hoarded. Such industrial growth as did occur was mostly in areas that facilitated the foreign trade economy: in infrastructure such as roads, bridges, docks and warehouses; in luxury housing; in utilities; and in consumer goods (beverages). Heavily dependent on imported skilled labour and raw materials, such investment provided few employment opportunities or avenues for local capital formation, and it promoted the economy's 'vertical disintegration'. So great was the isolation of the industrial sector from agriculture that in Khieu Samphan's judgement the national economy could not cohere except by mediation of the international market. 'Contact with France ... diverted development onto its current semicolonial and semifeudal path by integrating the transitional economy into

the international market where the most developed country leads' (Samphan 1959; Summers 1979).

Independence brought its own problems. Initially, the economic dividends of US aid were mixed. Mostly of a military nature, the aid was conditional on support for US policy in Indochina, and was unilaterally terminated by Cambodia in 1963. Ross claims 'the government assigned higher priority to social improvements, such as health and education, than it did to national economic growth,' but the real problems ran deeper. While the GNP grew an average five per cent a year in real terms, the rate of increase declined over the period and by 1962, according to Summers (1979), the Cambodian economy might already have been too impoverished to reform. Among the main economic problems were the loss of the French market to the EEC, the decline in foreign aid, a one-fifth reduction in public spending, the loss of private sector markets, growing local and foreign debt, excessive printing of money and inflation. Some of these problems are reflected in Figure 2. Despite direct government intervention, widespread nationalisation of urban industry and a broadening of the aid base, inexperience, mismanagement, poor equipment, isolation from foreign markets and shortages of raw material kept heavy industry from developing (Chandler 1991:180). Partly due to a private sector revolt, the crisis deepened and by 1968 the economy failed to expand at all. Consequently, the nationalisation policy and neutrality in foreign affairs were curtailed. Noting that 'the principal problem of the Cambodian economy is to accelerate economic development,' a 1970 Asian Development Bank mission proposed to focus development efforts on agriculture, to raise capital through agricultural exports and to promote the private sector in manufacturing, though the policy was never implemented.

The urban commercial middle class, the backbone of the Lon Nol regime, welcomed the further liberalisation of the economy. State control of trade through SONEXIM (established in 1964) was relaxed, banks and industries were denationalised and private local and foreign investments were encouraged. However, repression and corruption soon characterised the Republican regime, under which the economy fell more and more into crisis. Production and exports fell while the budget and trade deficits escalated, largely due to the war. Rice imports became necessary for the first time since independence when, in 1972, the harvest was only 27 per cent of the 1969 total. Rubber exports, the second biggest export earner, ceased after 1970. Under a comprehensive stabilisation programme in 1971, import taxes

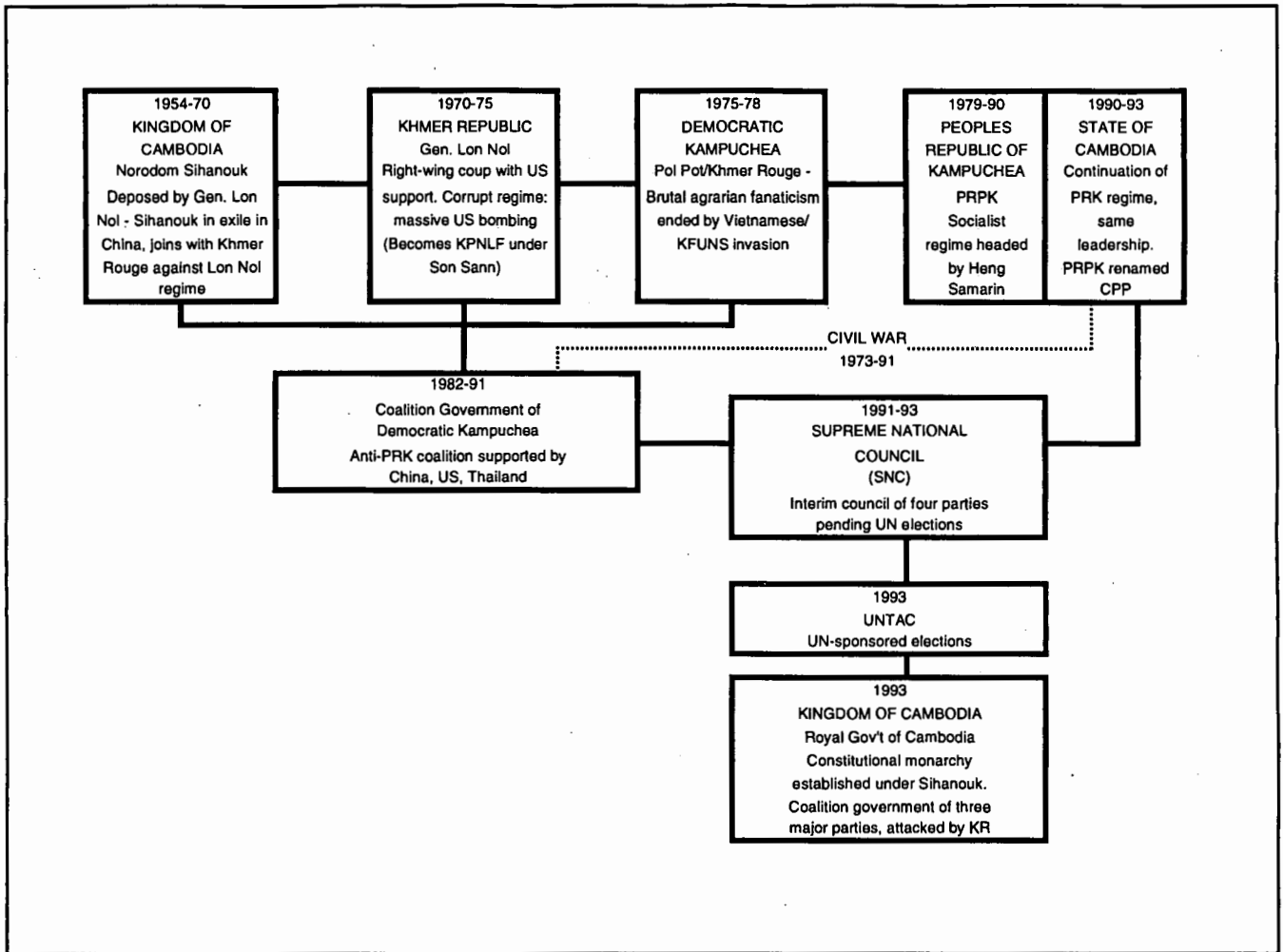


Figure 1: Cambodia's political evolution since independence

on non essential commodities were increased along with bank deposit and commercial loan rates, credit to state enterprises and public utilities was terminated and a flexible exchange rate system introduced. To restore monetary stability in the face of rising inflation, financial speculation and black marketing, an Economic Support Fund was established by the UN agencies, multilateral banks and foreign governments. Nonetheless, by 1975 the economy had collapsed and the country was surviving mainly on imported food financed by the United States government (Ross 1990:151).

The nominal Khmer Rouge *Four-Year Plan ... 1977-1980* 'sought to achieve socialism in Cambodia within four years by collectivizing agriculture and industry and by spending money earned from agricultural exports to finance agricultural production, light industry, and eventually heavy industry as well. Capital accumulation, ironically, was to occur in a society in which money, markets, and private property had been abolished' (Chandler 1992:121). The delusive, unprecedented Plan, which concentrated overwhelmingly on setting portentous targets for rice production, took an unbelievable human toll. Autarky, or 'independence-mastery', was the keyword. Agricultural techniques of the

first millennium, coupled with the total collectivisation of agriculture through forced labour (much of which involved evacuees from Phnom Penh) caused thousands to starve to death. 'As for industries of all types, heavy and light, there are hardly any ... There are no minerals or power resources ... Compared to other countries, in industrial terms, we are extremely weak' (Chandler *et al.* 1988:97). Nonetheless, the Plan proposed to meet 60 to 80 per cent of the demand for elementary consumer goods by 1980, to produce rudimentary agricultural equipment and to develop transport, communications, trade, tourism, technology, health, culture and education. According to one commentator (Thion 1993:171), 'The greatest part of the human losses [of the DK period] must be ascribed to the *economic* policy of the Communist Party of Kampuchea.' A comprehensive description of the performance of the unique, communalised and moneyless Democratic Kampuchea (DK) economy is provided by Twining (1989).

Given the absence of money, functioning markets, formal economic structures and viable infrastructure, there was very little choice in 1979 but to adopt the elements of a planned economy. The 1981 Constitution of the People's Republic

Table 1: Budget financing 1988-93

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
(in billions of Riels)						
Budget						
Revenue	8.7	15.3	23.3	58.8	156.1	290.1
Expenditure	10.5	18.5	43.3	98.9	236.6	373.2
Capital expenditure	2.8	3.5	6.9	5.2	7.1	235.2
Current deficit	-1.8	-3.1	-20.0	-15.4	-107.2	-83.1
Overall deficit	-4.6	-6.6	-26.9	-45.3	-89.6	-318.3
Financing						
Foreign	3.2	-2.0	7.2	6.1	1.5	239.1
Domestic bank	1.4	4.6	19.7	14.5	112.8	30.7
Nonbank	—	—	—	—	—	41.5
Arreas	—	—	—	24.7	-24.7	7.0
Capital financing						
Domestic	2.8	3.5	6.9	5.2	7.1	23.2
External assistance	—	—	—	—	—	212.0

Source: IMF (1994)

of Kampuchea (PRK) gave the state a predominant role in economic affairs, while the government sought to rally public support by formulating a policy that would be pragmatic, realistic and flexible (Ross 1990:156). Thereafter, 'conditions slowly stabilized [and] the economy stumbled to its knees' (Chandler 1991:313). Domestic trade revived and illicit but tolerated private cross-border trade expanded, while foreign trade (predominantly with the Socialist bloc) was officially government controlled. The 'family' (private, peasant) sector of the economy paralleled the small state sector, while the *krom samaki* (families united in solidarity groups, or embryonic agricultural collectives) were added as the third and largest economic sector, dedicated principally to food production and rehabilitation. The state bought agricultural products in exchange for manufactured goods sold at market prices. Private trade also revived and by 1985 was recognised as the fourth official sector. The First Five Year Plan 1986-1990 gave priority to agriculture, proposed the development of trade and of infrastructure and tackled the budget deficit through increasing exports and savings. Until 1989, Cambodia benefited from about US\$100 million a year in Soviet aid.

Regardless of the economic zigzags (or because of them), the structure of the economy changed little in the four decades from independence. Agricultural techniques have changed little since Angkor. Industry accounted for only five per cent of GDP in 1985, and reached 15 per cent only in 1991. Commonly, industrial investment (including infrastructure) has relied on government savings and foreign aid. Partially restored with foreign assistance in the 1980s, the light industries established in the 1950s exist today as a shadow of former times while most commercial activity was restricted, as ever, to trade. A small decline in agriculture's share of

GDP after 1993 was made up mostly by construction activity and services, while manufacturing remained embryonic. Though the figures are not directly comparable, the level of Gross Domestic Fixed Capital Formation in 1966 was not greatly different to the 1994 figures. Moreover, funding of the government's capital budget in 1956-1958 was predominantly foreign (mostly US) while current spending was domestically financed, as it is today. Social indicators have improved today only marginally over figures for the 1960s. Given price and currency movements, living standards were almost certainly higher in the 1960s than at present; life expectancy increased from 45 years in 1960 to 54 years in 1996, following a serious decline in the Khmer Rouge years.

The reform process and macroeconomic policy

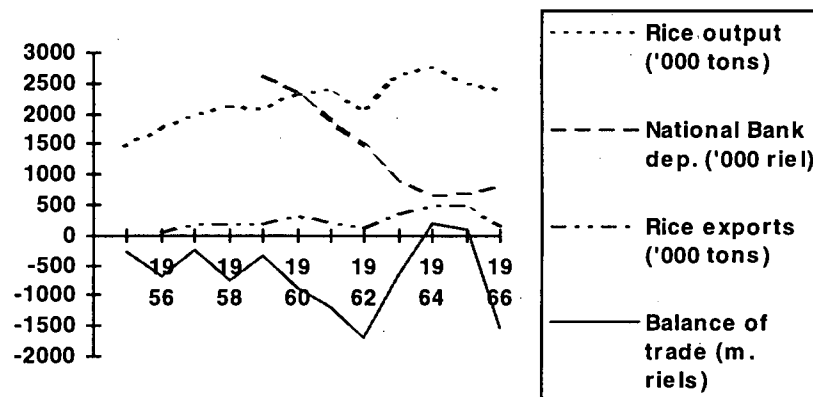
With no currency, no private property, no property records and large population movements, from 1979 'the Cambodian economy was characterized by an extreme degree of laissez-faire, owing to the limited efficacy of governmental institutions' (IMF 1994:13). Initially, the government assumed official title to all land, real estate and heavy equipment, although such property was largely appropriated by the first to arrive. While money was reintroduced in 1980, the government did not have the ability to tax either agriculture or trade (the only two industries) and, according to the IMF, 'production in the first few years was carried out in an almost totally free market environment.' The new government's intentions to move to a centrally planned economy, including the collectivisation of agriculture, culminated in the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan. But the security situation, administrative weaknesses, the inability to collectivise agriculture, and

Table 2: Foreign financing 1988-93

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
(in million of US\$)						
Balance of payments						
Exports	44.8	79.2	85.8	212.5	264.5	219.1
Imports	-169.3	-176.0	-163.5	-245.0	-350.7	-403.9
Services transfers	-11.6	-12.2	-16.5	1.3	27.6	44.3
Private transfers	2.0	2.5	3.0	3.5	9.0	3.5
Official transfers	18.5	17.3	41.6	2.5	5.0	95.7
Current Account	-115.6	-89.2	-49.7	-25.2	-44.6	-41.2
Capital account						
Official loans	29.6	27.2	11.5	5.2	-2.1	5.1
Private	—	—	—	20.0	40.1	74.6
CMEA trade credits	80.0	81.8	82.7	—	—	—
Errors and omissions	-1.8	-21.7	-34.8	-10.0	—	—
Overall balance	-7.8	-1.9	9.7	-10.0	-6.6	38.6
Financing	7.8	1.9	-9.7	10.0	6.8	-38.6
Net foreign bank assets +/-	7.5	-0.2	-17.6	8.4	3.4	-38.6
IMF arrears +/-	0.3	2.1	7.8	1.6	-7.8	-52.1
Aid for clearance of arrears	—	—	—	—	11.2	52.1

Source: IMF (1994)

Figure 2. Economic indicators 1956-1966



Source: Summers (1979:13)

popular resistance to centralisation due to the experience of the DK period made planning difficult to implement. Already in 1985, the Fifth Party Congress gave formal recognition to private activity (along with state, collective and family sectors), which, according to the IMF, 'represented the first important step toward official liberalization.' In 1986 the government ceased promoting collectivisation of agriculture and a year later it more than doubled the procurement price for rice to bring it in line with market prices.

The reform process was formalised from 1989 when the government moved towards establishing a mixed economy. Private ownership of land for family plots and traditional usufruct rights on public land were restored. Farmers were able to sell their surplus on the free market after meeting the small requirements for state procurement in exchange for access to consumer items and inputs at discounted prices. Private enterprise, including state-private joint ventures, was recognised as the fifth economic sector. The reform of industry began with the separation of state-owned enterprise (SOE) accounts from the central budget, while the government relinquished control of enterprises as they were privatised or leased. A Foreign Investment Law which was enacted to encourage private foreign participation in joint ventures and in wholly owned enterprises also became the framework for privatisation.

Monetary and fiscal reforms

Monetary and fiscal reforms were adopted after 1993 by the Cambodian Government within the framework of structural adjustment and under the supervision of the IMF and the World Bank, while macroeconomic stability was achieved quite rapidly. In relation to 'sequencing' and

'comprehensiveness' - the key theoretical themes of the transition process - the elements of the market economy were in fact established prior to the building of economic institutions (like a banking or a judicial system) and in advance of an official privatisation process. The transition affects all areas of economic activity and has been accompanied by comprehensive political changes following the election of 1993.

A balance both in the domestic budget and in foreign trade has often been regarded as essential to macroeconomic stability. Consequently, it is argued, a budget deficit must be financed by increased domestic savings and/or improved external trade - or, as in the case of Cambodia, external aid funding and foreign private investment - if rapid inflation and macroeconomic instability are to be avoided. A useful analysis of these macroeconomic relationships was made by Cedergrén (1995) in his field study of Cambodia. As Tables 1 and 2 show, these conditions have mostly been met in Cambodia since 1993. The current account deficit has been small and mostly funded domestically, while foreign assistance funded almost all capital spending, and private foreign sources accounted for most investment. Therefore, the government has been able to successfully run a tight monetary policy.

By 1995 macroeconomic stability had therefore been achieved, although major instabilities had been evident in the period 1988-1992, when conditions were very unfavourable. At that time, assistance from the former Soviet Union was curtailed, western international assistance was not available, the traditional system of pooling public enterprise surpluses was abandoned (a sequencing problem) and the security situation required heavy defence spending. The government responded to the consequent fiscal pressures by issuing money, which resulted in rapid inflation and a large depreciation of

the currency. This was perhaps an echo of the 1970-1975 period when increasing budget expenditures, shrinking export earnings, and a rising balance of payments deficit all led to extremely rapid inflation. The fiscal problems of the 1980s were short-lived due to the arrival of adequate international assistance. However, with increasing aid flows, foreign dependence has increased remarkably as Table 1 shows.

From 1993 fiscal reform was framed within the context of broader macroeconomic and growth objectives. Efforts were made to strengthen the weak revenue base, especially by tightening up on customs procedures and by initiating income tax procedures. On the expenditure side the government tightened controls, made steep cuts in capital spending and put constraints on certain current payments. Budget spending was, however, very uneven and in some cases was insufficient to meet the government's stated aims of poverty alleviation and rural development. Defence spending consumed half budget expenditures, health and education spending was constrained and was largely foreign financed (80 per cent of the health budget, for example, is foreign financed) and budget allocations to the Ministry of Rural Development were kept extremely low. The 1994 budget law for the first time created a single national budget with, in principle, all revenues and expenditures passing through the Ministry of Finance.

Conclusion

Whether Cambodia can achieve equitable, export-led economic growth is yet to be seen. By 1993, total exports reached US\$218 million, five times the level recorded in 1988, mainly reflecting a rapid increase in re-export trade owing to the differences in tariff rates between Cambodia and neighbouring countries. Re-export reached more than 80 per cent of total exports. Timber, rubber and precious gems have been the main export commodities in recent years, though much of the trade is illegal and unrecorded. Agricultural exports, including rice, corn and rubber, remained below the level reached in the mid-1960s. Due to food shortages, rice exports were illegal until 1995. Tourism is thought to have good potential, while manufacturing exports are not yet

significant. Cambodia is thought to have a comparative advantage: in natural resources (especially for agriculture); in its location at the centre of a rapidly growing region with a huge population; and in the attraction of its natural environment. Deforestation has begun. Cheap labour does not, however, give the country a particular competitive advantage both because wage costs are already higher than in neighbouring countries like China and because the level of formal education and the level of industrial skills training are generally low.

A Policy Framework Paper for 1994-1996 prepared with assistance from the IMF, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank provided the basis for the approval of IMF-World Bank structural adjustment credit facilities in 1995 so long as macroeconomic targets are maintained. By meeting the conditions outlined in the Framework Paper, Cambodia will be eligible for an increasing quantity of multilateral and bilateral loan funding and grant aid is likely to fall in coming years. Debt is therefore a problem Cambodia may soon have to confront. Economic targets included: GDP growth of seven to eight per cent per annum; inflation at five per cent by 1995; a stable currency; a budget deficit reduced from seven per cent to six per cent of GDP during 1994-1996; budget revenue increased from five to nine per cent of GDP during 1993-1996 together with further rationalisation of expenditures; and an externally financed investment budget at five per cent of GDP. These are ambitious targets that are characterised by inherent dangers, difficulties and contradictions. The Government itself admits that 'While private initiative and investment are envisaged to be the engine of Cambodian growth, it is considered that the present embryonic state of the country's private sector is such that the mere provision of a facilitating environment [for private-sector activity], while necessary, will not in itself be sufficient to prompt a significant expansion for some years' (Royal Government of Cambodia 1995:17).

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Reforms in the public service: Are we on the right track?

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It was Abraham Lincoln who said that democracy is a government of the people, for the people and by the people - while the spirit of this remains true, in reality the situation is far from it. Reasons are not difficult to find: the advent of government along party lines and governments elected on minority votes provide examples.

Similarly, public service is defined as service of the people, by the people and for the people. However, the general perception of public service has metamorphosed during the last two decades. Perceptions are influenced by who asks the question and who provides the answer.

While there may be disagreements about the details of what the public service does or should do, in general the public service administers faithfully, without fear or favour, the policies and programmes of the government of the day. This is an important issue because unqualified acceptance of this principle allows the public service to work within the parameters set by generally accepted principles of good governance, namely, to maintain peace, administer justice, encourage development and ensure equity. If these principles are not accepted, the public service will have to follow the whims of its political bosses irrespective of the service's legal and other statutory obligations. Discussing the focus of recent reforms in the Australian public service in a recent article, the Executive Director of the Australia Institute commented that the reformists' argument, that the duty of the public service is no more than to carry out the wishes of the minister, is one which sees the ethics of public policy decisions unapologetically replaced by economic calculus (Hamilton 1995). One may have reservations about the harshness of his observation, but the message it conveys cannot be ignored.

Broadly speaking industrialised countries' annual government spending accounts for anything between 20 to 30 per cent of GNP. This empowers modern governments to distribute favours to individuals or groups. It might be argued that it is the function of governments to distribute favours if voters, through elections, tell them how. What is at issue is the consideration of long-term versus short-term views. Public servants' capacity to perform within this context therefore becomes a critical issue.

Global change and public service

Globalisation of national economies, the end of the cold war, and technological revolution have changed and will continue to change the conventional parameters under which the public service has been operating. There are signs that those ideologically committed to change have, unfortunately, not fully grasped the long-term implications of these changes.

Alvin Toffler (1980) in his publication *The third wave* conceptualised the enormity of the changes that are taking place (see also Toffler 1970). The centrepiece of his argument is that we are moving from an age in which we produce things to an age in which we produce information. This will eventually polarise the community between the 'knowledge worker' and the 'service worker'. Perhaps the greatest challenge for policy makers and reformers is to position the public service to respond to these changes efficiently and humanely. Policy makers will be making a big mistake if reforms are considered in isolation from the environment in which the community operates or if the economic, technological, social and political environments, at national and international levels, are ignored.

There are many instances of the public sector failing to provide cost-effective services to the community. The blame for such failures is put on the public service, perhaps disproportionately, because public servants face the public - the service's client - on a day-to-day basis. The public cannot be expected to understand the intricacies under which the public service is required to operate. The changes of the last decades, unfortunately, have primarily focused on managerial issues, rather than 'human' or 'operational environment' issues. In the rapidly changing operational environment of a complex society, this approach almost certainly will fail and the consequential effects for the future may be enormous.

The governments which direct the public service are prone to subscribe to popular perceptions that a smaller public sector is good. This paper is not arguing that governments are necessarily wrong. What is emphasised in this paper is that in the name of reform there is a tendency to follow the easy option of complying with the views of those sections of the community who are in a position to subtly manipulate public opinion to meet their own selfish interests irrespective of merit.

Influencing public service change

The dominance of the public sector, and hence of the public service, is a post World War II phenomenon. The Great Depression and postwar reconstruction produced a significant growth of the public sector and the public service in many countries in the second half of this century. Historically, notably in Australia, the dominance of the public sector goes back a long way. Following the depression a major purpose of public enterprise was to compete against the private sector (eg, the Commonwealth Bank), or government was believed to be able to deliver services better (eg, utilities). However, this shift was never welcomed by those who championed the cause of the private sector. In recent years, in particular, the private sector lobby has been

successful in convincing the community (at least in part) that if a market-based economic approach is adopted in providing community facilities and services, they will be better off in two ways: they will have less to pay in taxes, and they will get better quality service. In an uncertain period when dramatic changes are taking place all around our lives, the public has always looked for easy solutions to their problems without always realising the long-term consequences.

The electronic and print media in the late twentieth century is owned and controlled by a few large corporations. Deliberately or inadvertently, they shape public opinion. As with all businesses, the primary objective of media owners is to make a profit. This drives them to take positions which will enable them to maximise their advertisement revenue. Dependence on advertising revenue for returns on their investment cannot be ignored. The demise of many independent newspapers and the concentration of electronic media in a few hands confirm this tendency.

In western countries people generally accept that no matter who owns the media business, journalists are an independent group of people and value their independence very highly. In reality, many argue, individuals have very little scope to ensure that their independence is preserved in the way news is printed or broadcast. Australian journalist Brian Toohey (1994) has argued that it is difficult to remain independent in this day and age: 'Who pays the piper, calls the tune'.

The capacity of the media to influence public opinion by sensationalising news is enormous. In the context of the recent Australian election, take a headline like 'Moody's Investors Services has placed New Zealand's sovereign credit rating on review for a possible upgrade - which would take its ranking above Australia's'. It is difficult for any government to ignore such headlines but it is clear that the issue is far more complex than the headline would suggest. Headlines in a number of Australian dailies gave the impression that the economic reforms in New Zealand were far more effective in solving the country's economic and social problems than those in Australia. None gave much attention to the fact that the tax and debt ratios to GNP are far worse in New Zealand than in Australia.¹

Mr Bernie Fraser, Governor of the Australian Reserve Bank, made a similar point in a recent interview (Ellis 1996). While defending the Reserve Bank's independence in determining interest rates he said 'I think it's unfortunate that the financial markets ... have a disproportionate say in the newspapers. I think journalists find it easier to get a comment from someone in the financial market ... [a]nd the markets are really not concerned about growth or employment ...'.

Reforming the public service

Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom have been forerunners in public service reform in recent years. The reforms initiated are, by any standard, dramatic and revolutionary. Apart from slashing the number of public

servants, the reforms put the public service on the same footing as the private sector. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that putting the public service on the same footing as the private sector may preclude the policy advice to government appropriate to the needs of the majority of the community in the medium- and long-term. Measurement of community welfare is difficult. An indirect way to ascertain the extent of the community's satisfaction is through its perception of the performance of politicians. There now exists widespread distrust and cynicism about the honesty and integrity of politicians, and a reluctance to accept their election promises at face value. This is perhaps the single most important reason for the declining number of people exercising their right to vote in many countries. The result is many governments are elected on a minority vote and an increasing tendency for voters to change party allegiances.

In Australia, the shape of the public service will change dramatically when new legislation is passed abolishing the concept of permanent employment, replacing it by what is known as 'continuity of employment' with increasing emphasis on contract employment, particularly at the senior and executive levels of the service.

In New Zealand, reform is far more dramatic. In addition to putting all senior officers under contract, ministers are increasingly broadening their sources of advice and information in the market place (Bartos 1995). The crucial issue is whether the providers of such outside advice are in a position to give independent advice or whether they will push sectoral interests. The probability of such advice being biased towards individual or group interest is certainly high.

In the UK, a British parliamentary committee has also recently produced a revised British Civil Service Code. In principle terms the basic tenet of this Code is impartiality and the accountability of civil servants to ministers.² However, given human nature, there need to be certain preconditions to ensure that these codes are followed in reality. Contract employment for a limited number of years (varying between three and five), in an environment where double digit unemployment is no longer unusual, will put enormous strain on middle-aged and middle-ranking officers in deciding how best not to endanger their survival prospects at the end of the contract period. It will encourage the service to provide advice couched in a way to satisfy what the minister wants to hear rather than taking an independent line. The British comedy *Yes, Minister / Yes, Prime Minister* is considered by many to be a documentary rather than a comedy.

The impact of reform

The effect of these changes is yet to be fully understood. But some anecdotal evidence is already available. In Australia, the report of an inquiry into a 1994 mine accident which claimed 11 lives concluded that the government had not provided adequate funds for mine health and safety (Winridge 1996). In other words, budgetary considerations inadvertently led to the loss of valuable lives. A recent study by the Evatt

Foundation (1996) in Australia on the 'State of the Australian public sector' found that some governments are endangering the public sector's effectiveness through reduced funding for services. It concluded that free market fixations of some governments led to 'ridiculous decisions' about public sector management. The New Zealand initiative in buying outside advice has its down side as well, because the relationship between a buyer and seller rarely looks to the long-term implications. The 'independent' source is likely to be influenced by opinion creators or by resourceful and articulated individuals or groups rather than by long-term policy goals benefiting the community as a whole.

The recent reforms in the public sector have undoubtedly led to a focus on the economic rationalisation of service delivery. In the process, human aspects of administering policies are ignored, with undesirable consequences. Politicians cannot ignore the public perceptions of their worth to their constituents, and the media can play an important role in creating a favourable perception, either through calculated disinformation or through manipulation of 'news focus'.

Two further examples indicate how the catchword 'managerialism' is essentially dehumanising the public service. A British Hospital Trust chairman issued an edict that doctors' duty was first to the organisation they worked for, secondly to themselves and only then should they discharge their responsibility to patients.³ In a slightly different vein, the chief executive officer of New Zealand's largest hospital system previously managed the largest brewery in New Zealand.⁴

Non tenured employment and the introduction of managerialism as the primary focus of the service are more than likely to create a sense of insecurity in the minds of many public servants. This already influences how the public service operates. In the UK the number of public servants has been slashed significantly. In 1979 Britain had 732,000 civil servants, in the middle of 1995 it was estimated to be 440,000, a decline of about 40 per cent.⁵ A study by Hugill found that stress was a major issue for most of the managers, professionals and specialists, who were required to work longer hours but at the same time no longer had job security.⁶ In the long-run it will cost society a great deal more by way of additional demands on health services, social security payments, family breakdowns etc.

Bureaucrats can provide advice without fear or favour if they know that unpalatable advice will not impact on them personally. The current reform process, by focusing on managerialism and limited-term contract employment at middle to senior levels of service (just not the principal officers in the organisation, as in the US system) will likely ensure full and fearless advice to the government will not be forthcoming.

Of all the OECD countries, New Zealand's economic reform and the reform of its public sector are perhaps most revolutionary. While there are strong arguments both in favour of and against the extent and type of reform, the fact is that

these reforms have helped in creating two distinct societies in New Zealand: a small articulate group who can take advantage of the reforms and new opportunities they offer; and a large group facing declining living standards and intractable poverty, spiralling crime rates, jailing and bitter racial divisions (Kelsey 1995).

Irrespective of the intrinsic merit of reforms in the public sector, can we say that it has made the society as a whole better off? This is a sensitive question. While reforms should target inefficiencies within the system, it should not be assumed that market forces will necessarily allow development of appropriate and suitable public policies. One should not forget that even Adam Smith (1937), the greatest exponent of the free market, recognised that a free market is an artefact, ie, it is artificially created and assumes that the main players - producers, workers and governments - are willing to observe the rules of the free market game.

The technological revolution and the globalisation of national economies have shifted power towards producers, particularly the information providers, who are in a position not only to influence the shape of public opinion without fully explaining their agenda, but also largely determine the direction of governments' priorities and activities. In such an environment, reform of the public sector must put in place sufficiently strong safeguards for public servants to feel that they can offer their political masters advice, without fear or favour, to benefit the community as a whole and not just to satisfy powerful sectional interests. Regrettably, if the realities of human nature are not taken into consideration in developing and guiding the reform process, we will achieve little.

Conclusion

No one will deny that there exists strong ground for reforming the public service in most, if not all, countries. Furthermore, in a complex and rapidly changing world, the functions and performance of the service as a whole need constantly to be reviewed and monitored to ensure that taxpayers receive full value for their tax dollars. However, one should not under any circumstances equate the objectives of the public service and those of the private sector. The public service serves the community as a whole, whereas the private sector exists to serve sectional interest. Technology and the globalisation of national economies are increasingly enabling the private sector to play a disproportionately greater influence in shaping government policies. In this context if the public service is to fulfil its community obligations (as against sectoral/sectional obligations), the reform process should not throw out the baby with the bathwater. It will be counterproductive, and may lead to greater problems than we have experienced to date, if the role of the service is not explicitly acknowledged and safeguarded in this reform process.

** Based on a paper presented at the 1996 Biennial CAPAM conference held in Malta 21-24 April 1996. The views expressed in this paper are authors' own and they do not reflect the views of their employers.*

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Technology: A public good, a private responsibility

Bernard Woods, Communication Consultant*

Agriculture and its development have progressed from the 'pioneering' phase of subsistence farming through the 'production' phase of early scientific applications to crop and livestock husbandry, then to a 'productivity' emphasis with its high-input/high-output philosophy and on to the 'sustainability' emphasis of the past decade. Each step in this evolution has called for different attitudes and skills and new knowledge and information among everyone involved in agriculture.

Now the environmental crisis has bought other priorities: 40 countries are approaching the limits of their fresh water reserves; salinity has rendered 20 per cent of all irrigated land unusable; for a great many rural communities, traditional sources of fuelwood and fodder are approaching exhaustion; and rural poverty and unemployment are increasing. Simplistic approaches to the traditional disciplines of agriculture, forestry, health and education, and prevailing economic theories are insufficient to cope with these wider problems. They require more comprehensive approaches founded on the social realities and the perceptions and priorities of the people concerned.

At the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen in March 1995, more than 120 heads of state and government committed themselves to the priority of social development. Their declaration places the role of technology in achieving social development goals on the international development agenda for the first time:

[We] recognise that the new information technologies and new approaches to access to and the use of technologies by people living in poverty can help in fulfilling social development goals and therefore recognise the need to facilitate access to such technologies.

Development and information technologies

Currently, about two per cent of all people, schools, clinics, small businesses and communities in the world have access to computer-based technologies and to Internet and information superhighways. Numerous new documents on information superhighways define their capabilities in relation to national and global needs - but do not focus on how the technology can be made affordable for the poor on a large scale. This is not achievable within current traditions. So far, these technologies and information superhighways are separating the 'haves' from the 'have nots'. Until now there has been no alternative.

The Information Age is well upon us in seven major fields - learning, diagnostics, management, physical planning, finance, entertainment and communication. The technologies to achieve a major advance are already here in the communication capabilities of broadcasting, telephony, cable and satellites - the processing and interactive abilities of computers; prodigious electronic storage capability and in the abilities of these technologies to communicate in sound, pictures, symbols, graphics, video, numbers and script, and to do so on demand. These capabilities will continue to improve and the costs of the technology will continue to fall.

Programmes at village level in countries around the world are showing how people of all ages and all levels of education - including, particularly, poor and illiterate people - can use these technologies. These examples include applications for education and training; for diagnosis of human, animal, plant, soil, machinery and other ailments; management by communities, small businesses and local

governments; physical resource planning and environmental management at local levels; and rural credit and savings. Low orbit satellites can now make inexpensive two-way digital communication possible with any point on earth using radio.

These initiatives are showing the extraordinary potential of the technology for empowering people for their own development. However, most are small, isolated and independent. Very few have spread widely. Even fewer have established a basis for the sustainable funding of the technology on large scale. These projects also show that the full potential of the technologies lies in combining their separate capabilities into 'integrated systems'. An advance in approach to funding the technology can make it accessible and affordable for everyone. Poor people can never have access to the potential of these technologies if they have to own them in order to use them. This obstacle can be overcome by a new utility.

Empowerment through Community Utilities

All utilities - water, electricity, gas and telephone, and railways and bus companies too - operate on the basis of large numbers of people each paying small amounts for usage. Most also reallocate revenue from commercial and wealthier users to subsidise small and poorer users. The same can be done with the combination of digital technologies. We can create a new form of utility: a digital utility - or Community Utility - which can install, operate, maintain and upgrade the technology and make it accessible on a pay-to-use basis. Such a utility would offer access to hardware, software and through them, to information. Users can be identified and their use of services and equipment metered. Differential user rates can be charged for different users and categories of use. Revenue from private sector users and governments can be reallocated to subsidise use by the poor.

No new technology is involved. Community Utilities builds on ongoing programmes, provide a basis for widespread replication of successful initiatives and permit, for the first time, sustainable funding of the social applications of the technology.

Key features include:

- An emphasis on software. For example, agricultural recommendations and diagnostic material can be converted into interactive software with which people can interact by entering their own data to solve their own individual problems.
- Local Community Utility companies (like local water companies) establish 'community resource centres' with very large storage and processing capabilities where people can have access to the technology. Schools, clinics, small businesses, local agricultural offices, and others can all be linked to the resource centres. Initiatives in many countries have established 'community information centres' using printed, tape and video materials. The 'resource centres' can build on these.

- The resource centres are linked to the Internet, the World Wide Web, specialist networks, databases and other sources of digital material, and thereby increase the use of all of them.

Community Utilities can be profitable. Investment in the intellectual product is made for the utilities by software producers who receive royalty payments for use of their software, and that product does not deplete with use. Being profitable, the new utilities can attract private sector investment and expertise for their establishment and operation.

Using the utilities, activities which to date have been generally regarded as public sector responsibilities - eg. education, rural extension, community health, local management - can all generate revenue. We can link private sector funds into achieving these goals and thereby escape the confines of public expenditure.

Funding Community Utilities

Governments have funded the suppliers of information and knowledge - teachers, extension agents, health workers, etc. By funding use of technology and reallocating revenue from higher income users to poorer ones, funds for development can be channelled directly to the poor on a large scale. Maximising use of Community Utilities will reduce usage rates.

Economic/production-centred approaches to development have placed emphasis on crops, livestock, forestry, fisheries, irrigation, soil conservation, healthcare, education and so on. In Third World countries particularly, governments have employed trained people to be the primary embodiment of knowledge and medium of communication to achieve the learning and behaviour change needed for each of these and have built up big bureaucracies to support them. The intended 'trickle down' effect has failed to reach and benefit poorer people, the 'bottom 40 per cent' almost everywhere.

This approach is inevitably limited by the number of staff governments can employ and manage; each individual's knowledge, communication skills, attitudes, age, gender, language, mobility, social acceptability and other human factors; and the confines of the governments' (and aid agencies') traditional disciplines and sectors which flow from the reductionism of western education systems. Approaches and funding of learning, diagnosis, management, physical planning and communication have been fragmented among the separate disciplines. The technology can provide information and software for any of these five fields of activity (and for finance and entertainment) irrespective of discipline or sector.

The principles of Community Utilities

The principles of Community Utilities apply worldwide. Programmes to introduce them have commenced in 14 countries; they are the most advanced in China and India as well as the United States, Canada, United Kingdom and South

Africa. The European Union and the International American Development Bank are the first major donor agencies to receive funding requests for Community Utility initiatives.

Community Utilities are new. In all countries where programmes have begun, leadership has come initially from the private sector and NGOs, not central governments. Community Utilities require: new institutional structures and funding mechanisms in every country; action at local, national and international levels to create the environment of understanding for the advances which are now possible; and critical seed funds to establish a focal point of responsibility in each country for initiating planning, building on existing experience and conditions.

NGOs have a central role in helping communities to introduce the uses of the new Community Utilities. As it was put by the American management guru Peter Drucker, 'Technology is important primarily because it should force us to do new things, rather than because it enables us to do old things better.' We can rethink approaches and funding of the seven major fields of the social application of the technology (referred to above) for rural sector development. The implications are far reaching and profound. The following are a few.

1. No government or donor agency yet has a comprehensive policy to guide new investment in the social applications of information technologies. Programmes are going forward in many countries to establish parallel information systems for water, agriculture, livestock, forests, health and others. No single sector can meet the cost of owning, maintaining, upgrading and operating an integrated technology system for its exclusive use. None would think doing so for telephones. We recognise that telephones are generic and everyone can use the same system. The same applies to a locally managed system which integrates the capabilities of all digital technologies. Community Utilities provide a basis on which government and donor agency policy can be built to coordinate new investment in the technology and its social applications.

2. Utilities need to maximise usage. This calls for a multidisciplinary approach: individual utilities to seek out successful initiatives and make the software involved accessible through their systems, and involvement of all members of the communities, rich and poor alike. The development paradigm has altered to include a peoples' perspective encompassing off-farm employment, women's development, the needs of children, community management, relevant learning and communication, entertainment and education. These were all peripheral to the physical/production/economic emphasis of rural development 20 years ago. A new medium for helping address all of these will generate new activity and employment. Success will reverse rural to urban migration.

The need to maximise use in order to reduce user charges has a subtle and important aspect for involvement of the poor. Where use by the poor is funded from reallocated revenue

from private sector and other users, and by governmental funds for specific social goals (eg, education), the poor can attract that revenue for their utilities and thereby benefit their communities. The poor can become an asset to their communities.

3. Governments need to promote private sector involvement. Use of new utilities will depend heavily on the quality and relevance of the software they provide. To be relevant, software must respond to local needs so it must be designed from the point of view of the users. This calls for rapid development of software production capability in every country. Simple software already exists for identification of plant and animal pests and diseases, common human illnesses, machinery maintenance and repair, bookkeeping and other universal needs. This can be adapted relatively easily to local conditions. Governments can provide incentives to accelerate local software production and help in partnership arrangements with foreign companies. (India's software industry may have a particular contribution to make in this regard).

4. Governments need to promote use of new utilities. Facilities can be used for employee training, management development and other private sector uses. Revenue from these will be important for reallocation to assist use by the poor. Governments need to create investment environments to attract private sector capital to help install and operate the new utilities. China has provided a lead. The Government of China has guaranteed a percentage of use of Community Utilities for education and rural sector development for the next ten years. This has removed the risk for private sector funding sources. They are now formalising a major investment programme in a national utility programme for China through public/private sector partnerships.

As for the UN technical agencies (eg, FAO, WHO), they are already promoting technology applications in their separate domains - but all inevitably limited to current conventions and the confines of public expenditure in individual countries. With the removal of those constraints, the uses of information technologies in their respective fields can become a central and urgent focus of attention.

As Peter Drucker stated above, the greatest potential of the technology lies in enabling us to do new things. This applies particularly to the people-centred approach to rural development. It calls for review of priorities and goals by FAO. As many of the social prerequisites of sustainable development have fallen between rather than within any one of the traditional mandates of the UN technical agencies, new cooperative programmes are called for to focus on these needs - using the technology, the Internet, the World Wide Web and the World Press Centre to do so. At country level, coordination among different agencies is needed in their support for new utility programmes. NGOs and the private sector will lead this new generation of development, the reverse of government-led development investment to date.

Where to begin?

The first step everywhere is to create awareness and understanding of the nature of the fundamental advances which are now possible in development, their practical implications and how they translate into operational terms for individual organisations. Every government and donor agency needs to address the new generation of policy which these advances call for and the new public/private sector relationships they require.

Initial utility programmes can build on existing colleges, universities or large private sector concerns that are already operating networks and open and distance learning techniques.

In rural areas, they can build on existing initiatives already using technology at local levels. Virtually all existing programmes use the technology for narrow purposes. Utility programmes can widen the use of that same equipment and build on local acceptance of the technology which has already been achieved.

The best sites for the first utilities are in concentrations of populations: eg, irrigation programmes, plantations, mines and successful community development and local government programmes which have strengthened local decision making and communication processes. The early focus should be on the private sector usage to build up revenue; then the utility operators should reach out to surrounding rural communities.

**This paper first appeared in Ceres, 158, 1996:23-27. The author is a communication consultant working with governments and donor agencies to establish Community Utilities.*

The challenges for sustainable human development: A response from Australia

Alexander Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs

The world of the 1990s is a very different one to that of the preceding decades. To make sure that Australia's aid programme reflects the needs of today and is properly positioned to face the challenges of the next century, I am commissioning an independent review of the aid programme. This review was foreshadowed in the Coalition's foreign policy document, 'A confident Australia', and will be the most comprehensive review of the entire aid programme since the Jackson Report of 1984. Its purpose will be to present a report on the overall priorities, objectives and focus of the aid programme. The review will also examine how the aid programme can best contribute to lasting poverty reduction, while also serving Australia's interests. I have been concerned for some time that Australia's aid programme needs to refocus on its fundamental purposes, namely to assist developing countries to help meet the basic needs of their people and to assist in achieving a more secure and equitable international order.

The essential features to be emphasised in this aid review will reflect the principles set out in 'A confident Australia':

- recognition that the primary purpose of foreign aid is assistance in overcoming humanitarian concerns through permanent outcomes;
- an increase in the proportion of aid allocated to humanitarian and poverty reduction purposes;
- support for an increased role of non government organisations, both Australian and local, in the delivery of Australia's foreign aid;
- significant increase in support for rural development;
- significant increase in focus on assistance projects directed to the needs and abilities of women and girls;
- institutional support for states in the process of developing democratic structures; and
- preference for the conduct of Australian aid activities overseas using Australian goods and services and personnel rather than contracting out to organisations from any other developed countries.

I am also concerned that Australia's aid programme needs to be run on a systematic and coordinated basis, not merely driven by representations by particular groups. Aid is not a subsidy to business nor a mere extension of foreign policy objectives. It is not diplomacy by other means. The principal objectives of Australia's aid programme should be to ensure the reduction of poverty and the promotion of economic development as a permanent means of overcoming such poverty.

The review will need to take into account current international trends which are influencing the nature of development cooperation. It will pay close attention to overall government directions to ensure coherence between aid and foreign trade and domestic policies. The aid review will examine how the aid programme should respond to economic globalisation and the opportunities and challenges that trend provides for developing countries, as well as the instabilities generated

by the post cold war period. Australia needs to clarify the role of the aid programme in addressing global issues such as environmental degradation and climate change, refugees and the spread of preventable diseases.

Australia's aid programme will continue to focus on the Asia-Pacific region, in particular within the South Pacific and poorer countries of the East Asian region. The review will assess Australia's aid priorities within this region. Australia's future relationship with Papua New Guinea and the South Pacific Island states will be addressed. I will also ask the review to consider the scope for Australian assistance outside the Asia-Pacific region, in particular in Africa and the Central Asian Republics.

The review should examine the appropriate programme focus, including the balance between sectors - such as between education and health, infrastructure and good governance. I expect the review will consider good governance and policy dialogue, including economic reform, human rights and other equity concerns.

Importantly, the review will consider the appropriate ways of achieving these outcomes. There are occasions when an international approach is far more effective than Australia providing aid on its own to projects in other countries. At other times, community development organisations will be able to make the strongest contribution.

The review will be conducted by a three person committee. The chairman of the committee will be Paul Simons, former Executive Chairman of Woolworths. Mr Simons has had a distinguished career in business, taking Woolworths to record profits through firm and visionary leadership. He will be joined by Cliff Walsh from the University of Adelaide. Professor Walsh heads the South Australian Centre of Economic Studies. He has a wealth of experience in academia and in the provision of high quality economic advice to government. Completing the team is Gaye Hart, currently the Director of the Hunter Institute of Technology. Ms Hart brings a strong interest in development issues to the review. She served as the Executive Director of UNICEF Australia and was a member of the Executive Committee of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA).

Involving the community

The review will also succeed to the extent it is able to develop a renewed interest in aid in the Australian community. While this Government remains committed to the eventual target of 0.7 per cent of GNP, as budgetary circumstances permit, I am concerned that the donations raised by the non government sector remain substantially below the comparable rates of other countries. According to the Industry Commission, donations from the Australian community to their overseas relief and development agencies amounted to only A\$173 million in 1993-1994. Indeed, aid provided overseas by Australian community development organisations was well below their OECD counterparts.

I acknowledge that Australia's non government organisations (NGOs) working overseas are competing with 11,000 charities who provide services within Australia. Even so, I am particularly keen that development NGOs build a long-term viable future. I have already told ACFOA that I would be happy to support any proposals they may have for developing stronger links with the business community. I have offered to chair a meeting at which much greater cooperation between NGOs and Australia's business community could be forged.

Australian support for international agricultural research

One key element of Australia's aid programme will be robust support for agricultural development and reform. Australians have accumulated internationally recognised expertise in areas such as dry climate farming and water catchment management. Through development cooperation activities, Australia hopes to pass on this expertise so that others may benefit from our experiences and perhaps even avoid some of our mistakes. It is one of the areas where Australian aid can have its biggest impact.

The need for a broad approach to poverty alleviation

Important as agricultural research is to continuing the battle against endemic poverty, other factors play a key role. The factors necessary for the alleviation of poverty include good and accountable government, adequate physical and social infrastructure and opportunities for all to participate actively in the economic life of the nation and the region and indeed at the global level. This demands responses which attack poverty on all fronts. Australia needs to look at measures that provide the basis for long-term development. This will only be achieved if a country creates the conditions for sustained and equitable economic growth. Ultimately, that will involve policy choices which must be made by each sovereign nation. However, aid can assist countries develop the capacity to make the best policy choice and help their implementation.

The links between trade liberalisation and development

The phenomenon of globalisation means that no country can insulate itself from the world market. There are enormous gains to be made from the trade opportunities made possible by the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round. However, it is clear that the path to full trade liberalisation is not an easy one.

We in the developed world have a responsibility to assist developing countries make that transition by helping them learn the rules of the new trading game and thus ensure that they are able to reap its benefits. Likewise, as a prosperous agricultural exporter, Australia has an obligation to help so as to cushion those who are vulnerable in the period of adjustment. Australia is also meeting this obligation through its annual 300,000 tonne commitment of grain under the Food Aid Convention.

Australia is also providing technical advice to a number of governments who are in the process of liberalising their economies. We are also paying attention to the important requirement to foster private enterprise in these transitional economies.

Conclusion

Through our aid programme, and through the efforts of the Australian community - non government, business and professional - Australia does improve the lives of the poor. That is why this review is so important. Like all Australians, I am distressed that so many children and mothers in countries as close as Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands still die needlessly from basic preventable diseases such as measles, diarrhoea and malaria. The Government wants to examine how it can best mobilise Australian expertise to provide immunisation, clean water and the research to combat these diseases.

I want the Simon Report to reflect on Australia's aid programme so that it can be better directed to provide these children with new opportunities to escape servitude and so have the chance to have some kind of life. Through carefully targeted aid, an Australian funded programme in a province of Laos cut infant mortality by 80 per cent in two years. It achieved this remarkable result by training traditional birth attendants in each village in the skills of midwifery and diagnosis of complicated labour. Diseases such as HIV/AIDS call for concerted international responses based upon agreed strategies. It is a tragedy that eight per cent of people in Zambia and ten per cent of Zimbabweans are infected with HIV. It would be an even worse tragedy if Australians did not do everything they could to help.

These are the types of practical humanitarian-based aid which the Government wants to see developed further. Solving poverty and providing relief to people living in misery is an immense task. I believe Australia has the capacity, the expertise and the will to make a difference. Providing aid within a policy framework is important. There are no incontrovertible truths and what was once axiomatic in the 1960s is not the case in the 1990s. The accepted wisdom which governs aid programmes today will be under challenge in the year 2020. Australia needs to challenge old and current orthodoxies and to search for practical solutions, and I am confident the aid review will provide new visions for the future.

An edited address to the 2020 Vision Seminar, the Crawford Fund, 28 May 1996.

Survival in the cities: Urban poverty and urban development*

Entire blocks in the Bronx, Brooklyn and Harlem in New York City look as if they have been under aerial bombardment. Tens of thousands sleep in the cemeteries in Cairo, and in Bombay the 'pavement dwellers' number in the millions. Such vignettes from the world's megacities (those with populations larger than 10 million) are so powerful and so widely circulated that they have become emblematic of poverty itself. But the image of runaway urban growth and rampant misery tends to obscure the complexities of how cities grow and what can be done about the parallel growth of poverty.

Although the data are far from conclusive, some experts say that the rapid growth of megacities seems to be slowing. 'Lagos had 5.6 million people at its most recent census; they were expecting eight million', notes David Satterwaite of the International Institute for Environment and Development, a London-based research group. 'Sao Paulo and Mexico City are losing population; mid-size cities like Curitiba (Brazil) and Monterrey (Mexico) are growing and are often doing better.'

The megacities, according to many predictions, were destined to dominate the planet the way the dinosaurs once did. But the super-cities may be handicapped by a problem the dinosaurs shared: sheer size. Saskia Sassen, Professor of Urban Planning at Columbia University, and author of *Cities in a world economy*, thinks that many people who move to large cities may have second thoughts. She points out that 'when it takes many hours to travel from one part of the city to another, the proximity of people and resources which makes cities productive in the first place may be negated.' Both migration choices and investment patterns are affected. Although cities in both developed and developing countries are conventionally portrayed as staggering under the burdens of providing services for the poor, a close-up study of squatter settlements in the Bangladeshi capital of Dhaka by Rita Afsar of the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies reveals a different picture. 'Squatters don't have formal access to public services, so they pay bribes for services, and women carry home water from springs and streams,' Afsar notes. 'The poor perform most of the manual labour in the city - which would be paralysed without its rickshaw drivers. As garment industry workers, they are responsible for the bulk of the country's export earnings. Contrary to the myth, these people are not involved inordinately in crime and drugs. More often, they are the victims of gangsters protected by members of the elite.'

For most of Dhaka's seven million inhabitants, survival depends on mutual support among friends and family. But the stress placed on family structures can cause them to collapse. In Dhaka, as in many other cities, there are increasing numbers of single parent households headed by women, who suffer from poverty rates much higher than for two parent families.

It has become fashionable to decry public sector intervention against poverty as futile and wasteful, but recent experiences indicate that government regulation can be usefully deployed, even in economies converting from centralised to market economies. After 1990, market forces energising downtown Prague drove up real estate costs, along with rents for lower-income groups such as retired people, gypsies and others, who lived in the centre, according to Dr Jiri Musil of the Central European University. Regulations were put in place that encouraged landlords to convert street level facilities to profitable restaurants and shops, while residential rents on the upper floors were controlled. Dr Musil credits these policies, as well as advocacy by the Association for the Protection of Tenants, with preserving the living standards of those who might have sunk into poverty while retaining an urban population that can meet the booming demand for labour in the downtown area.

Structural adjustment and the cities

'Structural changes favouring free markets, liberalisation and reduced public sector spending are killing local industry and local government in Lima,' says Peruvian economic consultant Oscar Ugarteche. 'Who else but industry and government is going to hire the poor? The stock market keeps going up, but the poor don't own stocks.' Yao Graham, Deputy Director of the Integrated Social Development Centre, a community-based organisation in Ghana, reports a swing away from the city's role as an escape hatch from abject poverty. 'According to the most recent standards of living survey, in 1987-1988 the incidence of poverty was 36.9 per cent nationally and only 8.5 per cent in the capital city of Accra.' He adds that rates of school enrolment fell more rapidly in the cities than in the countryside, and that the overall extent of poverty was probably understated by the survey, because living costs are higher in urban than in rural areas.

Graham attributes unprecedented urban poverty to inflows of the rural poor as well as to the effects of structural adjustment programmes undertaken in Ghana under terms set by international financial institutions. Adjustment entailed decreased government services and food subsidies, smaller government payrolls and closure of government-run enterprises, while the hoped-for spurt in private investment has yet to materialise, he says. 'It is not clear what the ultimate impact of structural adjustment programmes will be,' says David Satterwaite. 'But up to now, these programmes have had a devastating impact on African, Latin American and South Asian urban populations without delivering many positive results.'

Partnerships for progress

Cutbacks in public services have exacerbated the situation of the poor in the United States, and in western Europe high

unemployment is bringing unaccustomed poverty to the urban centres. With the exception of enclaves such as Singapore and Hong Kong, severe poverty continues to afflict the high-growth cities of East Asia. The notable persistence of poverty in even the most successful of the world's economies has convinced many anti-poverty campaigners that, rather than await the big battalions of economic growth, it is necessary to attack poverty through grassroots action. Often, it is the poor who take the lead in devising ways to overcome urban misery.

Erik Vittrup, Chief Technical Adviser for the UNCHS Community Management Programme in San José, Costa Rica, recounts an example of this kind of initiative undertaken by the squatter settlers in a San José neighbourhood or *barrio*. The *barrio* is situated adjacent to a garbage dump, and until 1994 rainwater filtered through the refuse and polluted living quarters. Government engineers came up with a plan for diverting the water, but it was expensive. Asked for suggestions, the residents designed an effective but less costly system of pipes to handle the runoff. 'The engineers said they were crazy', Mr Vittrup recalls. 'But just digging the trenches for the pipes diverted most of the water, the people had a new street and new air. They started improving their homes and planting gardens; investments came in and diseases that had been prevalent went away.'

'We impart analytical tools and ad hoc training in local development projects, depending on the needs of the community. It is equally important to train the public sector - officials, doctors, engineers to work in cooperation with the community.' He estimates that water treatment, paving, school building and job creation programmes cost 30 to 50 per cent less if developed from the bottom up, rather than from top down. 'As a result of structural adjustment', he says, 'the

Costa Rican Government had decided that it had to come up with new approaches to eliminating poverty, based on community management and decentralised decision making.'

Another city that won acclaim for what the Habitat II Secretary-General Dr Wally N'Dow termed 'cost-effective urban projects' is the Brazilian city of Curitiba. Intelligent administration and community participation in decision making helped this state capital in southern Brazil to develop an economy with a mix of manufacturing, services and commerce. Job creation and overall liveability are aided by the Speedy Line, a bus network with loading platforms and dedicated lanes that functions almost as effectively as subway, but at less than one per cent of the cost. Facing a rapid influx of low-income people from the surrounding agricultural districts, Curitiba has managed to increase the amount of per capita 'green' urban space from 0.5 square metres to 50 square metres, build public housing and computer equipped libraries and feed the hungry.

The Curitiba approach, says Saskia Sassen, 'is to look at everything on hand as a resource' - including garbage. A solid waste/job creation programme clears away dumps, opens up public space and leads to micro-industries such as the manufacturing of toys from recycled materials. Another innovative project allows the poor to trade in collected refuse for food and bus tickets, improving living standards and cutting down on municipal sanitation expenditure.

'People *should* come in to the cities and be productive', says Erik Vittrup. 'The urban dream is still alive, but unfortunately most Governments are not prepared to deal with the magnitude of urban growth and the complexity of the issues. One of the best ways to meet the challenge is to train people to control their local habitats and become democratic leaders.'

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Aiming at sustainable development in an unsustainable political and economic environment: The Permaculture Development Programme in the Palestinian Territories

*Damian Conlan and Erika Schwarze**

In the centre of Khiza'a village in the south of the Gaza Strip a small oasis flourishes amidst the barren sandy landscape of the village and surrounding land. In the evenings the men of the village gather there to share a water pipe and sip strong Arabic coffee as they talk of the day's events. This oasis, comprised of banana, paw paw, date palm, leguminous forage and fuel wood trees, herbs and green manures, grows on the sewage effluent of the surrounding 18 houses. It is a research and demonstration area of Khiza'a Permaculture Centre, a research, training and village development centre of the Permaculture Development Programme (PDP) in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Gaza Strip is a narrow arid strip of land on the Mediterranean Sea, 45km long by 5 to 10km wide. It is home to approximately one million Palestinians (more than 600,000 are refugees) contained within two-thirds of this area by razor wire fences and border police, while the other third of the Gaza Strip is still inhabited by several thousand Jewish settlers. The people of the Gaza Strip are facing a severe socioeconomic crisis due to a complete closure imposed by the Israeli authorities. The most significant feature of this enclosure is the chronic unemployment of 50 to 70 per cent of the Palestinian workforce. The Palestinian Authority, assisted by major international development groups including the World Bank and European Union (EU), is failing in its attempts to develop a viable economic future for the Gaza Strip. The PDP is one of the few internationally-sponsored projects in the Palestinian Territories which are offering viable models to counter the quagmire of local development problems.

Background

The past four years have been a period of tumultuous change in the Palestinian Territories of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem, from the midst of the popular uprising of the *Intifada* (throwing off) against Israeli military occupation to the recent change in the Israeli leadership. The peace accords were first signed in Oslo (September 1993); parts of the Gaza Strip were handed over to autonomous Palestinian rule (July 1994); the Israeli military forces were redeployed and replaced by Palestinian troops in most West Bank population centres (began in November 1995); and in January 1996 the first Palestinian elections were held.

This period has been one of disruption, sporadic violence and rapid change in the socioeconomic, political and development environments for Palestinian communities. From March 1993 there has been a partial to complete closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, closing off Israel to Palestinian day labourers which had numbered in excess of 120,000 prior to this time. The closure also placed severe restrictions on the movement of goods, services and people between major centres and between the Palestinian enclaves of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, in effect isolating the two and closing them off into islands surrounded on all sides by Israeli controlled territory. From an economic perspective one of the most significant aspects of this closure and isolation has been the maintenance of a one way flow of goods and services, providing Israelis with a captive market in need of essential goods and services, and at the same time almost complete restriction of exports from the Palestinian areas to market places in Israel and abroad (all border crossings are controlled by Israel).

International aid

As a catalyst to the initial peace agreement signed by PLO Chairman, Yasser Arafat, and the late Israeli Prime Minister Yishak Rabin, offers of financial support to underwrite a major economic development push for the Palestinian Territories under autonomous rule were pledged by the World Bank, US Government and EU member states. The fledgling Palestinian administration lacked the basic capacity to administer the resulting influx of development capital, much less the

capacity to chart a development course for the new autonomous Palestinian Territories. As the dominant partner in the peace process the Israeli Government was also dominant in the development of guidelines for World Bank, EU and US-sponsored economic development plans. Consequently, World Bank-sponsored development assistance was and still is restricted to projects and industries which are not in conflict with Israeli economic interests. This has meant almost complete exclusion of the agricultural sector from major development programmes.

Under the peace agreement (Oslo 2, September 1995) the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) has only limited control over land resources and has no control over water resources in either the West Bank or Gaza Strip until 1999, the date by which a final settlement on these issues should be negotiated. In light of such a restrictive scope for local industry and natural resource development it is no surprise that major development programmes have failed to impact on increasing poverty, massive unemployment and a growing national dependence on foreign aid. Economic planners in the international community and within the Authority wrongly presumed that with the progression of peace agreements and the realisation of Palestinian autonomy, Israeli borders would once again be open to a Palestinian labour force from the Gaza Strip and West Bank. A different reality confronts the people and the leadership of Palestine. Unemployment is reported to be over 50 per cent and 40 per cent in the Gaza Strip and West Bank respectively, acute poverty is becoming prevalent, and despair and loss of future vision are now chronic in Palestinian communities. The West Bank and Gaza Strip are isolated from each other with neither the movement of products nor people allowed between the two, and within these areas movement between population centres is only at the discretion of the Israeli military who retain control over all the major transport routes.

Major foreign donors have done little to adapt to the prevailing circumstances and have adopted archaic and unwieldy western models for the economic development of the Palestinian Territories. This is perhaps best illustrated by the response of the EU to the employment crises caused by the closure. On one hand, they have allocated substantial funds for emergency job creation schemes comprised of street sweeping, painting street side kerbs and rubbish collection. On the other hand, they have increased funding for more Palestinian military forces to contain a situation being made increasingly volatile each week by the failure of the development process.

The Permaculture Development Programme in the West Bank and Gaza Strip

The PDP was started in 1992 by Allan Howard, a Scottish project development officer working with a local Palestinian training and adult education NGO, MA'AN Development Centre. Permaculture was adopted as a design process for holistic interactive community development and is based on building self-sufficiency as a foundation for stable and sustainable community resource management and economic development.

The PDP began in a socioeconomic context dominated by the *Intifada*. The *Intifada* was invariably portrayed by western media as groups of youths burning tyres in the streets and throwing stones at soldiers with guns. However the essence of the *Intifada* was in the community-wide movement towards self-reliance involving the boycott of Israeli products and the return to traditional land use practices, using local resources to meet local needs. Within this context, the PDP was founded as a research and development programme aiming to develop the community self-reliance model of the *Intifada*. It provided local community groups with technical and training support, and introduced the design concepts of permaculture to bridge the gaps between traditional agriculture and the present day production needs for local self-reliance without compromising the agricultural resource base.

Marda Permaculture Centre

In November 1993, following extensive village Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), mapping and design exercises, a community training, research and demonstration centre was opened in Marda, a village of 1,600 inhabitants in the central West Bank. Marda is situated just below the largest Israeli West Bank settlement, Ariel, which was established in 1978. The village, according to the 'Oslo Maps' is part of 'Zone C', which comprises 70 per cent of 'uninhabited' or 'strategically important' land over which Israel has retained full control under the Oslo accords. The remaining 30 per cent of West Bank land is under full (Zone A) or partial (Zone B) control of the PNA. Restrictions on the use of ground water imposed by the Israeli military occupation allow only rain-fed agriculture in the Marda area while on the hilltop above Marda village, the 20,000 Jewish inhabitants of Ariel enjoy swimming pools, lawns and turf playing fields watered from ground water wells traditionally used by people of the surrounding Palestinian villages.

Olive trees are the predominant agricultural land use in Marda. While the biannual production of olive oil still provides a major part of the income for many families, it is insufficient to sustain them for two years. The Marda Permaculture Centre is developing research, demonstration and training programmes on agricultural diversification, water recycling, conservation and harvesting, small-scale organic food production, food processing and new crops research. In March 1994, a Permaculture Design Course run by foreign trainers from Australia and England was held at Marda Centre, the first training programme of this type in the Middle East. In 1995, Marda Centre trainers conducted more than 50 workshops on permaculture approaches to agriculture and domestic food production for people in the 23 villages surrounding Marda.

Khiza'a Permaculture Centre

In October 1994, Khiza'a Permaculture Centre was opened in Khiza'a village (pop. 6,000) in the south of the Gaza Strip. Khiza'a has an average annual rainfall of about 200 mm and commercial agriculture is restricted to the plastic greenhouse

production of vegetables. These crops are irrigated from ground water wells which are fast becoming too saline for crop production due to the incursion of sea water into overexploited ground water aquifers. Plastic house production is capital and chemical intensive and is reliant on the import of plastic, chemical fertilisers and pesticides and hybrid seeds. Income generation is vulnerable to border closures and most farmers are caught in debt traps, unable to produce a crop without going into debt and unable to repay the costs of production in the case of border closures and low prices. The PDP programme in Khiza'a has established programmes for water reuse including a pilot tree production programme from sewage effluent, soil water conservation, rain water harvesting, low external input cropping systems, salt tolerance trials, rooftop food production systems (for people in refugee communities) and small-scale aquaculture.

In November 1995, a Permaculture Design Course was conducted in English and Arabic by Permaculture teachers from the Permaculture Institute (Australia) and PDP trainers from Marda Permaculture Centre. This 'training of trainers' initiative was provided to local project staff as well as a cross-section of Gazans involved in community development programmes including school teachers, agricultural extension officers and technicians from the Ministries of Environment and Agriculture.

The permaculture framework

The PDP focuses on village level capacity building for the sustainable use and management of local resources. This 'ground up' approach has an intrinsic adaptability with trained local people central to the design of programmes to address specific needs within their community. The use of permaculture as a framework for developing village development programmes entails a cross-disciplinary approach linking apparently unrelated components of the system. For example, household waste water disposal may be linked to village small industry by the production of fuel wood, animal forage, soil nitrogen and mulch from the former to provide energy driving the latter, removing a hazardous waste and providing a locally derived source of renewable energy and useful byproducts. This approach allows the inclusion of new components or projects of marginal value when considered in isolation, though of high value to the village resource base when integrated with other components of the system.

Obstacles to programme work

Local Development non governmental organisations (NGO's). The *Intifada* brought with it opportunities for attracting foreign aid, giving rise to a large number of local development 'shops' who quickly became adept at drawing foreign currency into the region. In many cases these local NGO's were politically-oriented fronts with a principle aim of securing monetary support from outside the region and a secondary and often superficial development orientation. For the PDP the association with a local NGO to gain access to

the target areas of Palestinian communities also proved to be the most restricting and obstructive influence on project implementation, with an unceasing contest for fund allocations to target project areas (for which the funds were allocated by donor agencies). This contest was often one-sided with NGO management having direct control of PDP funds.

Israeli military occupation. Military violence, road closures, curfews, restrictive communication and transport services, the harassment and arrest of project staff and the vandalism of project offices and nurseries by Israeli settlers are a recurring feature of Palestinian life. Local development is also restricted by denial of access to local water resources and division and confiscation of lands for Israeli settlement expansions.

Restricted movement. The development of the regional aspect of the permaculture programme has been restricted by the prevention of movement of Palestinian staff between the West Bank and Gaza Strip projects (3 hours by car). Only one visit of Marda Centre staff to Khiza'a Centre has been allowed since the PDP started in 1992.

Current developments

The absolute closure of the Gaza Strip and West Bank since late February 1996 has led to an exacerbation of the employment crisis. Fearing severe popular unrest, the PNA recently announced an internationally-sponsored emergency job creation programme aiming to provide at least 20,000 jobs in the Gaza Strip alone within the next three to four month period. With limited absorptive capacity for mainly semi and unskilled workers in the Gaza Strip, the search is on for job creation proposals that go beyond the currently implemented projects that employ street sweepers for US\$10 a day in all cities and villages in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. The PDP has embarked on a new project that will combine job creation with training and community benefit/village development. This new project will involve the establishment of 24 village permaculture training centres in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (12 communities in each region), modelled on the Khiza'a and Marda Centres.

These centres will have access to ongoing support from research and 'training of trainers' programmes in Marda and Khiza'a Centres. These in turn, are being supported by the further development of partnerships for research and training programmes between the PDP and international permaculture and technical research groups to further develop the technical capacity of local research programmes.

The PDP is currently funded by World Vision Australia and APHEDA Australia.

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Exploring the limits and prospects of neighbourhood empowerment: The case of Healthy Start and selected service providers in Westside Long Beach

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The task of probing and solving the complex problems of urban poor families today in America is undeniably a very tall order. However, it provides an opportunity and a great challenge for policy makers, academics and other concerned sectors to engage in collaborative efforts that would ultimately redound to the benefit of urban poor neighbourhoods. Interestingly enough, these communities provide a fertile social laboratory that would help unravel the problematic questions characterising urban poor families in contemporary American society.

More often than not, social programmes are implemented without the benefit of social investigation and it is not surprising why problems multiply and remain unsolved. The massive onslaught of social problems like drug abuse, gang violence, crime, homelessness, unemployment and underemployment, and urban congestion have virtually reduced poor urban neighbourhoods into unproductive communities of the underclass. In the enterprise of community development, especially in urban poor communities, the task of social engineering requires an informed understanding of the anatomy of inner city life, eg, their problems, values and cultural predilections. In a multi-ethnolinguistic community, like most neighbourhoods in the City of Long Beach, intractable social problems have an important bearing on the cultural baggage that the so-called 'ethnic enclaves' brought with them in their quest for the American dream.

The City of Long Beach is only one of the many metropolitan centres in the United States that has been experiencing these socially cancerous urban problems. Situated in the southwestern section of Los Angeles County, Long Beach is home to multi-ethnolinguistic population of 437,800. The ethnic/racial mix shows the following: White (250,716); Black (58,761); Hispanic (101,419); Asian (53,080), Pacific Islander (5,186); Native American (2,781); and unidentified others (58,909).¹

This paper, however, covers only the Westside Long Beach neighbourhood, particularly Tract 5729. Westside has a total population of 5,232 with 56 per cent Hispanics, 19 per cent African Americans, 17.5 per cent Asian Americans (12 per cent of which are Filipino Americans) and 7.5 per cent Caucasians. Statistics show that there was an ethnicity change of 24 per cent between 1980 and 1990 which reflects the changing demographics in the neighbourhood.

The problems cited above bring with them a host of challenges and opportunities for local leaders, service providers and other stakeholders in community development initiatives. While there

are existing partnerships between the city government, service providers and neighbourhood associations that seek to improve neighbourhoods and provide families with institutional access to local services through programmes like the Neighbourhood Improvement Strategies (NIS) and the Healthy Start, the limits and prospects of neighbourhood empowerment remains a problematic question.

This paper examines the status and prospects of partnership in the Westside neighbourhood and the issues and concerns raised by selected participants in the collaborative. The ideas expressed in this paper do not necessarily represent the views of Urban Families Initiative (UFI) Research Staff at the California State University, Long Beach and the errors, therefore are entirely mine.

The conceptual framework: Empowerment and collaboration

The literature on empowerment as viewed from a multidisciplinary perspective provides a plethora of definitions. Since this paper focuses on the family in particular and the neighbourhood in general, a good working definition is in order. Lee Staples (1990) defines empowerment as an ongoing capacity of individuals or groups to act on their own behalf to achieve a greater measure of control over their lives and destinies. Viewed operationally, this definition speaks of empowerment as a capacity rather than as a process of transferring power or resources from one person, group or institution to another. Conventional logic dictates that a great social divide separates the powerful class from both the less powerful and the powerless. An informed understanding, however, of the dynamics of empowerment suggests that people have inherent capacities in themselves. What makes them less powerful or powerless is found in the very structure of society where social inequalities, among other things, marginalise individuals and families who have limited or no access to available resources in the community, the agencies and existing programmes which provide them (ie, societal variables), as well as the sociocultural, ethnolinguistic and other factors that explain why individuals and families do not have access to resources and services that are viable in the community.

For purposes of having a conceptual framework that will guide the analysis of the subject under study, the concept of empowerment shall be interpreted in three different ways: the empowerment of individuals with respect to their own circumstances; the empowerment of individuals with respect to others; and the empowerment of groups in relation to the larger society (Koren 1995). The other conceptual category that is gaining currency among service professionals and

academics is the concept of collaboration. While there has been much discussion about collaboration as a principle or value, only recently have there been efforts to develop it beyond this stage. However, the literature on this subject reveals four major elements: the support and understanding shown by professionals in their relationship with family members; assistance given to families in the practical aspects of getting services for their child; the clear and open exchange of information between families and professionals; and the flexibility and willingness on the part of professionals to modify or change services based upon parental feedback (Dechillo and Koren 1995).

These twin concepts of empowerment and collaboration are crucial to the analysis of the limits and prospects of neighbourhood empowerment in Westside Long Beach. They provide the conceptual framework necessary for an informed understanding of the conceptual constructs and categories that are used in this paper. They also provide the basis for analysing the objective conditions in the Westside neighbourhood vis-a-vis the service providers and the ongoing partnership in the neighbourhood known as the Westside Silverado Healthy Start Collaborative.

The Westside Silverado Healthy Start Collaborative

The Healthy Start is 'a statewide initiative in California that provides for integrated social and health services to improve the lives of many people living in the community. It's a dream of what we'd like for all the families in the urban areas to have where students and families will have exactly what they need in order to be successful. It includes bringing together the many different agencies that serve the families or which the families use on their own.'² In capsule, 'Healthy Start is a parent, school and community partnership that has found success in meeting the needs of low-income and limited English proficiency students.'³

The concept provides the unique opportunity for health and social service agencies to participate in the planning and implementation of an integrated service delivery system for children, youth and families. To date, there are 890 Healthy Start programmes throughout California. Each programme varies in planning and operations, and each is geared to specific needs of the community involved.

The programme encompasses four key areas: medical and dental; safety and gang prevention; mental health/counselling; and an adult learning centre. This categorical programme is funded by the Interagency Children and Youth Services Division of the California Department of Education for a total grant of US\$400,000 from 1994-1997. Through this partnership the local school district and service providers in the community could intervene at an early stage in cases of chronic, debilitating and expensive health and social problems. Healthy Start serves about 5,000 students in five participating schools.

Since the delivery of social services in the community seems to be fragmented, this is one important area where the local

school district could effectively and decisively intervene by 'adding efficiency to the lives of families and also to schools by bringing these agencies together in a more central location and making them more easily accessible to families.'⁴ Designed to bring services to the community, Healthy Start utilises the school as the hub of service where service providers like the Westside Neighbourhood Clinic, for example, provide prevention literature for families in English and Spanish, conduct information and education sessions for parents and/or children, and conduct CHDP screening examinations and immunisations for scheduled participants at Healthy Start Parent Centers.

One of the most telling descriptions of the Collaborative was articulated by Anita Bussing, Coordinator/Director of Healthy Start, who said that '[t]his is a true grassroots movement which involves not working with the youth of the community, but educating and empowering parents.' She also observed with a load of optimism that 'I walk the neighbourhoods, stop by local churches and stroll through the parks. I talk with families, youth and neighbourhood businesses and they in turn spread the word. I distribute flyers and let people know about the programs so that they can let their neighbours, families and friends know. The response has been tremendous.'⁵

Healthy Start and the service providers

Healthy Start's lead agency is the Greater Long Beach Child Guidance Agency. Memoranda of Understanding exist with the following agencies, which each give their services on a contributory basis: Pathways (Greater Lakewood Community Hospice), Healthy Kids Coalition of Long Beach, Westside Neighbourhood Clinic, West Long Beach Association, CSULB Department of Social Sciences, USC, Long Beach Unified School District, Memorial Medical Center, Children's Dental Health Clinic, Children's Clinic, State Department of Social Services, United Way, YMCA, Long Beach Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Samoan Affairs, Legal Aid Foundation of Long Beach, Long Beach Gang Prevention, Admiral Kidd Park, Helpline Youth Counselling, Children's Home Society, The Berns Company, Pacific Pallet Company, Pacific Area Community (PAC), and Westside Baptist Church.

The number of agencies involved in the Collaborative suggests that the community is a fertile field for both innovation and empowerment. With Healthy Start as a form of public sector innovation, the seeds of empowerment that have already been sown in the community are expected to bear the fruits that will bring an improved quality of life in the neighbourhood. Local government agencies and service providers in the community must take advantage of this emerging political landscape where government and non profit providers can join forces for broader areas of collaboration that will bring about neighbourhood empowerment.

One of the concerns of partnership has to do with 'directions coming from the State [that] were not as clear as would have

been helpful to a smoother startup for the Healthy Start initiative.’ The second has to do with ‘learning how to get through the bureaucracy, the [public] agencies, the School District and the Private agencies’.⁶ The third issue poses a greater challenge to the partnership, namely ‘identifying the more natural relationship’ and elevating the networking initiatives with agencies that provide social services to families in the community to a higher ground.

One of the key agencies that actively participate in the Healthy Start is the Westside Neighbourhood Clinic. It is a non profit organisation in operation since 1975, and provides services primarily in the healthcare field. The Clinic has a full-time physician and a full-time nurse practitioner who provide a full range of healthcare to children and adults.

One-third of patients are prenatal women who come before they’re ready to deliver. Another third are the children of these patients’.⁷ Some clients come in specifically for family planning, and the clinic offers a range of family planning options and refers out for services that they do not offer.

Traditionally the Clinic has provided services primarily to Hispanics. Until recently, almost all the staff spoke Spanish and were from a Latino background. Recently, the Clinic decided to change the mix of the staff to include African Americans and some Asians and this has contributed to the change in the mix of their patients. Now they serve about 85 per cent Hispanics, five per cent African Americans and five per cent unidentified others.

A concern raised by Madeleine Wakamatsu about the partnership include the fact that the users of the services or the families in the neighbourhood have not been as involved in the process. She also noted that there has been a concerted effort on the part of the Collaborative organisers to really pull more neighbourhood families on board in making the decision. She is cognisant, however, of the difficulty ‘for those of us who are used to coming together to solve problems, or to design programs, to release some of the responsibility to the clients.’

Aside from Healthy Start, the Westside Neighbourhood Clinic also has an ongoing linkage with the Department of Human and Health Services of the City of Long Beach. The Department has been one of their funding sources through a variety of grants over the years. The Clinic also access them to be able to provide free immunisations for childhood diseases, testing for sexually transmitted diseases, and other services for adult patients. There is now a collaborative of health service providers in the Long Beach area which consists of the four largest hospitals, the Health

Department, the community clinics (including the Westside Neighbourhood Clinic), the Children’s Clinic and the County Comprehensive Health Center. The direction from that collaborative is to keep an eye on the health care services that are being provided for in the City of Long Beach at all levels. Wakamatsu described the connections among the agencies in the community as weak because there is no mechanism for ongoing communication. This is a clear indication that the level of networking among agencies in the community is very low. She laments the fact that patients, especially pregnant women, come in with a wide range of situations including legal and family problems. She felt that there is a need to access many different resources and know which may be available (from other agencies in the community) for those patients and families to take advantage of. The sad thing is that resources may be available in the neighbourhood but families as well as agencies may not be aware of them.

Conclusion

This paper concludes with the following recommendations.

- The participating agencies in a collaborative of this nature should be given the opportunity to participate in the formulation and implementation process of the programmes through mechanisms acceptable to public and private agencies involved in the partnership.
- There is a need to involve the users of the services through their representatives (eg, minority or neighbourhood associations) in formulating, implementing and evaluating programmes initiated by the Collaborative.
- The City Government must seize the opportunity to forge a partnership with the service providers and identify innovative areas of broader cooperation (eg, Coalition for Progress initiatives) for community development purposes.
- The services providers must explore the necessary mechanisms for capability and confidence building measures that would serve as a catalyst for vertical and horizontal networking among service providers in the community.
- The academe, which is regarded as the repository of innovative ideas and information, must strike a balance between government agencies and service providers by identifying problematic areas that impede local development as well as areas of cooperation where they can collectively share their resources for a common goal.

Endnotes and references

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Participatory Impact Assessment

Hugh Goyder, ACTIONAID

Most NGOs have tended to emphasise the usefulness of participatory methods in the appraisal and planning stage of the planning cycle rather than in project evaluation and impact assessment. Indeed, where systems of evaluation have been introduced, this has been more to address the concerns of trustees and donors, rather than in response to any internal imperatives within the organisations or to pressures from 'beneficiaries'.

Research into evaluation practices in a large number of both local and international NGOs in four developing countries has shown that:

- The NGOs reviewed often lacked a precise enough definition of poverty, and as a result tended to focus evaluations on the achievement of outputs or targets, rather than the impact of a project.
- Although many NGOs try to involve the people they wish to assist in the appraisal and design stages of the project cycle, including definition of objectives and priorities, participation in practice tends to be measured by the extent to which people participate in a number of specific activities. There is little dialogue at the community level about how the project impact might be assessed, and a lack of clear approaches and methods for doing so.
- Where 'indicators' are used in the project monitoring or evaluation, it is rare for the results to be analysed or used creatively in the review of project designs or in the discussion with 'beneficiaries'.
- It is not possible to identify a 'short-list' of local indicators since by definition these tend to be highly specific to a particular situation. The research has therefore moved from identifying local indicators to reviewing and

experimenting with a broad range of participatory evaluation methods.

- When the role of the NGO is primarily perceived (by the NGO or donor) as contractor to the donor, the evaluation function tends to be limited to issues of efficiency and cost-effectiveness, rather than to consideration of the wider impact.
- Different categories of people (men, young, old, richer, poorer) in any community have different needs and perceptions about poverty and its causes. 'Beneficiary involvement' in impact assessment must therefore involve different groups and look at the feasibility of negotiating some agreed common indicators among them. Complete reconciliation may not in fact always be possible or desirable, but the process of discussing objectives and indicators uncovers a wide range of objectives for different groups.

It is clear that, in general, community-based indicators can only be identified and used successfully in projects in which participatory methodologies are pursued at all stages of the project cycle. ACTIONAID is therefore pursuing action-research in six projects in Asia and four in Africa (some operational, some being implemented through local NGO partners). The aim is to refine the concepts and try out processes for participatory evaluation. The work hinges on encouraging specific groups to discuss, over a period of six months, long-term changes that are taking place in their communities and changes they would like to see in future. Various groups are encouraged to categorise priorities which can ultimately be expressed as objectives and indicators. The work will also investigate variances between beneficiary/community perceptions and those of other stakeholders, with a view to suggesting ways of reconciling the two.

Reprinted from *Insights*, 18 March 1996, p.3



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From the Press

Experimental projections of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population 1991-2001

Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (Indigenous) population could grow from 284,000 in 1991 to between 352,000 and 360,000 by the year 2001, according to experimental projections released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). This represents an increase in the total Indigenous population of between 24 and 27 per cent for the ten years to 2001, compared with the projected growth of between 11 and 12 per cent for the total Australian population over the same period.

Projection results indicate that as a proportion of the total Australian population, the Indigenous population is projected to rise from 1.6 per cent in 1991 to about 1.9 per cent by 2001. International comparisons show that the projected average annual rates of growth for the Indigenous populations of New Zealand (1.7 per cent), Canada (1.8 per cent) and the United States of America (1.4 per cent) are lower than those projected for Australia's Indigenous population (between 2.0 and 2.5 per cent). These overseas countries are all assuming declining fertility, while the experimental projections assume either constant or a small decline in fertility.

The Indigenous populations of all States and Territories are projected to continue growing between 1991 and 2001. The projections show that by 2001 Queensland could have an Indigenous population of 94,000 (26 per cent of the total Indigenous population), New South Wales 92,000 (26 per cent), Western Australia 57,000 (16 per cent) and the Northern Territory 54,000 (15 per cent). These projections are referred to as 'experimental' in that the standard approach to population estimation was not possible because satisfactory data on births, deaths and internal migration was not generally available.

Further details in *Experimental projections of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population, 1991-2001* (Cat. No. 3231.0) available from ABS bookshops, A\$14.00 per copy.

Gender differences in Papua New Guinea

	Female	Male
Per cent of wage income	31.2%	68.8%
Life expectancy	56.7 yrs	55.2 yrs
Enrolled in school	30.3%	37.3%
Seats in Parliament	0.0%	100.0%
Share of top jobs		
Management	11.6%	88.4%
Professional and technical	29.5%	70.5%

Reprinted from *PNG Social Development Newsletter*, No. 20, May 1996, p.5

NGO-World Bank dialogue for development

The largest meeting ever held between non governmental organisations (NGOs) from across Asia and the World Bank ended on 24 April in Manila. The four day meeting, held to discuss NGO involvement in the Bank's operational and policy work, attracted more than 70 NGOs from 14 countries in Asia, as well as from Japan, Australia, Europe and the US, and about 20 World Bank representatives from Washington and six Asian countries.

Antonio Quizon of the Asian NGO Coalition for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (which hosted the meeting) stated that the Asia-Pacific region has not been given enough importance in the global development agenda, and that uneven economic development in the region has brought about its own problems.

The NGO-World Bank Committee is the oldest forum for Bank-NGO dialogue. Formed in 1982, the committee brings together senior World Bank managers and 26 NGO leaders from around the world in biannual meetings for discussion of major policy issues. For more information contact: Rebeca Robboy, tel (202) 473 0699, fax (202) 522 0321, e-mail robboy@worldbank.org.

Reprinted from *World Bank News*, Vol. XV(17), 2 May 1996, pp.4-5

Women's coalitions battle breast cancer and other environmental health problems

Activists from the Women's Health and Environment, Action for Cancer Prevention campaign launched jointly last year by the Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO) and Greenpeace, met May 5-7 in the mountains outside of Albuquerque, New Mexico, to develop local, national and international goals and strategies. A new National Coalition for Health and Environmental Justice, with an interim 13 member steering committee including WEDO, was initiated.

The new coalition will focus on women's health issues as an entry point for environmental justice in project strategies. To build a grassroots health and environmental justice movement, the coalition plans to create a workbook and comprehensive resource list for use by community activists. WEDO will play an active role in the coalition and continue its efforts to examine cancer's environmental links as part of its Women, Health and Environment: Action for Cancer Prevention campaign.

Reprinted from WEDO's *News and Views*, Vol. 8(1-2), June 1995

New Government plans to cut overseas aid

The new Australian Government plans to cut overseas aid by A\$120 million per year. That's 7.8 per cent. By the August budget, it may be more. It's the biggest aid cut in 20 years. It will endanger the lives and prospects of thousands of poor people. The United Nations target of 0.7 per cent GNP for overseas aid is the internationally accepted benchmark. Both major parties say they are committed to 'moving towards' this target but the new Coalition Government is now proposing a major cut.

For a rich country like Australia, overseas aid is an obligation and should not be mixed into the annual domestic budget debate. The 7.8 per cent cut adds up to A\$6.60 per person in Australia per year. It's not on for the world's poor to pay the price of this small saving.

Reprinted from Community Aid Abroad's Aid Budget Campaign.

All Australian cities showing growth in social inequality

Inequality in Australian suburbs is not dependent on or linked to the capital city a family lives in, according to new research by Australian National University economists Professor Bob Gregory and Dr Boyd Hunter. The growth in inequality among suburbs was a general phenomenon in all Australian cities and not something driven at the top end by the North Shore of Sydney, or at the bottom end by loss of employment in the manufacturing cities of Melbourne and Adelaide ... [Gregory] has been focusing on three possible causes of the increasing inequality. These are: growing unemployment as a response to the reduction in the size of the manufacturing sector; the role of public housing in poor areas; and the impact of two income families moving to more affluent suburbs while single income families moved to poorer areas.

'We are seeing a strong trend for poor areas to become poorer and rich areas to become richer,' Professor Gregory said. 'Despite some old working class areas in the inner city changing their character it is in fact very rare for neighbourhoods to change their general position in the income ranking.' ... Between 1976 and 1991, household income had increased by A\$12,555 (23 per cent) in the top five per cent of areas ranked by socioeconomic status while in the lowest five per cent of areas, household income has fallen by A\$7589 (23 per cent). Professor Gregory said that growing inequality had important implications for the distribution of crime in Australian cities and increasing inequality in our school system with schools in affluent areas attracting greater parental involvement and additional resources.

Reprinted from *ANU Reporter*, Vol. 27(7), 1 May 1996, p.1

South East Asian Environmental Centre

Australia will provide A\$2.6 million over the next three years to assist in establishing a key Global Change Impacts Centre in Bogor, Indonesia. The Bogor Centre will be a major scientific resource base for monitoring the effects of global change on terrestrial ecosystems in South East Asia. It is the first of a series of interlinked centres planned worldwide, and will be used as the model for future centres in Southern Africa, North Africa, East Asia and Latin America. The new centre will collect and analyse data, prepare national and regional studies, provide training and assist scientists advising key policy makers in Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. AusAID is implementing the project in conjunction with CSIRO and the International Geosphere Biosphere Program.

Reprinted from *Focus*, March 1996, p.6

The United States: The 'me' society

The long-time champion of egalitarianism, the US is now the most economically stratified society in the developed world, making old class-based societies such as Britain look remarkably egalitarian. By the start of the 1990s, for example, the richest one per cent of Americans owned 40 per cent of their nations wealth, compared to 18 per cent held by the same elite in Britain. The richest society ever seen on earth, the US in 1996 has child poverty rates four times those of other developed nations, and its poor and lower income earners are not just falling further behind other Americans - they are lower paid than their counterparts in less successful developed nations and worse off in absolute terms than they were 20 years ago ... average real wages are falling and the US has the highest proportion of people living in poverty among developed nations.

There is less reason for optimism on foreign aid, as many Americans tell pollsters that the glaring problems of the home-grown underclass provide a good reason to curtail US aid abroad. With Senator Jesse Helms, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, likening aid to 'pouring money down foreign ratholes', Congress cut aid heavily enough this year to register a remarkable change in the international pecking order on aid. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development figures to be released next month are expected to show that, having been surpassed on aid spending by Japan in the 1980s, the US has this year lost second place to France. The US, which has four times the population of France and an economy of five and one-half times as large, gave 0.15 per cent of its GDP in foreign aid in 1994, compared with 0.63 per cent for France and 0.28 per cent by Japan. The heaviest US cuts were applied to the poorest nations, with the support of a poorly informed US public.

Reprinted from *The Weekend Australian Review*, 18-19 May 1996, pp.1,6

Census to take snapshot of Australia on August 6

The first census in 1911 found Australia was home to 4.5 million people and 80 years later the population has grown to 16,850,334 people. In 1996 the count will exceed 18 million. Federal Treasurer, Peter Costello said the five-yearly head count was crucial for gathering up-to-date information to ensure services went to the right people; to allocate parliamentary seats; and to distribute A\$19 billion in financial assistance a year to states and territories.

Census data has been used to place breast cancer clinics, child-care centres, home for the aged and fast food outlets, measure the need for recreation and transportation facilities by people in high-density rental accommodation and plan charity doorknock appeals. Since the 1991 Census, one million houses have been built; 1.3 million babies have been born; 500,000 migrants have arrived; 570,000 couples have married and 250,000 divorced; eight million people have moved house; 650,000 jobs have been created; and 350,000 women have joined the workforce.

Reprinted from *The Canberra Times*, 26 July 1997

Women in hot countries

Islamic fundamentalists have attacked male and female cyclists at a sporting complex near Tehran to protest against a sport they deem indecent for women ... During the recent legislative elections, which saw Hashemi elected as a deputy for Tehran, she defended the right of women to cycle. This provoked an outcry from militants who view self-propelling women on two wheels as 'indecent' and 'provocative'.

Swaziland officials have warned that women wearing trousers around the Swazi Royal Palace and Parliament would be fined one cow. Chief Minister Lusendvu Fakudze, speaking for Swaziland's youthful King Mswati III, said the cow levy on women in trousers will be enforced during a planned national gathering ... at the palace in Lombamba. Mswati, an executive monarch who rules by decree and appoints a significant number of Swaziland's legislators, is under pressure from trade unions and political groups to lift a ban on political parties, reintroduce constitutional rule and lift a state of emergency.

Ugandan men are preventing their wives from voting in [the] presidential election by taking away their voters' cards. 'The commission has been reliably informed that some husbands are taking away their wives' cards if they find they will not vote for the candidate they support,' said the Interim Electoral Commission (IEC) overseeing the poll. It threatened 'the long arm of the law' against anyone withholding others' voting cards, noting that all Ugandans had the right to vote.

Reprinted from *The Canberra Times*, 9 May 1996, p.9

The structure of indebtedness in twenty poor countries

The World Bank recently examined the structure of indebtedness in 20 'possibly stressed' and 'unsustainable' highly indebted poor countries. Countries in the 'unsustainable' category include: Burundi, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Saõ Tome-Principe, Sudan, Zaire and Zambia. Countries in the 'possibly stressed' category include: Bolivia, Cameroon, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Guyana, Madagascar, Myanmar, Niger, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda.

Figures for total and multilateral debts are as follows.

Total debt

Bilateral	58%
Private	14%
Short-term	6%
Multilateral	22%

Multilateral debt

International Development Association	24%
International Monetary Fund	22%
International Bank of Reconstruction and Development	14%
African Development Bank	12%
African Development Fund	5%
Others*	23%

*The bulk of 'others' is: the Inter-American Development Bank, the Central American Bank for Economic Integration, the Asian Development Bank, the European Investment Bank, the European Development Fund, the European Union, the OPEC Special Fund, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, the Arab International Bank, the Islamic Development Bank and the International Fund for Agricultural Development.

Reprinted from *World Bank News*, Vol. XV(16), 25 April 1996, p.2

Africa's place in 'The shape of daily news: A content analysis of Australia's metropolitan newspapers'

In a content analysis of Australian metropolitan and daily newspapers, John Henningham has revealed that of international news items, most were sourced from overseas. The location of the international stories were: Australia (36 per cent), Europe (19 per cent), North America (18 per cent), Asia (15 per cent), Pacific (7 per cent), Africa (2 per cent), Middle East (1 per cent) and Latin America (1 per cent). In general, the pattern of attention to the rest of the world is that of a swing back to Europe from Asia, North America and the United Kingdom. A particularly neglected part of the world is Africa.

Africa's coverage in Australian newspapers was as follows:

Newspaper	%
Australian	5.5
Financial Review	0.3
Sydney Morning Herald	5.2
Age	7.9
Daily Telegraph	4.5
Herald Sun	4.9
Courier-Mail	5.2
Advertiser	7.0
West Australian	6.7
Mercury	6.9
Canberra Times	8.6
Total	5.7

Reprinted in part from John Henningham's article in *Media International Australia*, No. 79, February 1996, pp.22-34

Conferences

Conference Reports

NGO Technical Seminar on Private Sector Development and the Role of the World Bank

Washington, 3-4 June 1996

This seminar, organised by Friends of the Earth USA, involved representatives from over sixty NGOs from more than twenty countries involved in environmental and advocacy work. The purpose of the seminar was to gain a better understanding of the World Bank Groups Private Sector development policy and practice, and discuss development issues arising from it.

The meeting was timely for a number of reasons. First, the rapid rise in private flows to developing countries over the past decade has outstripped aid flows and has led to some fundamental policy shifts including the expanding role of the private sector in developing countries. Second, the resources needed for infrastructure are straining national budgets in an increasingly deregulated world in which the role of governments is declining. One outcome of this is an increasing trend of privatisation of national infrastructure which formerly would have been provided by the state. Finally a number of environmental and social issues are arising from these fundamental changes in private sector and infrastructure development. These include human rights and environmental problems such as those which have occurred with the Freeport mine in Indonesia, private hydro development in Laos, and the private supply of utilities such as electricity and water in a number of countries.

In all of these cases the World Bank Group of agencies have been actively involved one way or another. This includes the International Finance Corporation (IFC), which is responsible for private sector lending for investors in developing countries, and the Multilateral Insurance Guarantee Association (MIGA) which provides political risk insurance for investments such as the Freeport mine in eastern Indonesia and the Lihir mine in Papua New Guinea. As well as this, the other members of the World Bank - the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA) - provide policy advice on privatisation and often make structural adjustment loans conditional on the privatisation of public utilities and state-owned enterprises.

The seminar was held over two days and involved presentations from representatives of all the members of the Bank Group (IBRD, IDA, IFC and MIGA) on how they work

with private sector development. Presentations were also made by private sector developers who make use of IFC loans or MIGA guarantees, and members of the banking sector who discussed issues such as private sector financing regimes and details of political risk insurance. One of the more interesting presentations was from a private risk assessor, Control Risks Limited, who carried out political risk assessment for investors. They have found that among their clients environmentalism is seen as the biggest political risk to investment over the next decade.

There were two main issues which arose from this seminar and a brief half day seminar put on by the Bank itself on broader policy issues related to private sector development. The first is whether privatisation per se is either the correct or an adequate policy response to issues surrounding public service delivery in developing countries, and secondly whether the private sector work of the IFC and MIGA fully took into account World Bank environmental and social policy. Finally there is a fundamental question as to whether particular privatisations are sound development practice since poverty alleviation or equitable access to resources is simply not addressed.

What emerged in the discussions were a number of case studies to highlight these issues, including the privatisation of water utilities in Argentina, power supply in Pakistan and telecommunications in Haiti. In discussion the political risk insurance to the Freeport mine in Indonesia and hydro development in Laos were also covered.

The Bank's presentation in virtually all cases seem to dwell on the merits of privatisation as an end in itself rather than a possible option for improved services. There was little discussion of corporatisation, recapitalisation and improving the competitive environment in a particular sector as ways of improving efficiency or service delivery. In fact there was little debate about the nature of monopolies, the fact that it was often state-owned enterprises in developed countries which were investing, or the role of the local communities in setting the parameters around the services being provided. What was particularly surprising was the seeming lack of capacity for the Bank to take into account local circumstances including community concerns and the political situation in making programming decisions.

The Bank was also unclear in defining the role of the state in setting parameters and providing a regulatory framework. For example, in the Pakistan electricity sector case study there was no discussion of an emissions framework for power station development. There is little evidence of awareness of the range of International Conventions the agencies are expected to uphold in their work.

The other major area was the seeming inconsistency across the Bank Group on broader policy issues. While the Bank's environment policy is applicable across all agencies of the Bank, the interpretation and implementation of that policy differs with the private sector programmes. This is a major

debate not only with the Bank but also within the Bank. At a presentation to the NGOs following the seminar, James Wolfensohn, the Bank President, emphasised the importance of having consistent policy across the Bank Group, and his preference for a single mechanism to monitor their activities.

The debate with the Bank on private sector lending policy will intensify as it is intimately related to the role of the state. While it is important that countries attract investments for private sector development, and that the Bank may have a role in facilitating this or providing credit, what is less explicit in Bank policy is the role of the state as a service provider in areas such as utilities, and a regulator to ensure equity, sustainability and environmental protection. The Bank's *World development report* for 1997 will deal with the role of the state and how it fits in with private sector development, and hopefully will set some parameters and guidelines of the activities of its member agencies such as IFC and MIGA.

Patrick Kilby, Community Aid Abroad

6th International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women

Adelaide, 21-26 April 1996

The 6th International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women was organised by Flinders University and the Universities of Adelaide and South Australia. The aim of these Congresses, held every three years, is broad: 'to bring together scholars and practitioners from a wide range of disciplines and areas of expertise ... to explore issues of importance to women throughout the world.'

Officially around 900 delegates from around the globe registered for the Congress which made for an interesting and diverse collection of speakers. Major themes explored were:

- global restructuring
- women's studies
- making feminist politics
- social construction of gender
- health and sexuality
- after Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing
- sustainable development
- community education
- indigenous peoples
- cultural representations

Some interesting findings from development-related presentations deserve to be highlighted. Participants from the so-called Third World, made some particularly pertinent observations about the practice of development. Edi Dwi Cahyono and team presented data on a poverty alleviation programme in East Java which they said had been

unsuccessful because it had relied on men to disseminate project information to their female family members. This severely limited women's participation in the project, thus undermining the project's ability to alleviate poverty. Simi Kamal from Pakistan spoke of pressure from donors which has encouraged governments and NGOs to adopt a 'cookbook' approach to development practice ('add women and stir', 'add environmental sustainability and stir'). This approach typically reinforces, rather than challenges, the status quo.

Discussions which followed such talks were often enlightening. For example, after one speaker praised the success of the Grameen Bank, another participant explained a down-side to its success, noting that some men beat their wives to get loans, which the husbands spend on alcohol or gambling, leaving the women to find a way to repay them. A Pakistani woman wanted to dispel some of the myths she had heard when she had first started working with women, for example, that you cannot work with women and men together, and that women were so oppressed that they would not be willing to join in any development activities. Another participant was quick to insist that when promoting women's empowerment, we should remember that disenfranchised men also need empowerment.

Meanwhile, presentations by a number of women from western countries expanded theoretical thinking on gender and development. Christine Bose argued that we should be wary of constructing dichotomies when trying to understand gender inequalities. Previous approaches, she noted, often stated that development either helped or exploited women, integrated or marginalised them, thus closing the researcher's mind to other explanations or interpretations. She explained how family relationships can both restrain women and be a force for women's empowerment. For example, a sense of family duty may encourage women to organise themselves and lobby a local authority or government which fails to meet their needs. Maria Mies used the analogy of an iceberg to discuss problems with the capitalist economic system: everything counted as officially being in the economy, including capital and wage labour, is above the water level, while everything below the water level is regarded as 'free goods' - this includes men and women working in the informal sector, subsistence peasants and the 'unexploited' natural environment. She argued that equality for women is not possible within capitalism because, basically, there is very little room at the top of the iceberg.

Several renowned keynote speakers also attended the Congress. Vandana Shiva, who attracted a cult-like following, spoke strongly against transnational corporations (TNCs), arguing that they had 'pirated, privatised and patented' seeds, plants and other material from Third World environments, making it into private property. This, she stressed, reinforces monopoly wealth and causes self-sufficient peoples to become dependent on TNCs for seeds and other inputs, despite the fact that they provided the biological material and knowledge in the first place. Shiva calls this 'intellectual corruption', whereby people forget that they can provide for their own

needs. The entrenchment of the ideology of economic globalisation means that governments of countries like Papua New Guinea are telling their people that unless they join the global economy, they cannot survive; this is despite the fact that they have been surviving comfortably at the local community level for hundreds of years.

Meanwhile, in her talk 'The making of feminist politics', Beatrix Campbell noted that so-called mother's movements, which include movements of miner's wives or shanty town women, have challenged some of the most authoritarian states in the world. Campbell argued that even though they are based on motherhood, which is supposed to hold women back, they have been more progressive in their aims and outcomes than some other women's movements which seem outwardly more radical.

For most participants, the Congress' aim of exploring issues of importance to women was achieved. In some cases, however, there were significant misunderstandings surrounding these issues. For example, after a presentation on how one Third World country could gain more economic benefits for its people from the natural environment, comments were made by various western academics (all of whom seemed unfamiliar with the struggles faced by rural people in that country) about how the speaker was 'selling out' to global capitalism. Overall, however, the Congress provided an excellent forum for networking and expanding the knowledge base of both women and men concerned with issues of importance to women.

Regina Scheyvens, Massey University

The theme of this year's **Interdisciplinary Congress on Women** was 'Think global, act local'.

Each day was filled with three possible workshop sessions and a plenary. Many of the delegates were academics or policy makers with a substantial number of practitioners. There was opportunity for extremely fruitful discussion in the area of development and gender work.

The sessions I attended were mixed, with some being incredibly stimulating and/or entertaining, while others were rather boring and dull. One of the most intriguing sessions was given by Professor J.J. Botha from the University of Pretoria. He riled the audience with a paper which stated:

The woman plays an important role as a 'wailing wall' for her husband. She has the ability to listen and sympathise in difficult times and to stimulate her husband psychologically ... She is better able to work together with others than men usually are ... Women are more precise than men and have more 'skilful' fingers for finer duties by hand. She is also more willing to learn and has a greater sense of duty than a man. Routine tasks are not such a source of frustration to her as they are for a man.

Needless to say this paper received a strong response from many participants. The paper he presented was littered with sexist comments and research which has been severely criticised by academics over the past two decades. There was a great deal of discussion from the group yet he insisted that women could not be farmers in their own right, but were farmers' wives. I was intrigued as to why he would deliver such a paper at an international women's conference. I do not believe Botha was against the points discussed by respondents to his paper, but rather he had not heard the arguments before or been challenged on his academic views.

Other memorable sessions included the presentation by Lindiwe Zulu, Vice Speaker of the South African Parliament. She gave a very powerful talk on the importance of involving young black South African women in the new decision making structures within South Africa. Unfortunately, question time focused on the relationship of Winnie and Nelson Mandela!

Vandana Shiva gave an extremely impressive presentation on women, economics and environment. She talked against her critics who have labelled her an essentialist and provided a compelling argument against economic globalisation.

A meetings of international gender analysis trainers was held with the development of a loose network which can be contacted through:

Suzette Mitchell
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PO Box 1654
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E-mail smecteh@smec.com.au

Suzette Mitchell, SMEC Gender and Development Specialist

Population Association of America

New Orleans, 9-11 May 1996

The Population Association of America (PAA) is a large and diverse organisation, with a high profile among the academic, bureaucratic, non government organisation and corporate communities with interests in demographic matters. Its annual meetings are generally well attended and lively affairs. Attendance and participation by students and junior academics is strongly supported, with PhD candidates and postdocs filling many of the slots on the programme. The other stakeholder groups in the organisation also have a good representation in the programming, with quite a few sessions dealing with topics such as business demography, demographic statistics in the US, and local area demography. In contrast to Australian conferences of this type, the PAA gatherings are relatively inexpensive and offer a very wide range of sessions. They are inexpensive in the same way that airfares in the USA tend to be inexpensive, because they are pretty much on a 'no frills' basis - no fancy morning and

afternoon teas, no lunches, no leather folders chocked with pads of paper and sponsors' blandishments, etc.. But they also lack some of the cohesion found in Australian conferences, with no plenary sessions, other than the Presidential Address and the Annual General Meeting (AGM), neither of which draw more than a fraction of the numbers attending.

Membership of the PAA is fairly evenly distributed across the USA and Canada (in addition to many international members), so the organisation has a policy of alternating the venue for its annual meetings from one part of the country to another. The 1996 meeting was held in New Orleans, Louisiana, which was geographically convenient for both the east and west coast concentrations of the membership. The timing was not too ideal for those from the academic community, being at the end of the academic year and thus catching many in the midst of grading final exams etc., but the lure of New Orleans still was enough to attract a large attendance. The cultural attractions of the city - the old French Quarter, jazz, Cajun and Creole cuisine and music, the Mississippi River with its paddlewheel steamers (reincarnated as floating casinos) - was also undoubtedly responsible for many attendees missing more than the odd session or two!

Altogether, there were 130 different sessions, 13 in each of the 10 time slots, with an average of four papers per session. Two poster sessions also attracted 90 presentations each. Many key organisations also had booths in the exhibit area. It was thus not difficult for just about everyone to find something of interest at any given time, other than New Orleans itself. A scan through the programme book impresses one with the variety of offerings, with no particular subspecialty in dominance. While many sessions naturally focused on US issues, there were also many devoted to developing countries, and some which were deliberately comparative between regional and economic spheres. Aside from the normal fertility, mortality and migration topics, other areas of interest were well served: health, gender, labour force, family structure and data development issues were particularly conspicuous.

Paper authors normally do not distribute copies of their papers at the PAA meetings, but are usually willing to send copies upon request. This applies to the poster presentations as well (most of which were quite impressive). The programme book is helpful in this regard, as it lists the postal address of the authors of each abstract included in the book. Unfortunately, many paper authors and poster presenters did not provide abstracts for inclusion in the programme book. A more complete publication of the paper abstracts (with addresses) has in past years been included in *Population Index*. As a paper author myself, I received upon return to Australia a request from the Carolina Population Center Library (University of North Carolina) for three copies of my paper, one for their library plus one for two other 'depository libraries' for PAA papers (Johns Hopkins and Brown Universities). They also have requested an electronic copy and permission to make the paper available online. The e-

mail address they gave me is cpelib@unc.edu, from which interested researchers could no doubt find out how to access this treasure trove.

Paul A. Meyer, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare

International APEC Study Centre Network

Manila, 9-10 May 1996

Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) is an international forum consisting of 18 member economies of diverse cultural heritage and varying levels of economic development. APEC's member economies include Australia, Brunei, Darussalam, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Singapore, Chinese Taipei and the United States. Since its formation in 1989, APEC has expanded to become the primary vehicle for promoting trade liberalisation and economic cooperation in the Asia Pacific Region. APEC is committed to striving for regional trade and investment liberalisation as a building block to strengthen the multilateral trading system and to expand the global economy. APEC work programmes are conducted by the policy-related Committee on Trade and Investment, the Economic Committee, and ten sectoral-based Working Groups on: Fisheries; Human Resources Development; Industrial Science and Technology; Marine Resource Conservation; Regional Energy Cooperation; Telecommunications; Tourism; Trade and Investment Data Review; Trade Promotion; and Transportation.

The second conference of the APEC Study Centre Network was hosted by the Philippines Institute for Development Studies (PIDS). The PIDS is the lead institution of the Filipino consortium which comprise the Philippines APEC Study Centre. The first conference was held in Japan following the decision by APEC leaders at the summit in Seattle that each country would establish an APEC Study Centre. The Australian Centre was represented by Alan Oxley, Chairman and Professor John McKay, Director and Head of the Monash Asia Institute.

The Filipino Center chose Development Cooperation as a key theme for the conference. It invited Andrew Elek, formerly of Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Australia-Japan Research Foundation at the Australian National University, to make a keynote presentation on Asian Pacific perspectives on development cooperation which he had been developing for the Brisbane-based Foundation for Development Cooperation. The paper aimed to develop an APEC perspective on development cooperation and argued that development cooperation should become a key APEC activity.

The paper was strongly supported by the Filipino Center and representatives of the Government of the Philippines who

appear to be aiming to make development cooperation a major theme of the APEC leaders' Summit which the Philippines will host at Cebu at the end of the year. The paper attracted some critical comment, however. A number of representatives of Centres, Australia included, did not agree that development cooperation ought to be a major issue in APEC. The philosophical foundation of APEC was economic cooperation for mutual benefit, not economic cooperation based on distribution of responsibilities and roles on North-South lines.

Keynote themes included Perspectives on Human Values, International Labour Migration and APEC, and Operationalisation of the Osaka Action Agenda, and twelve papers were presented to the conference around three technical themes. These themes were: Political and International Relations; Trade Liberalisation and Macro Studies; and Agriculture, Environment and Cultural Issues. Copies of the papers presented and the conference agenda can be obtained from the Australian APEC Study Centre, and will also be available on the APEC EduNet (whose current internet address is <http://www.washington.edu/apec>).

In the view of the Australian Centre, particularly notable contributions were in the papers by Petri and Plummer from Brandeis, and by Paderanga from the Philippines Central Bank. Petri addresses the issue of how unilateral commitments to trade liberalisation by APEC member countries can be measured. One of the operating premises of the Bogor Declaration is that trade reductions by APEC countries need to be 'comparable'. This will be a difficult issue for APEC governments. Paderanga considers the prospects for economic policy coordination among APEC economies. This is an issue that APEC Finance Ministers have been slowly edging towards. Most of the public focus on APEC activity has been on trade liberalisation, but active policy dialogues have commenced in a number of other areas of economic public policy.

Canada will host the next full meeting of the APEC Study Centre Network in 1997. The Canadian APEC Study Centre is currently considering what focus to give that meeting. Its current inclination is to focus on the institutionalisation of APEC.

Reprinted from *Australian APEC Study Centre Special Report 1*, June 1996

Conference calendar

Pan Pacific hazards '96

Vancouver, 29 July-August 1996

This conference will be of interest to people concerned with earthquakes, volcanoes and tsunamis, and of particular interest to those living and working within the 'Ring of Fire' countries. As a participant, you will be asked to build bridges through the exchange of technology, experience and practical knowledge of disaster management. The conference will go beyond conventional discussions of response stories and risk analysis to explore strategies for preparedness and mitigation. This will be accomplished by bringing together the diverse perspectives of different disciplines, countries and agencies.

For more information contact:
Programme Committee
Pan Pacific Hazards '96
Conference
The University of British Columbia
Disaster Preparedness Resource
Centre
2206 East Mall, 4th Floor
Vancouver BC, V6T 1Z3
Canada
Tel (1 604) 822 5518
Fax (1 604) 822 6164
E-mail dprc@unixg.ubc.ca

Shifting centres: Information, identity and citizenship

Sydney, 18-22 August 1996

The International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) has accepted an invitation from a consortium of media and communications scholars in Sydney universities to hold its 20th Biennial General Assembly and Scientific Conference in Sydney. The proposed theme is Shifting Centres: Information, Identity and Citizenship. In addition to the Sydney conference, a day of pre-conference seminars is being organised in Melbourne for 16 August, on the particular themes of international satellite broadcasting in the Asian region

and Australian film - into the next 100 years. These events provide a unique opportunity for Australian academics and students to participate in the proceedings of the world's leading international communication research organisation.

For more information contact:
Associate Professor Virginia
Nightingale
Department of Media and Cultural
Studies
University of Western Sydney,
Nepean
PO Box 10
Kingswood, NSW 2747
Australia
Tel (02) 678 7382
Fax (02) 678 7399
E-mail
v.nightingale@nepean.uws.edu.au

First international conference on Khmer studies

Phnom Penh, 26-30 August 1996

The aims of this conference are to: resurrect works on Khmer studies by Cambodian and foreign researchers; upgrade the understanding of Khmer studies; internationalise Khmer studies; strengthen the bonds of cooperation between Cambodian and foreign scholars; and contribute to the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia.

For more information contact:
Dr Sorn Samnang
Department of History
Phnom Penh University
PO Box 2070
Phnom Penh 3
Cambodia

5th Asian urbanisation conference

London, 26-30 August 1996

This conference is organised by the Department of Geography, Lancaster University, in cooperation with the

School of Oriental and African Studies in London, and the University of Akron, USA, and the Developing Areas Research Group of the Institute of British Geographers. The four themes addressed include: planning; equality; analysis; and dynamics.

For more information contact:
Professor Graham Chapman
Department of Geography
Lancaster University
Lancaster LA1 4YB
United Kingdom
Tel (44 1524) 593 742
Fax (44 1524) 847 099
E-mail g.chapman@lancaster.ac.uk

Changing health in a global environment

Nagoya, 27-30 August 1996

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

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

XIV international conference on social sciences and medicine

Peebles, Scotland, 2-6 September 1996

The conference themes include: AIDS - changes in health-related behaviour; beyond the orthodox - hearsay in medicine and the social sciences; causes of change in the health of populations; comparative health care systems - recent

reforms; cultural problems of ageing; empowering patients - issues and strategies; reproductive health ideologies; the impact of structural adjustment by international agencies on health; and urban violence - health consequences and costs.

For more information contact:

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

Beyond Beijing: From words to action

Washington, 5-8 September 1996

This is the seventh international Association for Women In Development (AWID) forum. The theme of the forum features progress toward implementation of the Platform of Action from the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. The AWID forum will focus on gender and development issues that were addressed at the Beijing conference and the NGO Forum, and assess the progress made toward implementation at all levels.

The forum brings together practitioners, policy makers and academics from around the world in a *dialogue*, to examine strategies that enable women to improve the quality of their lives and to achieve equality in society. Four major plenary sessions will feature key themes from the Beijing Conference: women and human rights; globalisation of the economy; power sharing and political participation; and health and reproductive rights.

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

Asia-Pacific Tourism Association: 1996 conference

Townsville, 14-18 September 1996

This conference will be hosted by the Department of Tourism at James Cook University in Townsville, Queensland. The purposes of the conference are to: bring together leading tourism scholars from different regions and review the current research being undertaken in tourism in the Asia-Pacific region; discuss issues of potentially mutual interest, and compare different methodologies and theories for identifying new directions for tourism research in the Asia-Pacific region; and to create links between tourism scholars in the Asia-Pacific region.

For more information contact:
Edward Kim (Executive Organiser)
Department of Tourism
James Cook University
Townsville, QLD 4811
Australia
Tel (077) 81 4101
Fax (077) 25 1116
E-mail Edward.Kim@jcu.edu.au

Human services in crisis: National and international issues

London, 18-20 September 1996

The term human services is used to denote one or more of the following areas: community care; community work; criminal justice; juvenile justice; education; health; housing; policing; social care; and social services. Speakers include academics from 40 universities in Europe and the USA who will be speaking on diverse topics such as welfare reform, research and development in 'virtual universities', lawyers and social workers - an experimental interdisciplinary model, multidisciplinary considerations in services to adolescent survivors of sexual trauma, empowerment and disability.

For more information contact:
Heather Harvey
School of Social Sciences
and Professional Studies

University of Humber
Inglemire Avenue
Hull HU6 7LU
United Kingdom
Tel (44 1482) 440 550 extn 4396
Fax (44 1482) 441 377

Climate change and human health in the Asia-Pacific

Canberra, 23-24 September 1996

This conference is being cosponsored by Greenpeace International and the Australian Medical Association. The health impacts of climate change are emerging as a significant international issue. The conference will provide a peak forum for scientists, policy makers, environmentalists and leaders in the health sector to debate the implications of human-induced climate change for human health and their relevance to the health sector.

For more information contact:
Venue Marketing Service
PO Box 403
Caringbah, NSW 2229
Australia
Tel (02) 540 5534
Fax (02) 540 4246
Homepage <http://www.greenpeace.org/~climate/index.html>

International conference on science and technology in reconstruction and development

Peitermaritzburg, South Africa, 23-26 September 1996

Topics addressed in the conference include: agriculture and rural development; technology transfer and choice; R & D - intellectual property, financing, academia and industry linkages; human capital and human resource development; energy, water and infrastructure; science and technology policy; reconstruction and development in South Africa; development in Southern and Sub-Saharan Africa. The organisers are soliciting papers and deadline for submission is June 1996.

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

Ecopolitics X

Canberra, 26-29 September 1996

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

For more information contact:
Dr Lorraine Elliot
Department of Political Science
Faculty of Arts
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 0589
Fax (06) 249 5054
E-mail Lorraine.Elliot@anu.edu.au
Homepage <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecProj/AISA/ecopol.html>

Postgraduate seminar in Philippine studies

Canberra, 27 September 1996

The Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University (ANU), in cooperation with the Philippine Studies Association of Australia, invite postgraduate students engaged in Philippine research to a seminar/workshop at the ANU. The seminar will provide an opportunity for researchers situated in different institutions across the country to meet

fellow 'Filipinists', to discuss their work and exchange ideas and experiences, and to build a support network for themselves.

For more information contact:
Dr Ron J May or Lulu Turner
Department of Political and Social Change
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 0173/4790
Fax (06) 249 5523
E-mail lulu@coombs.anu.edu.au

1996 African studies conference

Adelaide, 27-29 September 1996

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

For more information contact:
Paul Ahluwalia
Politics Department
University of Adelaide
Adelaide, SA 5005
Australia
Tel (08) 303 5570

2nd international conference on health and human rights

Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2-4 October 1996

For more information contact:
Francois-Xavier Bagnoud Center
8 Story Street, 5th Floor
Cambridge, MA 02138
USA

3rd Asia-Pacific conference on emergency and disaster medicine/5th national congress of the Indonesian Society of Critical Care Medicine

Bali, Indonesia, 15-19 October 1996

This conference will include an interesting scientific programme with international speakers, highlighting the current developments and technology in the field of emergency and disaster medicine, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region.

For more information contact:
Secretariat
c/- Pacto Convex Ltd
Hotel Borobudur International
3rd Floor
Jalan Lapangan Banteng Selatan
Jakarta 10710
Indonesia
Tel (62 21) 231 1363/380 5555

7th international congress on women's health issues

Khon Kaen, Thailand, 5-8 November 1996

The theme of this conference is Women in Development and topics for discussion include: women in work; women in the developing world; gender issues; reproductive health; women and HIV/AIDS; women in transition; women in minority groups; women as health advocates; and population and sociocultural health issues.

For more information contact:
7th International Congress on Women's Health Issues
c/- Associate Professor Earmporn Thongkrajai
Faculty of Nursing
Khon Kaen University
Khon Kaen 40002
Thailand
Fax (66 43) 237 606

Integrating family in social progress and development

Vienna, 11-12 November 1996

The theme of this conference is Implementing Family-Specific Recommendations of Global Conferences of the 1990s. It is planned as an expert meeting, and will include participation by government and non government organisations (NGOs), UN agencies, researchers and others. The seminar is based on implementation of the last General Assembly Resolution on 'Follow-up to IYF' and the need to develop NGO and government action to put into practice the family-specific provisions adopted by recent World Conferences.

For more information contact:
Vienna NGO Committee on the Family
NGO-IYF Executive Secretariat
An der Hülben 1/15
A-1010 Vienna
Austria
Tel (43 1) 513 8687
Fax (43 1) 512 163875

World food summit

Rome, 13-17 November 1996

The General Assembly welcomes the decision of the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) to convene a World Food Summit at the level of heads of state or government. Reaffirming the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition, and convinced of the urgent need, at the highest political level, to marshal the global consensus and commitment required for the eradication of hunger and malnutrition and the achievement of food security for all, the Assembly invites all UN organisations, other inter-governmental organisations, as well as non governmental organisations and the private sector to cooperate actively with FAO in preparing for the summit.

For more information contact:
World Food Summit Secretariat
FAO Headquarters
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla

00100 Rome
Italy
Tel (39 6) 5225 2932
Fax (39 6) 5225 5249
E-mail food-summit@fao.org

XIV international congress for tropical medicine and malaria

Nagasaki, 17-22 November 1996

The theme will be New Goals for the 21st Century.

For more information contact:
Dr Hideyo Itakura, Secretary General
XIV ICTM Secretariat
c/- The Institute of Tropical Medicine
Nagasaki University, 1-12-4
Sakamoto, Nagasaki 852
Japan

Feminist futures: New directions in theory and practice

Perth, 27-29 November 1996

This conference is being organised by the Australian Women's Studies Association and will be held at The University of Western Australia.

For more information contact:
Annie Goldflam/Lesley Aloni
Centre for Research on Women
The University of Western Australia
Nedlands, WA 6907
Australia
Tel (09) 380 3718/3719
Fax (09) 380 1092
E-mail
goldflam@cyllene.uwa.edu.au

WABA global forum: Children's health and children's rights

Thailand, 2-6 December 1996

This conference is organised by the World Alliance for Breastfeeding (WABA) with the aim to develop a strategic plan of action to meet challenges of the 21st century; to evaluate progress

in efforts to date; to share experiences of successful interventions; and to improve skills.

For more information contact:
WABA
PO Box 1200
10850 Penang
Malaysia
Fax (60 4) 6572 655

Pacific Islands Political Studies Association (PIPSA) conference

Republic of Palau, 8-11 December 1996

This PIPSA conference will have the theme Leadership and Political Change in the Pacific.

For more information contact:
Co-Convenors
Bellendorf/Shuster
5th PIPSA Conference
Micronesia Area Research Centre
University of Guam UOG Station
Guam 96923
Fax (671) 734 7403

Getting out? Decolonisation in the Pacific Islands

Canberra, 13-15 December 1996

Pacific Islands historians will be meeting this December at the Australian National University. The workshop theme will be Decolonisation. Globally, the literature assumes that anticolonial nationalism is the most important engine of decolonisation. This paradigm seems inapt in the Pacific, where the most substantial anticolonial movements have been contained, and where independence has been achieved, it has commonly followed from metropolitan agency.

Within the region, most studies are specific to one dependency, and the global context is imperfectly perceived. A great deal of excellent research has been done and more is underway. The workshop will bring researchers together with the broad region as the context of specific studies, and the papers presented

will generate an integrated monograph. The workshop will include several papers on Papua New Guinea, but hopes to encompass the whole Island region, independent or not.

For more information contact:
Donald Denoon
Division of Pacific and Asian
History
Research School of Pacific and
Asian Studies
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 2298
Fax (06) 249 5525
E-mail dxd@coombs.anu.edu.au

The Institute of Australian Geographers/New Zealand Geographical Society

Hobart, 28-31 January 1997

The theme of the conference will be Islands - Culture, Economy and Environment, and will be jointly sponsored by The Institute of Australian Geographers and The New Zealand Geographical Society. A special session on 'development geography' will include sessions on islands and migration, islands and development, and islands and Southeast Asia.

For more information contact:
Department of Geography and
Environmental Studies
University of Tasmania
GPO Box 252C
Hobart, TAS 7001
Australia
Tel (002) 202 463
Fax (002) 202 989
E-mail IAG97@geog.utas.edu.au
Homepage <http://www.geog.utas.edu.au/iag97>

Humanities Research Centre conference 1997: Identities and convergences

Noumea, 1997

The conference will focus on social questions concerning New Caledonia, especially the nature of the civil society which is to evolve there in the 21st

century, following the referendum on the Territory's future in 1998. The case of New Caledonia can be seen to be a microcosm for issues confronting the world at large at the dawn of a new century with respect to institutional development, social cohesion, multiculturalism, linguistic plurality and cultural identity. The conference hopes to be an opportunity for consideration of the relation between the anglophone and francophone communities of the Pacific. It should provide a forum for interdisciplinary debate among social historians, anthropologists, political scientists, linguists, literary historians and critics, and also those actively engaged in the creative arts. Debate should cover a range of issues whose locus and focus are New Caledonia, but whose import, both empirical and theoretical, can have repercussions elsewhere and in other critical debates.

For more information contact:
Peter Brown
Modern European Languages
Department
The Faculties
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 2768

Pacific connections: Policy and technology in the information economy

Honolulu, 19-22 January 1997

This conference will examine the business and economic implications of the new information technologies, their applications in the delivery of services ranging from commerce to entertainment to public service and the challenges to the communications industry in a digital age. Within the parameters of the stated theme, the conference will be organised into six streams: applications/users; social/cultural; industry; development; technology; and executive focus.

For more information contact:
Pacific Telecommunications
Council
2454 South Beretania Street, Suite
302
Honolulu, HI 96826-1596

USA
Tel (1 808) 941 3789
Fax (1 808) 944 4874
E-mail ptc97@ptc.org

5th international conference on travel and medicine

Geneva, 24-27 March 1997

Travel medicine is a rapidly expanding field closely involved in the development of new vaccines, new prevention strategies against infectious diseases, and innovative computerised information systems for travellers and health professionals. It is also on the forefront of monitoring new emerging diseases and participation in the design of control strategies. This four day conference will provide a unique opportunity for both specialists in the field and general practitioners, paediatricians and family doctors to participate actively in sessions which will offer state-of-the-art reviews and updates on topics of key importance in the practice of travel medicine. Debates and interactive workshops will also be organised in new fields of interest to stimulate innovative approaches. As many international organisations, WHO in particular, are based in Geneva, many of these experts will participate actively, both in the design and the implementation of various meetings.

For more information contact:
5th ICTM Conference
Organising and Administrative
Office
c/- Symporg SA
Congress Organisers
7, avenue Pictet-de-Rochemont
CH-1207 Geneva
Switzerland

VIII Pacific science inter-congress: Islands in the Pacific Century

Suva, July 1997

This inter-congress will complement previous meetings which have had the tendency to focus almost exclusively on the Rim countries in discussions of the Pacific and the Pacific Century. The

conference will focus on islands and their developments in the 21st century. Specifically it will: emphasise the role of science and technology in the development of islands; review progress and share research findings in key areas in natural and social sciences relevant to islands; review development, achievements, problems and prospects of Pacific Islands; and review relevance of gender issues and development in the Pacific Islands.

For more information contact:
Secretariat
VIII Pacific Science Inter-Congress
c/- School of Pure & Applied
Sciences
The University of the South Pacific
PO Box 1168, Suva
Fiji
Tel (679) 313 900, ext 2691
Fax (679) 302 548
E-mail psa@usp.ac.fj

World futures studies XV world conference: Global conversations

*Brisbane, 23 September - 3 October
1997*

This gathering is an experiment to reinvent conferencing. It aims to be a lively, active engagement of people from many different parts of the world and various walks of life, and to: (a) discuss, anticipate and critique futures of global conversations and communication; (b) take part in global conversations about what we can do for the future generations; and (c) formulate actions. All will have something in common, a concern for future generations and how we can be creative, yet practical, about working together for peace and prosperity.

For more information contact:
XV World Conference
World Futures Studies Federation
c/- The Communications Centre
Queensland University of
Technology
GPO Box 2434
Brisbane, QLD 4001
Australia
Tel (07) 3864 2192
Fax (07) 3864 1813
E-mail wfsf@qut.edu.au

Book reviews

New Approaches to poverty: Analysis and policy

International Institute of Labour Studies, Three Volumes, International Labour Organisation, Geneva, 1995

(Vol I: The poverty agenda and the ILO, Gerry Rodgers (ed), ISBN 92 9014 536 6, 202pp.; Vol. II: Reducing poverty through labour market policies, Jose B. Figueiredo and Zafar Shaheed (eds), ISBN 92 9014 535 8, 54pp.; Vol. III: The poverty agenda: Trends and policy options, Gerry Rodgers and Ralph van der Hoeven (eds), ISBN 92 9014 569 2, 205pp.)

This three volume collection of reports and academic papers is a timely reassessment of the role of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in tackling the problem of Third World poverty. Based on a seminar held by the International Institute of Labour Studies in Geneva in November 1993, its publication was timed to mark the 50th anniversary of the Charter of Philadelphia adopted by the ILO in 1944 to guide its postwar activities. The Charter affirmed poverty alleviation as a fundamental objective guiding the research and action programme of the ILO in the fields of labour protection, labour rights and employment creation.

Why yet another seminar and report on the dimensions and causes of poverty replete with a plethora of policy recommendations? In part, the ILO like other international agencies has been increasingly forced to justify its existence to donor countries. In part, international development experience throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s suggests such a re-evaluation of conceptual frameworks, approaches and policies is well overdue. The volumes argue that the problem of poverty has become increasingly severe in much of Africa. Market-oriented 'structural adjustment' programmes have often been accompanied by greater vulnerability to poverty among various population subgroups, in both rapidly growing cities and in the countryside, especially in Latin America. The promise of a sustained improvement in living standards 'for all' associated with more rapid economic growth has not materialised. Only in rapidly growing East Asia have absolute numbers and the proportion of families living in poverty plummeted. Elsewhere in the developing world, poverty appears as intractable as it was when the ILO began its crusade in the postwar period.

What new material does this report include, in addition to comprehensive assessments of poverty issues by organisations such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank and Asian Development Bank in recent years? First, it brings together a collection of papers and reports focused on the labour dimension of poverty, and especially the role of the ILO in helping overcome poverty. Volume I includes

an assessment of past ILO approaches and policies and possible future directions, focusing on a lengthy report by a large ILO working group. Critical reviews are provided by Paul Streeten and a collection of academics and policy makers (the latter in the form of a summary of the main discussion points). Michael Lipton contributes a typically long and thought-provoking analysis of key issues in the labour-poverty field of research.

Second, it combines approaches to the analytical and conceptual issues with a strong emphasis on policy. Volume II concentrates on labour market policies, including active labour market programmes, policies for vulnerable groups - especially the plight of children, women and the disabled - social security and minimum wages. It thus involves a rethink of conceptual frameworks and labour policies. The policies are grouped according to three categories: promotional (improved endowments and incomes), preventative (averting problems of deprivation) and protective measures (safeguards for the poor and 'safety net' policies).

The coverage of policies goes well beyond labour issues and topics with which the ILO Charter might encompass. Thus the papers in Volume II deal with subjects such as ownership and access to land, asset creation and food subsidies. One might question the usefulness of the ILO casting its net so wide, given its limited capacity to influence broader economic and social development policies of nation states and international agencies. A broad analytical framework for poverty alleviation is necessary. But detailed policy prescriptions would seem only relevant in the context of the ILO's activities and advocacy in the fields of employment, wages, labour protection and labour rights. Covering so many issues outside the central concerns of the ILO necessarily limits the contribution of the report to the design of new labour policies.

A third valuable aspect of the publication comes in the form of a detailed analysis of trends and policies regarding poverty and labour in various regions of the Third World. This is included in Volume III which deals with patterns of poverty in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In this volume, three papers deal with structural adjustment and poverty with an emphasis on Eastern Europe, urban labour and macroeconomic policies. Labour dimensions of poverty are highlighted in many of the papers in Volume III. These include issues such as (i) labour contracts and employment in rural areas, (ii) the 'urbanisation' of poverty through labour migration and labour force growth, (iii) the interaction between formal and informal sector growth and labour earnings, and (iv) the impact of structural adjustment on the most vulnerable groups in the labour market.

Again, much of the discussion deals with poverty in general, rather than specifically with the labour dimensions of poverty. This is regrettable not only because the analysis of labour policies is sometimes superficial. In addition, for the most part the analysis does not build on the voluminous contributions of the World Bank, the Asian Development

Bank or other agencies (which are rarely acknowledged or cited) to understanding these broader issues.

What are the lessons from the ILO experience in this field? The failure to confront the political economy of poverty alleviation is highlighted as the major shortcoming of past ILO efforts. One cannot fault the logic of many of the general strategies and country-specific blueprints for employment and income growth contained in the Basic Needs Strategy of the 1970s. This applies also to the huge research effort devoted to the design of policies for employment creation through special ILO missions and the research of the World Employment Program (WEP). Many of the recommendations of the Basic Needs Strategy or the country missions were not accepted by individual governments. To quote Streeten (Volume I: 85): 'perhaps the main reason why the recommendations of the missions have not been universally accepted is that they were politically naive ... of what the political constraints to reform are (positive political economy), and how a political constituency or coalition for progressive reforms can be built (normative political economy).'

Streeten goes further to argue that this remains a shortcoming of the proposed ILO plan of action discussed in the three volumes being reviewed here: 'there is no discussion in the Report of how to create a political base for anti-poverty action.' Similarly criticism may be made of the excellent publications of many other international agencies which are often destined to gather dust on library shelves. Discussions of issues of governance and the necessary political and administrative organisation and commitment for successful implementation are often missing.

What are the main contributions of the new Framework for Action and what are the contentious issues in interpreting past experience and designing new approaches? The ILO Framework of Action has much to recommend it. Unlike some of the World Bank reports - most notably the recent World Bank Development Report on Labour - it views labour market imbalance and poverty as structural and partly related to the segmented nature of labour markets. Unemployment and underemployment are merely viewed as unfortunate consequences of 'market failure' or inappropriate policies per se.

Similarly, the stress is not just on market friendly reforms but on 'people' friendly policies, noting that the two do not always coincide. Recommended policies include following the 'high road' of increasing the proportion of high wage jobs and also the 'low road' of improving labour conditions in low wage jobs. Thus policies to maximise jobs provided through non farm rural employment, protection of informal sector workers, increasing labour market access and reducing vulnerability are all central to the proposed programme for the future.

Several of the articles debunk some of the myths regarding poverty and labour relationships. Contrary to conventional wisdom, Lipton (Volume I:121) notes that women are not *generally* over-represented in poorer households. Instead,

he draws attention to several other gender-related issues worthy of focus: the longer hours worked by women, their limited ability to take advantage of more profitable jobs and special problems faced by widows in some societies. Similarly, Anker (Volume II: 62) argues that unqualified emphasis on eradication of child labour is misplaced. Rather, certain forms of work done by children should be a focus of ILO programmes. Anker draws a distinction between the concepts of child *labour* and child *work*. Child *labour* involves various kinds of unacceptable work. Child *work*, on the other hand, is often a quite rational response to both poverty and inadequate (or inappropriate) schooling. Elsewhere, it is recommended that subsidies might be extended to the parents of working children to enable the children to remain in school. The emphasis is on extending protection to working children, rather than banning their work and driving them 'underground' and away from the scope of protective legislation.

Criticism of the Framework of Action comes in Volume I partly from those who urge more radical programmes. Greater political involvement and action is viewed by several commentators as critical to progress in reducing labour market vulnerability among the poor. There was also a questioning of the benefits of globalisation for the poor, although the ILO deftly sidesteps a clear statement on the issue.

From an economist's perspective, several issues would seem to be important for a sharpening of the focus in the Framework of Action. The report notes the success of the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) of East Asia in reducing poverty and maintaining a relatively even distribution of income. However, the key elements in this process - rapid agricultural sector growth, export-orientation in manufacturing and a stable macroeconomic environment - could be given greater emphasis as critical for reduction in poverty and labour market transformation. While it is important to draw attention to policies for disadvantaged groups in segmented labour markets, the Framework sometimes seems to miss the woods for the trees. Hence the ILO is cautious regarding the potential benefits of globalisation *in general*. Despite the East Asian experience, it chooses to focus on some of the negative consequences of globalisation for the poor rather than the big picture of massive poverty decline and improvements in the living standards of most workers.

Undue suspicion of the potential benefits of market-oriented reforms - again in general, rather than in specific cases of market failure - leads to largely unqualified arguments for government intervention. Intervention is recommended in the areas of wages, labour protection and social security. In the case of minimum wages, in particular, the potential negative effects on employment are played down. Neither the Framework for Action nor the supporting papers advocate an unambiguous policy regarding the role of minimum wages, either as a safety net or as a general instrument for raising labour incomes. But one is left with the impression that the Framework for Action supports an active minimum wage

policy role which would increasingly influence the general level of wages as development proceeds (the case of Thailand was given as an example, *see* page 48). Yet the evidence presented in many of the papers was much more in favour of a more limited and targeted safety net approach.

On balance, however, the book makes a useful contribution to the library of studies on poverty, and it makes a special contribution to an understanding of the poverty-labour interrelationship. One might question the strong interventionist tone and sometimes somewhat superficial analysis included in this three volume collection. Nevertheless, most development practitioners, policy makers and academics would benefit from exposure to its broad approach and frequently provocative analysis.

Chris Manning, Economics/Indonesia Project, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University

Hardly ever a dull moment

E K Fisk 1995, National Centre for Development Studies, ISBN 0 7315 1978 7, 280pp., A\$25.00

E K (Fred) Fisk's volume of reminiscences is the latest in the National Centre for Development Studies series of memoirs, the *History of Development Studies*, to which Fisk's long-time Australian National University (ANU) colleagues Heinz Arndt, Benjamin Higgins and Oskar Spate have already contributed. It is a book that can be read on two levels: as the life story of an interesting and unusual man, and as a document on the evolution of the development industry in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

Fisk the man emerges from the text as humane, civilised and modest about his many accomplishments. In his working life he was consistently active, energetic and practical. His route to academic life traversed prewar experience in the business world, war service as a Signals Officer in Malaya, Singapore, Australia and Britain, and work as a colonial administrator in the Malaya of the Emergency years, as well as such incidental occupations as pilot and grazier. On the other side of his nature, Fisk comes through as a deeply reflective individual, with a strong interest in psychic phenomena. The practical and mystical sides blended neatly in the 1940s when he devised an intuitive 'system' for predicting Grand National winners. The system evidently worked very well, but alas, we are not told what it was.

Fisk never intended to become a development economist. He was, he says, 'astonished' to find himself appointed a State Development Officer in Malaya in 1951, under the auspices of a new organisation, the Rural and Industrial Development Authority. Still, the *I Ching* had given him a premonition of some such move, and this appointment opened the way to some 40 years of development work that was both

distinguished and distinctive. From 1960, that work was carried on from his base at the ANU.

What made his work distinctive? Firstly, there was Fisk's career-long preference for work out in the field, as distinct from the ivory tower. This was also his approach to colonial administration in Malaya, where he had always sought district postings remote from central officialdom. Plainly he was motivated by a strong ethic of service to people at grassroots level. But he also saw his applied development work as usefully complementing the efforts of various academic contemporaries who worked at the level of macroeconomic theory.

Secondly, he was always sceptical of the growth imperative which drove so much development work. Unfashionably for the 1950s and 1960s, he did not accept the idea that a larger cake meant more for all. Put differently, he did not believe very much in 'trickle down'. Conventional growth policies, he argued, would usually work to the advantage of the already advanced sectors, such that inequality would increase and not decrease over time. With his grassroots experience and his humane values, Fisk believed that distributionist concerns could not be left to look after themselves but had to be incorporated into policy and planning. He further argued that in countries such as Malaya and Fiji, where immigrant racial groups dominated the more advanced economic sectors, growth would seriously exacerbate interracial inequalities and thus lead to increasing social and political tensions. Fisk's advocacy of affirmative action policies to bring indigenous Malaysians and Fijians into the advanced sectors was long ignored by the 'larger cake' school, as was his concern with distributive policies more generally. He now clearly believes that history has vindicated his views.

Thirdly, there was his pioneering work on the phenomenon of subsistence affluence. Especially in New Guinea in the 1960s, and later in the Pacific, Fisk noted that many people in the non monetised sector seemed to lead better, healthier lives than people in the monetised sector. This too had major implications for growth theory, premised as it was on the spread of monetary relations. For Fisk, it also raised moral questions. Was it right to impose western-style, cash-based development on subsistence-affluence communities? Might not the social and human costs outweigh the economic benefits? Questions of this kind are implicit in much of the text, so it is not very surprising that at the end of the book we find the author rather saddened at much that has happened in the name of development over the last four decades.

As in the author's life, so in this book, there are not many dull moments. The life story is absorbing, the reflections on development wide-ranging and thought-provoking.

David Goldsworthy, Department of Politics, Monash University

The Pacific Island States: Security and sovereignty in the post-cold war world

Stephen Henningham 1995, ISBN 0 3121 2513 5, Macmillan, pp.xxiii + 174, A\$59.95

This is a slim, unpretentious and extremely useful monograph for all those interested in the security problematique of the island nations of the South Pacific. It should also be of some interest to students of security studies more generally, not least because of the challenge to many assumptions of the traditional, narrow security concept that still dominates much of the Atlantic-sourced literature.

Most Pacific Island countries have managed to maintain constitutional and democratic forms of government, although some with more success than others. Yet since the 1980, 'the region has become more politically complex and in some respects more potentially volatile' (page x). The timeframe of this study is the decade since the mid-1980s. With respect to the traditional security agenda of threats between states, the region remains essentially peaceful and stable. There is no realistic threat of attack from outside the region. There are no major territorial disputes within the region, helped by the absence of land borders between, and of military forces in, most countries. There are not even disputes over resources. The stable relations are underpinned by traditions of regional cooperation and consensus, as epitomised in the most important regional organisation, namely the South Pacific Forum (SPF). Because the regional agenda focuses on broadly defined threats to security, the SPF is the main forum for discussing common security with respect to economic and environmental threats. An example of the former is the plunder of regional fisheries. The most serious example of the latter is the risk of total inundation of some island countries as a consequence of rising sea levels because of global warming.

There are long-running insurgencies in Irian Jaya and Bougainville which have the potential to heighten inter-state tensions. Papua New Guinea vis-a-vis Indonesia, and the Solomon Islands vis-a-vis Papua New Guinea, have been motivated by the desire to limit damage to bilateral relations, and to avoid questioning colonial boundaries too strongly in support of the principle of self-determination lest the entire South Pacific region become destabilised through a rash of secessionist tendencies.

The size and human and material resource base of most Pacific Island countries give grounds for some doubts about the fragility or resilience of their stateness. Henningham classifies them into three categories of juridical sovereignties: fully independent, independent with qualifications and dependent. Those in the second category are accorded the fictional juridical status of independent actors, including membership of the SPF. The author suggests (page 5) that they could, perhaps, provide the constitutional model for New Caledonia and French Polynesia, and possibly also for Bougainville.

Most island countries lack the physical and financial ability to exploit the potential of their Exclusive Economic Zone resources. Although licence fees paid by foreign fishing fleets have provided some return to the island governments, suspicion remains that predatory fleets may have engaged in under-reporting of their catch and even outright poaching. While the island countries get up to ten per cent of the value of the landed catch from US boats following the signing of the multilateral fisheries treaty in 1986, they get only up to four per cent of the value of the landed catch from Japanese, Korean and Taiwanese boats (page 74). The asset in greatest abundance in the Pacific Islands is labour, and one of the chief economic props of island economies is remittances sent home by people working in the metropolitan countries of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States.

Australia and New Zealand may be the largest actors in the SPF, but they are no longer dominant. Their own horizons have moved beyond the immediate region to the wider world of the Asia-Pacific. Other extraregional actors have become relatively more interested, including Japan, France, the European Union and the United States. And the island countries have themselves become more assertive of their interests.

General readers will find much of interest and use in this book. South Pacific specialists may not find it equally valuable, but will profit from it as a handy source of reference on issues of real concern in the island countries.

Ramesh Thakur, Peace Research Centre, Australian National University. Reprinted with permission from Peace Research, Nov. 1995/Feb. 1996, p.54

Australia's aid program: Mixed messages and conflicting agendas

Patrick Kilby (ed) 1996, Community Aid Abroad and Monash Asia Institute, ISBN 0 7326 0892 9, 352pp., A\$39.95

The recently published *Australia's aid program: Mixed messages and conflicting agendas* is a thorough and productive review of the state of the Australian overseas aid programme. Although the book is a product of cooperation between Community Aid Abroad and Monash Asia Institute, the editor and authors are not simply promoting the poverty alleviation, grassroots development outlook of the non government organisation (NGO) aid community, but have been thorough, rigorous and objective in their analysis of the official aid programme.

The authors have, among themselves, many decades of involvement in international development programmes as field staff in the Third World, as researchers, fund raisers, programme managers and development consultants, which is reflected in their understanding and presentation of the issues. As the editor notes in the introduction, the book 'is built upon hard data, much of it derived from the official record itself, and much of it from the authors' own field experience.'

The book is divided into three sections which deal with policy issues, country case studies and aid delivery mechanisms. Because there are 17 articles in all, it is possible to make only brief comment on content, so I will mention just a few. Russel Rollason's opening piece 'The international context' is excellent in setting the stage. Greg Barrett's article on economic growth is equally instructive, and contains a useful review of the weakness of GDP as a development indicator. David Burch skilfully elucidates the aid/trade debate, and Juliet Hunt brings her long experience productively to bear on gender awareness. I found Philip Eldridge's review of aid to Indonesia particularly valuable (one would expect no less from one of Australia's most senior analysts of overseas development assistance), while equally informative is the review by Ann Larson and Maxine Whittaker of the critical area of population and family planning. While some of the articles are more demanding of the reader than others, all contribute positively to the continuing debate over Australia's aid programme.

Nevertheless, I have two quibbles. Many of the authors seem to lack a sense of history of the Australian aid programme, and few of them seem to understand, or at least are unwilling to acknowledge, the difficulties of negotiating and implementing official bilateral aid programmes. Thus, with respect to the latter point, there is a tendency to make recommendations which ignore the fact that bilateral aid is based on an agreement between two sovereign states to implement a programme (or project) which is seen to be in their mutual interest. There is little recognition of the delicacy of negotiations which AusAID and Foreign Affairs must undertake in order to reach a state of agreement, and the continuing challenge of maintaining an even keel during implementation. Aid programmes are negotiated by national elites at both ends of the spectrum; if elites on the receiving end do not see poverty alleviation, for example, as in their own interests, they will not accept programmes of that nature.

With respect to history, there is a tendency to complain that Australian aid serves the strategic interests of Australia and not the development needs of recipients. Although this debate is probably as old as foreign aid itself, Australian aid has always been used as a strategic tool whether the interests were seen as security, as in the 1950-1980 period, or more recently as trade. The challenge for the NGO community, it seems to me, is to acknowledge that reality, at least implicitly, and get on with the job of providing an alternate model (of which it has done an outstanding job over the last 40 years), since it is unlikely that any donor country, let alone Australia, could justify politically an aid programme which did not serve its strategic interests.

These quibbles aside, I believe this book should be in the hands of anyone who has even a small interest in international development. It is informative, analytical and useful, representing an excellent source book and reference on Australian overseas development assistance.

Terry Murphy, Management Consultant, Fremantle

The Development Studies Electronic Forum

This Forum was established by the Australian National University (ANU) to provide a world-wide communications vehicle and a central electronic archive for anyone working on, or interested in, the study of social and economic development, with a particular focus on Third World countries. It was established on the 7 July 1994 on the joint initiative of the Coombs Computing Unit, Research Schools of Social Sciences & Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, and The Australian Development Studies Network, National Centre for Development Studies, RSPAS, ANU.

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New books

Australia's China: Changing perceptions from the 1930s to the 1990s

Lachlan Strahan 1996, Cambridge University Press, ISBN 0 521 48497 9, 376pp., A\$34.95

This book explores the multifaceted and dynamic Australian encounter with China from the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937 up to the present. This relationship, which was variously enriching, baffling and antagonistic, is traced through official papers, literature, films and interviews. Both popular and official reactions to China are examined, highlighting aspects of Australian identity and self-image. The competing and shifting perceptions of China also reflect the broader East-West encounter.

Regions at risk: Comparison of threatened environments

Jeanne X Kasperson, Roger E Kasperson and BL Turner II (eds) 1995, United Nations University Press, ISBN 92 808 0848 6, US\$38.00

Human-induced environmental change is found throughout the world, but there are areas that scientists consider to be 'critical regions' - regions that are particularly vulnerable to environmental degradation. In this volume nine such 'critical environmental regions' (including Amazonia, the Aral Sea basin, the middle mountains of Nepal, Kenya's Ukammbani region, the US Southern High Plains, the Mexico Basin, the North Sea, the Ordos Plateau of China and the eastern Sundaland region of Southeast Asia) are examined as case studies. Formal definitions of the concepts of environmental criticality and endangerment are proposed in the opening chapter.

Bioethics for health professionals: An introduction and critical approach

Frank Lewis 1996, Macmillan, ISBN 0 7329 3046 4, 165pp., A\$32.95

In this book, the author provides an innovative critical view of bioethics. It includes new categories of analysis and a social and contextual model of bioethical behaviour. This model is useful, not only for understanding bioethical issues, but also because it acts as a starting point for the justification of ethical behaviour in the health care field. The author provides an intellectual tool kit with which health professionals can clarify bioethical issues and better understand their own responses. The book is written in non technical language and would appeal to a wide range of health professionals, students and social scientists.

Adult literacy: A handbook for development workers

Paul Fordham, Deryn Holland and Juliet Millican 1995, Oxfam and Voluntary Service Overseas, ISBN 0 85598 315 9, 240pp., £8.95

This is a book for development workers who have no formal training in adult education and literacy, but find themselves having to respond (as planners, trainers or teachers) to requests for 'literacy'. Most of the book is essentially practical: it describes the different stages in planning, teaching, and evaluating a small-scale literacy programme, and offers suggestions for using available materials, and developing new ones designed for specific situations. But its main purpose is to explore the central issues in the debate about the role of literacy in development. The authors draw on their own experiences, and that of Oxfam and Voluntary Service Overseas, for case studies to illustrate the consequences of introducing literacy - a far from simple process - to individuals, groups and communities.

Public sector management in Australia

Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh, John Wanna and Patrick Weller 1996, Macmillan, ISBN 0 7329 4073 7, 256pp., A\$37.95

This is a lively text that introduces the major contemporary issues facing public sector managers and administrators. It also provides a basis from which the reader can move to a more detailed analysis of specific issues and of the extensive changes affecting Australia's public sector. The second edition, extensively revised and updated, is grounded on the latest empirical research, yet continues to address fundamental issues relating to design and structure of government bodies; the utility and impact of alternative management techniques; performance measurement; and public sector ethics and accountability. Case studies and quantitative material is woven into the text in an accessible manner.

Economic fundamentalism: The New Zealand experiment - a world model

Jane Kelsey 1996, Pluto Press, ISBN 0 7453 1043 5, 200pp., £12.95

In 1984 the New Zealand Labour Government, previously respected for its social democratic system, became the first developed western economy to make a systematic attempt at 'structural adjustment', with devastating economic and social consequences. Not surprisingly, perhaps, this failed experiment has been hailed by the OECD, the World Bank and others as an exemplary prototype of structural adjustment for the developed and developing world. The author examines this profoundly anti-democratic process; how the 'fundamentals' of rigid monetary policy, labour market deregulation, limited government, free trade and fiscal restraint were cemented in law, and what this has meant for economic, political and cultural life in New Zealand today. This book should serve as a powerful warning to other countries contemplating structural adjustment.

Poverty and power: Energy and the South African state

Anton Eberhard and Clive van Horen 1995, Pluto Press, ISBN 0 7453 1062 1, 252pp., £11.95

The profound transitions in the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe have brought about a collapse of rigid ideological divides, rekindled democratic movements across the globe and encouraged a more widespread belief in the power of markets. But the social unrest and economic hardships of these countries in transition brings a stark reminder that all is not well with the market. The authors emphasise the importance of reaffirming equity as a development goal and examine the crucial role of the state in achieving it.

Nutrition matters: People, food and famine

Helen Young and Susanne Jaspers 1995, Intermediate Technology Publications, ISBN 1 85339 243 X, 144pp., £8.95

This book is based on the authors' views and experiences as fieldworkers in situations of food insecurity and famine, combined with their in-depth knowledge of the discipline of nutrition. They develop a new conceptual framework of the role of nutrition in famine which can be used to analyse the underlying causes of malnutrition, the stages of famine and the risk of disease and death. The book is just not for nutritionists, but for anyone who wants to alleviate famine, food insecurity and malnutrition. The book is aimed at people actually working in famine situations and at institutions concerned with nutritional emergencies, who may want to, or be able to, apply some of the lessons learned. It will also be useful to those with a more theoretical interest wanting a detailed and searching analysis of nutrition in relation to famine.

Power, process and participation: Tools for change

Rachel Slocum, Lori Wichhart, Dianne Rocheleau and Barbara Thomas-Slayter (eds) 1995, Intermediate Technology Publications, ISBN 1 85339 303 7, 272pp., £9.95

Powerlessness, marginality and dispossession are found in all corners of the world. The aim of this book is to enable facilitators from inside, as well as outside, communities to empower those people who are frequently omitted from the decision making process. The book explores participatory approaches to development and offers innovative, collaborative tools for working with local groups and communities. The tools described here are sensitive to cultural and social differences, and have been designed to increase the capacities of local communities, NGOs and public sector agencies by integrating applied and analytical methods for consciousness-raising, data-gathering, community decision making, advocacy and development activities. The book focuses on participatory capacity-building in ways that address the practical needs and strategic interests of the disadvantaged and disempowered, and it pays particular attention to gender issues. Other issues include how differences in class, ethnicity, race, caste, religion, age and status may also lead to the 'politics of exclusion' that this book aims to avoid.

Customary land tenure and sustainable development: Complementarity or conflict

Ron Crocombe (ed) 1995, USP Press, ISBN 9 82203 460 1, 124pp., NZ\$13.95

This is a study of the customary tenure system under which over 90 per cent of the land served by the South Pacific Commission is held. Populations of the region are growing fast and the traditions under which the customary tenures are based were evolved to suit very different, economic, social and political contexts.

Do it herself: Women and technical innovation

Helen Appleton (ed) 1995, Intermediate Technology Publications, ISBN 1 85339 287 1, 318pp., £14.95

Although women are the majority of small-scale technology users, their technical knowledge and understanding has largely been overlooked by organisations involved in technical assistance. Against this background, this book investigates the contributions of women to technical innovation at grassroots level, using 22 case studies of technical innovation by women in 16 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. There has, until now, been limited research on technology development and the impact of technological change at a local level, and the information that was available rarely addressed gender differences.

The countries and regions described in this book have very different histories, cultures, geography, and economic, social and political environments, but certain themes emerge as central to women's use, production and adaptation of technology.

Economic development and women in the world community

Kartik C Roy, Clement A Tisdell and Hans C Blomqvist (eds) 1996, Praeger, ISBN 0 275 95134 0, 264pp., A\$82.00

After reviewing theories about how women are likely to fare as a result of economic development, the editors and contributors focus on the socioeconomic status of women. The book looks at economic development and women; women and development in Sub-Saharan Africa; women in the European Union; the status of American women; issues in market economy for women in Latin America and the Caribbean; and issues in paid employment for women in Australia.

Grassroot horizons: Connecting participatory development initiatives East and West

Richard Morse, Anisur Rahman and Kersten L Johnson (eds) 1995, Intermediate Technology Publications, ISBN 1 85339 290 1, 377pp., £15.95

Grassroots activists and researchers build here on their varied personal experiences to clarify and strengthen the effectiveness of participatory group action in overcoming impoverishment, oppression and exclusion.

The authors focus on core issues of social and political organisation and change, such as: relations between self and others; group identity and solidarity; honouring different types of knowledge systems; and organising against vested positions and unjust power structures. These issues are brought to life through first-hand accounts of participatory development in diverse, often conflict-filled situations. Integrative chapters present an alternative development paradigm, offer techniques of coalition-building in diversity, and propose a conceptual design of values and ethical principles toward socially just, sustainable development.

Securing stability and growth in Latin America

Ricardo Hausmann and Helmut Reisen 1996, OECD, ISBN 92 64 14799 3, 299pp., A\$84.00

The Latin American region is prone to economic shocks which tend to derail development efforts and introduce insecurity into economic planning. Specialists from Latin America and Europe give a comprehensive picture of problems facing the region as well as proposals for the best policy responses for minimising these effects, particularly in the budgetary institutions, the banking and financial systems and unemployment insurance.

Power and participatory development: Theory and practice

Susan Wright and Nici Nelson (eds) 1995, Intermediate Technology Publications, ISBN 1 85339 241 3, 208pp., £6.95

This is an exploration of the power dynamics of participatory development and research, and an attempt to look at the shifts in power within communities and institutions which are needed for participatory ideas to be effective. The aim of the book is to connect theory and practice, and to demonstrate that these ideas are equally applicable in the North and in the South. The book looks at the theoretical basis to participatory development work, drawing on related debates in anthropology, development studies and feminism. It will be of interest to academics, students and practitioners in the North and South, and those involved with courses in development studies, anthropology and sociology.

Women in micro- and small-scale enterprise development

Louise Dignard and José Havet 1995, Westview Press, 282pp., US\$45.00

In this collection, researchers and practitioners describe hands-on approaches to highlight the relevance of women's daily experience, their grassroots initiatives, and their de facto interface with development assistance programmes.

Transforming capitalism and patriarchy: Gender and development in Africa

April A Gordon 1995, Lynne Rienner Publishers, ISBN 1 55587 402 9, 210pp., US\$19.95

Arguing that the interests of patriarchy - in its current form in Africa - and capitalism no longer coincide, this book suggests that women must develop new strategies and alliances to shape a future beyond dependant capitalist and patriarchal inequalities.

Sustaining the future: Economic, social and environmental change in Sub-Saharan Africa

George Benneh, William B Morgan and Juha I Uitto (eds) 1996, United Nations University Press, ISBN 92 808 0918 0, US\$30.00

This book emanates from research in a wide range of disciplines and includes work by leading African and international scholars. It focuses on the trends in and conditions for reaching sustainable environmental and resource management development for the Sub-Saharan African region in the medium-term future. In the first part it analyses the driving forces of environmental change in the region, including persistent poverty, population growth, urbanisation, industrialisation and energy production and consumption. The second part contains selected issues central to sustainability, including agriculture on which the majority of people still depend for their livelihood.

Australia's aid programme: Mixed messages and conflicting agendas

Patrick Kilby (ed) 1996, Community Aid Abroad and Monash Asia Institute, ISBN 0 7326 0892 9, 352pp., A\$39.95

Australia's aid dollar is expected to deliver the lot. It has to serve the nation's foreign policy interests, open new markets for its export industries and, somewhere along the way, bring sustainable development to the poor majority of the world. This analysis of Australia's official aid programme questions whether the promotion of economic growth is the best way of meeting the pressing humanitarian needs of the planet. Some of Australia's most experienced and insightful development practitioners and commentators analyse case studies and policies to show how commercial and diplomatic agendas frequently clash with the programme's humanitarian objectives. The book does not present simple solutions but recommends some basic ground rules for getting the mix right.

Emerging world cities in Pacific Asia

Fu-chen Lo and Yue-man Yeung (eds) 1996, United Nations University Press, ISBN 92 808 0907 5, US\$35.00

Pacific Asia is the fastest growing region in the world, and its very large cities - world cities - have been playing a critical part in spearheading economic growth and social and cultural transformation. The book focuses on the functional characteristics and linkage effects of Pacific Asia's world cities against the background of global economic restructuring since the 1980s. These cities are examined as individual entities, in their regional setting, and in the context of subregional cooperative development environments. Emphasis is placed on the functional importance and complexity of world cities in the global and regional economies.

Housing without houses: Participation, flexibility, enablement

Nabil Hamdi 1995, Intermediate Technology Publications, ISBN 1 85339 292 8, 208pp., £12.95

This book presents a wide range of innovative concepts and practical methods for housing together with illustrative examples of actual projects, where resources are scarce, demand is high, urgency is acute, and where uncertainty is a way of life. It shows that under these conditions, efficient practice depends upon methods that promote rather than hinder spontaneity, improvisation and incremental development. The author explores what the changes taking place internationally in housing policy are, why and how they have emerged, and what impact they now have on design and on the attitudes, skills, methods and tools of designers. The book illustrates how plans can emerge without a preponderance of user surveys or master planning, and how the three themes of participation, flexibility and enablement can together improve the efficiency of practice and promote an architecture of cooperation.

Capital, the state and labour: A global perspective

Juliet Schor and Jong-II You (eds) 1995, United Nations University Press, ISBN 92 808 0900 8, US\$95.00

A global transformation of labour relations and production systems began to occur in the 1980s with new industrial and occupation patterns, technological progress and the end of the welfare state. From the OECD to the Eastern Bloc, to the newly developing countries of Latin America and Asia, old practices and approaches were found wanting. This book explores these transformations in eight countries or regions - the OECD, Eastern Europe, Brazil, South Korea, China, India, Malaysia and Japan - to examine the causes of this change and the likely prospects for the future. Throughout this volume, the emphasis is on production systems and their relationship to macroeconomic dynamics such as wage formation and the use of productivity gains. The authors examine the demise of Taylorised systems and Fordist macroeconomic regimes.

AIDS: A moral issue - the ethical, legal and social aspects

Brenda Almond 1996, Macmillan, ISBN 0 333 63344 X, 224pp., A\$39.95

AIDS raises a number of ethical and social problems which must inevitably be confronted by the whole community, by people with AIDS and their relatives, and by those professionally involved. This book challenges a growing polarisation of viewpoints on these issues. In contrast to the one-sided and divisive proposals of those who set civil rights against public health and vice versa, it argues for a two-pronged approach which, in the face of a virus which attacks human beings in their reproductive function, accepts both the rights of individuals to self-fulfilment, and also the need to protect the uninfected from infection.

The United Nations at fifty: Retrospect and prospect

Ramesh Thakur (ed) 1996, Peace Research Centre, ANU, ISBN 1 87713 303 5, 334pp., A\$34.95

The United Nations opened up new horizons in 1945. But its actions have been small, hesitant and limited. The founding dream of a world community equal in rights and united in vision has never come close to being realised. The end of the cold war and the forceful response to Iraq's aggression created expectations that the UN would change from a marginal to a central player in world affairs. These hopes were seemingly dashed in Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia. Has the United Nations abdicated its moral duty as the mortal custodian of our aspirations for a better world? Is the UN the best forum for managing the growing interdependence over the next fifty years? Or, afflicted by waste, corruption, inefficiency and the pursuit of power politics, is the UN in real danger of being marginalised once again? In this book, foreign ministers and generals, as well as ambassadors and scholars, provide sober assessments of how the United Nations can meet the challenge of a balance between the desirable and the possible. The UN's greatest strength is that it is the only universal forum for global cooperation and management. As such, it must continue to play a central role in establishing a world order which strikes a balance between social justice and political realism.

A sustainable world: Defining and measuring sustainable development

Trzyna Thaddeus (ed) 1995, Earthscan, ISBN 1 85383 267 7, 272pp., £16.95

This book addresses questions relating to sustainable development with the aim of translating ideas into practice. Leading experts present up-to-date and authoritative perspectives on defining and measuring sustainability.

Transforming development: Women, poverty and politics

Margaret Snyder 1995, Intermediate Technology Publications, ISBN 1 85339 302 9, 288pp., £16.95

The argument of this book, that women are central to development, is presented through the story of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) - and of its projects in the field. It is a story which describes the reality of development within the context of the development system itself. The author, UNIFEM's founding Director, describes UNIFEM's beginnings: the search for structure, securing independent management, and riding the political and bureaucratic waves. Part II, 'At work in the world', examines projects and activities that have been assisted worldwide, ranging from augmenting productivity at village level to analysing the impact of the global market on women, and is a rare look at the longer-term effects of projects that have 'come to an end'. These are women striving to be 'agents of change, not creatures of circumstances'.

Women and sustainable development in Africa

Valentine Udoh James (ed) 1995, Praeger, ISBN 0 275 95308 4, 224pp., A\$75.25

Sustainable development has traditionally neglected the contribution of women until recently. Government and institutions in developing countries, as well as foreign aid agencies, are just beginning to realise the important roles filled by women as farmers, entrepreneurs, food providers, educators and role models in developing countries, and are attempting to integrate women into non governmental organisation projects and voluntary organisation programmes. According to the editor and his contributors, women should not just be acknowledged, they must be included in planning, construction and implementation.

Regional integration and the Asia Pacific

Bijit Bora (ed) 1996, Oxford University Press, ISBN 0 19 553635 5, 253pp., A\$65.00

This book distinguishes between two processes of economic integration. One is the tendency for economies to be linked, naturally, by trade and investment, especially with economies nearby. The other is the increasing interest in the use of coordinated policy initiatives to promote integration. The focus of this book is on the latter process and the question whether regional integration on international economic issues can contribute to the growth of its component economies. The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the general issues such as the scope and development of reciprocal regional trade agreements (RTAs) and the conditions by which they can complement the multilateral trade system. The second part looks at four sectoral issues: foreign direct investment; financial services; international air transport; and the environment. The third section examines the Asia-Pacific's formal and informal RTAs in separate chapters.

Newsletters and journals

International Journal of Environmental Health Research

This is an international quarterly devoted to rapid publication of research in environmental health. In addition to original research papers, technical notes and review articles are included. The journal publishes articles on all aspects of the interaction of the environment with human health. This interaction can be broadly divided into three categories: the natural environment and health; the built environment and health; and communicable diseases. The journal caters for all those with interest in environmental health and its implications, including issues of legislation and policy. The readership includes those working for local and national government agencies, international and regulatory organisations, industry, development agencies, industrial consultancies, universities and research establishments.

Journal of Urban Design

This journal provides a new forum, bringing together those contributing to this re-emerging discipline and enabling researchers, scholars, practitioners and students to explore its many dimensions. The following are some of the areas of particular interest: urban structure and form; urban regeneration; environmental psychology and perception; local and regional identity; safer environments and cities; greening urban design; women and the urban environment; and practice and implementation. The journal's focus on theory, research and practice makes it valuable reading for academics, practitioners and students. Refereed articles are complemented with practice notes, conference reports and book reviews. The journal strives to enhance urban design and re-establish its place among the built environment disciplines.

Australian Geographer

This journal, founded in 1928, is Australia's oldest international geographic journal. It covers all aspects of the discipline - both human and physical. While papers concerning any aspect of geography are considered for publication, the journal focuses primarily on two areas of research: Australia and its world region, including developments, policies and issues in Australia, the western Pacific, the Indian Ocean, Asia and Antarctica; and environmental studies, particularly the biophysical environment and human interaction with it.

For more information on the 'above three journals contact:

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Tel (02) 9958 5329
Fax (02) 9958 2376
E-mail carfax@ibm.net

The Big Picture

This is a quarterly publication of the GATT watchdog, a Christchurch-based coalition formed in 1990. The publication aims to make the human and environmental impact of global economics and trade intelligible to ordinary people with news, comment and analysis of the rules and systems which keep the corporations getting richer and the rest of us poorer. The link between common causes of poverty and injustice which operate in the world in the guise of 'economic growth' and 'development' are identified and linked, and alternatives suggested.

For more information contact:
The Big Picture
GATT Watchdog
PO Box 1905
Otautahi (Christchurch)
New Zealand
Tel (64 03) 366 2803

The Bulletin

This quarterly magazine focuses on reports about the United Nations system, governments, international organisations, NGOs, media, women, youth, academic and research centres, financial institutions, industry, trade unions and professional associations. It also covers new publications, forthcoming conferences and general news on the Centre for Our Common Future.

For more information contact:
Centre for Our Common Future
52 Rue des Paquis
CH-1201 Geneva
Switzerland
Tel (41 22) 732 7117
Fax (41 22) 738 5046
E-mail commonfuture@igc.apc.org

African Agenda

This new monthly magazine aims to serve as a networking tool for NGOs, researchers and popular movements and to provide information and analysis on crucial areas.

For more information contact:
Africa South and East Publications
PO Box 94154
2198 Yeoville
South Africa
Tel (27 11) 487 1596/7
Fax (27 11) 648 0907
E-mail afagend@iaccess.za

Habitat

This is a bimonthly publication of the Australian Conservation Foundation. The magazine covers a wide range of issues on environmental concern particularly as they pertain to Australia. The April 1996 issue of *Habitat* looked at, among other issues, the environmental policy of the Coalition Government; the invertebrate biodiversity in Australia's forests; the future the Snowy River; and ecologically sustainable development in arid lands.

For more information contact:
Australian Conservation Foundation
340 Gore Street
Fitzroy, VIC 3065
Australia
Tel (03) 9416 1166
Fax (03) 9416 0767

Journal of Peace Research

This journal bridges the gap between theory and practice. It provides scholars and policy makers with theoretically sophisticated and empirically informed analyses of the most timely issues on global security agenda. The impact of thinking and evolution of peace studies has been substantial.

For more information contact:
SAGE Publications Ltd
6 Bonhill Street
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United Kingdom
Tel (44 171) 374 0645
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New Angles

The global revolution in communications poses new challenges and threats. There are more voices - but who owns them? What ground rules need to be laid to ensure press freedoms? *New Angles* is a magazine which examines the changing relationship between the media and development. Written primarily by southern journalists, it features development reporting, hard news and practical information.

For more information contact:
Panos
9 White Lion Street
London N19PD
United Kingdom
Fax (44 171) 278 0345

US-Japan Women's Journal

The purpose of this journal is to disseminate information on Japanese women to the US, to enlarge the basis of information available in Japan on feminist theory and on the status of American women as well as women in other countries, and to stimulate comparative study of women's issues.

For more information contact:
The US-Japan Women's Center
926 Bautista Court
Palo Alto, CA 94303
USA
Tel (1 415) 8857 9049
Fax (1 415) 494 8160

Horizons

This is a publication of Community Aid Abroad (CAA) and features interesting experiences and projects of CAA in developing countries. It also carries short features on Australian government-funded aid projects and information on CAA's publications.

For more information contact:
Community Aid Abroad
156 George Street
Fitzroy, VIC 3065
Australia
Tel (03) 9289 9444

Earthwise Women

This is a new quarterly newsletter which aims to form a strong network of women environmentalists across Australia. The newsletter will have articles and information covering a broad range of environmental issues and topics including: health; profiles of women environmentalist and their work; ecotourism; waste management; urban development; sustainable food production; wildlife protection; new technology; climate change; permaculture and much more.

For more information contact:
Carole Ann, Publisher
Earthwise Women
Box 414
Yankalilla, SA 5023
Australia
Tel/Fax (085) 582 950

World Health Statistics Quarterly

This periodical provides health guidance based on what can be learned when statistical data, drawn from global sources and available over time, are submitted to appropriate analysis. Each quarterly issue focuses on a particular topic.

For more information contact:
Distribution and Sales
World Health Organisation
1211 Geneva 27
Switzerland
Tel (41 22) 791 2477
Fax (41 22) 788 0401

HIV/AIDS Legal Link

This quarterly journal covers the latest developments in HIV/AIDS law and related policy around Australia and the Asia-Pacific region. It is the only publication in Australia providing a specific forum for critical discussion and dialogue on these issues. The journal regularly covers such areas as discrimination and human rights, confidentiality, public health laws, insurance and superannuation, prisons, drug laws and sex industry laws. *HIV/AIDS Legal Link* is just not for lawyers. It is read by a wide range of people with an interest in the legal, ethical and human rights dimensions of the epidemic.

For more information contact:
AFAO
PO Box H274
Australia Square
Sydney, NSW 2000
Australia
Tel (02) 231 2111
Fax (02) 231 2092

The Pacific Review

This journal provides a major platform for the study of the Pacific basin and an interdisciplinary forum for the exchange of ideas on this important region. As well as its customary analysis of international relations and security issues, the journal will now be expanding its agenda to enhance its economic analysis of the Pacific area. Articles at the interface of the economic and the political will feature in future volumes. Papers from other disciplinary areas cognate to the above will also be included - such as contemporary history, geography and sociology.

For more information contact:
Debby Shaw
Routledge Subscriptions
Cheriton House
North Way
Andover SP10 5BE
United Kingdom
Tel (44 1264) 342 713
Fax (44 1264) 342 807

NGLS Roundup

This is a newsletter of the United Nations Non Governmental Liaison Service (NGLS). It is produced for NGOs and others interested in the institutions, policies and activities of the UN system. However this is not an official record of the UN activities.

For more information contact:
Palais des Nations
CH-1211
Geneva 10
Switzerland
or
Room 6015
866 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA

MARHIA

MARHIA (Medium for the Advancement and Achievement of Reproductive Rights, Health Information and Advocacy) is the quarterly publication of the Institute for Social Studies and Action (ISSA) in the Philippines. Its contents are feminist and woman-centred, and relate to a variety of aspects concerning health.

For more information contact:
MARHIA
c/- ISSA
Quezon City, Metro Manila
Q.C. Central P.O. Box 1078
Philippines

Monographs and reports

Green globe yearbook

1995, Oxford University Press, ISBN 019 8233 256, 320pp., A\$100.00

This is an annual review and reference book of international cooperation on environment and development. It aims to demonstrate to a worldwide readership where the international community stands with regard to solving specific environmental and development problems, what the main obstacles are to effective international solutions and what must be done to overcome them. The main focus of this edition is devoted to the politics of climate change.

Education and training for refugees and displaced people

Barry Sesnan 1995, Oxfam Development Guideline No. 10, ISBN 0 85598 312 4, 256pp., £9.95

In any emergency which involves long-term displacement of large groups of people, education eventually arises as an important issue. Often the refugees themselves set up a rudimentary system of primary education and ask for support, or there is pressure from individuals for higher educations and scholarships. The support organisations usually want to help, but field workers often have no relevant expertise or budget lines. Drawing on a wide range of case studies, this book gives practical advice for dealing with such situations. But it also considers issues of policy such as access and quality. It suggests that displacement may be an opportunity as well as a crisis, notably in enabling women and girls to gain access to education.

North-South cooperation

1995, Oxfam, ISBN 085598 300 0, 94pp., £7.95

This book looks at cooperation for development: between North, South and East; women's organisations and funding agencies; development practitioners, academics and civil society; politicians and economists; and women and men. Currently the world is in economic and political crisis, of which escalating conflict is a symptom. In this book, writers from North and South stress that such crisis can be resolved only if we recognise that we are all involved in a global system which perpetuates poverty and inequality, not only in the South and East but also in the North.

Development and social diversity

Deborah Eade (ed) 1996, Oxfam, ISBN 0 85598 343 4, 109pp.

This is the first publication in a series offering selected readings from *Development in Practice*, an international journal dealing with the social aspects of development and relief work.

This volume brings together papers on the theme of difference and diversity, and its importance in development practice and theory. A failure to take social diversity into account has meant that certain groups have been systematically excluded from the benefits of development programmes, and even further disempowered by the interventions of NGOs and official agencies. The articles analyse the situations of a variety of groups - notably women, children, the old, and minority ethnic, religious or linguistic groups - and explain why their circumstances are of concern for development practitioners.

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Oxford OX2 7DZ
United Kingdom
Tel (44 1865) 313 922
Fax (44 1865) 313 925
E-mail publish@oxfam.org.uk

One earth, two worlds

Dave Dalton and John Barraclough 1995, Oxfam, ISBN 0 85598 276 4, 32pp., £3.95

Poor people in the South have every reason to protect their own environment: they depend on it more directly than the rich, and are more immediately affected by its destruction or deterioration. Yet in many places they are powerless to defend or improve it. With full-colour case studies drawing on Oxfam's experience, this book looks at environmental issues from the point of view of the poor. What are the pressures on the environment in the South? What are people doing to solve their own problems? Are we in the North part of the problem or the solution?

Development alternatives

Heather Wallace (ed) 1996, Victoria University of Technology, ISBN 1 87533855 1, 171pp., A\$10.00 (plus postage)

This monograph documents initiatives in the Pacific region which successfully employ community development strategies to address sustainable development issues. The collection draws on contemporary work in the Pacific and contains successful case studies of cooperation between government and non government organisations. The activities of the Australian Conservation Foundation, World Wide Fund for Nature, Appropriate Technology for Community and Environment Incorporated, Solomon Islands Development Trust and other international and indigenous development organisations are included.

Available from:
Faculty of Arts
Victoria University of Technology
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PO Box 14428
Melbourne, VIC 3000
Australia
Tel (03) 9365 2111
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Fighting salinity on a wool cheque: Dryland salinity in the Murray uplands

Tim Fisher 1996, Australian Conservation Foundation, ISBN 0 858 02 1250, 50pp., A\$15.00 (plus \$3.00 postage)

This report has been recently released by the Australian Conservation Foundation. It provides a land and resource conservation perspective on a range of dryland salinity issues, concentrating on the region of the undulating Murray uplands of New South Wales and Victoria.

Available from:
Australian Conservation Foundation
340 Gore Street
Fitzroy, VIC 3065
Australia
Tel (03) 9416 1166

World resources 1996-97

World Resources Institute Publication 1996, Earthscan, ISBN 0 19521 161 8, 365pp., US\$24.95

This report, published with the World Bank, the UN Development Programme and the UN Environment Programme was the official source book for the United Nations Habitat II Conference. Published in seven languages, the report points to some positive trends, but overall finds that greater environmental challenges lie ahead unless the human population changes its course. It warns that urbanisation has become one of the most critical global trends of the future and could pose a serious threat to the quality of life and the environment throughout the world.

Available from:
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Africa and Middle East food report

Richard Bowles and Tim Cooke 1996, Seymour Cooke, 440 pp., £750.00

This is the first published report to provide a complete perspective on the region's food industries. Half the report is devoted to eight economies (Egypt, Israel, Kenya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, Zimbabwe). The remaining 220 pages survey emerging industries in over 60 countries. The report contains regional overviews; economic and demographic comparisons; and key findings by products. It also contains detailed country profiles; government policies; emerging industries and markets; and leading food manufacturers and investors.

Available from:
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London N1 8AF
United Kingdom
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Trade and the environment: The search for balance; competition law and the environment

These are the latest in the *Environmental Law* series published by Cameron May. *Trade and the environment* is in two volumes and covers a range of complex legal, political and economic issues arising from the interaction of free trade and environmental policies. The first volume is a collection of essays on the subject, and the second contains all the relevant EU, NAFTA and the latest GATT materials. The monograph provides analysis of the existing attempts both at international and EC levels to link environmental protection with competition policy and suggests ways in which these links could be strengthened.

Available from:
Cameron May
69-71 Broadway
London SW8 1SQ
United Kingdom
Fax (44 171) 582 8353

Our history in our own words

Steve Passingham (ed) 1995, Pacific History Association, ISBN X12622, NZ\$35.00

This publication is designed to help students with the development of historical skills. Specifically it looks at how our understanding of the past is based on evidence that historians select and interpret, how the past can help us to shape the future in positive ways, and it encourages students and researchers to write history themselves.

Down to earth

The people most severely affected by desertification are among the world's poorest. The Convention to Combat Desertification has the potential to help them by securing their environment, increasing food security and creating new opportunities for alternative livelihoods. Public awareness and education are necessary to the successful implementation of the Convention, and this booklet is a simplified guide to understanding these processes.

Available from:
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33 Rue de Valavran
CH-1293 Bellevue
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World debt tables

World Bank 1996, ISBN 0 8213 3302 X, 567pp., US\$200.00

This is a two volume recent publication from the World Bank. According to the report, foreign direct investment in developing countries has more than tripled in the past five years and in 1995 alone, rose by 13 per cent, reaching a record of US\$90 billion to become the single largest source of development financing.

The 1992 Papua New Guinea election: Change and continuity in electoral politics

Yaw Saffu (ed) 1995, Research Monograph 23, ISBN 0 7315 12318 0, 425pp., A\$30.00 (\$4.00 postage)

The studies collected in the monograph confirm that elections in Papua New Guinea (PNG) continue to be over-subscribed, extremely keenly contested and free from government control and manipulation. They also confirm the continuity of two fundamental features: the essentially local character of PNG electoral politics and the relative unimportance of the political parties in the electoral process.

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World Bank participation sourcebook

World Bank 1996, ISBN 0 8213 3558 8, 276pp.

The sourcebook is the culmination of a five-year learning process initiated by Bank staff through the creation of a Participatory Development Learning Group established in 1991. It is a how-to guide written by more than 200 Bank task managers to highlight the importance of the participatory approach in economic and social development.

Women's rights in the UN

International Service for Human Rights 1995, 69pp., SF10 (inclusive of postage)

To better integrate women's rights into the UN's human rights programme as well as into the agenda of human rights NGOs, this manual is based on presentations and discussions on a seminar on Human Rights of Women and the UN Human Rights Programme held at the UN in 1994. It aims to provide essential information on existing UN mechanisms and procedures relating to women and to encourage better use of these mechanisms by NGOs in the field to defend women's rights.

Available from:
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10 Parliament Place
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Australia
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Fax (03) 9654 6843

COURSES

University of Queensland

The Australian Centre for International and Tropical Health and Nutrition (ACITHN)

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The MTH is open to health workers and other professionals who hold a university degree and have a minimum of two years' relevant experience. Health workers who do not possess a university degree, but who have at least five years' relevant professional experience, may qualify for entry by satisfactory performance in an entry examination. Such candidates are also required to undertake a four-week bridging course in Brisbane prior to commencing the Masters course.

Master of Community Nutrition (MCN)

This is an intense one year course which provides training in the area of community nutrition programmes, with a particular focus on issues in developing countries. Coursework includes: the analysis of food and nutrition systems, nutritional assessment, social change and development, agricultural sciences, population and community health, nutrition policy and planning, statistics and epidemiology, and qualitative methods. Four months of supervised fieldwork takes place at one of the collaborating universities, the Institute of Nutrition at Mahidol University or Khon Kaen University in Thailand, or the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Applicants are required to have a degree in health, agricultural or social sciences (or equivalent) and a minimum of two years' relevant work experience.

Postgraduate Research Degrees

Through its constituent Programs, ACITHN offers supervised field and laboratory research training leading to the degrees of Master of Medical Science (MMedSc) and Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) of The University of Queensland. Field research in a developing country is encouraged.

For information about the Tropical Health Program contact:
Postgraduate Administrative Officer
ACITHN, Medical School
Herston Road
Herston, QLD 4006
Australia
Tel (07) 365 5393
Fax (07) 365 5599
E-mail M.Okello@mailbox.uq.edu.au

For information about the Nutrition Program contact:
Head, Nutrition Program
The University of Queensland
Herston, QLD 4029
Australia
Tel (07) 365 5400
Fax (07) 257 1253

Bachelor of Applied Health Science in Indigenous Primary Health Care

The BAppHSc(IPHC) offers degree-level training in indigenous primary health care management, commencing in February of each year. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health workers are given priority in the selection process.

For more information contact:
Ms Cindy Shannon, Head
Indigenous Health Program
The University of Queensland
Herston, QLD 4029
Tel (07) 365 5529
Fax (07) 365 5550

Immunisation Program Evaluation, 2-13 September 1996

This short course is suitable for: immunisation programme managers at national, regional, provincial, state and district levels in both developed and developing countries; mid-level managers of primary health care programmes and maternal and child health programmes.

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For more information contact:
Ms Gail Cohen
Tropical Health Program
The University of Queensland
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National Centre for Development Studies

Special Courses Program, 1996

Women, Gender and Development, 29 July - 23 August

Women and development is an interdisciplinary field that began by examining the priorities and practices of development agencies, was then influenced markedly by feminist concerns with identity, knowledge, theory and practice, and now integrates feminism with issues of development management. The course reflects this three-sided concern with practice-theory-practice as it examines a variety of contexts of development, national and international, and approaches the question of women's identities and locations in development processes.

Areas covered will include: (re)thinking development; feminist debates about women and development; women and development in the colonial context; women and post-colonialism, state and bureaucracy; women in urban and rural development; women in international spaces; indigenous populations and development; as well as issues of health, reproduction and the environment.

Introduction to Management and Organisational Change, 29 July - 23 August

This course will explore the need for change by starting with normative bureaucratic models of public sector organisation and investigating them using the tools of Organisational Theory and Organisational Behaviour. It will locate the central dynamic for the achievement of organisational objectives in the work group and consider the personnel issues involved in creating jobs through which the tasks of the organisation may be achieved.

The course will provide participants with an introduction to the major concepts involved in the management of public sector organisations in situations of change. It will cover the basic issues of the nature of public sector management, organisational behaviour and personnel management, including: bureaucracy; public sector reform; organisational theory; organisational design; organisational behaviour; organisational change; work and culture; job analysis; job design; and recruitment, selection and training.

Participation, Decentralisation and Local Area Development, 2 - 27 September

Participation, decentralisation and local area development have become key words in the way rural development policy and practice is framed and implemented. This course aims to provide a critical appreciation of the historical backdrop to these terms, and to create an awareness of the potential limitations and strengths of methods and techniques as applied to: design of projects for the allocations and

planning of public resources; the distribution of responsibilities for planning and managing local area development; and the participation and empowerment of marginal communities in development practice.

For more information contact:
The Outreach Coordinator
National Centre for Development Studies
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT 0200
Australia
Tel (06) 249 4351
Fax (06) 248 8805

University of Sydney

Master of International Studies (MIntS) by Distance Education

This course, offered by the Department of Government and Public Administration, provides the opportunity for advanced focused study of comparative and international politics. Graduates of the Masters programme have found careers in a wide range of employment, including the diplomatic corps, the media, the public service and a variety of positions/traineeships in public and private sectors both internationally and within Australia. The programme offers graduates whose first degrees were not in social sciences the opportunity to gather the necessary research skills to carry out advanced work. Some students have used the MIntS to gain entry to PhD study.

The MIntS degree by distance is a coursework degree consisting of six parts. A thematic core course, Forces of Change in International Politics, and an area studies core course, normally Asian Pacific Politics, are the central components. Each core course is one semester long. In addition to these, students will be required to satisfactorily complete three other coursework options and a 10,000 word research essay, which builds on work undertaken in one of the chosen courses.

Course options in 1996 are: Development Management in Asia, Introduction to International Political Economy, Islam and the Modern World Order, and The Rise and Fall of the Cold War. Courses proposed from 1997 onwards include: International Security, Middle Eastern Politics, Politics of the Americas, Superpowers, and Women and War.

For more information contact:
Distance Education Unit (MIntS)
Department of Government and Public Administration
Merewether Building, H04
University of Sydney
Sydney, NSW 2006
Australia
Tel (02) 351 6591
Fax (02) 351 3624
E-mail govtdept@sue.econ.su.oz.au
Homepage <http://www.econ.su.oz.au>

University of Western Australia

Understanding, Researching and Managing HIV/AIDS: National and International Perspectives, 15 July - 3 November 1996

This three month intensive short course is being offered by the University of Western Australia's Faculty of Medicine and Dentistry. The programme objectives are:

- to provide an understanding of the history of the global AIDS epidemic;
- to provide a detailed understanding of the epidemic in the Southeast Asian, South Asian and Australian regions;
- to provide a basic understanding of the biology of the epidemic including both biomedical, and central social and cultural aspects;
- to examine the methods and efficacy of the various strategies available for the prevention and control of the epidemic; and
- to provide a detailed understanding of AIDS prevention and control as practised in Western Australia.

The programme will last for 15 weeks and consists of four formal courses which run concurrently: HIV/AIDS, Research Methods, Qualitative Research and Practical Epidemiology.

Course 1: HIV/AIDS - National and International Perspectives. This course consists of seminars, tutorials and a number of field visits to relevant services of the AIDS Program in Western Australia. The core course will provide a detailed understanding of the biomedical, cultural and social aspects of the AIDS epidemic, as well as assisting in developing the students' own research proposal. During the field visits, students will gain experience in key issues of health education and prevention, counselling and support to AIDS patients and relatives.

Course 2: Research Methods. This course consists of seminars and tutorials and provides a detailed framework for the preparation of a research proposal, beginning with the formation of researchable questions and moving to the necessary information on research methodology and analysis. In collaboration with Course 3, this will enable the student to develop a quality research project suitable for submission for funding through external sources, and to be undertaken on the students' return to their home countries.

Course 3: Qualitative Research. This is a course of seminars and tutorials together with a practical field exercise, and provides the basic understanding of the newer applied qualitative research methodologies. Students will learn how such methodologies can be used to examine key issues of behaviour and attitude as well as institutional evaluation.

Course 4: Practical Computing, Epidemiology and Biostatistics. For those students without basic training in computing, biostatistics and epidemiology, this course will cover the core numerical disciplines.

For more information contact:
The Director
Community Health Research and Training Unit
Department of General Practice
Faculty of Medicine and Dentistry
University of Western Australia
A Block, Fremantle Hospital
South Terrace
Fremantle, WA 6160
Australia
Tel (09) 430 7155
Fax (09) 335 6123

Northern Territory University

Master of Development Management

This distinctive one year (full-time) Masters programme is designed to contribute to the development process by providing opportunities for senior managers of organisations in developing countries to enhance their professional competencies. The course also attracts individuals who work in the development field (for example, in donor agencies or NGOs). Participants undertake courses in Perspectives on Development, Strategic Management, International Human Resource Management, Comparative Management and Industrial Relations, Ethics and Conservation, Programme Evaluation, Managing Intercultural Communication and Negotiation, Cross-cultural Management, Team Building and Research Methods.

The course is offered by the Centre for Development, Northern Territory University. The Centre is located within the University's Faculty of Business, and is able to draw on the Faculty's comprehensive range of activities. Its mission is to be a Centre of national and international significance, providing a focal point for consultancy and associated research activities concerned with the management and functioning of organisations in development contexts; issues relating to the transfer of Western management 'technology' to organisations in such contexts; and intercultural communication and management.

For more information contact:
Dr Merrick L Jones, Director
Centre for Development Management
Northern Territory University
Darwin, NT 0909
Australia
Tel (089) 46 7141
Fax (089) 46 6513
E-mail mjones@ntu.edu.au

RESOURCES

Organisation Profiles

Asia-Pacific Resource and Research Centre for Women

The Asia-Pacific Resource and Research Centre for Women (ARROW), an umbrella group of women's groups and NGOs in the region, is working on a research study to assess the effectiveness of action to change population policies one year after the ICPD. The study will include Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, India and Bangladesh and will examine donor activity and government and NGO action.

For more information contact:
Rashidah Abdullah
ARROW
2nd Floor, Block F
Anjung FELDA
Jalan Maktab
54000 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia
Tel (603) 292 9913
Fax (603) 292 9958
E-mail women@arrow.po.my

Women's Information and Research Centre

The Women's Information and Research Centre (WIRC) was set up in July 1995 in Mongolia as an independent, non government organisation. WIRC's mission is to collect, process and disseminate information about women's issues to help identify the needs of Mongolian women. It contributes to the improvement of legislation and public policies affecting women, enhances the effectiveness of women's service and advocacy groups working to achieve women's political and economic empowerment, and raises public awareness of gender-related issues and the need to address them.

The WIRC engages in research, information dissemination and training. It also organises seminars and workshops on women's status and gender-related issues. In collaboration with educational institutions and research organisations, WIRC also initiates women's studies programmes including the development of educational materials. The information collected and analysed by WIRC is disseminated through aerial broadcasting on radio and television and the Centre's own magazine and bulletin.

For more information contact:
Women's Information and Research Centre
PO Box 438
Ulaanbaatar 49
Mongolia
Tel (976) 369762

Healthlink

Healthlink is a pilot project to evaluate an e-mail communication system and its impact on the management of health services in South Africa. The project is being coordinated by the Health Systems Trust and its main objectives are to: introduce health workers to information technology; establish a basic e-mail communication system for health services; improve management of health services; provide isolated health workers with access to information resources; and to contribute to the planning of a national health information and communication system.

Three of the most disadvantaged provinces have been selected for the pilot phase, namely the Northern Province, Eastern Cape and the Free State. In each of the pilot provinces, representatives from the Provincial Health Department, health sector NGOs and academic institutions formed a planning group which identified the points to be linked up in each province and how Healthlink would be used in the management of the provincial health service. The proposals have been developed to: promote equity in health care; be supportive of the provincial administration's plans for the restructuring of health services; and promote local development.

The proposals developed provide for the linking up of about 10 to 50 points in each of the three regions. The majority of these points are in rural or peri-urban areas. The points have been selected primarily to examine the use of the communication system in the management of district level services. In the Eastern Cape, the 20 clinics in the Umtata district and the 18 clinics in the Mdantsane district will be connected as well as the hospitals in the former Ciskei. The Northern Province proposal has a broader coverage of the province. In each of the six new health districts, the district hospital and the four or five clinics will be connected. The Free State will focus on health facilities in the Thaba Nchu and Botshabelo areas.

Computers and modems will be provided at most points selected. Once the technology is installed and running, the emphasis will be on the utilisation of the system in the management of district health services. Other priorities will be the distribution of appropriate newsletters and enabling the users to access information and database resources.

For more information contact:
Healthlink
Health Systems Trust
504 General Building
CNR Smith and Field Streets
4001 Durban
South Africa
Tel (27 31) 307 2954
Fax (27 31) 304 0775
E-mail HST@WN.APC.ORG

Centre for Gender Studies

The Centre for Gender Studies was established in November 1990 and brings together teaching and research expertise of women across disciplines and faculties to investigate issues and disseminate information on matters where gender is of central concern. In particular it highlights gender as a category of social analysis in a broad range of disciplines. The Centre aims to create a forum for research initiatives and consultancy work across a wide range of social, cultural, political and economic issues, focusing specifically on gender and its implications.

Research projects and consultancies include: gender, power and trade unions; women, higher education and demographic change; women and workplace change; the future of work, and the impact of new information technology; economic policy; gender and adult literacy; language and social relations; the construction of femininity in the 1950s; gender and the curriculum in tertiary education; Australian woman war artists; the impact of gender on rehabilitation; and primary school teachers and change.

For more information contact:
Dr Penelope Griffin
Centre for Gender Studies
University of South Australia
Magill Campus
St Bernards Road
Magill, SA 5072
Australia
Tel (08) 302 4629
Fax (08) 302 4393

The Natural Hazards Research Centre

The Natural Hazards Research Centre (NHRC) is based at Macquarie University, Sydney. Its aim is to foster relations with a variety of groups and communities in order to provide relevant, quality research.

Research at the NHRC focuses on a few core areas which provide an understanding of the consequences and risks associated with natural hazards and enables the creation of risk assessment models. These models will eventually be integrated to provide comprehensive natural hazards risk assessment. Information is collected through newspaper records and other sources, and comprises a major database.

For more information contact:
The Natural Hazards Research Centre
School of Earth Sciences
Macquarie University
Sydney, NSW 2109
Australia
Tel (02) 850 9683
Fax (02) 850 9394
E-mail NHRC@ocs1.ocs.mq.edu.au

Rural Development Commission

The Rural Development Commission (RDC), established in 1909, advises government on rural matters and promotes economic and social development in rural England. The major aims of the RDC are to raise awareness of population changes and transportation difficulties in rural areas, advise government of the extent of these problems, and suggest ways in which they might be remedied. RDC Business Advisers, for example, help businesses to develop in ways that are appropriate for the business and the rural area in which they operate. Grants exist to help convert redundant buildings into workplaces, and to help firms improve their marketing. RDC Rural Development Officers work with the local authority as well as other public, private and voluntary sector partners to meet local strategic needs for rural employment, training, social and retail facilities, transport and affordable housing.

For more information contact:
Rural Development Commission
Information Section
141 Castle Street
Salisbury
Wiltshire SP1 3TP
United Kingdom
Tel (44 722) 332769
Fax (44 722) 336255

The Research Policy Institute

The Research Policy Institute (RPI) began as a 'Research Policy Program' in 1966, established with the help of a grant from the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Fund. The aim of this programme was to build up long-term research, educational and library facilities at the University of Lund, to study science and technology policy and the interaction between science and society. This programme grew into a multidisciplinary research institute, which was formally established in 1979 and placed directly under the Rector (Vice Chancellor) of the University. Due to the competence accumulated at RPI, its researchers have increasingly come to serve as consultants and advisers to both national and international bodies. In 1986, the institute initiated a masters programme in science and technology policy for students from both industrialised and developing countries. In the reorganisation that took place in July 1989, the RPI became a department of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Lund.

For more information contact:
Research Policy Institute
Box 2017
S-220 02 Lund
Sweden
Tel (46 46) 222 76 16
Fax (46 46) 14 69 86
E-mail @fpi.lu.se
Homepage <http://www ldc.lu.se/~fpi>

Community Aid Abroad

Community Aid Abroad (CAA) is a democratically-run, independent community-based Australian organisation. CAA promotes social justice and the alleviation of poverty through the funding of development projects both overseas and in Aboriginal Australia, and through campaigning, education and advocacy work. The central aim of CAA is to work in partnership with people to build a fairer, environmentally sustainable world.

CAA funds community-based, self-help programmes in over 30 countries in Africa, Asia, Central America and the Pacific, as well as in Australian Aboriginal communities. It is an *independent* part of the Oxfam International Network (the original Oxfam, with its headquarters in Oxford, UK). CAA challenges the causes of poverty through highlighting the groups of people most likely to miss out on conventional development policies - women and landless people for example - and carefully select aid projects that will focus benefits on these groups within villages. CAA also works in partnership with the very poorest communities on the issues that they believe are the most important. This means that projects are extremely cost-effective and create the most durable change. Unlike many agencies CAA does not have to pass funds through any international headquarters or through local governments.

CAA publishes *HoriZons* which is issued free to donors and supporters. In addition, CAA publishes the *CAA Campaigner*, *Issues in Development* and regular *Background Reports*.

The newly formed Gender, Culture and Development Action Group (previously the Women in Development Group) organises seminars, discussion nights and various public activities with the aim of raising awareness about the complex interrelationships between gender, culture and development.

For more information contact:
Community Aid Abroad
GPO Box 1323
Canberra, ACT 2601
Australia
Tel (06) 257 4472
Fax (06) 248 9248

The Centre for Migration and Development Studies (CMDS)

CMDS is an advanced research centre located within the Department of Economics at The University of Western Australia. The Centre's research interest revolves around theoretical aspects of the migration-development process, the impact of permanent migration on Australia's socioeconomic development, and the impact of migration in

general on processes of socioeconomic change in developing countries. It also conducts applied research on various developing regions. Its current focus is on South Africa, Indian Ocean island states, South Asia and the Middle East with special reference to intraregional migration; economic development and change; the role and effectiveness of economic aid; sustainable growth and the environment; economic liberalisation and trade reforms; and tourism in relation to economic and social change. It has already achieved national recognition in both government and academic circles in Australia.

Academic and research staff associated with CMDS have extensively published in refereed journals and authored numerous books dealing with various developmental issues. The Centre is very active in organising seminars and conferences on contemporary topical problems. In the past it has been successful in attracting research grants from both national and international organisations such as AusAID, the National Centre for Development Studies and UNESCO.

The Centre's principal researchers are: Dr MAB Siddique (Director), Emeritus Professor RT Appleyard, Dr R Gabbay, Dr RN Ghosh and Dr IH van den Driesen. The researchers of the Centre are often invited to present papers at national and international conferences.

The Centre is always ready to consider quality research papers relating to migration and development for publication.

For more information contact:
Dr MAB. Siddique, Director
Centre for Migration and Development Studies
Department of Economics
The University of Western Australia
Nedlands, WA 6009
Australia
Tel (09) 380 2941/2918

Materials

Community Aid Abroad senior student resource packs

Community Aid Abroad has put together three sets of student resource packs on the following topics: Development and Trade, Development and Environment and Foreign Aid. The packs are designed as a resource for senior secondary students and teachers, and include a collection of papers and articles that explore various development issues. Material contained within the packs should be used in conjunction with formal course texts as a complementary source of information and opinion. The aims of each pack are to prompt students to: examine approaches to community development; investigate trade, environment and foreign aid issues and their links to development; analyse and interpret information presented in briefing papers and articles; and to present coherent arguments when addressing activities. Project sheets and maps provide tasks, discussion points and activities for students to address.

Resource packs are available for A\$25 from:
Community Aid Abroad
156 George Street
Fitzroy, VIC 3065
Australia
Tel (03) 9289 9444
Fax (03) 9419 5895
Homepage <http://www.caa.org.au/caa.html>

IDNDR natural hazards research directory for the Australian-South Pacific region

The Natural Hazards Research Centre in conjunction with the Australian IDNDR Coordination Committee is producing a new register of natural hazards-related research in the Australian-South Pacific region. 'Natural hazards' have been interpreted broadly to include natural and technological disasters, but not including the more environmental hazards such as global warming, land degradation, salination, etc., unless such research has a strong focus on extreme events. If you are undertaking research in this area but have not yet completed a questionnaire, or would like more information, please contact:

Belinda Chambers
Natural Hazards Research Centre
School of Earth Sciences
Macquarie University
Sydney, NSW 2109
Australia
Tel (02) 850 9683
Fax (02) 850 9394
E-mail bchamber@ocs1.ocs.mz.edu.au

'About the United Nations' series

This video series is a series of seven individual programmes, each consisting of a short documentary video (15-20 minutes) and accompanying teaching guide. The programmes introduce young people to the wide reach of the United Nations' work. Through stories, interviews and case studies, the series teaches students how seemingly remote issues affect their own lives. It also provides an interactive educational experience that opens young minds to the possibilities of change - their own and that of the world around them. Some of the videos included in the package are as follows.

Peace-Keeping: This video captures the drama of the United Nations' role in promoting peace. Students assess the value of the international body's presence in local disputes, and learn about those who sacrifice their own safety to keep the peace. From training to action in the field, students view the complex and dangerous missions these unarmed soldiers perform. They will develop a better understanding of both the causes of armed conflict, and the peaceful steps being taken to resolve them.

E.91.I.27, 92-1-100419-5, US\$14.95 (book and video)

Human Rights: This video focuses on the plight of abused children throughout the world, and the United Nations' effort to create universal standards of fairness and decency through the Convention of the Rights of the Child. Students will appreciate the vulnerability of the young by witnessing abusive labour practices, military conscription and homelessness. They will learn to define and promote the rights of the individual, both in their own community and the world-at-large.

E.91.I.40, 92-1-100460-8, US\$14.95 (book and video)

Africa Recovery: This video examines the struggle for progress and equality among peoples who have long suffered the indignities of poverty and oppression. The cycles of drought, famine and political instability make this struggle more urgent than ever. Students learn how deep-rooted and complex the many problems of Africa are, and how the vast resources of the continent are being brought to bear on them through local action and international cooperation.

E.91.I.33, 92-1-100476-4, US\$14.95 (book and video)

Other videos include: Palestine, Environment and Development, Literacy, Decolonisation and Teaching About Peace-Keeping and Peace-Making.

For more information contact:
United Nations Information Centre
GPO Box 4045
Sydney, NSW 2001
Australia
Tel (02) 283 1144
Fax (02) 283 1319

Directory of research and training institutions and organisations on economic and social development planning in Asia and the Pacific, 1995

This Directory contains information on 809 departments, institutions and organisations in 30 countries in the Asia-Pacific region engaged in a very wide range of research and training activities which have a bearing on the process and problems of economic and social development planning. The areas covered include: agriculture, development policy, economic conditions, economic research and systems, energy and environmental policy, external debt, international cooperation and relations, industry and trade, management, population, public administration, regional development, rural development societies, social policy and planning, social services, structural adjustments and women in development.

The primary aim of the Directory is to enable users to locate institutions and organisations in the field of economic and social development and planning and thereby facilitate networking. The information in the Directory had been collected through a questionnaire survey in mid-1993 from the institutions and organisations in the region.

Available for US\$16 from:
Secretariat
Association of Development Research and Training
Institutes of Asia and the Pacific
c/- Asian and Pacific Development Centre
Persiaran Duta
PO Box 12224
50770 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia
Tel (603) 254 8088
Fax (603) 253 5389
E-mail ADIPA@ADIPA.PO.MY

HealthROM

HealthROM is an Australian CD-ROM reference source of publications and citations. It covers public and environmental health and includes: over 60,000 citations from major international journals; over 100 full text publications from the participating organisations; full texts of Australian journals and policy research publications from the Department of Human Services and Health; over 500 figures and maps; and features the Australian Health Legislation Database with over 20 Australian Commonwealth Acts in full text.

Available from:
The Alcohol and Other Drugs Council of Australia
PO Box 269
Woden, ACT 2606
Australia
Fax (06) 281 0995

Get ready, get set, go: Making the United Nations user-friendly for NGOs

This video gives an introduction to the UN system and its conference processes by following four women from developing countries as they work their way through the UN system, learning how to educate and lobby government delegates about their cause, network with other NGOs and deal with the media. The video is accompanied by a 24 page booklet on the UN.

Available in VHS/NTSC or VHS/PAL from:
The Friedrich Ebert Foundation
950 Third Avenue
28th Floor
New York, NY 10022
USA
Fax (1 212) 754 4951
E-mail miriam@fesny.undp.org

Micro-credit hotline

The World Bank has established a special telephone hotline to meet the demand for information about the Bank's micro-credit initiative, the Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest (CGAP). To request further information about CGAP, please contact:

CGAP
Tel (1 202) 473 9594
Fax (1 202) 522 3944
E-mail CProject@worldbank.org

The gender analysis and forestry training package

Gender analysis is a practical tool for examining activities, problems, knowledge and access to natural resources of both women and men, where they differ, and where they compliment each other. Using the individual as a unit of analysis, rather than the household, it achieves a level of precision that makes a critical difference to development planners. This package is designed to show how gender analysis can be used in forestry work and training. It is designed for forestry personnel and includes training development materials.

Available from:
Community Forestry
Forestry Policy and Planning Division, FAO
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
1-00100 Rome
Italy
Fax (39 6) 5255 5514

The water war: A film by Licinio Azevedo recording life in the dry interior of Southern Mozambique

The war in Mozambique may be over but the struggle continues (or as they say in Mozambique, '*A luta continua!*'). Reconstruction and development of the country will be slow given the degree of the destruction wrought by the war and the precarious state of the Mozambican economy. Throughout Mozambique, water resources, hospitals, health posts, schools and roads are in need of rehabilitation.

The water war is a real life story of a Matswa community in Chicomo Locality, Inhambane Province, in the south of Mozambique. During the war, most of the population fled the area when the interior part of the locality became a Renamo base. With the end of the war, people have returned to their land despite the fact that the majority of the boreholes had been destroyed in the conflict. Chicomo Locality does not have permanent surface water and so when the wet season ends and the ponds dry up, the community is dependent on borewater and water stored in in-ground cement tanks and *imbondeiros* (baobab trees that have been hollowed out by specially trained people in the community to make a water tank in the tree without killing it). When the manual borehole pumps break down, tremendous hardship ensues until the pumps are repaired.

The film documents the lives of a small group of people (men, women and children) within the community and demonstrates the impact that inadequate water resources have on their lives.

The film was made in 1995 by EBANO Multimedia, a Mozambican film company. *The water war* was recorded in the local language, *Xitswa*, and the video carries English subtitles. A Portuguese version is also available. The video runs for 70 minutes.

The water war would be of interest to students of African studies, geography, environmental science, anthropology and development studies. Copies of the video (VHS) can be obtained from EBANO and your support would greatly assist a keen and professional group of film-makers who continue to do quality work in Mozambique despite the difficulties associated with such undertakings.

Available from:
EBANO Multimedia, Lda
Rua Pereira Marinho, 80
Maputo
Mozambique
Tel (258 1) 493084
Fax (258 1) 493082
E-mail LICINIO@ebano.uem.mz

Information taken from a review by Robyn Alders, National Veterinary Research Institute, Maputo, Mozambique

Electronic forum

Indian Ocean Rim region: A prototype virtual library

This project is a cooperative venture which focuses on social development in the Indian Ocean Rim. One priority of the project is to establish on the World Wide Web a library of 'hard to get' materials from countries within the region, such as discussion papers, monographs, unpublished research, newsletters, press releases and government and NGO publications. Another priority is to create a database of relevant research in the region (academic, governmental, NGO and PhD and Masters level research).

The project aims to: connect researchers and developmental organisations from the region, especially those projects and data which are not highly visible; provide an accessible electronic library related to social development in the Indian Ocean Rim; contribute to the network for the dissemination of information and to foster and support the exchange of information; provide a virtual library model for other libraries; and to provide access to data for those researchers and students in the region who are isolated or lack the ability to access up-to-date research.

For more information contact:
Susan Lutley
Edith Cowan University Library
Pearson Street
Churchlands, WA 6018
Australia
Tel (09) 273 8704
Fax (09) 273 8018
E-mail S.Lutley@cowan.edu.au

Internet forum on food security

This forum discusses poverty, food habits, food availability, health and nutrition, the environment and natural resources, market management, education, trade, macroeconomic policies and much more. Also of interest is the upcoming World Food Summit and the 50th Anniversary Symposium of the FAO.

The website is available in English, French and Spanish and can be found at:

<http://fao50.fsaa.ulaval.ca/>

For more information contact:
Jean-Charles Le Vallee
Site Editor, Internet Forum on Food Security
Laval University, Quebec
Canada
E-mail aaa183@agora.ulaval.ca

Reproductive Health List: REPRO-HLTH-L

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

To subscribe, send a message to: listproc@info.usaid.gov

In the message type: `subscribe repro-hlth-l <your name>`

World Bank publications online

A catalogue of World Bank publications is now available on the Internet. It allows for easier access to details - including abstracts - on the Bank's information products and services. The catalogue can be accessed with the Mosaic Internet browser at the following address:

<http://www.worldbank.org/>

British Medical Journal

One of the world's most influential weekly medical journals, the British Medical Journal (BMJ) now publishes selected articles in full text on the Web. The reputation for the BMJ rests first with its scientific articles. The 12 per cent published from the 4,000 submitted are selected after rigorous peer review, which includes statistical checking. But the BMJ is much more than a vehicle for reporting new scientific information. Each week it contains authoritative editorials on clinical, scientific, political and social topics. Regular review articles provide in-depth analysis of recent clinical developments. An informative and well illustrated Education and Debate section carries commissioned series on medical and related topics, educational articles (including the famous ABC series), discussion of medical ethics and cautionary Lessons of the Week. A strong correspondence section ensures that readers can debate, amplify and question topics raised in recent issues. To browse the BMJ, search for:

<http://www.bmj.com/bmj/index.html>

Tuberculosis and the private sector: WHO strategy formulation workshop

The Global Tuberculosis Programme (GTP/WHO) recognises that an adequate strategy to deal with the private sector is a necessary part of TB control. As part of ongoing efforts to refine GTP's strategies in this sphere, a global workshop is proposed to be held later in 1996 (tentatively the 19th and 20th August). Participation is by invitation. Those interested in coming to this workshop are advised to join and participate actively in the e-mail discussion group on this subject.

To subscribe, send an e-mail message to:
majordomo@who.ch

In the message type: subscribe TB-PRIV-L

SEA-AIDS: UNAIDS South East Asia HIV/AIDS Project, Bangkok

SEA-AIDS is an electronic mail discussion and information service aimed at connecting the people building and shaping the response to HIV and AIDS in the South East Asia region. It aims to bring together: people living with HIV or AIDS; those working in government ministries, non governmental and community-based organisations, and other national and international organisations; representatives of the business sector; and academic researchers.

You may subscribe to the following services:

SEA-AIDSLink: A simple and direct way to share experiences and information using an electronic mail network. Just send your electronic mail messages to the SEA-AIDS computer and they will be distributed to all colleagues throughout the region who have also joined the group.

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Leprosy

Leprosy is an experimental discussion list for scientists, programme managers, agencies and individuals involved and interested in the elimination of leprosy as a public health problem. The list was set up by the Action Programme for the Elimination of Leprosy (LEP), World Health Organisation, Geneva. The objective is to keep the scientific community, national programme managers and all interested parties informed about the developments and progress towards leprosy elimination. In addition, subscribers raise questions, suggest topics for discussion and assist in providing answers to specific queries received from individuals within or outside the discussion list.

To subscribe, send a message to: majordomo@who.ch

In the message type: subscribe leprosy

The administrator of the discussion list can be contacted at:
owner-leprosy@who.ch

Currently, the list is not moderated. This list is coordinated by Dr V Pannikar, LEP/WHO, Geneva (Fax: 41 22 791 4850; E-mail: pannikarv@who.ch). For more details on the Action Programme for the Elimination of Leprosy, visit the Web page at:

http://www.who.ch/programmes/lep/lep_homepage

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Style

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

Notes

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

Reference list

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

- Flynn, P., 'Brazil and inflation: A threat to democracy', *Third World Quarterly*, 11(3), pp.50-70.
Hamilton, C. 1986a, *Capitalist industrialisation in Korea*, Westview Press, Boulder.
Hill, H.M. 1986, 'The Jackson Committee and women' in Eldridge, P., Forbes, D., and Porter, D. (eds), *Australian overseas aid: Future directions*, Croom Helm, Sydney.

Publication/resource listings

An important task of the Network is to keep members up-to-date with the latest literature and other resources dealing with development-related topics. To make it as easy as possible for readers to obtain the publications listed, please include price information (including postage) and the source from which materials can be obtained.

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