



Does Inequality Matter?

Exploring the links between poverty and inequality

Prashan Thalayasingam and Kannan Arunasalam

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Edited by
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Preface

This volume contains the papers presented at the 7th Annual Symposium on Poverty Research in Sri Lanka which was held from 6th to 7th December 2006 at the JAIC Hilton in Colombo. The Symposium was organised for the Seventh consecutive year by the Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA) and was sponsored by the German Development Cooperation (GTZ), the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and International Alert (IA). More than 100 participants, including researchers, practitioners, government officials and other stakeholders, attended the Symposium.

The main language of the Poverty Research Symposium was English, but presentations were translated simultaneously into Sinhala and Tamil. The publication of the proceedings includes a translation in Sinhala and Tamil of the introductory chapter as well as the abstracts of the different papers. We hope that this will encourage wider readership of this volume.

On behalf of CEPA, I would like to thank everyone who contributed to the Symposium and this publication, but in particular to the authors who put in a lot of work to incorporate numerous comments from the editorial and review panels and to the staff who put together the publication. Special thanks are due to Gayathri Lokuge, Mohammed Munas and Jenny Kandasamy for their assistance throughout the publication process. We gratefully acknowledge the contribution made by the sponsors, GTZ, IDRC and IA whose support enabled us to stimulate an interesting debate among a very diverse group of people.

Priyanthi Fernando
Executive Director, Centre for Poverty Analysis
Colombo, November 2007

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Poverty Symposium 2006 - Poverty and Inequality

Introduction

In her opening remarks, the Executive Director introduced the theme of CEPA's 7th Annual Symposium on Poverty Research, *Does Inequality matter?* It emerged after discussions within CEPA and with others in the sector, out of a growing recognition, that in the current poverty discourse there is a greater emphasis on absolute levels of poverty, whereas issues of inequality and relative poverty seem to be falling off the agenda. This year's symposium sought to put it back on the agenda.

The presenters and panellists gave us the opportunity to examine inequality from a number of perspectives: from the perspective of social exclusion, access to new technologies, conflict and trade. Two panels looked at how inequality is addressed in practical terms: by a selection of institutions that seek to address it in their work and how it is tackled in the policy sphere.

This introduction pulls together the main points of discussion from each of the presentations. It includes a synopsis of the contributions made by panelists and some of the issues that emerged from the plenary during discussions.

The issue of inequality and its relationship with poverty is complex. Many of the presenters and panelists highlighted this complexity and described different aspects of it in their contributions. Whilst it is difficult to draw substantive links between these diverse areas of focus and manifestations of inequality, it is possible to draw out the underlying normative bases of many of these presentations. They were based on the idea that the inequalities that were made evident by these varied pieces of work were negative. This notion of inequality as negative and as something that needed to be addressed ran through each of the contributions to this symposium.

The introduction follows the sequence of presentations and discussions that took place during the symposium. It attempts to capture the challenges that the presentations posed to our understanding of poverty and inequality and the discussion that arose from those challenges. The remainder of this publication includes the papers that were presented, some of which appear in full.

Key Note addresses

Dr Nimal Sanderatne- Chairman, Centre for Poverty Analysis

Dr Sanderatne, introduced inequality as a difficult and multi-dimensional area of social inquiry. He spoke of the subjective and objective aspects of inequality. Economists use measures such as the Lorenz curve and the Gini coefficient to speak of inequality as an objective concept. Perceptions are used to provide a more subjective view of inequality. The Presentation highlighted the subjective–objective duality and questioned the use value of subjective data in understanding inequality.

Sunil Bastian- Board member, Centre for Poverty Analysis

Sunil Bastian introduced an approach to understanding inequality based on the political economy discourse. Referring to the main theme of the symposium (“Does Inequality matter?”) he said that inequality does matter and that many of the changes taking place in the world could not be understood without taking inequality into consideration. A main focus of the presentation was how inequality was studied. He disputed the subjective-objective duality of inequality introduced by the first speaker and said that he believed that perceptions (of inequality) were facts and were as valid and useful for studying inequality as more ‘objective’ measures.

Both inequality and poverty must be understood as social relationships. The presentation also referred to politics and power and the historical dimensions of inequality. In Sri Lanka these dimensions have created conflict. The example of the English educated, upper caste, Colombo-based elite that took over the government after independence, created deep divisions within the country. In 1956 different groups joined this elite group demanding change and an end to inequality. Successive changes in the political environment in Sri Lanka were closely linked to inequality. Regional inequality and inequality between groups are linked with the historical roots of the conflict in Sri Lanka.

Poverty and Inequality

The first session of the symposium featured three presentations that explored the central theme of poverty and inequality.

‘Challenges of Regional Poverty and Inequity: Public Priority Action on Infrastructure Services’

Palitha Ekanayake, Rural Economy Development Consultant & Nimal Attanayake, Head, Department of Economics, University of Colombo

This study evaluates the impact of pro-poor growth-led rural infrastructure services, meeting the challenge of reducing regional-poverty and income distributional inequality, using a sample of 100 households representing 13 districts. The study concluded that providing infrastructure is superior to providing income support assistance because it enhances opportunities for everybody to become economically active irrespective of their level of operation. The evidence suggested that the regional income inequality could be minimised by providing opportunities and creating a level playing field through the provision of infrastructure.

‘Teleuse on a Shoestring 2: Poverty reduction through telecom access at the ‘Bottom of the Pyramid’

Harsha de Silva, Lead Economist & Ayesha Zainudeen, Researcher - LIRNEasia

Harsha de Silva presented findings of a multi-country study on access to telecommunications infrastructure and the use of telecommunications services among the poor. The study results were examined to test the hypothesis that inequality in access to telecommunications infrastructure contributed to poverty. The study revealed that while people at the “bottom of the pyramid” in Sri Lanka have access to phones, they are used sparingly and that users have to pay a high cost in comparison to other countries in the region. He said that the challenge was to deal with regulatory policy to improve access to communications and make access more meaningful.

'Ethnicity and Wage Inequality or Are There Disparities in Wages by Ethnicity in Sri Lanka, and Why'

Dilini Gunewardena, Senior Lecturer, University of Peradeniya

Dilini Gunewardena presented the results of an analysis of the wage gap based on gender and ethnicity. Recent analysis of gender wage inequalities in Sri Lanka using recent labour force data indicate that gender discrimination accounts for most of the wage gap and that there is evidence that wage gaps are larger at the bottom of the distribution (consistent with 'sticky floors'), and in some cases, at the top of the distribution (consistent with 'glass ceilings').

Using a sample of male non-agricultural public and private sector employees from the 1996, 1997 and 2003 and 2004 samples, the analysis also examines if there are differences by ethnicity in wages across the distribution, and if these differences are due to differences in productivity related characteristics like human capital. The research also examines if these wage gaps are different at different points in the distribution. Specifically, it addresses the questions of whether wages of ethnic minorities at the bottom of the distribution are subject to sticky floors, and whether wages of these same groups are subject to glass ceilings. The analysis is based on counterfactuals that address the question, how much and in whose favour the wage gap would be. The presentation was based on preliminary results of an ongoing analysis.

Conflict and Disasters

'Lies, damn lies, and statistics: why researchers should be concerned when striving to uncover the "truth" '

*Prashan Thalayasingam, Coordinator, Poverty and Conflict Programme,
CEPA*

The second session, on disasters and inequality, began with a presentation on data use and subjectivity. The presentation by the Poverty and Conflict programme was based on how researchers use statistical data to drive political agendas and make political statements. The study used writings on three main issues linked to the origins of the Sri Lankan conflict - official language, university admissions, and employment in the public

sector, to reveal how different authors manipulated statistical data sets to substantiate allegations of bias against different ethnic groups. The paper explores the contentious issues surrounding the origins of the Sri Lankan conflict that continue to be debated and contested, and reveal how different authors seek to keep these issues alive and unresolved.

‘Do Disasters Increase Inequality?’

Bhavani Fonseka, Senior Researcher, Centre for Policy Alternatives

This was followed by a presentation on the theme ‘do disasters increase inequality?’. The presentation focused on post-tsunami assistance to reveal how discrimination in aid allocation, the lack of coordination between aid agencies, and the lack of longer-term development vision, contributed to rising inequality. The issue of how assistance provided to tsunami affected people, that ignored the needs of conflict affected people, and other people with low socio economic status in the areas, created discrimination and fuelled conflict, also emerged from the presentation.

Panel Discussion- Poverty and Inequality- Practitioner perspectives

The final session of the first day was a panel discussion which brought together three practitioners to find out how their particular projects dealt with the issue of inequality.

MAS Holdings – Sanjana Kuruppu, Manager, Gap Go Beyond

The representative from MAS holdings spoke about the particular view of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and the way their projects addressed the issue of inequality. CSR projects were carried out linked with the manufacturing centres of MAS. They supported women’s empowerment, skills development and youth skills development projects. These projects are not always created with a long term development view. The focus is on rolling out the project as fast and as efficiently as possible. While having the advantage of implementing in a short time frame there was little reflection on the impact these projects were having on the community. It was felt that working more closely with the state at the decentralised level was necessary to ensure that projects were aligned with government priorities

in the area. Closer links with the development sector would help initiatives acquire skills in project planning, implementation and monitoring.

Practical Action - Vishaka Hidellage, Country Director, South Asia Programme

The presentation by the head of Practical Action raised issues about the complexity of inequality. The presenter spoke of how high levels of inequality were not necessarily linked to high levels of poverty. High levels of inequality are visible in countries such as the United States which have low levels of poverty in comparison to some countries in the global South. The presentation also raised questions about how development work addressed inequality and what its contribution was. Causes of inequality were also highlighted including the role of different institutions such as the government and development actors in contributing to poverty and inequality.

Action Aid – Thusitha Siriwardena, Programme Officer

A representative of Action Aid presented a view of their organisation's work on the rights based approach. Their beneficiaries are defined as rights holders and part of the work of the programme is to make them aware of their rights and more able to articulate and establish them. The approach demands a genuine commitment to participation and the establishment of links between the rights holders and other institutions such as the government and other legal actors who have a moral obligation to fulfil these rights. The approach allows communities to analyse their own wellbeing, prioritise their needs and identify issues and concerns that they make plans to address. These issues are then addressed by the project with the cooperation of the rights holders. The community engages in the process of implementation, monitoring and evaluation and social auditing. In addition the approach focuses on building networks and links between the rights holders and other community based institutions, government and non-government bodies, NGO's & INGO's, in a bid to foster alliances.

Discussion

- A comment from the audience highlighted the fact that CSR is not an entirely new concept and that people engaged in trade in Sri Lanka generally also engaged in charitable activities. The question

posed to the representative of MAS was whether CSR was an old tradition in this country which had received a new term?

- Sri Lanka and MAS in particular has a long history of doing CSR. She added that MAS was working closely with communities where their factories are based. Some companies work in isolation and prefer to do so. She also said that it's a trial and error procedure for everybody and this is the way they position themselves to the clients.
- Another comment raised the issue that many companies are operating on various subsidies (i.e. power generation, etc), and that there was a need for a reciprocal contribution towards the development of the country.

Day 2

Panel Discussion- Addressing Inequality- Policy perspectives

World Bank - Ambar Narayan, Senior Economist

Ambar Narayan presented selected findings from the World Bank poverty assessment. Some of the challenges for Sri Lanka expressed in the poverty assessment are enhancing the “capability” of the poor and the “mobility” of those in lagging regions and estates. The poverty assessment placed the focus on improving access to quality education, removing the restrictions conflict imposes on certain groups and addressing factors that lead to isolation and limit social and economic mobility of estate residents. The assessment also highlighted the need for establishing better links to markets and infrastructure in order to expand economic opportunities in lagging regions, planning infrastructure development to promote alternative growth centers to reduce primacy of Colombo, and coordinating urban planning and rural development for optimal allocation of resources

Mahinda Chintana- Wijerathne Banda, Ministry of Plan implementation

Mr Wijerathne Banda of the ministry of Plan Implementation presented some of the ideas expressed in the Mahinda Chintana. The presentation expressed that 50% of the GDP is concentrated in the Western province and as a result the Mahinda Chintana focused on regional development.

Concepts such as *Ruhunu Navodaya* and *Rajarata Chinthana* have built-in the needs of regional development. It is important to identify the regional disparities that are evident; such as the situation in Uva and Sabaragamuwa. The DCS has identified the 119 poorest DS divisions clearly showing inequality and regional disparities. To overcome these regional disparities the Mahinda Chintana puts forth certain proposals including the *Gama Neguma* programme and working with the ministry of livelihoods development. In 2006, 500 million rupees was set aside for the *Gama Neguma* programme. Of the poorest 119 villages, 10 villages have been selected under the *Gama Neguma* which is close to completion. The second stage selected 36 villages while the third stage will cover approximately all 119 divisions.

Each divisional secretariat is expected to prepare a development plan together with the local communities, by identifying priority development areas and a critical area for improvement in infrastructure development. These programmes are prepared in consultation with rural people. The Ministry of Plan Implementation (MPI) monitors the progress and quality of such programmes, tracks the development of these villages and informs the relevant authorities to take action regarding matters needing attention.

National Action plan for the estate sector- Dr Pat Alailama

Dr Alailama spoke on the National action plan for the estates as a policy initiative that seeks to address poverty and inequality. The goal of the action plan is to reduce the poverty level and improve the standard of living for the plantation community. The target groups comprises 230,000 families or 900,034 people living on the estates.

The action plan covers the period between 2006-2015 to coincide with the MDGs. The plan includes housing development, water and sanitation programmes and infrastructure development the upgrading of health services, vocational training for youth, and the upgrading of sports and cultural facilities on the estates.

Discussion

Estate sector

- A question was raised about the production side (replanting seedlings, yield, soil erosion, factory conditions etc) of the estates which seemed

to have been left out of the NAP. Low productivity is also a reason for poverty in the estate sector because there isn't an adequate generation of income. Have there been any programmes to look at developing the production side?

- In response the presenter said that several projects have been implemented. The Plan does not look at the production aspect but focuses rather on the social aspects that have been neglected. The Plan concentrates on the social aspects of production (increasing the number of tractors to transport leaves, rest rooms etc) which will also contribute to improve production. Action on improving working conditions will eventually increase productivity.
- Another comment stressed the importance of issues among estate youth. The contribution brought up issues that both estate youth and rural youth faced and stressed that there were aspirations that needed to be met and that the ethnic aspect must also be considered when developing strategies.

Poverty Assessment

- In response to a question from the floor about whether infrastructure really provided an answer the presenter from the World Bank said that unplanned infrastructure has done a lot of damage internationally. He said that there was a need to focus on certain key areas of infrastructure and not try to build large infrastructure in unsustainable areas. He stressed that the WB is in favour of putting in infrastructure that matters.
- In relation to a comment on the impact of the conflict on poverty in Sri Lanka the presenter said that one cannot look at Sri Lanka's regional development without looking at it within the conflict debate and the central focus has to be conflict. Therefore, it is not only the East and North. One cannot forget the southern conflicts either.

Government Policy

- A comment to the presenter on government policy recognised the process of identification of regional disparities and the implementation of solutions/policies through the *gama neguma*, and *gam udawa* programmes. The comment highlighted that the ideas behind these

programmes, the issues they addressed and the way they sought to address them was not new. Sri Lanka has a history of similar programmes. One of the failings in this type of policy process is that the lessons from successive programmes have not fed into each other.

- Some of the floor discussion centered on structural problems with policy-making including political influence in the prioritisation of development activities and the centrist nature of the state that limits participation and consultation. Other comments focused on policy coherence inquiring whether industrial and employment policies were aligned with poverty alleviation and development policies or if they were treated as discrete areas for state intervention and programming.

Globalisation, trade and inequality

The final session of the poverty symposium broadened the discussion on inequality introducing regional and international perspectives on trade and globalisation.

‘Globalisation and Inequality- Links, Global trends and the role of Asia’

Ranja Sengupta, Senior Economist, International Development Economics Associates (IDEAs)

Ranja Sengupta's presentation focused on inequality and globalisation in the South Asian region. She concluded that inter-country inequality and world inequality are seen to have slightly increased, though it shows a decline if weighted by population; population weightage dampens them. These results depend heavily on China and India. Without these countries inequality is seen to be increasing. Within country inequality factor is difficult to assess because of problems with data availability and comparability. The causes for rising inequality are largely external with financial liberalisation standing out as contributing largely to inequality.

In the region there has been a gradual withdrawal of the state in the development process and more emphasis has been put on market driven mechanisms. Revenue generation of states has been negatively affected by introduction of regressive taxation policies and trade liberalisation. In order to contain the fiscal deficit, capital expenditure has been reduced.

Sale of Public sector assets has been undertaken. Lower levels of public investment has been accompanied by low level of public and private capital formation.

None of the South Asian countries have received high levels of FDI. FDI has been concentrated in a very few sectors and areas. Deflationary economic policies and low levels of capital formation prevented growth of productive employment, which has proved to be a crucial indicator of inequality. Trade liberalisation has benefited only a few sub-sectors. Agriculture and small and medium manufacturing has suffered most from a move to a tariff-only regime. In most of these countries, a few sectors have taken advantage of the open regime. It has created an enclave of prosperity in these countries. With the exception of Sri Lanka, all South Asian countries suffer from very poor Human Development Indicators and public expenditure on these sectors is very low.

‘Globalisation and Inequality: The Development Rationale’

Prashmita Ghosh, Programme Officer, CUTS International

Prashmita Ghosh also focused on inequality in the South Asian region in relation to trade relations. She concluded that ‘pocketed growth’ was visible in services and industry. In the region, economic activity concentrated in urban areas and among educated people while there continues to be high levels of rural, uneducated poor with little or no asset ownership. Agriculture remains mainstay for the majority of people but the national importance of agriculture, represented by the share of agriculture in GDP, was declining. The growth rate of the agricultural sector was low and many people lacked opportunities to access education and training, capital, infrastructure and alternative employment.

‘Cultivating Social Justice Initiatives for a More Inclusive Global Trade Framework to Flourish’

Chatrini Weeratunge and Bryn Gay, Researchers, UNDP

Chatrini Weeratunge and Bryn Gay shared ideas based on an economic and social justice framework. It concentrated on providing small scale farmers and producers access to information, access to technology, access to credit and sharing fair and equitable benefits.

The framework also called for the creation of producer led cooperatives/ associations/ societies, which would facilitate access to information, sharing knowledge, access to credit – group loans and enable pooling resources, fair trade practices and promote seed sharing.

The framework proposed reforms of domestic, regional and global markets at the national level to strengthen the enforcement of laws, improve infrastructure, streamline administrative and cross-border procedures and promote niche markets.

Proposed market reforms of the regional and global level focused on enhancing regional trade, eliminating trade and non trade barriers, the provision of incentives for multi-national corporations to adhere to environmental/labour standards and mechanisms to ensure compliance with CSR codes.

Conclusion

This introduction summarises the various contributions made at the poverty symposium on the theme “*Does Inequality Matter?*”. It is important to record the ebb and flow of commentary and understanding from the discussions and interactions that took place over the two days of the event. They highlight in some ways the complexity of the issue of inequality and its relationship with poverty. The discussions challenge some of the accepted means of addressing inequality and suggest new ways of thinking about the linked issues of poverty and inequality. What is striking about the presentations and the discussions was the common normative thread that ran through them which presented inequality as something negative that needed to be addressed. Ways of addressing this issue vary, as does opinion on the best means of addressing it. Despite this the symposium highlighted the need for continued creative engagement with the complex and interesting issue of inequality. It was clear from the contributions and discussion that stemmed from them that inequality does matter.

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හැඳින්වීම:

දර්දතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය මගින් පැවැත්වූ දර්දතා පර්යේෂණ පිළිබඳ සත්වන වාර්ෂික සම්මන්ත්‍රණය සඳහා විධායක අධ්‍යක්ෂවරය මනා මූලාරම්භයක් ලබාදෙන ලදී. මෙවර සම්මන්ත්‍රණයේ තේමාව වූයේ “අසමානතාව ගැටළුවක්ද?” යන්නයි. දර්දතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය සහ මෙම ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ සිටින අනෙකුත් පිරිස් සමග සාකච්ඡා කිරීමෙන් අනතුරුව මෙම තේමාව තෝරාගන්නා ලදී. මීට හේතුව දර්දතාවේ මට්ටම් පිළිබඳ වර්තමානයේ වඩාත් අවධාරණය කෙරුණද අසමානතාව සහ දර්දතාව සම්බන්ධ ගැටළු එතරම් දුරට සාකච්ඡාවට භාජනය නොවූ බැවිනි. මෙම වසරේ සම්මන්ත්‍රණයේදී එම ගැටළු නැවත සාකච්ඡාවට බඳුන් කෙරුණි.

දේශකයන් සහ කණ්ඩායම් සාමාජිකයන් දර්දතාව විවිධ කෝණ ඔස්සේ පරීක්ෂා කිරීමට අප වෙත අවස්ථාව ලබාදුණි. සමාජීය බැහැර කිරීම්, නව තාක්ෂණය වෙත ප්‍රවේශ වී සිටීම, ගැටුම් සහ ව්‍යාපාර එම පැතිකඩවල් වේ. අසමානතාව ප්‍රායෝගික අයුරින් යොමුකර ඇත්තේ කෙසේද යන්නත්, තෝරාගත් ආයතන කිහිපයක් අසමානතාව ඔවුන්ගේ කාර්යයන් තුළ අදාළ කර ඇති ආකාරයත්, ප්‍රතිපත්ති ක්ෂේත්‍රයන් තුළ අසමානතාව කෙසේ සමථයකට පත්කර ගන්නේද යන්නත් කණ්ඩායම් දෙකක් විසින් විමසා බලන ලදී.

පැවති එක් එක් දේශනවල සාකච්ඡා කෙරුණු ප්‍රධාන කරුණු මෙම සාරාංශය තුළින් ඉදිරිපත් කෙරේ. කණ්ඩායම් මගින් සැපයූ කරුණුවල සහ සාකච්ඡා අතරතුර පැන නැගුණු සමහරක් කරුණු වල සමාලෝචනද මෙහි අන්තර්ගත වේ.

අසමානතාව සහ දර්දතාව තුළ පවතින සම්බන්ධතාව සංකීර්ණ වේ. බොහෝ දේශකයන් සහ කණ්ඩායම් සාමාජිකයන් ඔවුන්ගේ දේශනවලදී මෙම සංකීර්ණතාව සහ එහි විවිධ කෝණ උදාහරණ කර පෙන්වා දෙන ලදී. මෙවැනි විවිධ අංශ අතර තිබෙන ස්ථාවර සම්බන්ධතා සහ අසමානතාවේ ව්‍යක්තීන් වෙන්කොට පෙන්වාදීම අසීරු වුවත්, මෙම දේශනවල ගැබ්වී ඇති ප්‍රාමාණික පදනම පෙන්වා දීම පහසු වේ. අසමානතාව ප්‍රතිශෝධනාත්මකය යන මතය සහ එය තවදුරටත් සාකච්ඡාවට බඳුන්විය යුතුය යන්න සම්මන්ත්‍රණයට සහභාගි වූ සියළු දෙනා තුළ පැවතුණි.

ඉදිරිපත් කෙරුණු විවිධ තර්කවල ප්‍රාමාණික පදනම පවත්වාගෙන යෑමට අවශ්‍ය ප්‍රධානතම අසමානතා සමහරක් මෙම හැඳින්වීම තුළින් ඉස්මතු කර දක්වයි.

සම්මන්ත්‍රණය අතරතුර පැවති දේශන සහ සාකච්ඡාවන්හි අනුපිළිවෙල මෙම හැඳින්වීම අනුගමනය කරනු ලබයි. දර්දතාව සහ අසමානතාව පිළිබඳ අප සතුව පැවති අවබෝධය ඉදිරිපත් කෙරුණු සාකච්ඡා තුළින් පැන නැගුණු අභියෝග මෙම හැඳින්වීම තුළින්

ග්‍රහණය කරගැනීමට උත්සාහ දරණු ඇත. මෙම ප්‍රකාශනයේ ඉතිරිය තුළ බෞද්ධ චරිත ලද පත්‍රිකා ඇතුළත් කර ඇති අතර, ඉන් සමහරක් සම්පූර්ණ වශයෙන් දිස්වේ.

පැවති ප්‍රධාන දේශන

ආචාර්ය නිමල් සඳරත්න - සභාපති, දුර්ද්‍රව්‍ය විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය

අසමානතාව සමාජ විමර්ශනයේ අසීරු සහ බහු - මානයන් ඇති ක්ෂේත්‍රයන් බව ආචාර්ය සඳරත්න හඳුන්වාදෙන ලදී. ඔහු අසමානතාවේ ඇති පුද්ගල නිශ්‍රීත බව සහ විෂය නිශ්‍රීත බව පිළිබඳ කරුණු දක්වීය. අසමානතාවේ විෂය නිශ්‍රීත සංකල්ප පිළිබඳ කථා කිරීමේදී ආර්ථික විද්‍යාඥයින්. 'ලොරෙන්ස් වක්‍රය' සහ ජිනි සංගුණකය මිනුමක් ලෙස යොදා ගනී. අසමානතාව සඳහා වඩාත් පුද්ගල නිශ්‍රීත බවක් ලබාදීමට සංජානන යොදා ගැනේ. ඔහුගේ දේශනය මගින් පුද්ගල නිශ්‍රීතබව සහ විෂය නිශ්‍රීතබව යන ද්විත්වය අවධානයට ලක් කෙරුණු අතර, අසමානතාව අවබෝධ කර ගැනීමට යොදා ගත් පුද්ගල නිශ්‍රීත දත්තවල ඇති වැදගත්කමද ප්‍රශ්න කරන ලදී.

සුනිල් බැස්ටියන් - අධ්‍යක්ෂ මණ්ඩල, සාමාජික - දුර්ද්‍රව්‍ය විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය

දේශපාලන සහ ආර්ථික ක්ෂේත්‍ර මත පදනම් වූ අසමානතාව අවබෝධකර ගැනීම සඳහා මනා ප්‍රවේශයක් සුනිල් බැස්ටියන් ඔහුගේ දේශනයේදී හඳුන්වා දෙන ලදී. සම්මන්ත්‍රණයේ ප්‍රධාන තේමාව වන 'අසමානතාව ගැටළුවක්ද' යන්නට අවධානය යොමුකරමින් ඔහු පැවසුවේ අසමානතාව සැබෑ ලෙසම ගැටළුවක් බවයි. එසේම අසමානතාව සැලකිල්ලට නොගෙන ලෝකයේ සිදුවන විවිධ වෙනස්කම් මනාලෙස අවබෝධකර ගත නොහැකි බවත් ඔහු පැවසුවේය. දේශනය ප්‍රධාන ලෙසම අවධානය යොමු කොට තිබුණේ අසමානතාව කෙසේ අධ්‍යයනය කළේද යන්නටයි. ඔහු පළමු දේශකතුමන් විසින් හඳුන්වාදුන් අසමානතාවේ පුද්ගල නිශ්‍රීත - විෂය නිශ්‍රීත යන ද්විත්වය තාර්කික ලෙස විග්‍රහ කළ අතර අසමානතාව සංජානන බව ඔහු විශ්වාස කරන බවත් ඒවා අසමානතා අධ්‍යයනයේදී වඩාත් විෂය නිශ්‍රීත මිනුම් ලෙස වලංගු සහ වැදගත් වන බවත් පැවසීය. අසමානතාව සහ දුර්ද්‍රව්‍ය සමාජ සබඳතා ලෙස අවබෝධ කරගත යුතුය. දේශපාලනය සහ බලය යන ඓතිහාසික පැතිකඩවල් වෙතද දේශනය යොමුකරන ලදී. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ මෙම පැතිකඩවල් මගින් ගැටළු නිර්මාණය කර ඇත. නිදහසෙන් පසුව රාජ්‍ය පාලනය ලබාගත් ඉංග්‍රීසි අධ්‍යාපනය ලත්, උසස් කුළු වල කොළඹ ආශ්‍රිත ඉහළ පෙළැන්තිය රට තුළ බලවත් බෙදීමක් නිර්මාණය කරන ලදී. 1956 දී අසමානතාව අවසන් කිරීමට සහ එහි වෙනසක් ඇතිකිරීමට විවිධ කණ්ඩායම් මෙම ඉහළ පෙළැන්තිය සමග එක්රොක් විය. ශ්‍රී ලාංකික දේශපාලන පරිසරය තුළ සිදුවූ අනුක්‍රමික වෙනස්කම්, අසමානතාව සමග සමීප සබඳතාවක් ඇතිකරගන්නා ලදී. කලාපීය අසමානතාව සහ කණ්ඩායම් අතර පැවති අසමානතාව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ගැටළු වල ඓතිහාසික මූලයන් සමග සම්බන්ධ වී ඇත.

දරුද්‍රතාව සහ අසමානතාව

සම්මන්ත්‍රණයේ පළමු සැසිය, දරුද්‍රතාවේ සහ අසමානතාවේ ප්‍රධාන තේමාව ගවේෂණය කළ දේශන තුනක් මත පදනම් විය.

කලාපීය දරුද්‍රතාවය සහ පහළපාතිත්වය ආශ්‍රිත අභියෝග යටිතල පහසුකම් සැපයීම පිළිබඳ රජයේ ප්‍රමුඛතා වැඩසටහන

ආලිත එකඟාශක, ග්‍රාමීය ආර්ථික සංවර්ධන උපදෙශක සහ හිමිල අත්තනාශක, ආර්ථික විද්‍යා අංශ ප්‍රධාන, කොළඹ විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය.

පූර්ව අභිහිතකම් තිබූ දියුණුව වෙත යොමු වී ඇති ග්‍රාමීය යටිතල පහසුකම් සේවාවන්හි බලපෑම මෙම දේශන තුළින් ඇගයීමට ලක්කෙරුණි. එසේම දිස්ත්‍රික්ක 13 ක් නියෝජනය වන පරිදි 100 දෙනෙකුගේ නියදියක් භාවිතා කරමින් ලබා ගත් කලාපීය - දරුද්‍රතාව සහ වත්කම් විසිරියාමේ අසමානතාවය පිළිබඳ අභියෝගයද එහි අන්තර්ගත විය. වත්කම් ආධාර සපයාදීමට වඩා යටිතල පහසුකම් ලබාදීම වඩා උසස් වන්නේ එමගින් කුමන තරාතිරමක පසුවන්නෙකුට වුවද ආර්ථික වශයෙන් ක්‍රියාකාරී වීමට අවස්ථාව උදාවන බව පවසමින් අධ්‍යයනය නිමවීය. අවස්ථාවන් ලබාදීම මගින් සහ යටිතල පහසුකම් සැපයීම හරහා යම් මට්ටමක් නිර්මාණය කිරීම මගින් කලාපීය වත්කම් අසමානතාව අවම කළහැකි බව සාක්ෂි තුළින් ඉදිරිපත් විය.

දරුද්‍රතා පිරමීඩයෙහි පහළ කොටස්වල පසුවන්නන්ට විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා සඳහා ප්‍රවේශය සලසා දීම තුළින් දරුද්‍රතාව විසඳුම් සෙවීම හර්ෂ ද සිල්වා, ප්‍රධාන ආර්ථික විශේෂඥ සහ අයේෂා සෙයිනුඩින් පර්යේෂක - LIRNEasia විදුලි සංදේශ සේවාවන්හි යටිතල පහසුකම් වෙත ප්‍රවේශවීම සහ දිළිඳු ජනතාව අතර විදුලි සංදේශ සේවාවන්හි භාවිතය පිළිබඳ බහු - ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශ අධ්‍යයනයක් මගින් ගත් කීරණ හර්ෂ ද සිල්වා විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලදී. විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා සඳහා පවතින ප්‍රවේශයෙහි අසමානතාව දරුද්‍රතාවයට දායක වන බව යන උපකල්පනය පරීක්ෂා කිරීම සඳහා අධ්‍යයනයේ ප්‍රථම නිරීක්ෂණය කරන ලදී. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දරුද්‍රතා පිරමීඩයේ පහළ කොටස්වල පසුවන්නන්ට දුරකථන සඳහා ප්‍රවේශවිය යුතු අතර, ඔවුන්ට එය සීමිතව පරිභෝජනය කළද කලාපයේ අනෙකුත් රටවල් සමග සසඳන විට ඔවුන්ට ඒ සඳහා විශාල මුදලක් වැය කිරීමට සිදුව ඇති බව අධ්‍යයනය මගින් අනාවරණය විය. සන්නිවේදනය සඳහා ප්‍රවේශවීම වැඩිදියුණු කිරීමට අවශ්‍ය නියාමන ප්‍රතිපත්ති සමග කටයුතු කිරීම සහ එම ප්‍රවේශවීම වඩා වැදගත් අයුරින් සැකසීම අභියෝගක් වූ බව ඔහු තවදුරටත් පැවසීය.

ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය සහ වැටුප් අසමානතාව :

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වැටුප් සංයුතියෙහි ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය අනුව වෙනසක් පවතීද? එසේනම් ඇයි?

දිගුකාලීන ගුණවර්ධන, ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ කම්කාරවරු, පෙරාදෙනීන් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය.

ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ සහ ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය අනුව පවතින වැටුප් විෂමතාවය පිළිබඳ විශ්ලේෂණයෙහි ප්‍රථම දිලෙනි ගුණවර්ධන විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලදී. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ මෑත කාලීන ශ්‍රම බලකා දත්ත ආශ්‍රිතව සිදුකරන ලද ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ වැටුප් අසමානතා විශ්ලේෂණයන් තුළින් හෙලිවූයේ සියළු වැටුප් පරතරයන් සඳහාම ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ විෂමතාවය හේතු වී ඇති බවයි. ව්‍යාප්තියේ පහළ ස්ථර වලදී මෙම වැටුප් පරතරය විශාල බවද (පහළ මට්ටමේ තනතුරුවල සිට ඉහළ මට්ටමේ තනතුරු සඳහා ගමන් කිරීමට ඇති අසීරුතාවය හේතු කොට ගෙන 'Consistent with sticky floors') ඇතැම් අවස්ථාවලදී ඉහළ ස්ථර වලදී ද විශාල වැටුප් පරතරයක් පවතින බවද (දැනට හොබවන තනතුරු වලින් තවත් ඉහළට යාමට ඇති අසීරුතාවය හේතු කොට ගෙන (Consistent with glass ceilings) මෙම විශ්ලේෂණයන් තුළින් වැඩිදුරටත් අනාවරණය විය.

1996, 1997, 2003 සහ 2004 සමීක්ෂණයන්ගෙන් ලබාගත් රාජ්‍ය සහ පෞද්ගලික අංශයන්හි කෘෂිකාර්මික නොවන පුරුෂ සේවක නියැදියක් භාවිතා කරමින්, ව්‍යාප්තිය පුරාවටම ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය අනුව වැටුප් මට්ටම්වල වෙනස්කම් පවතීද යන්න සොයා බැලීම මෙහිදී සිදු කරනු ලබයි. එසේම, මෙම වෙනස්කම්වලට පාදක වී ඇත්තේ මානව ප්‍රාග්ධනය වැනි ඵලදායීතාව ආශ්‍රිත ගති ලක්ෂණයන්ගෙන් විෂමතාවන්ද යන්නත් මෙහිදී සොයා බලනු ලබයි. තවද, ව්‍යාප්තියේ ස්ථරයෙන් ස්ථරයට මෙම වැටුප් පරතරයන්වල විෂමතාව වෙනස් වන්නේද යන්නත් මෙමගින් සොයාබලනු ලැබේ. විශේෂයෙන්ම, ආදායම් ව්‍යාප්තියේ පහළ ස්ථරයන්හි පසුවන සුළු ජනවාර්ගික කණ්ඩායම්වල වැටුප් මට්ටම් මෙන්ම අදායම් ව්‍යාප්තියේ ඉහළ ස්ථරයන්හි පසුවන සුළු ජනවාර්ගික කණ්ඩායම්වල වැටුප් මට්ටම් දඩ්ඟාවන්ට මුහුණ දෙන්නේද යන කාරණය සාකච්ඡාවට බඳුන් කිරීම ද මෙහිදී සිදු කෙරේ. එම වැටුප් පරතරය කොපමණද? එමෙන්ම එම වැටුප් පරතරයන් කුමන කණ්ඩායම්වලට වාසි සැලසෙන ආකාරයට ගොඩනැංවී ඇත්ද? යන ප්‍රශ්න වලට පිළිතුරු සපයා ගැනීමට ඉවහල්වන කරුණු මත පදනම්ව මෙම විශ්ලේෂණය ගොනුකර ඇත. දිගටම පවත්නා විශ්ලේෂණයන්හි ප්‍රාථමික ප්‍රතිඵල මත මෙම දේශනය පදනම් විය.

ගැටුම් සහ ව්‍යසන

සත්‍ය සොයාගත ගමනේදී පර්යේෂකයන් සැලකිල්ලෙන් ක්‍රියාකළ යුත්තේ ඇයි?

ප්‍රශ්න තලෙහි සිංහල, සම්බන්ධීකාරක, දුර්ද්‍රතාව සහ ගැටුම් පිළිබඳ වැඩසටහන, දුර්ද්‍රතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය

දෙවන සැසිය, ව්‍යසන සහ අසමානතාව ආරම්භ වූයේ දත්ත භාවිතය සහ විෂය ක්ෂේත්‍රය පිළිබඳ දේශනයක් සමඟිනි. දේශපාලනික න්‍යාය පත්‍ර සහ දේශපාලනික ප්‍රකාශ සඳහා පර්යේෂකයන් කෙසේ සංඛ්‍යානමය දත්ත යොදා ගන්නේද යන්න මත දුර්ද්‍රතා සහ ගැටුම් වැඩසටහන පදනම් විය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ගැටුම්වල ආරම්භය සමග සම්බන්ධ වූණු ප්‍රධාන ගැටළු තුනක් මෙම අධ්‍යයනයට යොදා ගෙන තිබිණි. විවිධ ජනවාර්ගික කණ්ඩායම් වලට එරෙහිව පක්ෂපාතිත්වය පිළිබඳ වෝදනා ඔප්පු කර දැක්වීමට විවිධ ලේඛකයන් කෙසේ සංඛ්‍යානමය දත්ත තම වාසියට යොදා ගන්නේද යන්න නිරාවරණය කිරීමට රාජ්‍ය භාෂාව, විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයට සිසුන් ඇතුළත් කර ගැනීමේ පටිපාටිය සහ පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ රැකියා යන ගැටළු තුන යොදාගෙන තිබිණි. විවාදයට සහ අභියෝගයට ලක්වන ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ගැටුම්වල ආරම්භය වටකොටගත් මතභේදයට තුඩුදෙන කරුණු සහ මෙම කරුණු සජීවී සහ නොවිසඳු ආකාරයෙන් තබාගැනීමට විවිධ ලේඛකයන් උත්සාහ දරන ආකාරය පෙන්වීම මෙම පත්‍රිකාව මගින් සිදුකරන ලදී.

අසමානතාව වර්ධනය වීමට ව්‍යසන ඉවහල් වේද?

භවාති ගෞතමයා, ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ පර්යේෂක, විකල්ප ප්‍රතිපත්ති කේන්ද්‍රය.

අසමානතාව වර්ධනය වීමට ව්‍යසන ඉවහල් වේද යන කේතුව මත මෙම දේශනය පදනම් විය. අසමානතාව වර්ධනයට සහන සේවා සැපයීමේ විෂමතා, සහන සේවා සැපයීමේ නියෝජිත ආයතන අතර මනා සම්බන්ධීකරණයක් නොමැතිකම සහ දිගුකාලීන සංවර්ධනයක් සඳහා මනා දර්ශනයක් නොමැති වීම ආදිය අනාවරණය කිරීමට පූර්ව සුනාම් තත්වයක් තුළ වැඩසටහන පදනම් කර තිබිණි. සුනාම් ව්‍යසනයෙන් පීඩාවට පත්වූවන්ට ආධාර සැපයීමේදී එම ප්‍රදේශවලට ජීවත්වන ජනවාර්ගික අර්බුදයට ලක්වූවන් සහ සමාජීය-ආර්ථික වශයෙන් පහත් මට්ටම් සිටින පිරිස් නොසලකා හැරීම මගින් සිදුවූ වෙනස්කම් සහ ගැටළුද මෙම දේශනයේදී මතු විය.

කණ්ඩායම් සාකච්ඡා - දර්ශනාච සහ අසමානතාව - වෘත්තිකයන්ගේ අදහස්

පළමු දින අවසන් සැසියේදී අසමානතාව සම්බන්ධයෙන් දිගත්කළ ව්‍යාපෘති පිළිබඳ ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයේ වෘත්තිකයන් විඳෙන ක්‍ෂණික සාකච්ඡාවක් දිගත් කරන ලදී.

මාස් හොල්ඩින්ස් (MAS HOLDINGS) සමාගම - සාප්තා කුරුප්පු - කළමනාකරු (Gap Go Beyond) ව්‍යාපෘතිය.

‘සංස්ථාමය සමාජ වගකීම’ පිළිබඳ අදහස් සහ අසමානතාවේ ගැටළු වෙත ව්‍යාපෘතිය යොමුකළ ආකාරය පිළිබඳ මාස් හෝල්ඩින්ග්ස් නියෝජිතවරිය තම අදහස් දැක්වීය. මෙම ‘සංස්ථාමය සමාජ වගකීම’ ව්‍යාපෘතිය මෙහෙයවන ලද්දේ මාස් සමාගමේ නිෂ්පාදන මධ්‍යස්ථාන සමහරිනි. මෙම ව්‍යාපෘති කාන්තාවන් බලගැන්වීම, කුසලතා වර්ධනය, සහ තරුණයන්ගේ කුසලතා වර්ධනය සඳහා සහාය දෙන ලදී. මෙම ව්‍යාපෘති සෑමවිටම දිගුකාලීන සංවර්ධනයක් අපේක්‍ෂාවෙන් නිර්මාණය කරන ලද ඒවා නොවේ. ව්‍යාපෘතිය වේගවත්ව සහ කාර්යක්‍ෂමව පවත්වාගෙන යාම එහි අරමුණයි. කෙටි කාල රාමුවක් තුළ ක්‍රියාවෙහි යෙදවීමේ වාසිසහගත බවක් පැවතියද මෙම ව්‍යාපෘති මගින් ප්‍රජාව වෙත එතරම් බලපෑමක් ඇතිකළ නොහැක. විමධ්‍යගත මට්ටමින් රජය සමග සමීපව කටයුතු කිරීම, ප්‍රදේශයේ ව්‍යාපෘති රජයේ මූලිකත්වය සමග පෙළ ගැසීම සහතික කරයි. ව්‍යාපෘති සැලසුම් කිරීම, ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම සහ අධීක්‍ෂණය කිරීම, කුසලතා අත්කර ගැනීම ඇරඹීමට, සංවර්ධන අංශය සමග සමීප සබඳතාවක් තිබීමට උපකාරී වේ.

Practical Action -

විශාලා හිඳුල්ලගේ, පළාත් අධ්‍යක්‍ෂක, දකුණු ආසියා වැඩසටහන

අසමානතාවේ සංකීර්ණභාවය පිළිබඳ කරුණු Practical Action හි අධ්‍යක්‍ෂකුමිය විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලදී. දර්ශනාවේ ඉහළ මට්ටම් සමග අසමානතාවේ ඉහළ මට්ටම් සෑමවිටම බැඳී නොමැති බව ඇය පෙන්වා දුනි. ඇමරිකා එක්සත් ජනපදය වැනි රටවලද අසමානතාවේ ඉහළ මට්ටම් විද්‍යාමාන වන නමුත් දක්ෂිණ ගෝලයේ සමහර රටවල් සමග සැසඳුව විට එම රටවල්හි දර්ශනාවය පහළ මට්ටමක පවතී. එසේම සංවර්ධන කාර්යය, අසමානතාව කෙසේ යොමු කරන්නේද යන්න සහ එහි දායකත්වය පිළිබඳ ප්‍රශ්න ද මෙහිදී සාකච්ඡා කෙරිණි. දර්ශනාවට සහ අසමානතාවට දායකත්වය සැපයීමේදී රාජ්‍ය සහ සංවර්ධන ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයන්හි කාර්ය භාරය සමග අසමානතාව ඇතිවීමට හේතුවන දේශනය තුළින් මතු විය.

Action Aid තුසිත සිරිවර්ධන, වැඩසටහන් නිලධාරී,

Action Aid වෙතින් පැමිණි නියෝජිතවරයා අයිතීන් පදනම් වූ ප්‍රවේශයක් ඇති ඔවුන්ගේ සංවිධාන කාර්යය පිළිබඳ අදහස් පළ කළේය. අයිතීන් රඳවා සිටින්නන් ලෙස ඔවුන්ගේ ප්‍රතිලාභීන් අර්ථ නිරූපණය කර ඇති අතර ඔවුන් තමන්ගේ අයිතීන් පිළිබඳ දැනුවත් කිරීම, එම අයිතීන් ස්ථාපිත කිරීම වැඩසටහනේ කාර්යයේ කොටසක් බව ඔහු පෙන්වා දුන්. සහභාගිත්වය සඳහා සැබෑ කැපවීමක් මෙම ප්‍රවේශය මගින් අපේක්ෂා කරයි. එසේම මෙම අයිතීන් සඵල කර ගැනීමේ සඳාචාර වගකීමක් ඇති රාජ්‍ය සහ නෛතික අංශ සමග, අයිතීන් රඳවා සිටින්නන්ගේ සබඳතාවක් ගොඩනැගීමද අපේක්ෂා කෙරේ. මෙම ප්‍රවේශය ප්‍රජාවන්ට ඔවුන්ගේ ශුභ සාධනය, මූලික අවශ්‍යතා අනුපිළිවෙල සහ ගැටළු හඳුනාගැනීම විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීමට අවසර දෙන අතර ඒ සඳහා යොමු කිරීමට අවශ්‍ය සැලසුම් නිමවීම පිළිබඳවද සැලකිලිමත් වේ. ඉන්පසු අයිතීන් රඳවා සිටින්නන් සහ වෙනත් ප්‍රජාවන් පදනම් වූ ආයතන, රාජ්‍ය සහ රාජ්‍ය නොවන පද්ධතීන්, රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධාන, අන්තර්ජාතික රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධාන සමග සබඳතා ඇතිකර ගැනීම මෙම ප්‍රවේශය මගින් සිදු කරයි.

සාකච්ඡාව

ලංකාවේ සංස්ථාමය සමාජ වගකීම මුළුමනින්ම නව සිද්ධාන්තයක් නොවන බවත් සම්මන්ත්‍රණයට සහභාගි වුවකු විසින් පෙන්වා දෙන ලදී. එහිදී සංස්ථාමය සමාජ වගකීම යන අප රටෙහි පැවති පැරණි සිරිත නව මුහුණුවරකින් භාවිතා කරන්නේද යන ප්‍රශ්නය නියෝජිතවරයා වෙත යොමුකරන ලදී.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සහ MAS සමාගම සංස්ථාමය සමාජ වගකීමෙහි නියැලීම පිළිබඳ දිගු ඉතිහාසයක් තිබේ. ඔහු තවදුරටත් ප්‍රකාශ කළේ MAS සමාගම තම කර්මාන්ත ශාලා පිහිටා ඇති ප්‍රජාවන් සමග සම්පව ක්‍රියාකරන බවයි. සමහර ආයතන හුදෙකලාව කටයුතු කරන අතර එසේ කිරීමද ප්‍රියකරයි. එය සෑමදෙනාටම අත්හදා බැලීමක් සහ වැරදි ක්‍රියාපටිපාටියක් බව ඇය පැවසූ අතර ඔවුන් ගනුදෙනුකරුවන්ට නිසිතැන ලබාදෙන්නේ මේ ආකාරයට බවද පැවසුවාය.

නොයෙක් ආයතන විවිධ සහනාධාර (බලශක්තිය) ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන අතර රටේ සංවර්ධනයට අන්‍යෝන්‍ය දායකත්වයක් අවශ්‍ය බවද දේශනයේදී ඉස්මතු කර දක්වන ලදී.

දෙවන දිනය

කණ්ඩායම් සාකච්ඡා - අසමානතාව ආමන්ත්‍රණය කිරීම - ප්‍රතිපත්ති පිළිබඳ අදහස්
ලෝක බැංකුව - අම්බර් නාරායන්, ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ ආර්ථික විශේෂඥ

ලෝක බැංකුවේ දර්ශන අගයීම් මගින් තෝරාගත් කරුණු අම්බර් නාරායන් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලදී. දර්ශන අගයීමෙහි ශ්‍රී ලංකාව විසින් මුහුණ පා ඇති සමහරක් අභියෝග නම් දිළිඳු ජනතාවගේ “හැකියාවන්” දියුණු කිරීම සහ ඉතා සෙමින් සංවර්ධනය වන ප්‍රදේශවල සහ වතු ආශ්‍රිත ජීවත්වන්නන්ගේ ඩිජිටලීකරණය වර්ධනය කිරීමයි. ගුණාත්මක අධ්‍යාපනයක් කරා ප්‍රවේශ වීම, සමහර කණ්ඩායම් සඳහා පනවා ඇති ජනවාර්ගික සීමාවන් ඉවත් කිරීම, වතු වල දිවි ගෙවන්නන්ගේ හුදකලාව ඇතිකරන සහ සමාජ ආර්ථික ‘සවලතාව’ සීමාකරන සාධක කෙරෙහි දර්ශන අගයීම් ප්‍රධාන ලෙස අවධානය යොමු කර ඇත. සංවර්ධන වේගය අඩු පළාත්වල ආර්ථික අවස්ථා වැඩි දියුණු කිරීම, කොළඹ වෙත ඇති ප්‍රමුඛතාව අවම කර විකල්ප සංවර්ධන කේන්ද්‍ර ස්ථාපිත කිරීමට අනුබල දීම සඳහා යටිතල පහසුකම් සැලසුම් කිරීම, සම්පත් ඉතා වාසිදායක ලෙස බෙදී යන අයුරින් නාගරික සැලසුම් සහ ග්‍රාමීය සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාවලිය සංජානනය කිරීම ද මෙම අගයීම් තුළින් ඉස්මතු කර දක්වන ලදී.

මහින්ද විචතන - විපේරතන බණ්ඩා, සැලසුම් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ අමාත්‍යාංශය

මහින්ද විචතන මගින් ප්‍රකාශ කර ඇති සමහරක් කරුණු, සැලසුම් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ අමාත්‍යාංශය නියෝජනය කළ විපේරතන බණ්ඩා විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලදී. දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදනයෙන් 50% බස්නාහිර පළාත ඉලක්ක කොට ගෙන ඇති බවත්, එහි ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙස ‘මහින්ද විචතනය’ ප්‍රාදේශීය සංවර්ධනය පදනම් කර ඇති බවත් හෙළි විය. රුහුණ නවෝදය සහ රජරට නවෝදය ප්‍රාදේශීය සංවර්ධනයේ අවශ්‍යතා මත ගොඩනැගූ සංකල්ප වේ. උච්ච සහ සබරගමුව පළාත්වල ඇති තත්වය මගින් ප්‍රාදේශය විෂමතා මනාව නිරූපණය වන අතර එය හඳුනාගැනීම වැදගත් වේ. ඔහු කලාපීය විෂමතා සහ පරතරය හඳුනාගැනීමේ අවශ්‍යතාව පිළිබඳ සාකච්ඡා කළේය. ජන හා සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව මගින් වඩාත් දිළිඳු ප්‍රාදේශීය ලේකම් කොට්ඨාශ 119 ක් හඳුනාගෙන ඒවායේ අසමානතාව සහ ප්‍රාදේශීය විෂමතාව හොඳින් පෙන්වා දී ඇත. ඩගම නැඟුම් සහ දිවිපෙවෙත් / යැපුම් සංවර්ධනය කිරීමේ අමාත්‍යාංශය සමග කටයුතු කිරීම වැනි යෝජනාවන් මහින්ද විචතන මගින් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම තුළින් ප්‍රාදේශීය විෂමතා මැඩපවත්වා ගත හැක. වසර 2006 දී ගම නැඟුම වැඩසටහන සඳහා රුපියල් මිලියන 500ක් වෙන්කර තිබිණි. වඩාත් දිළිඳු ගම්මාන 119 න්, ගම්මාන 10ක් ගම නැඟුම ව්‍යාපෘතිය යටතේ තෝරාගත් අතර එම ව්‍යාපෘති අවසන් වීමට නියමිතව ඇත. දෙවන අදියර යටතේ ප්‍රාදේශීය ලේකම් කොට්ඨාශ 36 ක් තෝරාගෙන ඇති අතර තෙවන අදියර මගින් කොට්ඨාශ 119 ක් පමණ ආවරණය කරනු ඇත. යටිතල පහසුකම් සංවර්ධනය වැඩි දියුණු කිරීම සඳහා අවදානම් ප්‍රදේශයක් සහ සංවර්ධනයට ප්‍රමුඛතාව දිය යුතු ප්‍රදේශ හඳුනාගැනීම තුළින් සෑම ලේකම් කොට්ඨාශ කාර්යාලයක්ම තම ප්‍රජාවද සහය කරගනිමින් ග්‍රාමීය සංවර්ධන සැලැස්මක් ඉදිරිපත්

කිරීම අපේක්ෂා කෙරේ. ග්‍රාමීය ජනතාවගේ උපදෙස් ද අනුව මෙම වැඩසටහන් නිර්මාණය කරනු ලබයි. සැලසුම් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ අමාත්‍යාංශය මගින් මෙවැනි වැඩසටහන්වල ප්‍රගතිය සහ ගුණාත්මකඛව අධීක්ෂණය කරන අතර එම ගම්මානවල සංවර්ධනය සලකුණු කරගනියි. එසේම එමගින් අවධානය යොමුකළ යුතු ගැටළු සඳහා ක්‍රියාමාර්ග ගැනීමට අදාළ බලධාරීන්ද දැනුවත් කරනු ලබයි.

වතු ශේෂ්‍රය සඳහා ජාතික සැලැස්ම - ආචාර්ය පැට් අලෙයිලීමා

දරිද්‍රතාව සහ අසමානතාව සොයා බැලීම සඳහා පවතින ආරම්භක ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් ලෙස ජාතික සැලැස්ම ආචාර්ය අලෙයිලීමා විසින් පෙන්වා දෙන ලදී. වැවිලි ප්‍රජාවේ දරිද්‍රතා මට්ටම අවම කිරීම සහ ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය දියුණු කිරීම මෙම සැලැස්මෙහි අරමුණයි. වතු ආශ්‍රිත ජීවත්වන 900,034 ක පුද්ගල පිරිසක් හෝ 230,000 පවුල් ඔවුන්ගේ ඉලක්කගත කණ්ඩායම්වලට ඇතුළත්වේ. සහශ්‍ර සංවර්ධන අරමුණු සමග සමපාත වන අයුරින් මෙම සැලැස්ම 2006 - 2015 කාලය ආවරණය කරනු ලබයි. නිවාස සංවර්ධනය, ජලය සහ සනීපාරක්ෂක පහසුකම් පිළිබඳ වැඩසටහන්, යටිතල පහසුකම් සංවර්ධනය, සෞඛ්‍ය සේවා ඉහළ නැංවීම, තරුණයන් සඳහා වෘත්තීය පුහුණු වැඩසටහන්, වැවිලි ප්‍රජාවේ ක්‍රීඩා හා සංස්කෘතික පහසුකම් ඉහළ නැංවීම මෙම සැලැස්මෙහි අන්තර්ගත කර ඇත.

සාකච්ඡාව

වැවිලි ශේෂ්‍රය

- ජාතික සැලැස්ම මගින් මග හැරුණු වතු කර්මාන්තයේ (බීජාංකුර නැවත වගා කිරීම, අස්වැන්න, පාංශු බාදනය, කර්මාන්තශාලාවල තත්ත්වය) නිෂ්පාදන අංශය පිළිබඳ ප්‍රශ්නයක් ඉස්මතු කරන ලදී. ප්‍රමාණවත් වත්කම් නිෂ්පාදනයක් නොමැතිකම නිසා වතු ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ පවතින පහළ ඵලදායිතාව දරිද්‍රතාවට බලපාන එක් හේතුවක් වේ. සමාජීය අංශයට අමතරව නිෂ්පාදන අංශයේ සංවර්ධනය සඳහා වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කර තිබුණේද?
- එයට පිළිතුරු ලෙස ඒ සඳහා ව්‍යාපෘති කිහිපයක් ක්‍රියාත්මක කර ඇති බව දේශ-කයා පැවසීය. ඉන් කිහිපයක් නම් ආසියානු සංවර්ධන බැංකුවේ වැවිලි සංවර්ධන ව්‍යාපෘතිය, සහනාධාර සැලැස්මවල් සහ නැවත වගා කිරීම් ආදියයි. නිෂ්පාදන අංශ වෙත අවධානයක් නොමැතිවුත් අතපසුකර දමා තිබූ සමාජීය අංශ කෙරෙහි වැඩි අවධානයක් මෙම සැලැස්මෙන් ලබාදී ඇත. නිෂ්පාදනය වැඩිදියුණු කිරීමට දායක වන නිෂ්පාදනයේ සමාජීය අංශ (එනම් ඵලදාව ප්‍රවාහනය සඳහා අවශ්‍ය වන ට්‍රැක්ටර් ගණන වැඩිකිරීම, විවේකාගාර සෑදීම) කෙරෙහිද මෙම සැලැස්ම අවධානය යොමු කරයි. උදාහරණයක් ලෙස වැඩි කිරීමේ වාතාවරණය දියුණු කිරීම මගින් අවසානයේ ඵලදායිතාවද වර්ධනය වනු ඇත.

- සාකච්ඡාවට බඳුන්වුණු අනෙක් කරුණ නම් වතු වල ජීවත්වන තරුණයින්ගේ ගැටළුව වැදගත්කමයි. වතු තරුණයින් සහ ග්‍රාමීය තරුණයින් මුහුණදෙන ගැටළු මෙහිදී ඉස්මතු කරන ලදී. එසේම උපායමාර්ග සංවර්ධනය කිරීමේදී ජනවාර්ගික අංග සැලකිල්ලට ගතයුතු අතර අභිලාශයන්ද මුදුන් පමුණුවා ගැනීම අවශ්‍ය වේ.

දරිද්‍රතා ඇඟයීම

යටිතල පහසුකම් සැබෑලෙසම පිළිතුරක් සපයන්නේද යන ප්‍රශ්නයට පිළිතුරක් වශයෙන් ලෝක බැංකු නියෝජිතවරයා පැවසුවේ සැලසුම් නොකළ යටිතල පහසුකම් අන්තර්ජාතික වශයෙන් විශාල හානියක් සිදුකර ඇති බවයි. යටිතල පහසුකම්වල ප්‍රධාන ක්‍ෂේත්‍ර සඳහා අවධානය යොමු කිරීමේ අවශ්‍යතාව තිබූ බවත් ස්ථාපිතකල නොහැකි ප්‍රදේශ සඳහා විශාල යටිතල පහසුකම් ගොඩනැගිය යුතු බවත් ඔහු සඳහන් කළේය. ප්‍රජාව මගින් මෙහෙයවන සංවර්ධනයට ප්‍රමුඛස්ථානය ඇති අතර වැදගත් යටිතල පහසුකම් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමට ලෝක බැංකුව කැමැත්තෙන් සිටී.

- ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දරිද්‍රතාව කෙරෙහි ගැටුම්වල ඇති බලපෑම මත කරන ලද ප්‍රකාශයක් ආශ්‍රිතව පිළිතුරු දීමේදී දේශකයා පැවසුවේ ගැටුම් කෙරෙහි විමසා නොබලා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කලාපීය සංවර්ධනය පිළිබඳ කෙනෙකුට අදහසක් ගත නොහැකි බවත් එහිදී වඩා වැදගත් වන්නේ ගැටුම් බවත්ය. එමනිසා උතුරු නැගෙනහිරට අමතරව දකුණෙහි පවතින ගැටුම් ද කෙනෙකුට අමතක කළ නොහැක.

රාජ්‍ය ප්‍රතිපත්ති

- ගම නැගුම සහ ගම් උදාව වැඩසටහන් හරහා විසඳුම් / ප්‍රතිපත්ති ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම සහ ප්‍රාදේශීය විෂමතා හඳුනාගැනීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියෙහි රාජ්‍ය ප්‍රතිපත්ති පිළිගැනීම පිළිබඳ කරුණු දක්වන ලදී. මෙම වැඩසටහන් පිටුපස ඇති අරමුණු, ඒවා යොමු කරන ගැටළු සහ ඒවා යොමු කිරීමේදී පරීක්ෂා කරන ආකාරය අලුත් නොවන බව කරුණු දක්වීමේදී ඉස්මතු විය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවටද මීට සමාන වැඩසටහන් පිළිබඳ ඉතිහාසයක් ඇත. මෙවැනි අන්දමේ ප්‍රතිපත්ති ක්‍රියාවලීන්හි එක් අසාර්ථක වීමක් නම් සාර්ථක වූණු වැඩසටහන්වල ප්‍රතිඵල එකිනෙක පෝෂණය කර නොගැනීමයි.
- උපදෙස් ලබාදීම සහ සහභාගීභීම් සීමාකරන ප්‍රදේශයේ ප්‍රධාන ස්වරූපය සහ, සංවර්ධනයේ ක්‍රියාවන්හි ප්‍රමුඛතාවේ දේශපාලනමය බලපෑම ඇතුළත්ව ප්‍රතිපත්ති සැකසීමේදී පැනනගින ව්‍යුහාත්මක ගැටළු මත සාකච්ඡාවන් රැඳී තිබේ. සංවර්ධන ප්‍රතිපත්ති සහ දුගීබව මර්දනය කිරීමට කාර්මික සහ රැකියා ප්‍රතිපත්ති පෙළ ගස්වා ඒ පිළිබඳ ප්‍රතිපත්තින්හි ගැලපීම විමසා බැලූ අතර රාජ්‍ය මැදහත්වීම සහ වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේදී ඔවුන් වෙන්වූ ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයන් යන අනෙක් අදහස පදනම් වී තිබේ.

ගෝලීයකරණය, ව්‍යාපාර සහ අසමානතාව

ව්‍යාපාර සහ ගෝලීයකරණය පිළිබඳ අන්තර්ජාතික සහ ප්‍රාදේශීය මත හඳුන්වාදීම මගින් අසමානතාව පිළිබඳ දර්ද්‍රතා සම්මන්ත්‍රණයේ අවසන් සැසිය පුළුල්ව සාකච්ඡාවට ලක් කෙරිණි.

ගෝලීය කරණය සහ අසමානතාව - සම්බන්ධතා, ගෝලීය ප්‍රවණතා සහ ආසියාවේ කාර්යභාර්යය
රංජා සෙන් ගුප්තා, ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ ආර්ථික විශේෂඥ, අන්තර් ජාතික ආර්ථික සංවර්ධන සමාගම (IDEAS)

දකුණු ආසියානු කලාපය තුළ අසමානතාව සහ ගෝලීයකරණය පිළිබඳ රංජා සෙන් ගුප්තාගේ දේශනය පදනම් වී තිබිණි. ජනගහනය අනුව මැන බැලුවහොත් රට තුළ අසමානතාව සහ ලොවෙහි අසමානතාව හීන විය හැකි බවත්, මැන නොබැලුවහොත් කුඩා ප්‍රමාණයකින් ඉහළ යා හැකි බවත් ජන සහභාගිත්වය වැඩිවීමෙන් උද්‍යෝගය හීනවන බවත් ඇය නිගමනය කරන ලදී. මෙම ප්‍රතිඵල චීනය සහ ඉන්දියාව මත රඳා පවතී. මෙම රටවල් දෙක නොමැති විට අසමානතාව වර්ධනය වනු ඇත. දත්ත පැවතීම සහ සැසඳිය හැකි වීමේ ගැටළු නිසා රට තුළ පවතින අසමානතාව මැනීම අසීරුවේ. අසමානතාව සඳහා විශාල ලෙස දායක වන මූල්‍ය සීමා ලිහිල්ව පැවතීම, අසමානතාව වර්ධනයට හේතු වේ.

කලාපය තුළ සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාවලිය තුලින් රටවල් ඉවත්වීමත් සිදුවන අතර වෙළඳපොළ වෙත ඇදීයාමේ යාන්ත්‍රණ සඳහා වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමුකර ඇත. ප්‍රතිගාමී කීරුබදු සහ වෙළඳ සීමා ලිහිල් කිරීම හඳුන්වා දීම රටවල් වල ආදායම් උත්පාදනය සඳහා බෙහෙවින් බලපා ඇත. පොදු ආදායම් හිඟය පවත්වාගෙන යෑම සඳහා ප්‍රාග්ධන වැය අවම කර ඇත. පොදු අංශයේ අලෙවිය පවරාගෙන ඇත. පොදු සහ පුද්ගලික ප්‍රාග්ධනයේ පහළ මට්ටම් සැකසීම මගින් පොදු ආයෝජන රඳා පවතී.

දකුණු ආසියාවේ කිසිදු රටක් උසස් ගණයේ සෘජු විදේශ ආයෝජන(FDI) ලබා නැත. (FDI) සෘජු විදේශ ආයෝජන බලපා ඇත්තේ අංශ කිහිපයකට සහ ප්‍රදේශ කිහිපයකට පමණි. අවධානය වන්නාවූ ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් සහ පහත් මට්ටමේ ප්‍රාග්ධන සැකසීම ඵලදායී වෘත්තීන්ගේ වර්ධනයට බාධා පමුණුවන අතර එය අසමානතා ඇතිවීම කෙරෙහි බලපාන ප්‍රබල සාධකයකි. නිදහස් වෙළඳාමෙහි ප්‍රතිලාභ ලැබී ඇත්තේ සුළු අංශ කිහිපයකට පමණි. කෘෂි කර්මාන්තය සහ කුඩා පරමාණයේ වෙනත් කර්මාන්ත වලට ආනයන අපනයන බදු ක්‍රමයේ අවාසි අත්විඳීමට සිදුව ඇත. විවෘත ආර්ථික ක්‍රමයේ වාසි ලබාගෙන ඇත්තේ මෙම රටවල් වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයක අංශ කිහිපයක් පමණි. මෙමගින් මෙම රටවල් තුළ සෑම අතින්ම වෙනස් වූ සුවිශේෂ සමූහකත්වයක් ඇතිවී ඇත. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව හැරෙන්නට සියලුම දකුණු ආසියාතික රටවල් ඉතා දුර්වල මානව සංවර්ධන සාධක සහ පොදු පිරිවැය තත්ත්වයේ අවාසි අත්විඳියි.

ගෝලීයකරණය සහ අසමානතාව : සංවර්ධන මූලධර්මය
ප්‍රශ්නිතා ගෝෂ් - වැඩසටහන් පර්යේෂක CVTS International

ප්‍රශ්නිතා ගෝෂ්, වෙළඳ සබඳතා සම්බන්ධයෙන් දකුණු ආසියානු කලාපය තුළ පවතින අසමානතා පිළිබඳ අවධානය යොමු කර ඇත. ඇය නිගමනය කරන ලද්දේ හුදෙකලා වර්ධන වේගයක් කර්මාන්තයන්හි සහ සේවාවන්හි දක්නට ලැබෙන බවයි. කලාපීය ආර්ථික ක්‍රියාවලීන් නාගරික ප්‍රදේශ සහ උගත් පිරිස් පිළිබඳ අවධානය යොමු කරද්දී වත්කම් කිසිවකට අයිතියක් නොමැති, ග්‍රාමීය නූගත් පිරිස් අවධානයට ලක්නොවී පසුවෙයි. කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය බොහෝ පිරිසකගේ ප්‍රධාන ආධාරකය වන නමුත් දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදනයේ කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය සඳහා වෙන් වූ කොටස මගින් නියෝජනය කරන ජාතික කෘෂිකාර්මික වැදගත්කම පහළ බසිමින් පවතී. කෘෂිකාර්මික අංශයේ වර්ධන වේගය ඉතා පහත් බැවින් බොහෝ පිරිස් සඳහා අධ්‍යාපනය සහ පුහුණුව, යටිතල පහසුකම් සහ විකල්ප රැකියා ආදී අවස්ථාවන් සීමිත වී ඇත.

වඩාත් සාර්ථක වෙළඳ රාමුවක් ගොඩනැංවීම උදෙසා
සමාජ සාධාරණ මූලයන් වර්ධනය කිරීම
වැත්රිනි විරතුංග සහ බ්‍රින් ගේ, පර්යේෂක UNDP

ආර්ථික සහ සමාජ සාධාරණ වෙළඳ රාමුවක් පිළිබඳ අදහස් වැත්රිනි විරතුංග සහ බ්‍රින්ගේ විසින් හුවමාරු කරගන්නා ලදී. කුඩා පරිමාණ ව්‍යාපාරිකයන්ට සහ නිෂ්පාදකයන්ට තොරතුරු, නව තාක්ෂණය, ණය පහසුකම් සහ අපක්ෂපාත ලාභ උපකාර වෙත ප්‍රවේශ වීම සහ ඒවා සපයා දීම පිළිබඳ අවධානය යොමුකර ඇත.

තොරතුරු සඳහා ප්‍රවේශය, දැනුම බෙදා ගැනීම, කණ්ඩායම් ණය සඳහා ප්‍රවේශය, හවුල් වෙළඳ ව්‍යාපාර සඳහා සම්පත්, සාධාරණ වෙළඳ ප්‍රතිපත්ති සහ පර්යේෂණ මධ්‍යස්ථානය සඳහා පෙළඹවීම ආදියට නිෂ්පාදන ව්‍යාපාර, සමාගම්, කණ්ඩායම් මගින් පහසුකම් සලසා දෙනු ඇත.

නීති ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීම ශක්තිමත් කිරීම, යටිතල පහසුකම් වැඩිදියුණු කිරීම, පරිපාලනය සරල, කාර්යක්ෂම, මනාව සංවිධිත ක්‍රියාවලීන් සහ වෙළඳපොළෙහි ලාභදායී අංශ වඩා පෙළඹවීම ආදිය සඳහා ගෘහස්ථ, කලාපීය ගෝලීය සහ ජාතික මට්ටමේ සංශෝධන මෙම වෙළඳරාමුව තුළින් ඉදිරිපත් කර ඇත. කලාපීය වෙළඳාම ඉහළ නැංවීම, වෙළඳාමෙහි සහ එසේ නොවන සීමා බාධක ඉවත් කිරීම, කම්කරු/පාරිසරික ප්‍රමිතීන් පිළිපැදීමට බහුජාතික සමාගම් දිරිගැන්වීම සහ සංස්ථාමය සමාජීය වගකීමේ සංග්‍රහය සමග එකඟවීමට යාන්ත්‍රණ සහතික කිරීම් ආදිය සඳහා කලාපීය සහ ගෝලීය මට්ටමේ යෝජිත වෙළඳ පොළ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ අවධානය යොමුකොට ඇත.

නිගමනය

‘අසමානතාව ගැටළුවක්ද’ යන්න යන තේමාව යටතේ පැවැත්වූ දර්ශනා සම්මේලනයේදී සිදුකළ විවිධ දායකත්වයන් සංක්ෂිප්ත කර දැක්වීම මෙම හැඳින්වීමේ අරමුණයි. මෙම දෙදින තුළ සිදුකළ සාකච්ඡා සහ අන්‍යෝන්‍ය ක්‍රියාවන් තුළින් ඇති වූ විවරණය සහ අවබෝධයෙහි අහපත් තත්ත්වය යහපත් අතට වෙනස්වීමේ ක්‍රියාවලිය සටහන් කර තිබීමද වැදගත්වේ. එසේම අසමානතාවේ සංකීර්ණත්වය සහ දර්ශනාව සමග එහි ඇති සම්බන්ධතාවද මෙහිදී ඉස්මතු කර දක්වන ලදී. පැවැත්වූ සාකච්ඡාවන් තුළින් අසමානතාව ආමන්ත්‍රණය කරන සමහර සම්මත ක්‍රම අභියෝගයට ලක්කල අතර දර්ශනාව සහ අසමානතාව අතර පවතින එකිනෙකට සම්බන්ධ කරුණු පිළිබඳ නැවත සිතා බැලීමක් කරන ලෙසද යෝජනා කරන ලදී. අසමානතාව කථා බහට ලක්විය යුතු ප්‍රතිශේධාත්මක කරුණක්ය යන සාමාන්‍ය ප්‍රතිමානික අදහස දේශන සහ සාකච්ඡාවල තිබූ විශේෂ ලක්ෂණයක් විය. මෙම කරුණ ආමන්ත්‍රණය කළ යුතු ආකාර එකිනෙකට වෙනස් වේ. මෙයට අමතරව අසමානතාවේ සිත් බඳිනාසුළු සහ සංකීර්ණ භාවය සමග දිගටම නිර්මාණාත්මක බැඳීමක් පවත්වා ගැනීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවද සම්මන්ත්‍රණයේදී මතු කරන ලදී. සිදුකල සාකච්ඡා සහ දායකත්වය තුළින් අසමානතාව ගැටළුවක්ය යන්න පැහැදිලි විය.

வறுமை பற்றிய கருத்தரங்கு 2006 - வறுமையும், சமத்துவமீன்மையும்

அறிமுகம்

வறுமை பற்றிய ஆராய்ச்சி மீதான வறுமை ஆய்வு நிலையத்தின் 7ஆவது வருடாந்தக் கருத்தரங்கின் தன்மையை நிறைவேற்றுப் பணிப்பாளர் தனது ஆரம்பக் குறிப்புரையில் முன்வைத்தார். இவ்வருடத்தின் கருப்பொருள் சமத்துவமீன்மை தாக்கமுள்ளதா? என்பதே ஆகும். நடைமுறையிலான வறுமை பற்றிய விளக்கவுரையில் வறுமையின் பரிணமான மட்டங்கள் மீது பாரியதொரு வலியுறுத்தல் உள்ளதாக வளர்ச்சியுறும் அங்கீகாரத்திலிருந்து வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையத்தினுள்ளும், துறையில் உள்ள ஏனையோருடனும் இடம்பெற்ற கருத்துப் பரிமாறல்களின் பின்னர் இது தோன்றிய அதே வேளை, சமத்துவமீன்மையினதும், சார்புரீதியிலான வறுமையினதும் பிரச்சினைகள் நிகழ்ச்சி நிரலில் இருந்து விட்டுவிடவதாகத் தெரிகின்றது. இதை நிகழ்ச்சி நிரலில் மீளச்சேர்த்துக் கொள்வதை இவ்வருடத்தின் கருத்தரங்கு நாடி நின்றது.

கருத்துக்களை முன்வைத்தவர்களும், குழு நடத்துனர்களும் சமூகரீதியில் புறந்தள்ளல், மற்றும் புதிய தொழில்நுட்பங்களுக்கும், மோதலுக்கும், வர்த்தகத்திற்கும் அடைதல் ஆகிய மனத்தோற்றப்பாட்டில் இருந்து என்றவாறு, ஒரு தொகை மனத்தோற்றப்பாடுகளில் இருந்து சமத்துவமீன்மையைப் பரிசீலிப்பதற்கான வாய்ப்பினை எமக்கு வழங்கினார்கள். தமது பணியில் சமத்துவமீன்மையைக் கவனத்திற்கு எடுப்பதை நாடி நிற்கின்ற நிறுவனங்களின் தெரிவின் மூலமும், கொள்கைத் துறையில் சமத்துவமீன்மை எவ்வாறு சமாளிக்கப்படுகின்றது என்பதன் மூலமும் நடைமுறை தொடர்பில் எவ்வாறு சமத்துவமீன்மை கவனத்தில் எடுக்கப்படுகின்றது என்பதை இரு குழுக்கள் நோக்கின.

இச் சாராம்சம் ஒவ்வொரு சமர்ப்பணங்களிலிருந்தும் கருத்துப் பரிமாறலின் பிரதானமான விடயங்களை ஒன்றாகக் கொண்டு வருகின்றது. இது குழு நடத்துனர்களினால் செய்யப்பட்ட பங்களிப்புகளின் சாராம்சத்தையும், குழுக் கருத்துப் பரிமாறல்களின் போது அரங்கிலிருந்து தோன்றிய பிரச்சினைகளின் சிலவற்றையும் உள்ளடக்குகின்றது.

சமத்துவமீன்மையினதும், வறுமையுடன் அதன் உறவினதும் பிரச்சினை சிக்கலானதாகும். இச் சிக்கல்தன்மையை கருத்துக்களை முன்வைத்த பலரும், மற்றும் குழு நடத்துனர்களும் முனைவுபடுத்தியதுடன், தமது பங்களிப்புகளில் அதன் வேறுபட்ட அம்சங்களையும் விபரித்தனர். நோக்கின் இப் பன்னிலையிலான துறைகளுக்கும், சமத்துவமீன்மையின் வெளிப்படுத்தல்களுக்கும் இடையில், ப்ரணமான இணைப்புக்களை முன்வைப்பது கஷ்டமாகவுள்ள அதே வேளை, பெருமளவு சமர்ப்பணங்களின் அடிப்படையிலான வழமையான தளங்களை வெளிப்படுத்துவது சாத்தியமானதாகும். இவ் வேறுபட்ட பணியின் அம்சங்களினால்

வெளிப்படுத்தப்பட்ட சமத்துவமின்மைகள் மறுதலையானவை என்ற கருத்தினையே அவை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டிருந்தன. மறுதலையானதும், கவனத்திற்கு எடுப்பதற்கு அவசியமான ஏதோவொன்றானதுமான சமத்துவத்தின் இக் கருத்து, இக் கருத்தரங்கின் பங்களிப்புக்கள் ஒவ்வொன்றின் மூலமும் வெளிப்பட்டன.

முன்வைக்கப்பட்ட முக்கியமான சமத்துவமின்மைகளின் சிலவற்றை இந்த அறிமுகம் முனைவுபடுத்துவதுடன், சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட பலதரப்பட்ட வாதங்களின் வழமையான அடிப்படையை பராமரிப்பதனையும் நாடி நிற்கின்றது.

வறுமை பற்றிய கருத்தரங்கின் போது இடம்பெற்ற சமர்ப்பணங்களினதும், கருத்துப் பரிமாறல்களினதும் தொடர்வரிசையை அறிமுகம் பின்தொடருகின்றது. வறுமையையும், சமத்துவமின்மையையும் பற்றிய எமது புரிந்துணர்வுக்கு சமர்ப்பணங்கள் முன் வைத்த சவால்களையும், இச் சவால்களில் இருந்து எழுந்த கருத்துப் பரிமாறலையும் கைப்பற்றிக் கொள்ள அது முயல்கின்றது. சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்ட கட்டுரைகளை இவ்வெளியீட்டின் எஞ்சியவை உள்ளடக்குகின்றன. இவற்றில் சில முழுமையாகக் காணப்படுகின்றன.

முக்கிய உரைகள்

கலாநிதி நிமால் சந்தர்தன் - தலைவர், வறுமை ஆய்வு நிலையம்

சமூக சாவலின் கஷ்டமானதும், பல்-பரிமாணத்திலானதுமான துறையொன்றாக சமத்துவமின்மையை கலாநிதி சந்தர்தன் அறிமுகப்படுத்தினார். சமத்துவத்தின் உள்ளூணர்வுசார்ந்ததும், நோக்கத்திலானதுமான அம்சங்களைப் பற்றி அவர் உரையாற்றினார். நோக்கத்திலான கருத்துருவொன்றாக சமத்துவமின்மை பற்றி பேசுவதற்கு லோரன்ஸ் வளைவு (Lorenz curve), மற்றும் கினி குணகம் (Gini coefficient) போன்ற அளவீடுகளைப் பொருளியலாளர்கள் பயன்படுத்துகின்றார்கள். சமத்துவமின்மையின் அதிக உள்ளூணர்வுசார்ந்த நோக்கமொன்றை வழங்குவதற்கு மனத்தோற்றப்பாடுகள் பயன்படுத்தப்படுகின்றன. உள்ளூணர்வுசார்பிலானதும், நோக்கத்திலானதுமான இரட்டைத்தன்மையைச் சமர்ப்பணம் முனைவுபடுத்தியதுடன், சமத்துவமின்மையைப் புரிந்துகொள்வதில் உள்ளூணர்வுசார்ந்த தரவுகளின் பயன்படுத்தலின் பெறுமதியையிட்டும் கேள்வி எழும்பியது.

சுனில் பல்தியான் - சபை உறுப்பினர், வறுமை ஆய்வு நிலையம்

அரசியல் பொருளாதார விளக்கவுரை மீதான அடிப்படையில் சமத்துவமின்மையைப் புரிந்து கொள்வதற்கான அணுகுமுறையொன்றை சுனில் பல்தியான் அறிமுகப்படுத்தினார். கருத்தரங்கின் பிரதான கருப்பொருள் பற்றிக் குறிப்பிடிகையில் (“சமத்துவமின்மை தாக்கமுள்ளதா?”) சமத்துவமின்மை தாக்கமுள்ளதல்ல என்றும், உலகத்தில் இடம்பெறும் பெரும்பாலான மாற்றங்களை சமத்துவமின்மையைக் கரிசனைக்கு எடுக்காமல் புரிந்து கொள்ள முடியாது என்றும் அவர் தெரிவித்தார். சமத்துவமின்மை எவ்வாறு ஆராயப்பட்டது

என்பதே சமர்ப்பணத்தின் பிரதான நோக்காகும். முதலில் உரையாற்றியவரினால் அறிமுகப்படுத்தப்பட்ட சமத்துவமின்மையின் உள்ளூணர்வுசார்ந்ததும், நோக்கத்திலானதுமான இரட்டைத்தன்மையையிட்டு அவர் சர்ச்சை செய்ததுடன், (சமத்துவத்தின்) மனத்தோற்றுப்பாடுகள் உண்மையானவை என்றும், அதிக நோக்கத்திலான நடவடிக்கைகளாக சமத்துவமின்மையை ஆய்வு செய்தல் செல்லுபடியானவை, பயனுள்ளவை என்றும் தாம் நம்புவதாகத் தெரிவித்தார்.

சமூக உறவுகளாக சமத்துவமின்மை மற்றும், வறுமை ஆகிய இரண்டும் புரிந்து கொள்ளப்பட வேண்டும்.

அரசியலையும், அதிகாரத்தையும், மற்றும் சமத்துவமின்மையில் வரலாற்றுரீதியான பரிமாணங்களையும் சமர்ப்பணம் குறிப்பிட்டிருந்தது. இலங்கையில், இப்பரிமாணங்கள் மோதலை உருவாக்கியுள்ளன. சுதந்திரத்தின் பின்னர் அரசாங்கத்தைப் பொறுப்பேற்றுக் கொண்ட ஆங்கிலக் கல்வியறிவிலான, உயர் சாதியிலான கொழும்பைத் தளமாகக் கொண்ட உயர் குலத்தினர் நாட்டினுள் ஆழமான பிளவுகளை உருவாக்கியுள்ளனர். 1956இல் இந்த சமத்துவமின்மைக்கு மாற்றத்தையும், முடிவினையும் கோரி இந்த உயர்குல குழுவில் வேறுபட்ட குழுக்களும் இணைந்து கொண்டன. இலங்கையில் அரசியல் சூழலில் தொடர்ந்து வந்த மாற்றங்கள் சமத்துவமின்மைக்கு நெருக்கமான தொடர்பினைக் கொண்டிருந்தன. பிராந்திய சமத்துவமின்மையும், குழுக்களுக்கு இடையிலான சமத்துவமின்மையும் இலங்கையில் மோதலின் வரலாற்றுரீதியான வேர்களுடன் இணைப்பினைக் கொண்டுள்ளன.

வறுமையும், சமத்துவமின்மையும்

வறுமையினதும், சமத்துவமின்மையினதும் மையக் கருப்பொருளை ஆராய்ந்த மூன்று சமர்ப்பணங்களை கருத்தரங்கின் முதலாவது அமர்வு சித்தரித்திருந்தது.

பிராந்திய வறுமையினதும், சமத்துவமின்மையினதும் சவால்கள்:

உட்கட்டமைப்பு சேவைகள் மீதான பொதுசன முன்னுரிமை நடவடிக்கை

பாலித் ஏகநாயக்க, கிராமிய பொருளாதார அபிவிருத்தி உசாவலர் மற்றும் நிமால் அத்தநாயக்க, தலைவர், பொருளியல் திணைக்களம், கொழும்பு பல்கலைக்கழகம்

13 மாவட்டங்களைப் பிரதிநிதிப்படுத்தும் நூறு பேரைக் கொண்ட மாதிரியொன்றைப் பயன்படுத்தி வறுமைக்கு முற்பட்ட வளர்ச்சி, வழிகாட்டலிலான உட்கட்டமைப்புச் சேவைகளின் தாக்கம், பிராந்திய வறுமையைக் குறைக்கும் சவாலைப் பூர்த்தி செய்தல், மற்றும் வருமானப் பங்கீட்டிலான சமத்துவமின்மை ஆகியவற்றை இக்கட்டுரை ஆராய்கின்றது. உட்கட்டமைப்பினை வழங்கும் வருமான ஆதரவு உதவியை வழங்குவது அதிமேன்மையானது என ஆய்வு முடிக்கின்றது. ஏனெனில் தொழிற்பாட்டில் அவர்களது மட்டத்திற்கு அக்கறையின்றி, பொருளாதாரரீதியில்

தீவிரமடைவதற்கு சகலருக்கும் வாய்ப்புக்களை அவை உயர்த்துகின்றன. உட்கட்டமைப்பின் ஏற்பாட்டின் மூலம் வாய்ப்புக்களை வழங்குவதனாலும், மட்டச் செயற்பாட்டுக் களமொன்றை உருவாக்குவதனாலும் பிராந்திய வருமான சமத்துவமின்மையைக் குறைந்தபட்சமாக்கலாம் என சான்று சுட்டிச்சொல்லியது.

அற்ப முதலீட்டில் தொலைதொடர்புப் பாவனை 2:

'பிரமிட்டின்' அடிமட்டத்தில் தொலைதொடர்பை எட்டுவதன் மூலம் வறுமையைக் குறைத்தல்

ஹர்ஷா டி சில்வா, தலைமைப் பொருளியலாளர் மற்றும் ஆயிஷா செயினுதீன், ஆராய்ச்சியாளர் - LIRNEasia

தொலைதொடர்புகள் உட்கட்டமைப்புக்கான அடைதலினதும், ஏழைகளின் மத்தியில் தொலைதொடர்பு சேவைகளின் உபயோகத்தினதும் மீது பல்-நாட்டு ஆய்வொன்றின் முடிவுகளை ஹர்ஷா டி சில்வா முன்வைத்தார். தொலைதொடர்புகள் உட்கட்டமைப்பை அடைதலில் வறுமைக்கு சமத்துவமின்மை பங்களிக்கின்றது என்ற ஆதாரமற்ற அனுமானத்தைச் சோதிப்பதற்காக ஆய்வு முடிவுகள் பரிசீலிக்கப்பட்டன. இலங்கையில் பிரமிட்டின் அடிமட்டத்தில் உள்ள மக்கள் தொலைபேசிகளுக்கான அடைதலைக் கொண்டுள்ள அதே வேளை, அவற்றை அவர்கள் அதிகளவு பயன்படுத்துகின்றனர் என்றும், பிராந்தியத்தில் உள்ள வேறு நாடுகளுடன் ஒப்பிடுகையில் உயர்ந்த ஆகுசெலவை தொலைபேசியைப் பாவிப்போர் செலுத்த வேண்டும் என்றும் ஆய்வு வெளிப்படுத்தியது. தொடர்பாடல்களுக்கான அடைதலை மேம்படுத்துவதற்கும், அடைதலை அதிகளவு கருத்தாழமிக்கதாகக் குவதற்கும் ஒழுங்குபடுத்தல் கொள்கையைச் சமாளிப்பதே சவாலாகும் என்றும் அவர் கூறினார்.

'இனத்துவமும், வேதனச் சமத்துவமின்மையும், அல்லது இலங்கையில் இனத்துவ ரீதியிலான வேதன முரண்பாடுகள் உள்ளனவா, அவ்வாறாயின் அவை ஏன் உள்ளன' டிலினி குணவர்தன, சிரேஷ்ட விரிவுரையாளர், பேராதனைப் பல்கலைக்கழகம்

பால்நிலையினதும், இனத்துவத்தினதும் மீதான அடிப்படையிலான வேதன இடைவெளியில் ஆய்வொன்றின் முடிவுகளை டிலினி குணவர்தன முன்வைத்தார். அண்மைய உழைப்பாளர் படை தரவுகளைப் பயன்படுத்தி இலங்கையில் பால்நிலை வேதனத்தின் அண்மைய ஆய்வு பெருமளவு வேதன இடைவெளிக்கு பால்நிலை பாகுபாடு பொறுப்பாகவுள்ளது என்பதற்கும், வேதன இடைவெளிகள் பங்கீட்டின் அடிமட்டத்திலும் (ஓட்டும் நிலத்தளங்களுடன் ஒத்திருக்கின்றது), மற்றும் சில சந்தர்ப்பங்களில் பங்கீட்டின் உச்சியிலும் (கண்ணாடி உட்கூரைத் தட்டுக்களை ஒத்திருக்கின்றது) பாரியதாக இருக்கின்றன என்பதற்கும் சான்றுகள் உள்ளன.

1996, 1997 மற்றும் 2003 மற்றும் 2004 மாதிரிகளில் இருந்து விவசாயம் சாராத அரசாங்க மற்றும் தனியார் துறையைச் சேர்ந்த ஆண் ஊழியர்களின்

மாதிரியொன்றைப் பயன்படுத்தி, பங்கீட்டில் வேதனங்களில் இனத்துவரீதியான வேறுபாடுகள் உள்ளனவா என்றும், மனித மூலதனம் போன்ற உற்பத்தித்திறன் தொடர்பான குணவியல்புகளில் உள்ள வேறுபாடுகளின் காரணமாக இவ் வேறுபாடுகள் ஏற்பட்டுள்ளனவா என்றும் ஆராய்ச்சி பரிசீலிக்கின்றது. பங்கீட்டில் வேறுபட்ட முனைகளில் இந்த வேதன இடைவெளிகள் வேறுபட்டவையாக விளங்குகின்றன என்பதையிட்டு ஆராய்ச்சி பரிசீலிக்கின்றது. குறிப்பிட்டுச் சொல்லின், பங்கீட்டின் அடிமட்டத்தில் உள்ள இனத்துவச் சிறுபான்மையினரின் வேதனங்கள் ஓட்டும் நிலத் தளங்களுக்கு உட்பட்டதா, அத்துடன் இதே குழுக்களின் வேதனங்கள் கண்ணாடி உட்கரைத்தகடுகளுக்கு உட்பட்டதா என்ற பிரச்சினைகளையிட்டு அது கவனத்திற்கு எடுக்கின்றது. வேதன இடைவெளி எந்தளவு இருக்கும் அத்துடன் யாரின் சார்பாக இருக்கும் என்ற பிரச்சினையைக் கவனத்தில் எடுக்கும் எதிரான மெய்கள் மீதான அடிப்படையை ஆய்வு கொண்டிருக்கும். தற்போது இடம்பெறுகின்ற ஆய்வொன்றின் பூர்வாங்க முடிவுகளின் மீதான அடிப்படையை சமர்ப்பணம் கொண்டிருந்தது.

மோதலும், அழிவுகளும்

“பொய்கள், சுத்தப் பொய்கள், மற்றும் புள்ளிவிபரங்கள்: “உண்மையினை” வெளிப்படுத்துவதற்கு பாடுபடும் போது ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள் ஏன் கரிசனை கொள்ள வேண்டும்?”

பிரஷ்னான் தளையசிங்கம், இணைப்பாளர், வறுமை மற்றும் முரண்பாடுகள் நிகழ்ச்சி, வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையம்

தரவை உபயோகித்தல் மற்றும் உள்ளூணர்வைச் சார்ந்திருத்தல் ஆகியன மீதான சமர்ப்பணமொன்றுடன் அழிவுகள், மற்றும் சமத்துவமின்மை மீதான இரண்டாவது அமர்வு ஆரம்பமாகியது. அரசியல் நிகழ்ச்சி நிரல்களை மேற்கொள்வதற்கும், அரசியல் கூற்றுக்களைச் செய்வதற்கும் ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள் எவ்வாறு புள்ளிவிபரத் தரவுகளைப் பயன்படுத்துகிறார்கள் என்பது மீதான அடிப்படையை வறுமை மற்றும் மோதல் செயல்திட்டத்தினாலான சமர்ப்பணம் கொண்டிருந்தது. வேறுபட்ட இனத்துவக் குழுக்களுக்கு எதிரான பாரபட்சத்திலான குற்றச்சாட்டுக்களை நிரூபிப்பதற்காக புள்ளிவிபர தரவுத் தொகுதிகளை எவ்வாறு வேறுபட்ட ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள் திரிபுடுத்துகிறார்கள் என்பதை வெளிப்படுத்துவதற்கு அரசகரும் மொழி, பல்கலைக்கழக அனுமதிகள் மற்றும் அரசாங்கத் துறையில் தொழில் ஆகியன பற்றிய இலங்கையின் மோதலின் தோற்றவாய்களுடன் தொடர்பினைக் கொண்டுள்ள மூன்று பிரதான பிரச்சினைகள் மீதான கட்டுரைகளை ஆய்வு பயன்படுத்தியது. தொடர்ந்துமே வாதிக்கப்படுவதும், எதிர்த்து நிற்பதுமான இலங்கையின் மோதலின் தோற்றவாயைச் சுற்றியுள்ள வாத்தத்திலான பிரச்சினைகளை இக் கட்டுரை ஆராய்வதுடன், இப் பிரச்சினைகளை உயிரோட்டமாகவும், தீர்க்கப்படாமலும் வைத்திருப்பதற்காக எவ்வாறு வேறுபட்ட ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள் நாடுகின்றனர் என்பதையும் வெளிப்படுத்துகின்றது.

சமத்துவமின்மையை அனர்த்தங்கள் அதிகரிக்கின்றனவா?

பவானி பொன்சேகா, சிரேஷ்ட ஆராய்ச்சியாளர், மாற்றுக் கொள்கைக்கான நிலையம்

சமத்துவமின்மையை அனர்த்தங்கள் அதிகரிக்கின்றனவா என்ற கருப்பொருள் மீதான சமர்ப்பணமொன்றினால் இது தொடரப்பட்டது. எவ்வாறு உதவி ஒதுக்கீட்டில் பாரபட்சம் காட்டப்பட்டது, உதவி முகவராண்மைகளுக்கு இடையில் ஒருங்கிணைப்பு இன்மை, மற்றும் அதிகரித்துவரும் சமத்துவமின்மைக்கு பங்களிக்க நீண்ட கால அபிவிருத்தி நோக்கு இன்மை ஆகியவற்றை வெளிப்படுத்துவதற்கு சுனாமிக்குப் பின்னரான உதவி மீது சமர்ப்பணம் நோக்கினைக் கொண்டிருந்தது. மோதலினால் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட மக்களுக்கும், பகுதிகளில் உள்ள குறைந்த சமூக-பொருளாதார நிலையுடனான ஏனைய மக்களுக்கும் வழங்கப்பட்ட உதவி எவ்வாறு பாகுபாட்டினை உருவாக்கி, மோதலைத் தூண்டியது என்பது மீதான பிரச்சினையும் சமர்ப்பணத்தில் இருந்து தோன்றியது.

குழுக் கருத்துப் பரிமாறல் - வறுமையும், சமத்துவமின்மையும் - செயற்பாட்டாளர் மனத்தோற்றப்பாடுகள்

முதல் தினத்தின் இறுதி அமர்வு குழு கருத்துப்பரிமாறலாகும். இது சமத்துவமின்மைப் பிரச்சினையை அவர்களது குறிப்பிட்ட கருத்திட்டங்கள் எவ்வாறு கையாண்டன என்பதைக் கண்டறிவதற்கு மூன்று செயற்பாட்டாளர்களை ஒன்றாகக் கொண்டு வந்தது.

MAS ஹோல்டிங்ஸ் - சஞ்சனா குழுப்பு, முகாமையாளர், இடைவெளி அப்பால் செல்கிறது

கூட்டுச் சமூக பொறுப்பின் (கூ.ச.பொ.) குறிப்பிட்ட கருத்து பற்றியும், சமத்துவமின்மையின் பிரச்சினையை அவர்களது கருத்திட்டங்கள் கவனத்திற்கு எடுத்த வழி பற்றியும் MAS ஹோல்டிங்ஸைச் சேர்ந்த பிரதிநிதி உரையாற்றினார். MASஇன் தயாரிப்பு நிலையங்களுடனான இணைப்புடன் கூ.ச.பொ. கருத்திட்டங்கள் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டன. பெண்களின் அதிகாரமளிப்பு, திறன்களை முன்னேற்றுவதல் மற்றும் இளைஞர் திறன்கள் முன்னேற்றக் கருத்திட்டங்கள் ஆகியவற்றுக்கு அவர்கள் ஆதரவளித்தனர். நீண்ட கால அபிவிருத்தி நோக்கொன்றில் இக் கருத்திட்டங்கள் எப்பொழுதுமே உருவாக்கப்படுவதில்லை. சாத்தியமானளவு விரைவாகவும், செயற்றிறனாகவும் கருத்திட்டத்தை நிறைவுபடுத்துவது மீதே நோக்குள்ளது. குறுகிய காலச் சட்டமொன்றில் அமுல்படுத்தலின் அனுசூலத்தைக் கொண்டுள்ள அதே வேளை, இக் கருத்திட்டங்கள் சனசமூகம் மீது கொண்டுள்ள தாக்கத்தின் மீது சிறிதளவு பிரதிபலிப்பையே கொண்டுள்ளன. பன்முகப்படுத்தப்பட்ட மட்டத்தில் அரசாங்கத்துடன் மிகவும் நெருக்கமாகப் பணியாற்றுவதும், பகுதியில் உள்ள அரசாங்க முன்னுரிமைகளுடன் கருத்திட்டங்கள் ஒரு நிலைப்படுவதை

உறுதிப்படுத்துவதும் அவசியமானவையாகும் என உணரப்பட்டது. அபிவிருத்தித் துறையுடனான நெருக்கமான இணைப்புகள் கருத்திட்டத்தை திட்டமிடுவதிலும், அமுல்படுத்துவதிலும், கண்காணிப்பதிலும் திறன்களைத் திரட்டிக் கொள்வதற்கான முன்னெடுப்புகளுக்கு உதவும்.

பிரக்டிக்கல் ஆக்ஷன் - வி.க.ஹைதல்லகே, நாட்டுப் பணிப்பாளர், தென் ஆசிய செயல்திட்டம்

சமத்துவமின்மையின் சிக்கல்தன்மை பற்றிய பிரச்சினைகளை பிரக்டிக்கல் ஆக்ஷனின் தலைவரினாலான சமர்ப்பணம் எழுப்பியது. வறுமையின் உயர் மட்டங்களுடன் சமத்துவமின்மையின் உயர் மட்டங்கள் எவ்வாறு இன்றியமையாதவகையில் இணைப்பினைக் கொண்டிருக்கவில்லை என்பது பற்றி கருத்துக்களை முன்வைத்தவர் பேசினார். உலகளாவிய தெற்கில் உள்ள சில நாடுகளுடன் ஒப்பிடுகையில், வறுமையின் குறைந்த மட்டங்களைக் கொண்ட ஐக்கிய அமெரிக்கா போன்ற நாடுகளில் சமத்துவத்தின் உயர் மட்டங்கள் கண்கூடானவையாகும். அபிவிருத்திப் பணிகள் சமத்துவமின்மையை எவ்வாறு கவனத்தில் எடுத்தன, மற்றும் அதன் பங்களிப்பு என்ன என்பன பற்றிய கேள்விகளை சமர்ப்பணம் எழுப்பியது. வறுமைக்கும், சமத்துவமின்மைக்கும் பங்களிப்பதில் அரசாங்கம் மற்றும் அபிவிருத்திச் செயற்பாட்டாளர்கள் போன்ற வேறுபட்ட நிறுவனங்களின் பங்கு உட்பட சமத்துவமின்மையின் காரணிகள் முனைவுபடுத்தப்பட்டன.

அக்ஷன் எயிட் - சூசீத்த சீர்வர்தன, செயல்திட்ட உத்தியோகத்தர்

உரிமைகளின் அடிப்படையிலான அணுகுமுறை மீது தமது தாபனத்தின் பணியின் நோக்கொன்றை அக்ஷன் எயிட் நிறுவனத்தின் பிரதிநிதியொருவர் முன்வைத்தார். அவர்களது பயனாளிகள் உரிமைகளின் உடமையாளர்களாக வரையறுக்கப்படுவதுடன், அவர்களது உரிமைகளையிட்டு அவர்களை அறிந்து வைத்திருக்கச் செய்வதும், அவற்றை உச்சரிப்பதற்கும், தாபிப்பதற்கும் அதிகளவு இயலுபவர்களாக இருப்பதைச் செய்வதுமே செயல்திட்டத்தின் பணியின் அங்கமாகும். உரிமைகளின் உடமையாளர்களுக்கும், அரசாங்கத்திற்கும் மற்றும், இந்த உரிமைகளை நிறைவேற்றுவதற்கு நீதிரீதியான கடப்பாட்டினைக் கொண்டுள்ள ஏனைய சட்ட செயற்பாட்டாளர்களுக்கும் இடையில் இணைப்புக்களில் பங்கெடுப்பதற்கும், அதைத் தாபிப்பதற்கும் நேர்மையான கடப்பாட்டினை அணுகுமுறை கோரிநிற்கின்றது. தமது சொந்த நலனை ஆய்வதற்கும், தமது தேவைகளை முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்துவதற்கும், மற்றும் அவர்கள் கவனத்திற்கெடுப்பதற்கும், திட்டமிட்டுள்ள பிரச்சினைகளையும், கரிசனைகளையும் அடையாளங் காண்பதற்கும் சனசமூகங்களை அணுகுமுறை அனுமதிக்கின்றது. பின்னர் உரிமைகளின் உடமையாளர்களின் ஒத்துழைப்புடன் கருத்திட்டத்தினால் இப்பிரச்சினைகள் கவனத்தில் எடுக்கப்படுகின்றன. அமுலாக்கல், கண்காணித்தல், மற்றும் ஆய்தல், மற்றும் சமூகக் கணக்காய்வு

ஆகியவற்றின் நடைமுறையில் சனசமூகம் ஈடுபடுகின்றது. மேலதிகமாக, உரிமையின் உடமையாளர்களுக்கும், மற்றும் வேறு சனசமூக அடிப்படையிலான நிறுவனங்கள், அரசாங்க மற்றும் அரசாங்க சார்பற்ற உறுப்புக்கள், அ.சா. தாபனங்கள், ச.அ.சா.தாபனங்கள் ஆகியவற்றுக்கும் இடையில் உடன்பாடுகளைப் பேணும் முயற்சியாக வலைப்பின்னல்களையும், இணைப்புக்களையும் கட்டியெழுப்புதல் மீது அணுகுமுறை நோக்கினைக் கொண்டுள்ளது.

கூட்டுச் சமூகப் பொறுப்பு முற்றுமுழுதுமான ஒரு புதிய கருத்துரு அல்ல என்பதற்கும், இலங்கையில் வர்த்தகத்தில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ள மக்களும் தருமச் செயற்பாடுகளில் ஈடுபட்டுள்ளவர்கள் என்பதற்குமான உண்மையை சபையோரிடமிருந்து வெளிப்படுத்த கருத்தொன்று முனைவுபடுத்தியது. ஒரு புதிய தவணையைப் பெற்றுள்ள கூட்டுச் சமூகச் பொறுப்பு இந் நாட்டில் ஒரு பழைய பாரம்பரியமான என்ற கேள்வி MASஇன் பிரதிநிதியிடம் முன் வைக்கப்பட்டது.

கூட்டுச் சமூகப் பொறுப்பினைச் செய்யும் நீண்ட வரலாறு ஒன்றை இலங்கையும், குறிப்பாக MASஉம் கொண்டுள்ளன. தமது தொழிற்சாலைகள் தளத்தைக் கொண்டுள்ள இடங்களிலுள்ள சனசமூகங்களுடன் MAS நெருக்கமாகப் பணியாற்றுகின்றது என அவர் மேலும் தெரிவித்தார். சில நிறுவனங்கள் தனிப்படுத்தப்பட்ட முறையில் பணியாற்றுவதுடன், அவ்வாறு செய்வதற்கும் விரும்புகின்றன. சகலருக்கும் இது பரிட்சித்தலும், தவறு விடுதலுமான நடைமுறை என்றும், வாடிக்கையாளர்களுக்கு இவ்வாறான வழியாகவே அவர்கள் தம்மை நிலைப்படுத்துகிறார்கள் என்றும் அவர் கூறினார்.

பலதரப்பட்ட மான்யங்கள் (அதாவது சக்தியைத் தோற்றுவித்தல் போன்ற) மீது பெருமளவு நிறுவனங்கள் தொழிற்படுகின்றன என்பது பற்றியும், நாட்டின் முன்னேற்றத்தை நோக்கி பரஸ்பர பங்களிப்பொன்றுக்கான அவசியமொன்று உள்ளது என்பது பற்றியும் இன்னொரு கருத்து எழுப்பப்பட்டது.

தினம் 2

குழுக் கருத்துப் பரிமாறல் - சமத்துவமின்மையைக் கவனத்திற்கொடுத்தல் - கொள்கை மனத்தோற்றப்பாடுகள்

உலக வங்கி - அம்பர் நாராயண் - சீரேஷ்ட பொருளியலாளர்

உலக வங்கியின் வறுமை மதிப்பீட்டிலிருந்து தெரிவு செய்யப்பட்ட முடிவுகளை அம்பர் நாராயண் முன்வைத்தார். வறுமை மதிப்பீட்டில் வெளிப்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ள இலங்கைக்கான சில சவால்கள் ஏழைகளின் “ஆற்றலளவையும்”, பின்தங்கிய பிராந்தியங்களிலும், தோட்டங்களிலும் உள்ளவர்களின் “இயங்கும்தன்மையையும்” உயர்த்துகின்ற தரமான கல்விக்கான அடைதலை மேம்படுத்துதல், சில குழுக்கள் மீது சுமத்தப்படுகின்ற மோதல் கட்டுப்பாடுகளை

அகற்றுதல், தோட்டத்தில் வசிப்பவர்களின் சமூக மற்றும் பொருளாதார இயங்கும்தன்மையைத் தனிமைப்படுத்துவதற்கும், மட்டுப்படுத்துவதற்கும் இட்டுச் செல்லுகின்ற காரணிகளைக் கவனத்திற்கெடுத்தல் ஆகியன மீதான நோக்கினை வறுமை மதிப்பீடு முன்வைத்தது. பின்தங்கிய பிராந்தியங்களில் பொருளாதாரப் பாய்வுகளை விஸ்தரிக்குமுகமாக சந்தைகளுக்கும், உட்கட்டமைப்புக்குமான சிறந்த இணைப்புக்களைத் தாபிப்பதற்கும், கொழும்பின் முதன்மை ஸ்தானத்தைக் குறைப்பதற்கு மாற்று வளர்ச்சி நிலையங்களை மேம்படுத்துவதற்காக உட்கட்டமைப்பு முன்னேற்றத்தை திட்டமிடுவதற்கும் மூலவளங்களின் சாதகமான ஒதுக்கீட்டுக்காக நகரத்தைத் திட்டமிடுதலையும், கிராமிய முன்னேற்றத்தையும் ஒருங்கிணைப்பதற்குமான அவசியத்தை மதிப்பீடு முனைவுபடுத்தியது.

மகிந்த சிந்தனை - விஜேரத்ன பண்டா, திட்ட அமுலாக்கல் அமைச்சு

மகிந்த சிந்தனையில் வெளிப்படுத்தப்பட்ட கருத்துக்களில் சிலவற்றை திட்ட அமுலாக்கல் அமைச்சுச் சேர்ந்த திரு. விஜேரத்ன பண்டா முன்வைத்தார். மொத்த உள்நாட்டு உற்பத்தியின் 50% மேல் மாகாணத்தில் செறிந்துள்ளதென்றும், இதன் விளைவாக பிராந்திய அபிவிருத்தி மீது மகிந்த சிந்தனை நோக்கினைக் கொண்டிருந்தது என்றும் சமர்ப்பணம் வெளிப்படுத்தியது. ருகுணு நவோதய மற்றும் ரஜரட்ட சிந்தனை போன்ற கருத்துருக்கள் அவற்றுக்குள் பிராந்திய அபிவிருத்தியின் தேவைகளைக் கட்டியெழுப்பியுள்ளன. ஊவா மற்றும் சப்ரகமுவ ஆகிய மாகாணங்கள் உள்ள சூழ்நிலை போன்ற கண்கூடான பிராந்தியப் பாகுபாடுகளை அடையாளங் காண்பது முக்கியமானதாகும். சமத்துவமின்மையையும், பிராந்திய பாகுபாடுகளையும் தெளிவாகக் காட்டுகின்ற 119 மிக வறிய பிரதேச செயலாளர் பிரிவுகளை குடிசன மதிப்பு, புள்ளிவிபரத் திணைக்களம் அடையாளங் கண்டுள்ளது. இப் பிராந்திய பாகுபாடுகளைத் தீர்த்துக் கொள்வதற்கு *கம நெகும்* செயல்திட்டம் மற்றும் வாழ்வாதார அபிவிருத்தி அமைச்சுடன் பணியாற்றுதல் ஆகியன உட்பட சில முன்மொழிவுகளை மகிந்த சிந்தனை முன்வைத்துள்ளது. 2006இல், *கம நெகும்* செயல்திட்டத்திற்கு 500 மில்லியன் ரூபாவை ஒதுக்கி வைத்துள்ளது. மிகவும் வறுமைப்பட்ட 119 கிராமங்களில் *கம நெகும்*வின் கீழ் 10 கிராமங்கள் தெரிவு செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளதுடன், இவை முடியும் தறுவாயில் உள்ளன. இரண்டாவது கட்டம் 36 கிராமங்களைத் தெரிவு செய்த அதே வேளை, மூன்றாவது கட்டம் அண்ணளவாக சகல 119 பிரிவுகளையும் உள்ளடக்கும்.

முன்னுரிமை முன்னேற்றப் பகுதிகளை அடையாளங் காண்பதன் மூலம் உள்நர் சனசமூகங்களை ஒன்றிணைத்து கிராம முன்னேற்றத் திட்டமொன்றை தயாரிப்பதென ஒவ்வொரு பிரதேச செயலகமும் எதிர்பார்க்கப்படுவதுடன், உட்கட்டமைப்பு முன்னேற்றமே மேம்படுத்தலுக்கான முக்கியமான துறையாகும். கிராமிய மக்களுடனான உசாவுகையுடன் இச் செயல்திட்டங்கள் தயாரிக்கப்படுகின்றன. இத்தகைய செயல்திட்டங்களின் முன்னேற்றத்தையும், தரத்தையும் திட்ட

அமுலாக்கல் அமைச்சு கண்காணிப்பதுடன், இக் கிராமங்களின் முன்னேற்றத்தை பின்தொடர்வதுடன், கவனத்தை அவசியப்படுத்தும் விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் நடவடிக்கையை எடுப்பதற்காக சம்பந்தப்பட்ட அதிகாரவர்க்கத்தினருக்கும் அறிவிக்கின்றது.

தோட்டத் துறைக்கான தேசிய செயல்திட்டம் - கலாநிதி பற் அலெய்லாமா

வறுமையையும், சமத்துவமின்மையையும் கவனத்திற்கெடுப்பதை நாடி நிற்கும் கொள்கை முன்னெடுப்பொன்றாக தோட்டங்களுக்கான தேசிய செயல் திட்டம் மீது கலாநிதி அலெய்லாமா உரையாற்றினார். வறுமை மட்டத்தை குறைப்பதும், பெருந்தோட்டச் சனசமூகத்திற்கான வாழ்க்கைத் தரத்தை மேம்படுத்துவதுமே செயற்திட்டத்தின் குறிக்கோளாகும். தோட்டங்களில் வாழும் 230,000 குடும்பங்களை அல்லது 900,034 மக்களை அவர்களது இலக்குக் குழுக்கள் அடக்குகின்றன.

புத்தாயிரமாண்டு அபிவிருத்திக் குறிக்கோளுடன் ஒத்திருக்கத்தக்கதாக 2006-2015க்கு இடையிலான காலத்தை செயல் திட்டம் உள்ளடக்குகின்றது. வீடமைப்பை முன்னேற்றுவதல், நீர், சுகாதார செயல்திட்டங்கள், உட்கட்டமைப்பு முன்னேற்றம், சுகாதார சேவைகளைத் தரமுயர்த்துவதல், இளைஞர்களுக்கான தொழில்முன்னிலைப் பயிற்சி, தோட்டங்களில் விளையாட்டு மற்றும் கலாசார வசதிகளைத் தரமுயர்த்துவதல் ஆகியனவற்றை திட்டம் உள்ளடக்குகின்றது.

கருத்துப்பரிமாறல்

தோட்டத் துறை

- தேசிய செயல் திட்டத்தில் இருந்து கைவிடப்பட்டுள்ளதாக தெரிகின்ற தோட்டங்களின் உற்பத்திப் பக்கம் (நாற்றுக்களை மீள நடுதல், விளைச்சல், மண் அரிப்பு, தொழிற்சாலை நிலைமை போன்ற) பற்றி கேள்வியொன்று எழுப்பப்பட்டது. தோட்டத் துறையில் குறைந்த உற்பத்தித்திறனை வறுமைக்கு ஒரு காரணமாகும். ஏனெனில், அங்கு போதியளவு வருமானத் தோற்றுவிப்பு இல்லை என்பதாகும். உற்பத்திப் பக்கத்தை (சமூகப் பக்கத்திற்குப் புறம்பாக) முன்னேற்றுவதை நோக்குவதற்கு ஏதாவது செயல் திட்டங்கள் இருந்தனவா?
- இதற்கு பதிலிறுப்பாக, பெருமளவு கருத்திட்டங்கள் அமுல்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளதாக கருத்துக்களை முன்வைத்தவர் தெரிவித்தார். உதாரணமாக, ஆசிய அபிவிருத்தி வங்கியின் பெருந்தோட்ட அபிவிருத்திக் கருத்திட்டம், மான்யத் திட்டங்கள், மீள் நடுகை போன்றன விளங்குகின்றன. உற்பத்தி அம்சத்தைத் திட்டம் நோக்கவில்லை. ஆனால், பதிலாக உதாசீனம் செய்யப்பட்ட சமூக அம்சங்கள் மீது நோக்கினைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. உற்பத்தியை மேம்படுத்துவதற்கு பங்களிக்கின்ற உற்பத்தியின் சமூக அம்சங்கள் மீது

(பிரக்டர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையை அதிகரித்தல், ஓய்வு அறைகள் போன்ற) திட்டம் கரிசனை கொண்டுள்ளது. உதாரணமாக, வேலை செய்யும் நிலைமைகளை மேம்படுத்துவது மீதான நடவடிக்கையானது முடிவாக உற்பத்தித்திறனை அதிகரிக்கும்.

- தோட்ட இளைஞர்கள் மத்தியில் பிரச்சினைகளின் முக்கியத்துவத்தை இன்னொரு கருத்து வலியுறுத்தியது. தோட்ட இளைஞர்களும், கிராமிய இளைஞர்களும் முகம் கொடுக்கும் பிரச்சினைகளை பங்களிப்பு கொண்டு வந்ததுடன், நிறைவேற்றப்படுவதற்கு அவசியமான விருப்பார்வங்கள் உள்ளதாகவும், மூலோபாயங்களை முன்னேற்றும் போது இனத்துவ அம்சம் கரிசனைக்கு எடுக்கப்பட வேண்டும் எனவும் வலியுறுத்தியது.

வறுமை பற்றிய மதிப்பீடு

- உட்கட்டமைப்பு உண்மையிலே பதிலொன்றை வழங்கியதா என்பது பற்றி அரங்கிலிருந்து கேட்கப்பட்ட கேள்வியொன்றுக்கு பதிலிறுப்பாக, திட்டமிடப்படாத உட்கட்டமைப்பு சர்வதேசீதியில் அதிகளவு சேதத்தை ஏற்படுத்தியுள்ளதாக உலக வங்கியைச் சேர்ந்த கருத்துக்களை வெளியிட்டவர் கூறினார். உட்கட்டமைப்பின் சில முக்கிய துறைகள் மீது நோக்கினைக் கொண்டிருப்பதற்கும், நிலைத்திருக்கக்கூடிய பகுதிகளில் பாரிய உட்கட்டமைப்பினைக் கட்டுவதற்கு முயற்சிப்பதற்கும் அவசியமொன்றுள்ளதாக அவர் தெரிவித்தார். சனசமூக செலுத்தலிலான முன்னேற்றம் முன்னுரிமை என்பதுடன், பொருள்படுத்துகின்ற உட்கட்டமைப்பை இடுவதில் உலக வங்கி சார்பாகவுமுள்ளது.
- இலங்கையில் வறுமை மீதான மோதலின் தாக்கம் மீதான கருத்துரை தொடர்பில், மோதல் வாதத்தினுள் நோக்காமல் இலங்கையில் பிராந்திய முன்னேற்றத்தை ஒருவர் நோக்க முடியாது என்றும், மோதலாகவே மைய நோக்கு இருக்க வேண்டும் என்றும் கருத்தை முன்வைத்தவர் சொன்னார். ஆகவே, இது கிழக்கின் மற்றும் வடக்கின் மட்டும் அல்ல, அதாவது தெற்கின் மோதல்களையும் ஒருவரால் மறக்க முடியாது.

அரசாங்கக் கொள்கை

- பிராந்தியப் பாகுபாடுகளை அடையாளம் காணும் நடைமுறையையும், *கம நெரும* மற்றும் *கம உதாவ* செயல்திட்டங்களின் ஊடாக தீர்வுகளின்/கொள்கைகளின் அமுலாக்கத்தையும் அரசாங்கக் கொள்கை மீது கருத்துரைத்தவருக்கான ஒரு கருத்து அங்கீகரித்தது. இச் செயல்திட்டங்களுக்கு பின்னால் உள்ள கருத்துக்களும், அவை கவனத்தில் எடுத்த பிரச்சினைகளும், அவற்றைக் கவனத்தில் எடுப்பதற்கு அவை நாடிய வழியும் புதியன அல்ல என்பதை கருத்துரை முனைவுபடுத்தியது. இதையொத்த செயல்திட்டங்களின் வரலாற்றை இலங்கை கொண்டுள்ளது. ஒவ்வொரு தொடர்ந்து வருகின்ற செயல்திட்டங்களில் இருந்து பாடங்கள்

ஏனைய ஒவ்வொன்றினுள்ளும் ஊட்டப்படவில்லை என்பதே இவ்வகையிலான கொள்கை நடைமுறையில் இழுக்கான குணங்களில் ஒன்றாகும்.

- முன்னேற்றச் செயல்பாடுகளின் முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்தலில் அரசியல் செல்வாக்கையும் மற்றும் பங்கெடுப்பினையும், உசாவலையும் மட்டுப்படுத்துகின்ற, அரசாங்கத்தின் மையத்திலான தன்மை ஆகியன உட்பட கொள்கையை வகுத்தலுடன் கட்டமைப்பிலான பிரச்சினைகள் மீது அரசாங்க கருத்துப் பரிமாறலில் சில மையத்தைக் கொண்டிருந்தன. வறுமையை ஒழிப்பதுடனும், அபிவிருத்திக் கொள்கைகளுடனும் கைத்தொழில் மற்றும் தொழில் கொள்கைகள் ஒழுங்குபடுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளனவா என்பதை விசாரிப்பதாக, அல்லது அரசாங்க தலையீடுகளுக்கும், நிகழ்ச்சிப்படுத்தலுக்கும் தற்றுணிபுத் துறைகளாக அவை கருதப்பட்டதாக இசைவுத் தன்மை மீது ஏனைய கருத்துக்கள் நோக்கினைக் கொண்டிருந்தன.

உலகமயமாக்கல், வர்த்தகம், மற்றும் சமத்துவமின்மை

வர்த்தகம் மற்றும் உலகமயமாக்கல் ஆகியன மீதான பிராந்திய மற்றும் சர்வதேச மனத்தோற்றப்பாடுகளை அறிமுகப்படுத்தி, சமத்துவமின்மை மீது கருத்துப் பரிமாறலை வறுமை பற்றிய கருத்தரங்கின் இறுதி ஆய்வு விரிவுபடுத்தியது.

“உலகமயமாக்கலும், சமத்துவமின்மையும் - இணைப்புக்கள், உலகளாவிய போக்குகள் மற்றும் ஆசியாவின் வகிப்பு”

ரஞ்ஜா சென்குப்தா, சிரேஷ்ட பொருளியலாளர், சர்வதேச அபிவிருத்திப் பொருளியல் கூட்டிணைவுகள்

தென் ஆசியப் பிராந்தியத்தில் சமத்துவமின்மையினதும், உலகமயமாக்கலினதும் மீது ரஞ்ஜா சென்குப்தாவின் சமர்ப்பணம் நோக்கினைக் கொண்டிருந்தது. நாடுகளுக்கிடையிலான சமத்துவமின்மையும், உலக சமத்துவமின்மையும் சனத்தொகையினால் மதிக்கப்பட்டால் வீழ்ச்சியடைவதாகவும், மதிக்கப்படாவிட்டால், அல்லது தளர்வுட்டும் திடீர் மதிப்பினால் சிறிதளவு அதிகரிப்பதாகவும் தெரிவதாக அவர் முடித்து வைத்தார். இம் முடிவுகள் சீனாவினதும், இந்தியாவினதும் மீது பாரியளவில் தங்கியுள்ளன. இந் நாடுகள் இன்றி, சமத்துவமின்மை அதிகரிப்பதாகத் தெரிகின்றது. தரவு கிட்டதலினதும், ஒப்பீட்டுத்தன்மையினதும் பிரச்சினைகளின் காரணமாக நாட்டினுள் சமத்துவமின்மைக் காரணி கஷ்டமானதாகும். சமத்துவமின்மைக்கு பெரிதுமே பங்களிப்பதற்கு முனைப்பாகவுள்ள நிதிசார் தாராளமயப்படுத்தலுடன் அதிகரித்து வரும் சமத்துவமின்மைக்கான காரணிகள் பெரிதுமே வெளிவாரியிலானதாகும்.

பிராந்தியத்தில் அபிவிருத்தி நடைமுறையில் அரசாங்கத்தின் படிப்படியான மீள்பெறுதலொன்று இருப்பதுடன், சந்தை செலுத்தலிலான பொறிமுறைகள் மீது அதிகளவு வலியுறுத்தல் இடப்பட்டுள்ளது. பின்னோக்கிச் செல்லும்

வரிவிதிப்பு கொள்கைகளினதும், வர்த்தகத் தாராளமயப்படுத்தலினதும் அறிமுகத்தின் மூலம், அரசாங்கங்களின் வருமானத் தோற்றுவிப்பு மறுதலையாகப் பாதிப்படைந்துள்ளது. பிசுக்கால் பற்றாக்குறையை அடக்கிக் கொள்வதற்கு மொத்தச் செலவினம் குறைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. அரசாங்கத் துறை அலகுகளின் விற்பனை பொறுப்பேற்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. அரசாங்கத்தினதும், தனியார் துறையினதும் மூலதன உருவாக்கத்தின் குறைந்த மட்டத்தினால் அரசாங்க மூலதனத்தின் குறைந்த மட்டம் சேர்ந்துள்ளது.

வெளிநாட்டு நேரடி மூலதனத்தின் உயர்ந்த மட்டங்களை தென் ஆசிய நாடுகளின் எதுவுமே பெறவில்லை. மிகச் சில துறைகளிலும், பகுதிகளிலுமே வெளிநாட்டு நேரடி மூலதனம் செறிந்துள்ளது. பணவீக்கத்திலான பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கைகளும், குறைந்த மட்டத்திலான மூலதன உருவாக்கமும் பயனுள்ள தொழிலின் வளர்ச்சியைத் தடுத்துள்ளன. இது சமத்துவமின்மைகளின் முக்கியமான காட்டியொன்றாக நிரூபணமாகியுள்ளது. வர்த்தகத் தாராளமயமாக்கல் ஒரு சில உப-துறைகளுக்கு நன்மையாக விளங்கியுள்ளது. இறுப்புப்பட்டி மட்டும் என்ற ஆட்சி முறைக்கு நகருவதிலிருந்து விவசாய மற்றும் சிறிய, நடுத்தர தயாரிப்பு நிறுவனங்களே பாதிப்படைந்துள்ளன. இப்பெருமளவு நாடுகளில், திறந்த ஆட்சிமுறையொன்றின் அனுகூலத்தை ஒரு சில துறைகளே பெற்றுள்ளன. இந் நாடுகளில் சுபீட்சத்தின் சுற்றிவளைத்தல் தன்மையை இது உருவாக்கியுள்ளது. இலங்கை புறநீங்கலாக, மிகவும் மோசமான மனித அபிவிருத்திக் காட்டிகளிலிருந்து சகல ஆசிய நாடுகளுமே பாதிப்படைவதுடன், இத்துறைகள் மீதான பொதுசனச் செலவினமும் மிகவும் குறைவாகும்.

உலகமயமாக்கலும், சமத்துவமின்மையும்: அபிவிருத்தியின் தர்க்கரீதியான கோட்பாடு பிரஷ்மித்தா கோஷ், செயல்திட்ட உத்தியோகத்தர், CUTS International

வர்த்தக உறவுகள் தொடர்பில் தென் ஆசியப் பிராந்தியத்தில் சமத்துவமின்மை மீது பிரஷ்மித்தா கோஷ் நோக்கினைக் கொண்டிருந்தார். சேவைகளிலும், கைத்தொழிலிலும் பண வசதியிலான வளர்ச்சி கண்கூடானது என அவர் முடித்து வைத்தார். பிராந்தியத்தில், பொருளாதாரச் செயற்பாடு நகரப் பகுதிகளிலும், கற்றறிந்த மக்களின் மத்தியிலும் செறிந்திருந்த அதே வேளை, சிறிதளவு, அல்லது சொந்த உடமையற்ற கிராமிய, கற்றிருக்காத ஏழைகளின் உயர் மட்டங்கள் தொடருகின்றன. பெரும்பான்மையான மக்களுக்கு விவசாயமே முக்கிய ஆதாரமாக தொடர்ந்துமிருக்கின்றது. ஆனால், மொத்த உள்நாட்டு உற்பத்தியில் விவசாயத்தின் பங்கினால் பிரதிநிதிப்படுத்தப்படும் விவசாயத்தின் தேசிய முக்கியத்துவம் வீழ்ச்சியடைந்துள்ளது. விவசாயத் துறையின் வளர்ச்சி வீதம் குறைவானது என்பதுடன், கல்வி, பயிற்சி, மூலதனம், உட்கட்டமைப்பு, மாற்றுத் தொழில் ஆகியவற்றுக்கான அடைதலுக்கான வாய்ப்புக்களைப் பெருமளவு மக்கள் கொண்டிருக்கவில்லை.

அபிவிருத்தியடைவதற்கு அதிகளவு உள்ளடங்கலான உலகளாவிய வர்த்தகத் திட்ட வரைக்காக சமூக நீதி முன்னெடுப்புக்களை விருத்தி செய்தல்
சத்ராணி வீரதுங்க மற்றும் பிரைன் கே, ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள், ஐ.நா.அ.தி.

பொருளாதார மற்றும் சமூக நிதித் திட்டவரை ஒன்றின் மீதான அடிப்படையிலான கருத்துக்களை சத்ராணி வீரதுங்க மற்றும் பிரைன் கே ஆகியோர் பரிமாறிக் கொண்டனர். இது தகவலை அடைதலையும், தொழில்நுட்பத்தை அடைதலையும், கடனை அடைதலையும், நியாயமானதும், பாரபட்சமானதுமான நன்மைகளைப் பரிமாறிக் கொள்வதையும் சிறிய அளவிலான விவசாயிகளுக்கும், உற்பத்தியாளர்களுக்கும் வழங்குவது மீது ஒருமுகப்படுத்தியது. தகவலை அடைவதையும், அறிவைப் பரிமாறிக் கொள்வதையும், குழுக் கடன்கள் போன்ற கடனை அடைவதையும், இயலச் செய்வதையும், மூலவளங்களை ஒன்று சேர்ப்பதையும், நியாயமான வர்த்தகச் செயற்பாடுகளையும், ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையங்கள்/விதை பரிமாறிக் கொள்வதை மேம்படுத்துவதையும் வசதிப்படுத்துகின்ற உற்பத்தியாளர் தலைமையிலான கூட்டுறவுச் சங்கங்கள்/ சங்கங்கள்/சபைகள் ஆகியவற்றை உருவாக்குவதற்கு திட்டவரை அழைப்பு விடுக்கின்றது.

சட்டங்களின் வினைப்படுத்தலைப் பலப்படுத்துவதற்கும், உட்கட்டமைப்பினை மேம்படுத்துவதற்கும், நிருவாக மற்றும் ஊடறுத்துச் செல்லும் நடைமுறைகளை வலிமைப்படுத்துவதற்கும், சந்தைகளை மேம்படுத்துவதற்கும் தேசிய மட்டத்தில் உள்ளூர், பிராந்திய மற்றும் உலகளாவிய சந்தைகளின் சீர்திருத்தங்களை திட்டவரை முன்மொழிந்தது.

பிராந்திய வர்த்தகத்தை மேம்படுத்துதல், வர்த்தக மற்றும் வர்த்தகம் சாராதடைகளை ஒழித்தல், கூட்டுச் சமூகப் பொறுப்பு நியதிகளுடன் இணங்குவதை உறுதிப்படுத்துவதற்காக சூழல்/தொழில் நியமங்களுக்கும், பொறிமுறைகளுக்கும் ஒழுக்கி நடப்பதற்கு பல்தேசிய கூட்டுத்தாபனங்களுக்கான ஊக்குவிப்புக்கள் மீதான ஏற்பாடு ஆகியன மீது பிராந்திய மற்றும் உலகளாவிய மட்டத்தின் உத்தேசமான சந்தைச் சீர்திருத்தங்கள் நோக்கினைக் கொண்டிருந்தன.

முடிவுரை

“சமத்துவமின்மை தாக்கமுள்ளதா?” என்ற கருப்பொருள் மீது வறுமை பற்றிய கருத்தரங்கில் செய்யப்பட்ட பலதரப்பட்ட பங்களிப்புக்களை சுருக்குவதை அறிமுகம் திருப்தி செய்கின்றது. நிகழ்ச்சியின் இரு நாட்களாக இடம்பெற்ற கருத்துப் பரிமாறல்களிலிருந்தும், ஒருவருடன் ஒருவர் இணைந்து செயற்படுவதிலிருந்தும் வியாக்கியானத்தினதும், புரிந்துணர்வினதும் இறுக்கத்தினையும், ஓட்டத்தையும் பதிவு செய்வது முக்கியமானதாகும்.

சமத்துவமின்மையின் பிரச்சினையின் சிக்கல்தன்மையையும், வறுமையுடன் அதன் உறவையும் சில வழிகளில் அவை முனைப்படுத்துகின்றன. சமத்துவமின்மை கவனத்திற்கெடுப்பதற்கான ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளத்தக்க சில வழிவகைகளுக்கு கருத்துப் பரிமாறல்கள் சவால் விடுப்பதுடன், வறுமையினதும், சமத்துவமின்மையினதும் இணைந்துள்ள பிரச்சினைகள் பற்றிய எண்ணத்தின் புதிய வழிகளைச் சுட்டிச் சொல்கின்றன. சமர்ப்பணங்களையும், கருத்துப் பரிமாறல்களையும் பற்றி விசேடமான விடயம் என்னவெனில் கவனத்தில் எடுப்பதற்கு அவசியமான மறுதலையான ஏதோவொன்றாக சமத்துவமின்மையை முன்வைத்த அவற்றின் ஊடாக ஓடிய பொதுவான வழமையான நூல் ஆகும். இது கவனத்தில் எடுக்கப்படுவதற்கு அவசியமான மறுதலையான ஏதோ ஒன்றாகச் சமத்துவமின்மையை முன்வைத்தது. இதைக் கவனத்தில் எடுப்பதற்கான சிறந்த வழிவகைகள் மீதுள்ள கருத்தினைப் போன்று, இப்பிரச்சினைகள் கவனத்தில் எடுக்கும் வழிவகைகள் வேறுபடுகின்றன. இருந்த போதிலும், சமத்துவமின்மையின் சிக்கலானதும், அக்கறையிலானதுமான பிரச்சினையுடன் தொடருகின்ற ஆக்கத்திறனிலான ஈடுபடுத்தலுக்கான அவசியத்தை கருத்தரங்கு முனைவுபடுத்தியது. அவற்றில் இருந்து வெளிப்படுகின்ற பங்களிப்புக்களிலிருந்தும், கருத்துப் பரிமாறலிலிருந்தும் சமத்துவமின்மை ஒரு பொருட்டல்ல என்பது தெளிவாகியது.

ARE THERE DISPARITIES IN WAGES BY ETHNICITY IN SRI LANKA, AND WHY?¹

Dilani Gunewardena²

Abstract

Wage inequality by gender and ethnicity characterise labour markets all over the world. Recent studies have extended the analysis to examine if these inequalities and their sources are different at different points of the distribution.

Using a sample of non-agricultural public and private sector employees from the Quarterly Labour Force Survey data from 1996 to 2004, we examine whether there are differences by ethnicity in wages across the distribution and whether these differences are due to differences in productivity related characteristics like human capital or not. We also examine if these wage gaps are different at different points in the distribution. Specifically, we address the question of whether wages of ethnic minorities at the bottom of the distribution are subject to sticky floors, and whether wages of these same groups are subject to glass ceilings. The analysis is based on counterfactuals that address the question, how large and in whose favour would the wage gap be, if ethnic minorities were paid like identical Sinhala workers? The assumption is that in the absence of discrimination, identical individuals should be paid identically, regardless of ethnicity. On this basis the current study looks for evidence of discrimination in wages.

The study finds that while there are Sinhala-favouring raw wage gaps, these are at least partly explained by the lower productive characteristics of ethnic groups. This implies that policies that focus on improving education and skills (training) of minorities still have a role to play in reducing the raw wage gap between these minorities and the Sinhala majority.

¹ The author thanks participants at the Centre for Poverty Analysis 7th Annual Poverty Symposium on "Does Inequality Matter?" in 2006, seminar participants at the Department of Economics and Statistics, University of Peradeniya, and Nilakshi de Silva and Sanjana Kuruppu for helpful comments. Unit data from the Quarterly Labour Force Survey are used with the permission of the Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka, who bear no responsibility for the analysis or interpretations presented here.

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Among males, especially, it was evident that 'discrimination' or disadvantage occurs in the form of restricting minorities to certain occupations. This implies that labour market policies have a role to play in removing barriers to entry to 'good' jobs, especially for Tamil males. There was little or no evidence that younger groups had to face more discrimination in the labour market. The Tamil advantage in access to good jobs at the top of the public sector distribution appears to have diminished or disappeared for younger cohorts.

**ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය සහ වැටුප් අසමානතාව:
ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වැටුප් සංයුතියෙහි
ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය අනුව වෙනසක් පවතීද? එසේනම් ඇයි?**

ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ භාවය සහ ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය අනුව පවතින වැටුප් විෂමතාවන් ලෝකයේ සෑම රටකම පාහේ ශ්‍රම වෙළෙඳපළවල් වල දැකිය හැකි ලක්ෂණයකි. එනිසාම මෙම අසමානතාවන් මෙන්ම එම අසමානතාවයන්හි මූලයන් ව්‍යාප්තියේ ස්ථානයෙන් ස්ථානයට වෙනස්වන්නේද යන්න සොයාබැලීම දක්වා මෑතකාලීන අධ්‍යයන වල විශ්ලේෂණයන් පුළුල් කර ඇත.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ මෑතකාලීන ශ්‍රම බලකා දත්ත ආශ්‍රිතව සිදුකරන ලද ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ වැටුප් අසමානතා විශ්ලේෂණයන් තුළින් හෙළිවූයේ සියළු වැටුප් පරතරයන් සඳහාම පාහේ ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ විෂමතාවය හේතු වී ඇති බවය. ව්‍යාප්තියේ පහළ ස්ථර වලදී මෙම වැටුප් පරතරය විශාල බවද (පහළ මට්ටමේ තනතුරු වල සිට ඉහළ තනතුරු සඳහා ගමන්කිරීමට ඇති අසීරුතාවය හේතුකොටගෙන “Consistent with sticky floors”) ඇතැම් අවස්ථාවලදී ඉහළ ස්ථර වලදීද විශාල වැටුප් පරතරයන් පවතින බවද (දැනට හොඳවන තනතුරු වලින් තවත් ඉහළට යාමට ඇති අසීරුතාවය හේතුකොටගෙන “Consistent with glass ceilings”) මෙම විශ්ලේෂණයන් තුළින් වැඩිදුරටත් අනාවරණය විය.

1996,1997,2003 සහ 2004 සමීක්ෂණයන්ගෙන් ලබාගත් රාජ්‍ය සහ පෞද්ගලික අංශයන්හි කෘෂිකාර්මික නොවන පුරුෂ සේවක නියැදියක් භාවිතා කරමින්, ව්‍යාප්තිය පුරාවටම ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය අනුව වැටුප් මට්ටම් වල වෙනස්කම් පවතීද යන්න සොයාබැලීම මෙහිදී සිදුකරනු ලබයි. එසේම, මෙම වෙනස්කම් වලට පාදක වී ඇත්තේ මානව ප්‍රාග්ධනය වැනි ඵලදායීතාව ආශ්‍රිත ගතිලක්ෂණයන්ගේ විෂමතාවන්ද යන්නත් මෙහිදී සොයා බලනු ලබයි. තවද, ව්‍යාප්තියේ ස්ථානයෙන් ස්ථානයට මෙම වැටුප් පරතරයන් වල විෂමතාවය වෙනස් වන්නේද යන්නත් මෙමගින් සොයාබලනු ලැබේ. විශේෂයෙන්ම, ආදායම් ව්‍යාප්තියේ පහළ ස්ථරයන්හි පසුවන සුළු ජනවාර්ගික කණ්ඩායම්වල වැටුප් මට්ටම් මෙන්ම ආදායම් ව්‍යාප්තියේ ඉහළ ස්ථරයන්හි පසුවන එම සුළු ජනවාර්ගික කණ්ඩායම් වල වැටුප් මට්ටම් දැඩියාවන්ට (sticky floors and glass ceilings) මුහුණ දෙන්නේද යන කාරණය සාකච්ඡාවට බඳුන් කිරීමද මෙහිදී සිදුකෙරේ. සුළු ජනවාර්ගික කණ්ඩායම් සිංහල බහුතරය හා සමාන ලක්ෂණ පිළිබිඹු කරන විටදී පවා ඔවුන්ට සුළු ජනකොටස් ලෙසින් සලකා ගෙවීම් සිදුකරන්නේනම්, එම වැටුප් පරතරය කොපමණද? එමෙන්ම එම වැටුප් පරතරයන් කුමන කණ්ඩායම් වලට වාසි සැලසෙන ආකාරයට ගොඩනැගී ඇතිද? යන ප්‍රශ්ණ වලට පිළිතුරු සපයා ගැනීමට ඉවහල් වන කරුණු මත පදනම්ව මෙම විශ්ලේෂණය ගොනුකර ඇත. මෙහිදී යොදාගනු ලබන උපකල්පනය වන්නේ වෙනස්කොට සැලකීමක් නොමැති නම් ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය කුමක් වුවත් සමාන පුද්ගලයන්ට සමාන ආකාරයට ගෙවීම් කළ

යුතු බවය. ඒ අනුව මෙම පදනම මත පිහිටමින් වැටුප් ගෙවීම් වලදී ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය අනුව වෙනස් කොට සැලකීමක් එසේත් නැතිනම් විෂමතාවක් පවතින්නේද යන්න පිළිබඳ සාක්ෂි සොයාබැලීම මෙම අධ්‍යයනය තුළින් අපේක්ෂිතය.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා උතුරු සහ නැගෙනහිර පළාතේද අන්තර්ගත 2004 ශ්‍රම බලකා සමීක්ෂණ දත්ත නියැදියක් භාවිතයට ගනු ලබන අතර මෙම බලපෑම් ජනවාර්ගික වැටුප් විෂමතාවන් ගොඩනැංවීමෙහිලා ඉවහල් වන්නේද යන්න පරීක්ෂාකිරීම මෙහිදී සිදුකරනු ලැබේ.

**இனத்துவமும், வேதனச் சமமின்மையும்
அல்லது
இனத்துவரீதியிலான வேதன முரண்பாடுகள் இலங்கையில்
உள்ளனவா,
அவ்வாறாயின் அவை ஏன் உள்ளன?**

பால்நிலையும் இனத்துவமும் சார்ந்த வேதனச் சமமின்மை உலகளாவியளவில் உழைப்போர் சந்தையின் குணாம்சமாக உள்ளது. அண்மைக்கால ஆய்வுக்கற்கைகள் இச்சமமின்மையையும் அதற்கான தோற்றுவாயையும் வெவ்வேறு நிலைகளில் அவற்றின் பகிர்வுகள் வெவ்வேறானவையா என்பதைப் பகுப்பாய்வதற்கான ஆய்வை விரிவுபடுத்தியுள்ளன.

ஊழியர் படையில் சமீபத்திய தரவுகளைப் பயன்படுத்தி இலங்கையில் பால்நிலையும், இனத்துவமும் சார்ந்த வேதனச் சமமின்மை பற்றி மேற்கொண்ட அண்மைய பகுப்பாய்வுகள் பால்நிலைப் பாரபட்சம் இவ்வேதன வேறுபாட்டிடைவெளி எல்லாவற்றையும் விட அதிகளவில் காணப்படுவதை சுட்டிக்காட்டியது. மேலும், இணைமாறிகளைக் கட்டுப்படுத்தும் வேதன இடைவெளி பகிர்வின் கீழ் மட்டத்தில் பெரியதாகவும், சில சந்தர்ப்பங்களில் பகிர்வின் மேல் மட்டத்தில் பெரியதாகவும் உள்ளது.

1996, 1997 மற்றும் 2003, 2004 ஆண்டுகளின் மாதிரிகளில் விவசாயத்துறை சாராத ஆண் ஊழியர்களின் மாதிரியை உபயோகித்து வேதனப் பகிர்வின் மேல் இனத்துவ வேறுபாடுகள் உள்ளனவா என ஆராய்ந்தோம். மற்றும் இந்த வேறுபாடுகள் மனித மூலதனம் போன்ற உற்பத்தி தொடர்பான தன்மைகளிலான வேறுபாடுகளா, இல்லையா என்பதையும் ஆராய்ந்தோம். குறிப்பாக சிறுபான்மை இனத்தின் வேதனங்கள் பகிர்வின் கீழ் மட்டத்தில் தளத்தினை ஒட்டியதாக உள்ளதா, அல்லது இதே குழுவின் வேதனங்கள் மேல் மட்டத்தில் மேற்றளம் சார்ந்ததாக உள்ளதா என்ற கேள்வி குறித்து கவனம் செலுத்தினோம். இந்தப் பகுப்பாய்வு, இச்சிறுபான்மை இனங்கள் சிங்களப் பெரும்பான்மையின் அதே குணாம்சங்களைக் கொண்டிருந்த போதிலும், சிறுபான்மை போன்றே இன்னமும் கொடுப்பனவு செய்யப்படுகையில் இவ்வேதனப் பகிர்வு இடைவெளி எப்பக்கம் சார்ந்துள்ளது என்பதைக் குறிக்கும் பிரதிவிளைவுகளின் அடிப்படையில் அமைந்ததாகும். பாரபட்சங்கள் இல்லாத நிலையில் இன வேறுபாடுகளின்றி ஒரே தன்மையான தனிநபர்கள் ஒரே தன்மையான கொடுப்பனவு கொடுக்கப்படல் வேண்டுமென்பது ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டதொன்றாகும். இதன் அடிப்படையில் வேதனங்களின் பாரபட்சம் காண்பிக்கப்படலிற்கான சான்றுகளை நோக்குவதாக தற்போதைய ஆய்வு உள்ளது.

இவ்வாய்வு, இனத்துவரீதியிலான வேதன முரண்பாடுகளின் விளைவுகளில் ஏதும் பாதிப்பைக் கண்டறிவதற்காக வடக்கு, கிழக்கு உட்பட்ட 2004ஆம் ஆண்டின் பெரிதளவிலான மாதிரியை உபயோகிக்கின்றது.

ARE THERE DISPARITIES IN WAGES BY ETHNICITY IN SRI LANKA, AND WHY?

1. Introduction

Wage inequality by gender and ethnicity characterise labour markets all over the world. Economic theory teaches that wages are returns to productive, income-generating characteristics that individuals possess. The differential treatment of individuals or groups with identical productive characteristics in the labour market is discrimination. In the absence of discrimination, any variation or inequality in wages is because individuals possess these characteristics in varying degrees.

This paper examines whether there is wage inequality between ethnic groups in Sri Lanka, and explores the extent to which it can be attributed to discrimination. It also examines whether inequality between groups and discrimination against a subordinate group vary along the wage distribution, i.e. whether low wage earners in subordinate groups are treated differently from high wage earners.

Specifically, the paper examines whether there are disparities between wages of Sinhalese and Tamils, whether any such disparities vary across the wage distribution and whether they are due to differences in productivity related characteristics like human capital or not. The analysis is based on a sample of non-agricultural public and private sector employees from the Sri Lankan Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) data from July 1996 to May 2004. Using these data and statistical techniques, a counterfactual is constructed to address the question, how large and in whose favour would the wage gap be, if Tamils were paid like identical Sinhala workers? The assumption is that in the absence of discrimination, identical individuals would be paid identically, regardless of ethnicity.

The context in which ethnic inequality in wages is analysed is two decades into a protracted civil conflict between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a separatist group claiming to represent the largest ethnic minority in Sri Lanka, the Tamils, and successive, predominantly Sinhala-majority governments. The economic roots of this conflict are typically attributed to several areas of public policy that were perceived as detrimental to the Tamil community: the Official Language Act of 1956 and provision of state-sector jobs through political patronage which limited access of Tamils to state-sector jobs, the use of affirmative-action which amounted

to preferential treatment for Sinhalese students in University admissions in the 1970s, and the state-funded settlements of Sinhalese peasants in areas considered to be traditional homelands of the Tamil community. Debates relating to the disadvantaged position of Tamils have typically involved the use of statistics pertaining to university entrance and state sector employment (see Thalaysingham and Arunasalam, in this volume) and most often focused on the upper end of the distribution. The present study limits itself to the analysis of data from the mid-1990s onward and therefore does not address the issue of historical injustice and inequalities. However, it does provide an analysis that pertains to the entire wage distribution of both ethnic groups, not merely one segment of it. This is the first time that wage comparisons between ethnic groups have been done across the entire wage distribution. Previously debates about ethnic wage gaps have been limited to debates about jobs and opportunities which are at the top of the distribution.

The literature on the economic consequences of the war tends to focus on macroeconomic consequences (e.g. Arunatilaka and Kelegama 2001), and studies that have looked at microeconomic effects have mainly concentrated on benefits to households with a member employed in the armed forces (Samarasinghe 2002). This paper partially rectifies this omission: it recognises that the civil conflict itself could have exacerbated existing inequality between ethnic groups; by the intensification of prejudice against minorities and by reducing mobility for minorities.³ It attempts to assess this by conducting the analysis separately by age cohort where the older cohort represents those already in the labour force prior to the escalation of the conflict. By disaggregating by gender and sector, the study also attempts to exclude variation in labour force participation.

The study finds that while there are Sinhala-favouring raw wage gaps, these are at least partly explained by the lower productive characteristics of ethnic groups. This implies that policies that focus on improving education and skills (training) of minorities still have a role to play in reducing the

³ As ethnic identity is often sufficient to cause an individual to be detained and or held in custody on suspicion of being a member of the LTTE, and as a large proportion of plantation-dwelling Tamils do not have a national identity card, their mobility outside their home areas is severely restricted during times of intensified conflict. The evacuation June 07, 2007 of hundreds of temporarily resident Tamils from lodgings in the capital city is perhaps the most glaring example (<http://www.dailymirror.lk/2007/06/08/front/01.asp>)

raw wage gap between these minorities and the Sinhala majority. Among males, especially, it was evident that 'discrimination' or disadvantage occurs in the form of restricting minorities to certain occupations. This implies that labour market policies have a role to play in removing barriers for entry to 'good' jobs, especially for Tamil males. There was little or no evidence that younger groups had to face more discrimination in the labour market. The Tamil advantage in access to good jobs at the top of the public sector distribution appears to have diminished or disappeared for younger cohorts.

Section 2 outlines the conceptual framework and briefly reviews the empirical literature, section 3 describes the data and outlines the empirical strategy. The fourth section presents and discusses the empirical results and the final section concludes.

2. Conceptual framework

Wage disparities between gender or ethnic groups may be due to the fact that different groups have different endowments of productive or income-generating characteristics such as education, training and experience. Alternatively, these disparities may arise because returns to these characteristics differ in a systematic way by ethnicity or gender. Differing returns may take the form of wage discrimination by employers against individuals based on ethnic identity or gender, where identical individuals doing identical jobs are paid differently, or they may be due to the fact that employers discriminate against certain groups in hiring and promotion, thereby relegating them to occupations or positions where they are paid less than comparable individuals with the same productive characteristics. Since the 1970s, the empirical literature in economics abounds with studies that decompose wage gaps between dominant and subordinate groups into these two components; the part of the gap arising because individuals in the subordinate group have relatively smaller endowments of income-generating characteristics (known as the 'characteristics' component) and the part of the gap due to differing returns to otherwise identical individuals (the 'coefficients' component). The latter is considered to be a lower-bound measure of discrimination.⁴

⁴ Note that individuals in the subordinate group who observe discrimination against their group and therefore expect to be paid lower wages regardless of their productive characteristics, may invest less in these characteristics. Thus, part of the 'characteristics' component of the wage gap is also due to (anticipated) discrimination.

Recent studies in the economics literature have extended the analysis to examine if wages gaps between otherwise identical individuals (possessing the same productive or income generating characteristics) vary along the wage distributions. The terms 'glass ceilings' and 'sticky floors' are used to refer to these conditional wage gaps that are larger at the top and bottom of the wage distribution, respectively. The concept of glass ceilings in relation to women is well understood; women do well up to a particular point, after which there is an effective limit on their prospects (Albrecht et al. 2003). Since the glass ceiling does not apply to men, their wages continue to rise, along with their productive characteristics, throughout the distribution, whereas for equally qualified women the increase in wages is much flatter. This gives rise to an increasing wage gap in the upper part of the distribution.

The concept of 'sticky floors' is less commonly known but has been used recently in the economic literature to describe conditional wage gaps that are larger at the bottom of the distribution (Arulampalam et al 2006). The intuition here is that for a variety of reasons, women at the bottom of the distribution face much lower returns to their (lower) productive characteristics than identically endowed men. As one moves along the distribution, better endowed women do relatively better, i.e. the gap between their earnings and those of identically endowed men are smaller than those at the very bottom. Explanations in the gender wage gap literature for the larger disparity at the bottom of the distribution involve interactions between women's labour force participation decision, education decisions and firm investment decisions (de la Rica et al. 2007). For example, less educated women may have less labour force attachment (be inclined to leave the labour force on getting married or starting a family) and attract lower investment from their employer (employers are less likely to give them formal training). Such 'sticky floors' appear to characterise Sri Lankan gender wage gaps more than do glass ceilings (Gunewardena et al. 2007).

These concepts—with similar or different explanations—can be applied to ethnic groups as well as to gender. As Pendakur and Pendakur (2007), in their study of ethnic minority and majority workers in Canada explain,

“If 'good' jobs which pay more than necessary in order to attract labour are in short supply, they will be rationed. If the rationing process is inequitable across groups, subordinate groups will have

earnings distributions which look similar to that of the dominant group over ordinary jobs, but which are comparatively thin over the high-paying good jobs.”

(Pendakur and Pendakur 2007)

However, they go on to argue that glass ceilings can manifest themselves anywhere along the wage distribution. From a practical point of view, there will be some unobserved characteristics, such as raw ability or intelligence, that affect workers’ potential productivity, on which we have no information.⁵ At each level of ability, there will be relevant ‘good’ jobs. For example, in Sri Lanka, being a doctor, lawyer, engineer or accountant would be a ‘good job’ for workers with high raw ability, while being a clerk or peon in a government office would be a ‘good job’ for workers with median raw ability, because these jobs pay well, conditional on productivity-related covariates. If such jobs are rationed, and the rationing process is inequitable, disadvantaged minorities are likely to have poor access to these jobs.⁶ Thus, this argument provides a rationale to describe ‘sticky floors’ as merely ‘glass ceilings at the ground floor’ (de la Rica et al. 2007).

3. Empirical strategy and data description

The empirical strategy used in the paper comprises two approaches. Both approaches are based on quantile regression estimates of wages conditional on covariates and use data from Quarterly Labour Force Surveys (QLFS) in the 1990s and 2000s.

The intuition behind the method used is that in the absence of discrimination, the estimated effects of individuals’ observed characteristics are identical for each group. Beginning with the basic idea that,

⁵ Raw ability refers to individual's innate ability, i.e. ability prior to being influenced by learning/training and the acquisition of skills. Other unobserved characteristics include the quality of education and skills, including English-language skills, a highly valued set of skills providing access to high-end jobs.

⁶ We agree with a comment by a reviewer that rationing may apply not only to minorities, but also on the lines of gender, geographic location, English-language skills etc. Our point is that within groups similar in these respects (Gender, or location), minority individuals are more likely to have poorer access to good jobs.

Wages = Productive characteristics * returns to characteristics

and given that there are two groups, with two sets of wages,

Majority group's wages = Majority's productive characteristics * returns to characteristics

Minority group's wages = Minority's productive characteristics * returns to characteristics

in the absence of discrimination, the returns to characteristics should be the same for both groups (identical individuals are treated identically, regardless of group identity). Then,

Gap in wages = Difference in productive characteristics * returns to characteristics

In the first approach, following Pendakur and Pendakur (2007) and Albrecht et al. (2003) we allow returns to characteristics to differ between ethnic groups only for the reference individual, i.e. conditional wage gaps are calculated on the shift coefficient only.⁷ Returns to additional characteristics are constrained to be the same for both groups.

In the second approach which is the Machado-Mata (2005) extension of the standard wage gap decomposition (Oaxaca 1973, Blinder 1973), we allow returns to vary between ethnic groups for all characteristics.⁸

⁷ Within each approach, two models are used, corresponding to two sets of covariates, personal and work. The reference individual in the first model is not currently married, lives in the rural or estate sector, has no schooling, and no training. The reference individual in the second model has all the aforesaid characteristics, and in addition, engages in fulltime work, is engaged in elementary occupations, in the manufacturing sector.

⁸ Technical details of the Oaxaca-Blinder and Machado-Mata decompositions are given in Gunewardena (2006).

Sample selection

The data used in this study are from the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys (QLFS) conducted by the Department of Census and Statistics.⁹ The survey covers the whole island, except the Northern and Eastern provinces which are the two most severely affected by the armed conflict with the separatist Liberation Tigers for Tamil Eelam (LTTE) movement.^{10,11} The survey schedule is administered to approximately 4000 housing units per quarter. The sample is selected using a two-step stratified random sampling procedure with no rotation, and a new random sample is drawn each quarter.¹²

This study uses unit records from the 3rd and 4th quarters of the 1996 QLFS through the 1st and 2nd quarters of 2004, i.e. the period from July 1996 to May 2004.¹³ The sample is selected to include all individuals between the ages of 18 and 58, who were employees in their main occupation of work, who were 'usually employed' in the previous 12 months,¹⁴ and who had worked at least one hour in the week prior to when the survey was administered.¹⁵ Agricultural workers and any individuals who are currently attending a school or educational institution, as well as any who usually

⁹ Links to the QLFS survey schedule and recent Annual Reports are available at <http://www.statistics.gov.lk/samplesurvey/index.htm>

¹⁰ The LTTE assert the right to self-determination of the country's ethnic Tamil minority and seek to establish a separate homeland in the North and East.

¹¹ The 2003 survey included the Eastern province and the 2004 survey includes both provinces except Mullaitivu and Killinochchi districts in the Northern province; for comparability, households in the Northern and Eastern provinces are excluded from the 2003 and 2004 samples.

¹² Note that the QLFS is not a panel.

¹³ The choice of time period is constrained by the availability of data. Although Sri Lankan labour force data has been collected in quarterly surveys from 1990, the sampling frame and questionnaire were changed, making surveys conducted before the 3rd quarter in 1996 incomparable with those conducted after.

¹⁴ Defined (by the DCS) as those who worked for 26 weeks or more during the previous 12 months.

¹⁵ The latter definition corresponds to the DCS definition of those currently employed.

work less than 20 or more than 70 hours a week were excluded.¹⁶ In the interest of space and in order to focus on Sinhala-Tamil inequalities, we also exclude Moors and 'other' ethnic groups from this analysis¹⁷. Finally, our sample contains only those individuals with nonmissing observations on all the regressors.

We conduct the analysis separately for public and private sectors. The public sector is compelled to comply with equal pay legislation and wage structures, and promotion schemes are less likely to leave room for individual variation. On the other hand, the public sector is subject to political constraints and not to profit constraints, and any discrimination in hiring and promotions are more likely to persist. In Sri Lanka, political patronage is a significant factor in public sector hiring and given that the ruling political parties have a predominantly Sinhalese voter-base, it is likely that this avenue of hiring to the public sector is largely inaccessible to minorities. The official language policy would also be a legitimate means by which Tamil-speaking minorities outside the Northern and Eastern Province are denied access to 'good' public sector jobs.¹⁸ Although our sample includes both regulated and unregulated sectors, it is not possible to identify these, i.e. sample separation is not possible. The public sector is completely regulated, while a large proportion of the private sector is unregulated.

Discrimination and attitudes to minorities, and the relative strength of their voice within the labour market in the south could also change over time and in response to the political and conflict environment. We take

¹⁶ These restrictions are imposed to limit the sample to workers with labour force attachment, and to address any potential problems of misreporting, especially of hours worked. As a result of the relatively high lower-bound on hours worked, the sample may under-represent part time workers.

¹⁷ According to this criteria, 2,242 Moor men, 430 Moor women and 296 individuals from 'other' ethnic groups were dropped. In a previous version of this paper we included Moor men in the analysis and found that in general the raw wage gap between Sinhala and Moor men, though statistically significant, was much smaller than between Sinhala and Tamil men, and that the conditional wage gap (between otherwise identical Sinhala and Moor men) was statistically insignificant for most of the distribution.

¹⁸ It would be useful to compare public sector ethnic wage gaps in the South with those in the North and East where the official language policy does not serve as a barrier to entry. This will be undertaken in future research.

the position that, given the fairly stringent labour and wage regulations in the formal sector in Sri Lanka, glass ceilings in wages in this sector are likely to be the result of barriers in access to better paying jobs. It is worth investigating whether ethnic minorities' access to better paying jobs has changed over time. As no panel data is available to test this, we divide the sample according to the likelihood of an individual having been in the labour force (an insider as it were) in 1983. Given that this information is not specifically available in the dataset, we use an age cutoff of 18 (in 1983) as a proxy. The year 1983 is chosen as it marks the beginning of the escalation of the armed conflict between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Sri Lankan government.¹⁹

Description of variables

The definition of earnings underlying the gender wage gap used throughout this paper is the log of hourly wages from the main occupation where hourly wage is calculated as earnings (wages or salary) in the last month from the main occupation divided by the hours usually worked (at the main occupation) in a month calculated as 30/7 times hours usually worked in a given week.²⁰ Nominal values are converted to real terms using the Sri Lanka Consumer Price Index (SLCPI) with a base period of 1995-1997.²¹

Two sets of covariates are used. 'Personal' covariates include schooling, training, experience in current occupation, marital status, and sector. 'Work' covariates include in addition, whether the worker is part-time, and what occupation and industry he/she is engaged in.

¹⁹ The privatisation of the state-sector plantations, and subsequent retrenching of (mainly Tamil) labour in this sector complicates the analysis. The reservation wages of Tamils in these areas, and those migrating to urban areas would have declined as a result. Potentially higher wage gaps for younger Tamils need to be seen as the possible outcome of either the conflict or the privatisation of estates.

²⁰ Although the questionnaire includes a question on the rupee value of compensation in kind, this information is not coded into the raw data tapes. Although roughly 7 percent of the sample said they engaged in a secondary occupation, only 1/10 of that number reported any earnings from it. Overtime payments are not included in this figure.

²¹ The SLCPI is the price index officially used in updating the poverty line, and is based on a national consumption basket and includes price information from all districts of the country, unlike the previously used Colombo Consumer's Price Index (CCPI).

Schooling is defined into 7 categories following an ISCED-based²² categorisation: no schooling (reference category), sub-primary, completed primary, completed lower secondary, completed O/L, completed A/L, and post-secondary; experience is years of experience in the current occupation; age is included separately and is measured in years. Formal and informal training are included as dummy variables, with no training as the reference category. Also included are dummy variables for marital status (1 if currently married), part-time status (defined as usually working less than 35 hours a week), and Tamil ethnicity. A sectoral dummy variable was included with rural or estate as the reference. Province dummy variables were not included as minority populations are not located in every province. Seven major categories of occupations (ISCO88) are also included. The reference category is of elementary occupations. Other categories are senior officials and professionals (which correspond to high-skilled white-collar jobs), technicians and associate professionals, and clerks (which correspond to low-skilled white collar jobs) and three categories which are typically low-skilled occupations: sales and service workers, craft and related workers, and plant and machine operators. Four industrial groups are included. They are (1) mining and construction, (2) manufacturing (reference group), (3) electricity water and gas, wholesale and retail trade, and the hospitality industries of hotels and restaurants, and the infrastructure (transport, communication) and finance sectors, and (4) services, including health, education and defense.

As in most government surveys, the QLFS questionnaire includes two categories of Tamils under ethnic group: Sri Lankan Tamils (who trace their origins to the 11th century, or earlier) and Indian Tamils (also known as Hill country or Up-country Tamils and refer to the descendants of indentured workers sent from South India to Sri Lanka in the 19th and 20th centuries to work in the coffee, tea, and rubber plantations). However, the distinction has become less meaningful over time, partly because of greater assimilation of Indian Tamils into the Sri Lankan Tamil identity, but mainly because many so-called Indian Tamils consider themselves to be

²² ISCED stands for International Standard Classification of Education. For details see http://www.unesco.org/education/information/nfsunesco/doc/isced_1997.htm

Sri Lankan Tamils and report their ethnicity as such in the census.^{23,24} We therefore amalgamate both categories into a single Tamil category.

Description of sample

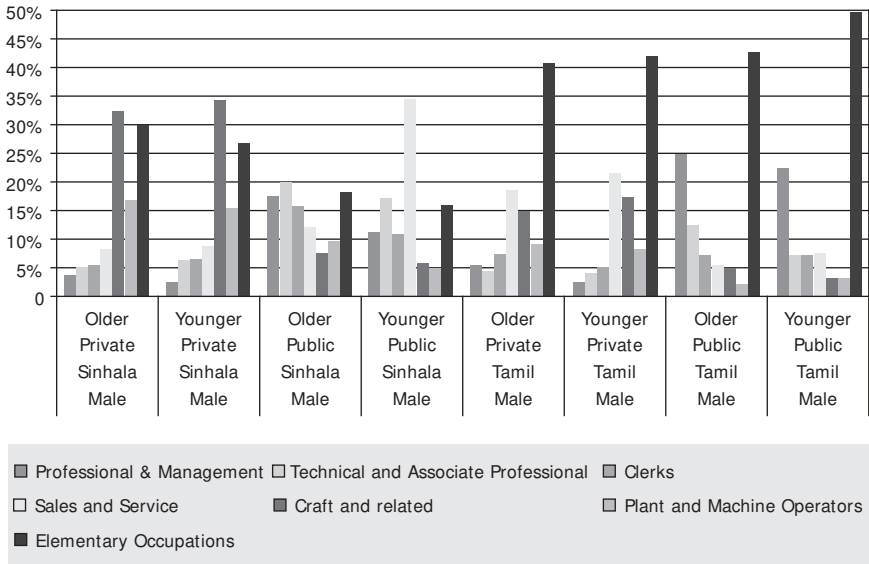
Annexe Table 1 and Annexe Table 2 summarise the data samples used. Two thirds of the entire sample is male, with a slightly higher proportion of males (71%) in the Tamil sample. 92% of the sample is Sinhala, which is higher than the proportion in the population of the country outside the North and East. The remaining 8 percent are Tamil, which is similar to their population proportion outside the North and East.²⁵ 35% of Sinhala males are employed in the public sector, compared to 14% of Tamil males, while for females, the corresponding figures are 42% and 23% Sinhala and Tamil, respectively. A greater proportion of Tamil men are in the younger cohort relative to the proportion of younger Sinhala men (42 percent of Tamil males in the public sector compared to 34% of Sinhala public sector males and 60% of Tamil males in the private sector compared to 54% of Sinhala males) while among females, a greater relative proportion in the younger cohort is only seen among Tamil women in the public sector (41% compared to 37%). 67% of Sinhala and Tamil females working in the private sector were in the younger cohort. On the face of it, this seems to support the absence of discrimination in hiring minorities into the work force after 1983. However, two factors could have led to an increase in the number of Tamils seeking employment in the non-agricultural sector in the South: internal migration of Tamils from the war-torn Northern and Eastern provinces and the privatisation of estates in the central part of the country. Thus, although a marginal increase in those employed is observed, it may be more than, less than, or proportionate to the increase in those applying for jobs.

²³ See http://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/Hill_Country_Tamils.

²⁴ The latter has been confirmed by Department of Census and Statistics officials.

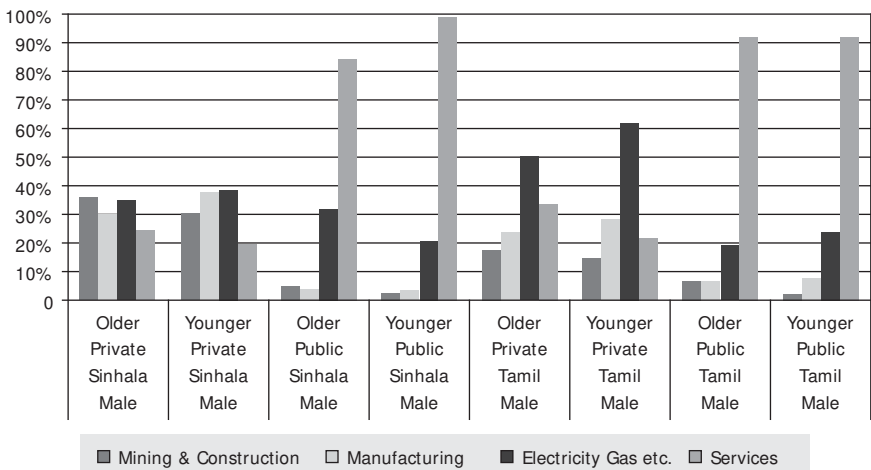
²⁵ The Sinhala population outside the North and East is estimated to be 84%, and the Sri Lankan and Indian Tamil populations are 9%, based on calculations from HIES unit data in 2002 (Gunewardena 2007).

Figure 1: Occupational distribution by ethnicity, age and sector, males, 1996-2004



Source: Author's calculations from QLFS unit records, 1996 3rd quarter to 2004 2nd quarter, selected sample

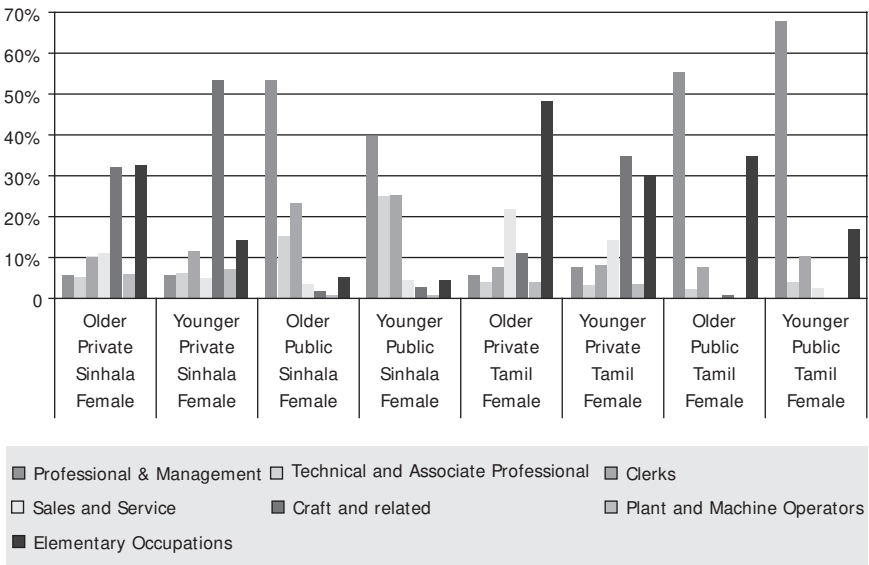
Figure 2: Industrial distribution by ethnicity, age and sector, males, 1996-2004



Source: Author's calculations from QLFS unit records, 1996 3rd quarter to 2004 second quarter, selected sample

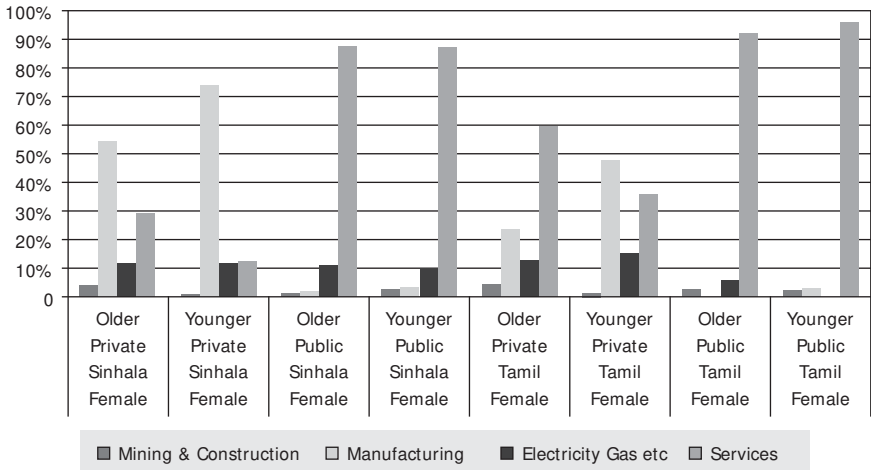
Tamil men have less education and training than Sinhala men, but have more experience, on average. They are less likely than Sinhala men to be married, or work part-time, but are more likely to be located in an urban area. They are more likely than Sinhala men to be engaged in professions or in elementary occupations, and are less likely to be in technical, associate professional occupations or clerks in the public sector, or craft occupations in the private sector (see Figure 1). They are more likely than Sinhala men to be in the trade or service sector than in manufacturing or mining (see Figure 2).

Figure 3: Occupational distribution by ethnicity, age and sector, females, 1996-2004



Source: Author's calculations from QLFS unit records, 1996 3rd quarter to 2004 second quarter, selected sample

Figure 4: Industrial distribution by ethnicity, age and sector, females, 1996-2004



Source: Author's calculations from QLFS unit records, 1996 3rd quarter to 2004 second quarter, selected sample

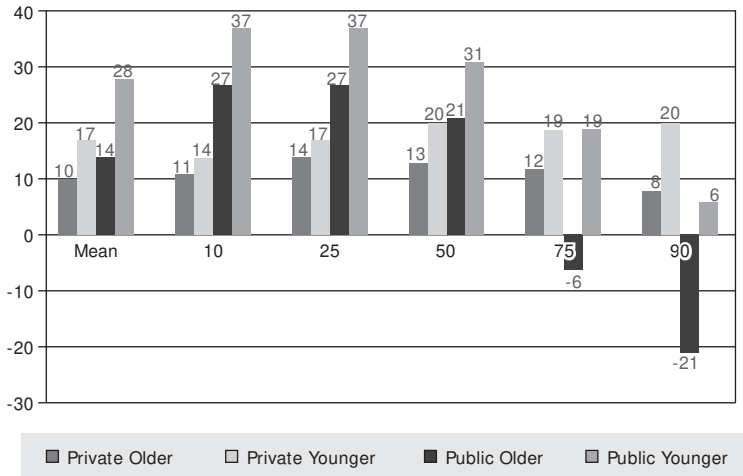
The relative distribution of covariates among Tamil women is similar to that of Tamil men. In addition, Tamil women are less likely to be clerks in the public sector than Sinhala women, and are more often in the service sector than are Sinhala women, and than in any other sector (Figure 3 and Figure 4).

4. Results

In this section raw wage gaps between Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic groups, are first presented, separately by age cohort, sector, and gender. Thereafter, conditional wage gaps are examined for all specifications of the model, separately by age cohort, sector, and gender.

Raw wage gaps

Figure 5: Raw wage gaps, male



Source: Author's calculations from QLFS unit records, 1996 3rd quarter to 2004 second quarter, selected sample

The overall (public and private sector combined) gap at the mean is 20 percent (of the Sinhala wage) among older males, and 22 percent among younger males. The mean gap in the older female cohort is 27 percent, but this declines to 17 percent in the younger cohort.

Among males, raw gaps are positive throughout the distribution, indicating that Sinhalese earn more than Tamils, except for public sector older males. For this group, the gap at the 75th percentile is statistically insignificant, meaning that both groups earn the same, while at the 90th percentile it is negative, which means Tamils earn more than Sinhalese at this point in the distribution.

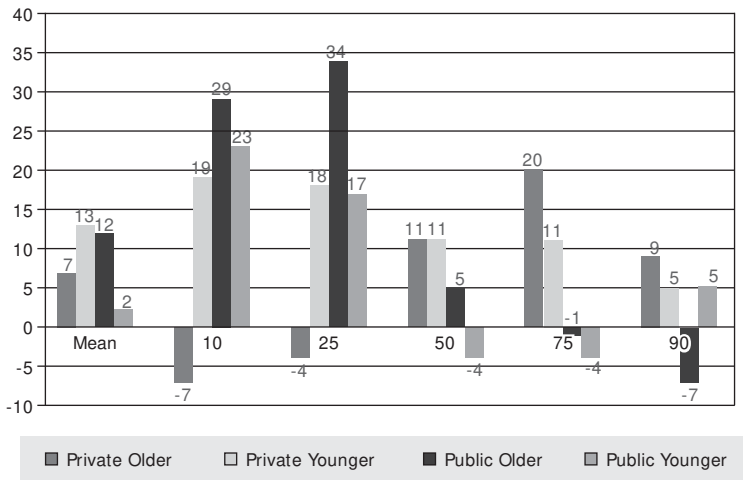
Mean raw gaps are 10 and 14 percent in the older cohort for males in the private and public sectors respectively (Figure 5 and Table 1). While the private sector gap for the older cohort has a narrow range from 8 percent in the 90th percentile to 14 percent in the 25th percentile, the corresponding public sector mean masks a wide variation, from 27 percent

at the 10th and 25th percentiles to -21 percent — i.e. a Tamil-favouring gap — at the 90th percentile.

Mean raw gaps for the younger cohort are much higher at 17 percent in the private sector and 28 percent in the public sector. While private sector raw gaps in the younger cohort are larger than in the older cohort, the range remains small, varying from 14 percent at the 10th percentile to 20 percent at the 90th percentile. The range of gaps for the younger cohort in the public sector is wide, from 37 percent in the 10th percentile to 6 percent in the 90th percentile.

In both cohorts, raw wage gaps fall throughout the distribution in the public sector, but there is no evidence of falling or rising wages across the distribution in the private sector.

Figure 6: Raw wage gaps, female



Source: Author's calculations from QLFS unit records, 1996 3rd quarter to 2004 second quarter, selected sample

Among females, mean raw gaps for the older cohort are similar to those in the male sample, at 7 percent and 12 percent for the private and public sector respectively (Figure 6 and Table 1). However, in both sectors

the means mask wide variation. In the private sector, small, statistically insignificant gaps at the 10th and 25th percentiles increase to as much as 20% at the 75th percentile. In the public sector, gaps range from 34 percent in the 25th percentile to very small gaps which are not significantly different from zero at the median and above.

For the younger cohort, private sector wage gaps are larger, with a mean of 13% and a range from 19% at the 10th percentile to statistically insignificant at the 90th percentile. However, public sector wage gaps for the younger cohort are smaller — the mean public sector wage gap is zero, and wage gaps at the bottom of the distribution are 19%, and zero at the median and above.²⁶

Female raw gaps do not exhibit any typical pattern, though clearly falling among private sector younger women, and clearly rising among private sector older women. They are also usually statistically insignificant at the top of the distribution (Table 1).

How does one interpret this information? Why are male public sector gaps larger than male private sector gaps? Why is the range of the gap much wider in the public sector than in the private sector for males? Why is it that Tamils earn more than Sinhalese in the upper part of the public sector distribution and less than them everywhere else? Why have gaps improved for the younger female cohort, but worsened for the younger male cohort? To what degree are raw gaps due to differences in productive characteristics between Sinhala and Tamil groups?

These questions are addressed by examining conditional wage gaps. Conditional wage gaps provide an estimate of the gap that remains when productive characteristics between Sinhala and Tamil workers are identical, i.e. of measured discrimination (Table 1, Table 2 and Figure 7 to Figure 10). The four sets of conditional gaps are personal constrained, personal unconstrained, work constrained, and work unconstrained. Recall that 'personal' estimates derive from regressions where only personal characteristics of schooling, training, experience in current occupation, marital status, and sector were controlled for, whereas 'work' estimates

²⁶ Although the figure shows negative gaps, these are not significantly different from zero at the 1% level of significance.

include in addition, controls for whether the worker is part-time, and for the occupation and industry he/she is engaged in. Constrained estimates are calculated on the basis that the only returns that differ between groups are those of the reference individual.²⁷ Unconstrained estimates allow returns to additional characteristics, e.g. different levels of schooling, to differ between ethnic groups.

Conditional wage gaps, male

Conditional gaps for males are positive throughout the private sector, indicating that Tamil men are underpaid. A large percentage of the wage gap remains unexplained, depending on the model specification (Table 2). The gap is over 100% at the top of the distribution for the older cohort, indicating that in the absence of discrimination, they would be paid more than identical Sinhalese.

For both cohorts, controlling for work characteristics reduces the conditional wage gap considerably.²⁸ This indicates that occupational/ industrial segregation plays a role in discrimination. Individuals with similar characteristics are more likely to be in lower-paying occupations if they are in the minority ethnic group. This is not the case in the 90th percentile for the older cohort, unconstrained model, indicating that this group were able to access 'good' jobs relative to their personal characteristics, but were still underpaid.

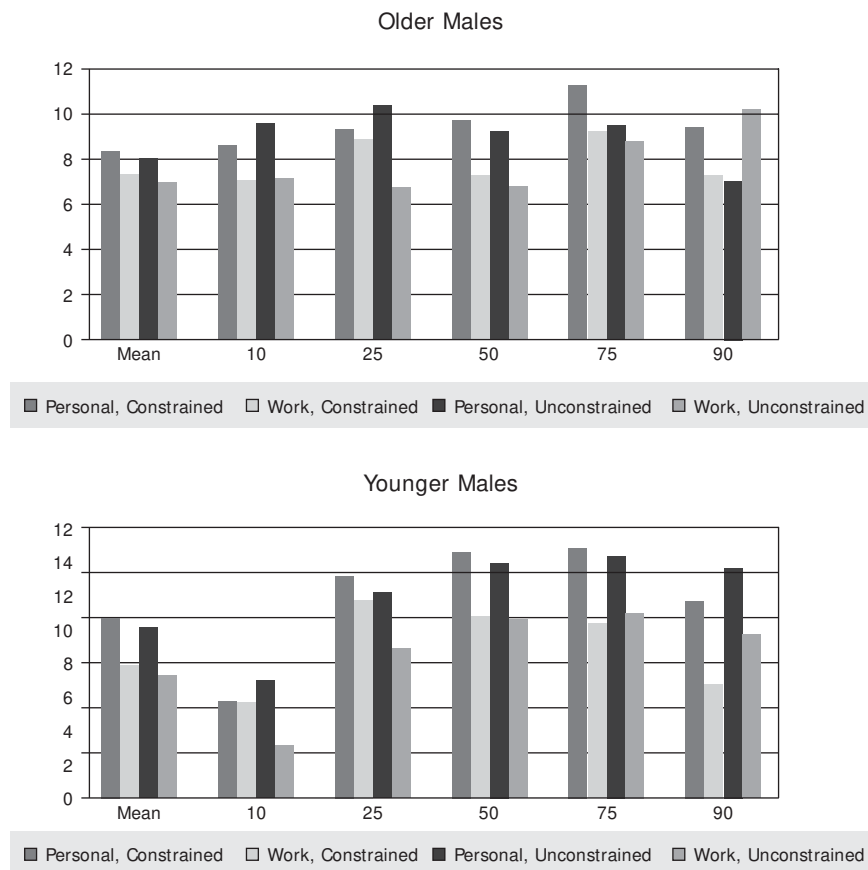
Also in the private sector, and especially for the younger cohort, in the (unconstrained) specifications where returns to additional characteristics were allowed to vary, conditional gaps were marginally smaller than in constrained specifications, indicating that when minorities obtained 'additional characteristics' beyond that of the reference individual (e.g. higher levels of schooling, training, more experience) they were able to narrow the wage gap between them and the majority.

²⁷ See footnote 7.

²⁸ Except for the gap at the 90th percentile for the older cohort.

There are limits on these possibilities, however. For the younger cohort, conditional wage gaps rise sharply from the 10th to the 25th percentile, and then gradually up to the 75th percentile, before falling again at the 90th percentile.²⁹ Thus, it appears that younger Tamil males face glass ceilings at the middle of the distribution, in the private sector.

Figure 7: Conditional wage gaps, private sector males

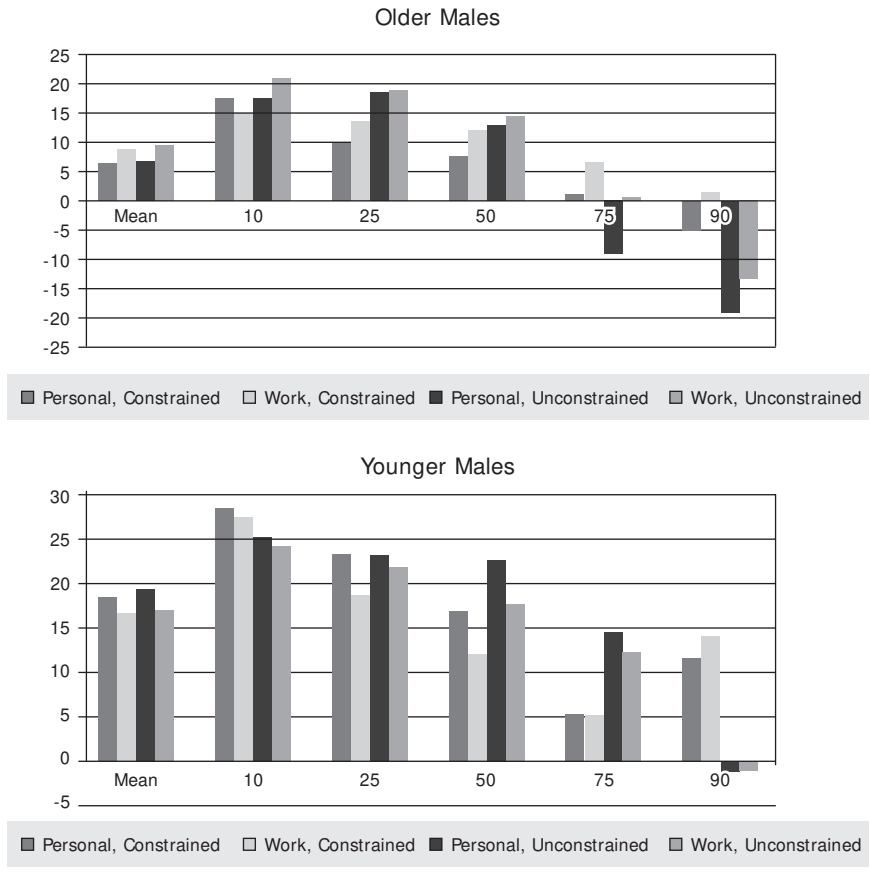


Source: Author's calculations from QLFS unit records, 1996 3rd quarter to 2004 second quarter, selected sample

²⁹ Except for the work unconstrained model.

The magnitude of conditional wage gaps has increased for the younger cohort compared to the older cohort at the mean (discrimination increased on average), and from the 25th to the 75th percentile.³⁰ However, the raw gap has increased in greater proportion, and Table 2 shows that the conditional wage gap as a percentage of the raw gap is considerably smaller for the younger cohort. Thus, it appears that widening wage gaps between younger Sinhalese and Tamils owe more to the poorer endowments of younger Tamils in the sample, than to discrimination.

Figure 8: Conditional wage gaps, public sector males



³⁰ At the 10th percentile, conditional gaps for the younger cohort are smaller than for the older, and at the 90th percentile, there is no significant difference between the two.

Source: Author's calculations from QLFS unit records, 1996 3rd quarter to 2004 second quarter, selected sample

In the public sector (Figure 8), on average Tamil males are disadvantaged relative to Sinhala males. However, this varies along the distribution, with larger conditional gaps at the bottom giving way to smaller and insignificant (younger cohort) or Tamil-favouring (older cohort) gaps at the top.

In the older cohort, controlling for personal characteristics for the reference individual only has the largest effect on the wage gap at the median and below, while including work controls increases the size of the conditional wage gap. This is consistent with minorities selecting occupations and industries where they are rewarded better, and not consistent with occupational segregation. It is likely that many of the Tamils in the lower percentiles of the distribution are from the estate sector, and this feature may reflect their employment being in protected sectors (plantation related industries). Allowing returns to vary with additional personal characteristics increases rather than reduces the gap for lower percentiles—indicating that returns to additional schooling, experience, and training—or even occupations other than elementary occupations at the margin, are very low for Tamils relative to Sinhalese. On the other hand, returns to these factors at the top of the distribution are large enough to turn the gap in favour of Tamils. One can speculate that this may be due to Tamils having larger endowments of unobserved characteristics such as fluency in English, which are rewarded by the market in jobs at the top of the distribution, which would provide access to the better jobs within the public sector.

For the younger male cohort in the public sector, controlling for work characteristics further reduces the gap (except at the top of the distribution) indicating that the access to better jobs was limited to the older cohort. For this group, who face larger conditional gaps, the way in which discrimination occurs is through occupational segregation. This is consistent with a labour market environment where employment in the protected plantation sector is no longer guaranteed for younger Tamils. One can speculate further that other forms of state patronage (other than employment in the plantations) are less available to this ethnic group, and that they are forced into lower paying jobs.

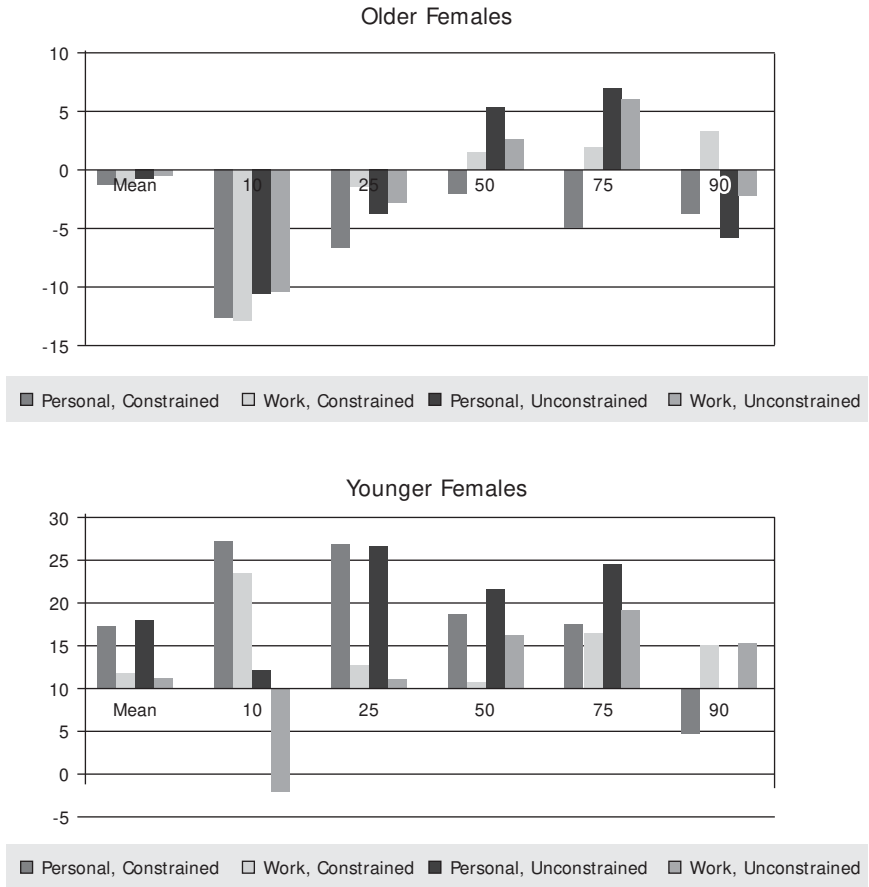
As in the private sector, the magnitude of conditional gaps are larger for the younger public sector cohort than for the older cohort, but a similar or greater proportion of the gap is explained, by personal characteristics, as well as work characteristics. This is evident in the descriptive statistics—the percentage of Tamils in the sample with post-secondary education and A/L (especially percentage with A/L in public sector) has declined (i.e. there are fewer in the younger cohort) relative to the decline among Sinhalese. This raises the issue as to whether this is due to a shift in composition of the sample, with a larger proportion of younger Tamils being from the estate sector where education endowments are lower, or whether it might be a manifestation of the outcomes of public policies.

In the public sector, conditional wage gaps fall as wages rise, indicating 'sticky floors'. The falling wage gaps reach zero around the 70th percentile for the older group and the 90th percentile for the younger group. Thus, Tamils at the top of the public sector distribution are not discriminated against, and in the case of the younger Tamils at the top of this distribution, do not have an unfair advantage.

Conditional wage gaps, females

Table 1 indicates that conditional wage gaps among females are quite often statistically insignificant, especially at the very bottom and very top of the distribution. In the private sector, Tamil women in the bottom of the distribution in the older cohort are the best off. This may reflect both their better position in terms of access to employment in the plantation related industries, and the generally adverse situation of Sinhala women at the bottom of the distribution (see Gunewardena et al. 2007).

Figure 9: Conditional wage gaps, private sector females



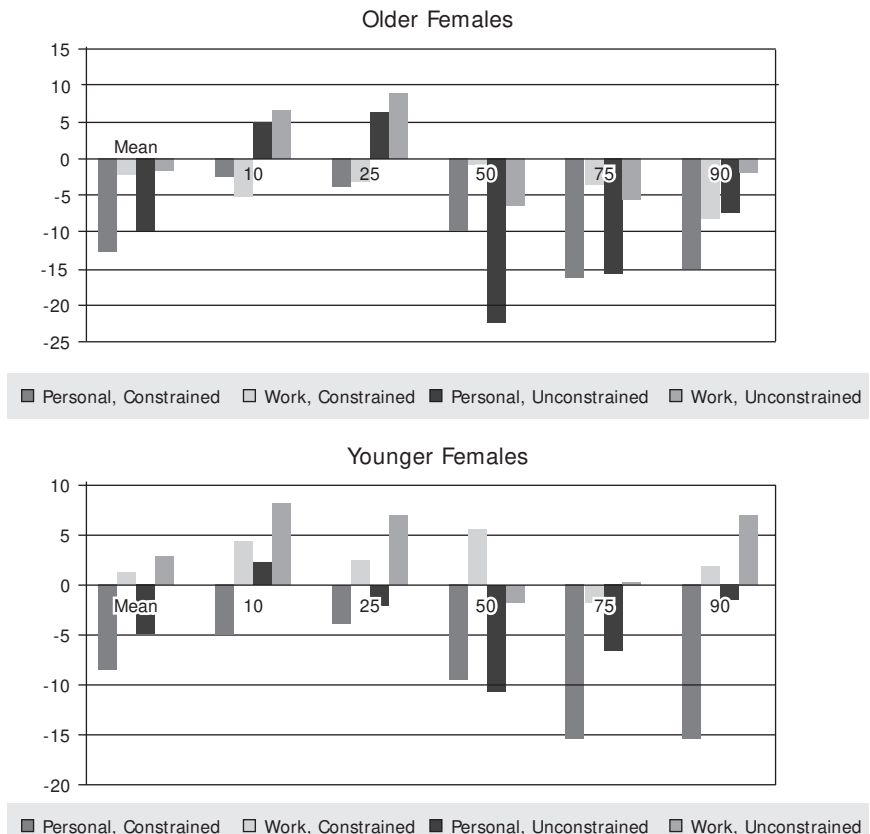
Source: Author's calculations from QLFS unit records, 1996 3rd quarter to 2004 second quarter, selected sample

In the older cohort in the private sector, conditional gaps are zero when only the reference individual is allowed to differ between ethnic groups, When returns to additional characteristics may vary, the gap becomes Tamil favouring in the 10th and 25th percentiles, but Sinhala favouring in the 50th and 75th percentiles. Similar results were found for the younger

cohort. Thus it appears that while low-earning Tamil women were rewarded, even more than Sinhala women, for additional endowments of schooling, training and experience, high earning Tamil women were penalised.

For younger women at the bottom, the negative wage gap becomes zero (Table 1), indicating a reduction in the Tamil advantage. This is possibly due to a reversal of the same factors that characterised older women—the reduction in employment opportunities for younger Tamil women following the privatisation of the estates, and the relatively better position of younger Sinhalese women who are employed in export industries.

Figure 10: Conditional wage gaps, public sector females



Source: Author's calculations from QLFS unit records, 1996 3rd quarter to 2004 second quarter, selected sample

Despite poorer access to good jobs, conditional gaps among the younger cohort are smaller than for the older cohort except at the median and 75th percentile among the younger female cohort in the private sector, indicating that younger, poorer, females face lower discrimination. The considerable raw gaps at the lower part of the distribution are completely explained by lower endowments, especially of education, of Tamil women at the bottom of the distribution. At the 75th percentile, younger women face an increase in the discrimination component, especially when only personal characteristics are controlled for. This implies that at the 75th percentile, they lack access to good jobs.

In both cohorts in the public sector, raw gaps and conditional wage gaps from estimates in the work specifications at the top of the distribution are statistically insignificant, but conditional wage gaps from estimates in the personal specification, are significant and negative. This implies that Tamil women are able to access good jobs at the top of the public sector distribution, relatively more so than are Sinhala women. This result may stem from the fact that there are unobserved productive characteristics that matter at the top of the distribution, like English language skills, that Tamil women have in relatively greater abundance than their Sinhala counterparts. This 'unfair' advantage is lower for the younger cohort. Within occupations and sectors, they are not overpaid, as is to be expected in the public sector with stringent regulations.

At the lower end of the distribution, large raw gaps owe more to differences in endowments than to discrimination, with these components accounting for only 15-40 percent of the gap (Table 2).

5. Conclusions, policy implications and further areas for study

The paper concludes that while there are Sinhala-favouring raw wage gaps, these are at least partly explained by the lower productive characteristics of the Tamil minority. This implies that policies that focus on improving education and skills of the Tamil minority still have a role to play in reducing the raw wage gap between them and the Sinhala majority. Among males, at the bottom of the distribution, especially, it was evident that 'discrimination' or disadvantage occurs in the form of

restricting minorities from access to 'good jobs'. This implies that labour market policies have a role to play in removing barriers to entry to 'good' jobs, especially for Tamil males.

The disaggregated analysis by age cohort indicated that both conditional and unconditional wage gaps were greater for younger individuals, but we found little evidence of greater 'discrimination' against this group. Specifically, we expected that by disaggregating by age category, we would find out if the younger 'cohort' was experiencing greater discrimination, which would be indicative of an increase in discriminatory practices since 1983.

This study had several limitations. While controls for education, training, experience, occupation, industry and part-time status were used, the study did not control for skills, such as English-language skills, or quality of education. Where possible, the implications of this omission have been included in the discussion of results. In addition, the analysis is done using the Tamil distribution of characteristics and the Sinhala wage structure as the reference (what would have happened if Tamils retained their characteristics, but were paid like Sinhalese?). Would these results be robust to changing the reference to the Sinhala characteristics and Tamil wage structure, which may be interpreted as asking what will happen if Tamils improve their characteristics on par with Sinhala, but still get paid as Tamils? Finally, the analysis was restricted to Tamils living outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces. No doubt the results would change if these individuals were included in the sample. These are fruitful areas for further research.

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Table 1: Raw and conditional wage gaps
(as a percentage of the Sinhala hourly wage)

		Male					Female						
		Mean	10	25	50	75	90	Mean	10	25	50	75	90
Private Older	Raw	10	11	14	13	12	8	7	-7	-4	11	20	9
	Personal ^a	8	9	9	10	11	9	-1	-13	-7	-2	-5	-4
	Work ^a	7	7	9	7	9	7	-1	-13	-1	1	2	3
	Personal ^b	8	10	10	9	10	7	-1	-11	-4	5	7	-6
	Work ^b	7	7	7	7	9	10	0	-10	-3	3	6	-2
Younger	Raw	17	14	17	20	19	20	13	19	18	11	11	5
	Personal ^a	11	6	13	15	15	12	3	7	7	3	3	-2
	Work ^a	8	6	12	11	10	7	1	5	1	0	3	2
	Personal ^b	10	7	12	14	15	14	3	1	7	5	6	1
	Work ^b	7	3	9	11	11	10	0	-5	0	2	4	2
Public Older	Raw	14	27	27	21	-6	-21	12	29	34	5	-1	-7
	Personal ^a	6	17	10	8	1	-5	-13	-2	-4	-10	-16	-15
	Work ^a	9	15	14	12	7	1	-2	-5	-3	-1	-4	-8
	Personal ^b	7	17	18	13	-9	-19	-10	5	6	-22	-16	-7
	Work ^b	10	21	19	14	1	-13	-2	7	9	-6	-6	-2
Younger	Raw	28	37	37	31	19	6	2	23	17	-4	-4	5
	Personal ^a	18	28	23	17	5	11	-9	-5	-4	-9	-15	-15
	Work ^a	16	27	19	12	5	14	1	4	3	5	-2	2
	Personal ^b	19	25	23	22	14	-1	-5	2	-2	-11	-7	-2
	Work ^b	17	24	22	18	12	12	3	8	7	-2	0	7

Source: Calculated from QLFS unit records, July 1996 to May 2004, selected sample.

Notes: ^a Returns to characteristics constrained to be the same for all individuals except reference individual.

^b Returns to characteristics unconstrained.

Figures in *italics* are not significantly different from zero at the 10 percent level of significance.

Tble 2: Conditional wage gaps as a percentage of the raw wage gap

		Male					Female						
		Mean	10	25	50	75	90	Mean	10	25	50	75	90
Private Older	Personal ^a	81	74	64	76	92	113	-16	178	149	-17	-22	-36
	Work ^a	70	60	61	55	74	86	-16	179	30	12	9	35
	Personal ^b	78	83	72	71	77	83	-11	149	86	47	33	-57
	Work ^b	67	61	46	52	71	122	-5	146	60	23	29	-21
	Raw	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Younger Personal ^a	Personal ^a	63	38	77	73	79	56	22	33	35	29	26	-43
	Work ^a	45	38	68	53	53	31	5	26	6	3	21	41
	Personal ^b	60	47	70	69	77	66	24	4	35	39	50	18
	Work ^b	42	20	49	52	57	46	4	-22	2	21	31	43
	Raw	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Public Older	Personal ^a	44	61	33	33	-20	24	-93	-7	-10	-198	2157	206
	Work ^a	63	51	47	53	-120	-8	-18	-14	-8	-19	529	116
	Personal ^b	50	62	66	57	140	89	-73	15	16	-421	2071	106
	Work ^b	67	75	66	64	-12	63	-12	20	23	-129	800	25
	Raw	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Younger Personal ^a	Personal ^a	62	73	58	50	25	182	-346	-18	-20	202	323	-255
	Work ^a	55	70	45	35	23	225	54	17	14	-130	39	38
	Personal ^b	65	64	58	69	72	-18	-192	9	-11	235	143	-29
	Work ^b	57	60	54	53	60	-16	125	33	40	40	-7	133
	Raw	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Calculated from QLFS unit records, July 1996 to May 2004, selected sample.

Notes: ^a Returns to characteristics constrained to be the same for all individuals except reference individual.

^b Returns to characteristics unconstrained.

						Sinhala
Private					Public	
Variable	Older		Younger		Older	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
No Schooling	0.021	0.142	0.013	0.111	0.003	0.057
Sub-primary	0.219	0.414	0.107	0.309	0.043	0.203
Primary	0.256	0.436	0.180	0.385	0.110	0.312
Lower Secondary	0.261	0.439	0.399	0.490	0.208	0.406
O/L	0.170	0.375	0.187	0.390	0.317	0.465
A/L	0.063	0.243	0.101	0.301	0.212	0.408
Post-secondary	0.012	0.107	0.014	0.116	0.107	0.310
Formal training	0.120	0.325	0.168	0.374	0.239	0.426
Informal training	0.102	0.302	0.088	0.283	0.029	0.169
No training	0.779	0.415	0.744	0.436	0.732	0.443
Age	44.057	6.698	26.418	4.766	44.627	6.463
Experience	12.957	8.535	4.427	3.927	15.786	8.272
Urban	0.222	0.416	0.214	0.410	0.300	0.458
Married	0.903	0.296	0.436	0.496	0.944	0.231
Part-time	0.064	0.245	0.051	0.221	0.085	0.279
Professional and Managerial	0.025	0.156	0.022	0.147	0.176	0.381
Technicians and Associate professional	0.050	0.217	0.061	0.240	0.200	0.400
Clerks	0.055	0.228	0.064	0.245	0.157	0.364
Sales and Service	0.083	0.276	0.087	0.281	0.118	0.323
Craft and related	0.323	0.468	0.343	0.475	0.072	0.258
Plant and Machine Operators	0.168	0.374	0.154	0.361	0.095	0.293
Elementary Occupations	0.296	0.457	0.269	0.443	0.182	0.386
Mining and Construction	0.289	0.453	0.241	0.428	0.033	0.179
Manufacturing	0.239	0.427	0.296	0.456	0.032	0.175
Electricity Gas etc	0.278	0.448	0.309	0.462	0.257	0.437
Services	0.194	0.396	0.154	0.361	0.678	0.467
N	9346		11094		7176	

		Tamil							
Public		Private				Public			
Younger		Older		Younger		Older		Younger	
Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
0.004	0.063	0.081	0.273	0.061	0.24	0.047	0.212	0.077	0.267
0.024	0.152	0.304	0.460	0.229	0.42	0.119	0.325	0.172	0.378
0.061	0.240	0.234	0.423	0.234	0.423	0.247	0.432	0.219	0.415
0.290	0.454	0.197	0.398	0.276	0.447	0.149	0.357	0.189	0.393
0.321	0.467	0.105	0.307	0.136	0.343	0.14	0.348	0.154	0.362
0.227	0.419	0.066	0.248	0.056	0.231	0.217	0.413	0.148	0.356
0.073	0.260	0.013	0.114	0.008	0.089	0.081	0.273	0.041	0.2
0.240	0.427	0.073	0.260	0.074	0.262	0.213	0.41	0.107	0.309
0.016	0.127	0.059	0.235	0.062	0.241	0.038	0.192	0.041	0.2
0.744	0.437	0.868	0.338	0.864	0.342	0.749	0.435	0.852	0.356
28.477	4.457	44.462	6.755	25.532	4.727	43.932	6.507	27.136	4.685
5.527	4.477	13.389	8.914	4.59	3.96	15.867	8.809	5.624	4.815
0.214	0.410	0.562	0.496	0.469	0.499	0.698	0.46	0.462	0.5
0.519	0.500	0.853	0.354	0.367	0.482	0.906	0.292	0.462	0.5
0.060	0.238	0.051	0.219	0.034	0.18	0.157	0.365	0.148	0.356
0.112	0.315	0.052	0.221	0.023	0.152	0.251	0.435	0.225	0.419
0.170	0.376	0.043	0.202	0.038	0.192	0.123	0.33	0.071	0.258
0.108	0.310	0.071	0.257	0.048	0.213	0.072	0.26	0.071	0.258
0.346	0.476	0.187	0.390	0.217	0.412	0.055	0.229	0.077	0.267
0.058	0.234	0.148	0.355	0.173	0.379	0.051	0.221	0.03	0.17
0.045	0.206	0.091	0.288	0.083	0.275	0.021	0.145	0.03	0.17
0.161	0.367	0.409	0.492	0.418	0.493	0.426	0.495	0.497	0.501
0.019	0.138	0.141	0.348	0.113	0.317	0.055	0.229	0.012	0.108
0.023	0.150	0.190	0.393	0.224	0.417	0.055	0.229	0.059	0.237
0.161	0.368	0.403	0.491	0.493	0.5	0.153	0.361	0.189	0.393
0.796	0.403	0.266	0.442	0.169	0.375	0.736	0.442	0.74	0.44
3766		988		1490		235		169	

						Sinhala	
Private						Public	
Variable	Older		Younger		Older		
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	
No Schooling	0.052	0.223	0.012	0.107	0.002	0.044	
Sub-primary	0.202	0.402	0.051	0.22	0.015	0.121	
Primary	0.198	0.399	0.089	0.285	0.017	0.128	
Lower Secondary	0.243	0.429	0.421	0.494	0.068	0.251	
O/L	0.198	0.399	0.227	0.419	0.326	0.469	
A/L	0.093	0.29	0.181	0.385	0.385	0.487	
Post-secondary	0.013	0.115	0.019	0.137	0.188	0.391	
Formal training	0.097	0.297	0.173	0.379	0.359	0.48	
Informal training	0.039	0.193	0.048	0.214	0.007	0.084	
No training	0.864	0.343	0.778	0.415	0.634	0.482	
Age	43.007	6.347	25.063	4.681	43.727	6.463	
Experience	8.713	7.552	3.321	3.003	15.897	7.875	
Urban	0.286	0.452	0.237	0.426	0.331	0.471	
Married	0.627	0.484	0.262	0.44	0.824	0.381	
Part-time	0.134	0.341	0.049	0.215	0.308	0.462	
Professional and Managerial	0.052	0.222	0.05	0.218	0.528	0.499	
Technicians and Associate professional	0.045	0.208	0.058	0.233	0.152	0.359	
Clerks	0.1	0.3	0.109	0.312	0.232	0.422	
Sales and Service	0.106	0.308	0.048	0.213	0.028	0.165	
Craft and related	0.316	0.465	0.531	0.499	0.012	0.109	
Plant and Machine Operatoes	0.055	0.228	0.066	0.248	0.002	0.044	
Elementary Occupations	0.325	0.468	0.139	0.346	0.046	0.209	
Mining and Construction	0.045	0.207	0.015	0.12	0.008	0.091	
Manufacturing	0.543	0.498	0.738	0.44	0.016	0.126	
Electricity Gas etc	0.12	0.325	0.117	0.321	0.109	0.311	
Services	0.292	0.455	0.13	0.337	0.867	0.34	
N	2,975		6,047		4,113		

		Tamil							
Public		Private				Public			
Younger		Older		Younger		Older		Younger	
Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
0	0.02	0.238	0.427	0.113	0.317	0.121	0.327	0.028	0.164
0.005	0.072	0.345	0.476	0.218	0.413	0.115	0.32	0.092	0.29
0.007	0.083	0.124	0.33	0.213	0.41	0.108	0.312	0.083	0.277
0.069	0.254	0.141	0.349	0.21	0.408	0.07	0.256	0.046	0.21
0.238	0.426	0.083	0.276	0.126	0.333	0.223	0.418	0.229	0.422
0.513	0.5	0.059	0.235	0.11	0.313	0.223	0.418	0.422	0.496
0.168	0.374	0.01	0.101	0.008	0.09	0.14	0.348	0.101	0.303
0.331	0.471	0.062	0.242	0.13	0.336	0.357	0.481	0.312	0.465
0.011	0.102	0.034	0.183	0.028	0.165	0	0	0.009	0.096
0.659	0.474	0.903	0.296	0.842	0.365	0.643	0.481	0.679	0.469
29.192	4.09	43.862	6.726	24.13	4.692	42.631	6.209	28.312	4.036
5.249	3.738	8.934	7.947	3.488	3.177	14.412	8.313	5.493	3.824
0.252	0.434	0.603	0.49	0.535	0.499	0.758	0.43	0.615	0.489
0.573	0.495	0.655	0.476	0.222	0.416	0.86	0.348	0.578	0.496
0.222	0.416	0.062	0.242	0.046	0.21	0.439	0.498	0.505	0.502
0.392	0.488	0.052	0.222	0.074	0.262	0.554	0.499	0.679	0.469
0.25	0.433	0.034	0.183	0.028	0.165	0.019	0.137	0.037	0.189
0.249	0.433	0.076	0.265	0.082	0.275	0.076	0.267	0.101	0.303
0.04	0.195	0.217	0.413	0.138	0.345	0	0	0.018	0.135
0.027	0.163	0.107	0.31	0.345	0.476	0.006	0.08	0	0
0.004	0.064	0.034	0.183	0.03	0.169	0	0	0	0
0.039	0.193	0.479	0.5	0.304	0.46	0.344	0.477	0.165	0.373
0.005	0.07	0.045	0.207	0.01	0.099	0.025	0.158	0.018	0.135
0.032	0.175	0.234	0.424	0.476	0.5	0.006	0.08	0.028	0.164
0.097	0.295	0.131	0.338	0.153	0.36	0.057	0.233	0	0
0.867	0.34	0.59	0.493	0.361	0.481	0.911	0.286	0.954	0.21
2,573		290		609		157		109	

CHALLENGES OF POVERTY AND INEQUALITY: PUBLIC PRIORITY ACTION ON INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES

Palitha Ekanayake³² and Nimal Attanayake³³

Abstract

1. Introduction

Poverty and inequality have been described and interpreted differently due to the adoption of different ideologies and the extent of poverty which depends on the status of economic and social achievements of each country. A variety of methodologies are applied to interpret the poverty and inequality phenomena and most of those interpretations are relatively true depending on each country's environment. In real terms, poverty and inequality could be viewed from disaggregated household level to aggregated regional, provincial and also country levels. Sri Lanka is not an exception as poverty and inequality are quite visible even among the village households.

Distribution of income has become an increasingly hot topic. While one side proposes to adopt new income redistributive policies, the other side believes that it would be wrong to design policies to reduce inequality but should try to reduce poverty. The whole problem of inequality is the rise in incomes at the upper end of the income distribution. Installation of equity is about creating opportunities for anybody to earn incomes and not making someone better off at the expense of another section of society. Going through this principle, the study focuses attention on poverty reduction and minimising inequality by creating infrastructural opportunities for anybody to benefit from, through public priority action on infrastructure services.

2. Aim of the Study

Identify and evaluate the challenge of the on-going poverty and inequality dilemma in Sri Lanka and to derive some feasible solutions examining

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the village level disparities in growth-supporting infrastructure services. Further, the study is aimed at providing a strategic view on infrastructure priorities for overcoming both poverty and inequality and providing some positive directives for development policy makers. Furthermore, it is expected to create opportunities and a level playing field for the poor to engage in economic activities through public infrastructure creation which may address both poverty and inequality simultaneously.

3. Objectives

Examine and ascertain the impact of growth supporting infrastructure services in order to reduce the village level regional poverty and inequality in Sri Lanka.

It is assumed that poverty and inequality at regional and village levels in Sri Lanka is a prevailing condition. There may be many solutions but the growth supporting infrastructure services may have positive effects on minimising the village level regional livelihood disparities. Further, it is assumed that through the provision of priority public facilities through infrastructure services, the level of disparity in poverty and inequality could be minimised and also enable the transferring of resources from the economically active Western Province to poorer provinces.

4. Methodology

Hypothesis: Priority public action on growth supporting infrastructure services can be an effective solution to reduce regional level poverty and inequality in Sri Lanka.

Data Set: The data for this study comes from two samples. The first sample is 100 villages selected out of 280 villages under the RERTF. The village has been considered as the primary sampling block from which the data is gathered on collective basis.

Sample Total Results.

Name of the District	Number of Villages	Total Population	No of Households	No of Samurdhi Recipients	Average income	
Colombo	4	6364	1644	429	8842	
Kalutara	2	2316		585	267	6155
Galle	2	2683		686	319	6202
Hambantota	2	1882		414	232	5152
Kandy	6	3303		706	348	6103
Kegalle	8	6455		1642	887	5619
Kurunegala	25	15524		4353	2458	5746
Matale	24	15549		4622	2610	5678
Matara	7	6443		1838	928	5617
Puttalm	9	7541		2057	1114	5350
Ratnapura.	8	13702		3474	1991	5009
Nuwara Eliya.	1	420		132	101	4814
Badulla.	2	1785		537	345	4616
Total	100	83967		22690	12029	5762

The second sample is 100 households selected from five villages under the RERTF. The village has been considered as the primary sampling block. The data was collected through interviews, observations and group discussions.

Evaluation procedure adopted: The evaluation procedure has two stages.

- a. Examining of empirical evidence on regional-village level income earning patterns and inequality and the relationship with related infrastructure³⁴.
- b. Analysis of relationship between the village level income and rural infrastructure in order to prioritise public priority action procedure with a view to address the poverty and inequality.

³⁴ Estache (2004) has clearly showed that there are direct impacts on all rural infrastructures and supporting services for the purpose of earning incomes. This study has followed the investigation procedure on the basis of the same argument but with broader coverage of income earning ability and inequality.

Each variable is expressed in terms of an index; that is:
 Index = $\sum \{X_1 + X_2 + X_3 \dots X_n\}$ and higher than 0% subject to the
 maximum is 100% which is $0 < \text{Index} \leq 100$.

To quantify the direct and indirect effects 2nd stage least square technique helps to estimate the functional relationship establishing equity on the usage of infrastructure and the income earning opportunities in the system. All variables are expressed in terms of natural logarithms and the customary reduced form models of the structural equation relates village household average income directly to the related infrastructure of the village and yields the following form of estimating equations³⁵.

$$I^H_i = f (R^R_{i,r}, R^E_{i,r}, R^M_{i,r}, R^W_{i,r}, R^{Edu}_{i,r}, S^C_{i,r}, \mu^1) \quad (1)$$

2. Result of the study

The study will provide answers to two fundamental concepts; firstly, the income earning potential of infrastructure services addressing regional level poverty. Secondly, allowing infrastructure services to create opportunities for anybody to earn incomes, minimising inequality. The empirical evidence of this study has validated the policies for the reduction of poverty and inequality through public priority action on growth supporting infrastructure services and not on the income redistributive policies adopted in the past. The evidence suggested that the present income support policies adopted have resulted in a situation of consistent inequality in Sri Lanka while public priority action on infrastructure services is superior and helps to maintain a level playing field for everybody. The evidence further suggested that there is village level poverty and inequality and growth supporting infrastructure services are considered as one of the priority areas addressing poverty and inequality.

³⁵ Estache, Perelman and Trujillo (2005) analysed the macro level infrastructure performance and used variables such as energy, water and sewerage, transport, port and railway. Another similar study by Benitez and Estache (2005) used electricity, telecom, water and sanitation.

**කලාපීය දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය ආශ්‍රිත අභියෝග:
ගවිතල පහසුකම් සැපයීම පිළිබඳ රජයේ ප්‍රමුඛතා වැඩසටහන**

1. හැඳින්වීම

කාලයක් සමග සංචාදයට බඳුන්වන විවිධ මත වාදයන් හේතුකොටගෙන දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය යන්න විවිධාකාරයේ අර්ථනිරූපණයන්ට සහ පැහැදිලිකිරීම් වලට බඳුන් වී ඇති අතර ඒ ඒ රටවල් අත්දකිනු ලබන ආර්ථික සහ සාමාජීය තත්වයන් මත දරිද්‍රතාවයේ ප්‍රමාණය රඳාපවතී. දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය යන සංසිද්ධීන් අර්ථනිරූපණය කිරීමට විවිධ වූ ක්‍රමවේදයන් භාවිතාකරනු ලැබූ අතර එම ක්‍රමවේදයන් හරහා ගොඩනගනු ලැබූ අර්ථනිරූපණයන්ගෙන් බොහොමයක් ඒ ඒ රටට අදාළ පසුබිම අනුව සලකා බැලූ විට සාපේක්ෂ වශයෙන් සත්‍ය බව හැඟී යයි. දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය යන්න ගෘහ කුටුම්භ මට්ටමේ සිට කලාපීය, පළාත් සහ රටවල් දක්වා වූ විවිධ මට්ටමින් අත්විඳිය හැක. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තත්වයද මෙයින් පරිහානි රනොවන අතර ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමේ ගෘහ කුටුම්භ අතර පවා දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය බහුල ලෙස අත්දැකිය හැක.

අදායම් බෙදාහැරීම බහුල වශයෙන් තර්කයට බඳුන්වන කාරණයක් බවට පත්ව ඇති අතර මෙහිදී එක් පාර්ශවයක තර්කය වන්නේ ආදායම් බෙදාහැරීම හා සම්බන්ධ නව ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් අත්හදා බැලිය යුතු බව වන අතර ඊට එරෙහිව කරුණු දක්වන අනෙක් පාර්ශවයේ තර්කය වන්නේ කළ යුතු දෙය වන්නේ අසමානතාවය දුර්ලිමට නව ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් යොදාගැනීම නොව දරිද්‍රතාවය දුර්ලිමට සමත් නව ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් යොදාගැනීම බවය. අසමානතාවය යන සංසිද්ධිය යටින් දිවෙන මූලිකම ගැටළුව වන්නේ ඉහළම ආදායම් ලබන කොටස් අතර ආදායම ඉහළ යාමය. සාධාරණත්වය ස්ථාපිත කිරීම යන සංකල්පයෙන් අදහස් වන්නේ සමාජයේ යම් කොටසක ජීවන තත්වය පවතින තත්වයට වඩා පහතට ඇදදමමින් තවත් පුද්ගලයෙකු වඩා පොහොසත් බවට පත් කිරීම නොව සෑම පුද්ගලයෙකුටම යම් ආදායමක් උපයාගත හැකි ආකාරයට යම් යම් අවස්ථාවන් බිහිකරලීම වේ. ඒ අනුව මෙම මූල ධර්මය මත පිහිටමින්, මෙම අධ්‍යයනය හරහා අවධානය යොමුකරනු ලබන්නේ සෑමට ප්‍රතිලාභයන් අත්කරගත හැකි ආකාරයට යටිතල සේවාවන් සැලසීම හරහා දරිද්‍රතාවයට විසඳුම් සෙවීම සහ අසමානතාවය අවම කිරීම පිළිබඳව වන අතර යටිතල පහසුකම් සැපයීම පිළිබඳ රජයේ ප්‍රමුඛතා වැඩසටහන තුළින් මෙම කර්තව්‍යය ඉටුකළයුතු ආකාරය පිළිබඳව විමසුමක් මෙමගින් සිදුකරනු ලැබේ.

2. අධ්‍යයනයේ පරමාර්ථය

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දැනට පවතින දරිද්‍රතාවය හා අසමානතාවය පිළිබඳ උභයෝකෝටිකය ආශ්‍රිත අභියෝගයන් හඳුනාගනිමින් ඒ පිළිබඳ යම් ඇගයුමක් සිදුකිරීම මෙන්ම

ආර්ථික වර්ධනයට රුකුල් දෙන්නාවූ යටිතල සේවාවන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමෙන් දැකිය හැකි විෂමතාවයන් අධ්‍යයනයට භාජනය කරමින් ඒවාට සැපයිය හැකි ප්‍රායෝගික විසඳුම් ගෙනහැර දැක්වීමක් මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ පරමාර්ථය වේ. තවද, දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය යන සංසිද්ධීන් ද්විත්වයම මැඩපැවැත්විය හැකි ආකාරයට යටිතල සේවාවන් සැලසීමේදී මූලිකත්වයන් ගොනුකළ යුත්තේ කෙසේද යන්න පිළිබඳ සඵලදායී සන්දර්භයක් ගෙනහැරදැක්වීම මෙන්ම සංවර්ධන ප්‍රතිපත්ති ගොඩනැංවීමේ නිරත පාර්ශව සඳහා සඵලදායී මගපෙන්වීමක් සිදුකිරීමද මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ පරමාර්ථ අතර වේ. එසේම, පොදු යටිතල සේවාවන් වර්ධනය කිරීම තුළින් දුප්පත් ජනකොටස් වලට වැඩි වැඩියෙන් ආර්ථික ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වල නිරතවිය හැකි ආකාරයට රැකියා අවස්ථා උත්පාදනය කිරීම මෙන්ම විෂමතාවයන් අවම වූ පරිසරයක් ගොඩනැංවීමද අපේක්ෂිත අතර මෙතුළින් දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය යන සංසිද්ධීන් ද්විත්වයටම සමගාමීව විසඳුම් ගෙනඒමේ හැකියාවක්ද පවතී.

3. අරමුණු

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දැනට පවතින ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමේ කලාපීය දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය අඩුකිරීම සඳහා ආර්ථික වර්ධනයට රුකුල් දෙන්නාවූ යටිතල සේවා තුළින් සැපයෙන අනුබලයන් පිළිබඳ යම් සොයාබැලීමක් සිදුකර ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් යම් අවබෝධයක් ලබා ගැනීම මෙමගින් අරමුණු කරනු ලැබේ.

ග්‍රාමීය සහ කලාපීය මට්ටමින් දැකිය හැකි මෙම දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ බහුල වශයෙන් පැතිර පවත්නා සංසිද්ධියක් බව සැලකේ. මේ සඳහා විවිධ වූ විසඳුම් පැවතිය හැකි නමුත් ජීවන වෘත්තීන් තුළ මෙලෙස ග්‍රාමීය සහ කලාපීය මට්ටමින් දැකිය හැකි විෂමතාවයන් අවමකිරීමෙහිලා වඩාත් සාර්ථක බලපෑම් සිදුකිරීමේ හැකියාවක් ආර්ථික වර්ධනයට රුකුල් දෙන්නාවූ යටිතල සේවා සතුව පවතී. තවද, යටිතල සේවා සැපයීම තුළින් ග්‍රාමීය සමාජයේ වර්ධනයට ඉවහල් වන පොදු පහසුකම් වර්ධනය කිරීම දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය හා සම්බන්ධ විෂමතාවයන් අවම කිරීමට ඉවහල් වන අතරම ආර්ථිකමය වශයෙන් ක්‍රියාකාරී බස්නාහිර පළාත තුළ ඒකරාශී වී ඇති සම්පත් දරිද්‍රතාවය බහුලව පවතින පළාත් වෙත සම්ප්‍රේෂණය කිරීමේ හැකියාවද ඇතිවේ.

4. බ්‍රමවේදය

උපන්‍යාසය: ආර්ථික වර්ධනයෙහිලා ඉවහල් වන්නා වූ යටිතල සේවාවන් සැපයීම උදෙසා රාජ්‍ය ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් තුළ මූලිකත්වයක් ලබාදීම ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ පවත්නා කලාපීය මට්ටමේ දරිද්‍රතාවය මෙන්ම අසමානතාවය අවම කිරීමෙහිලා සඵලදායී විසඳුමක් විය හැක.

දත්ත සපයාගැනීම: නියැදි දෙකක් අනුසාරයෙන් මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා දත්ත සපයා ගැනුණි. පළමු නියැදියට ගම් 100 ක් ඇතුළත් වන අතර එය RERTF යටතේ ගම් 280 ක් අතරින් තෝරාගනු ලැබිණි. මෙහිදී ගම මූලික නියැදි ඒකකය ලෙස සලකා ඇත.

නියැදියේ සංයුතිය

දිස්ත්‍රික්කය	ගම් සංඛ්‍යාව	මුළු ජනගහණය	ගෘහ කුටුම්භ සංඛ්‍යාව	සමෘද්ධිමත් ගෘහ කුටුම්භ සංඛ්‍යාව	ආදායමේ සාමාන්‍ය
කොළඹ	4	6364	1644	429	8842
කළුතර	2	2316	585	267	6155
ගාල්ල	2	2683	686	319	6202
හම්බන්තොට	2	1882	414	232	5152
නුවර	6	3303	706	348	6103
කෑගල්ල	8	6455	1642	887	5619
කුරුණෑගල	25	15524	4353	2458	5746
මාතලේ	24	15549	4622	2610	5678
මාතර	7	6443	1838	928	5617
පුත්තලම	9	7541	2057	1114	5350
රත්නපුර	8	13702	3474	1991	5009
නුවරඑළිය	1	420	132	101	4814
බදුල්ල	2	1785	537	345	4616
මුළු එකතුව	100	83967	22690	12029	5762

දෙවන නියැදිය ගෘහ කුටුම්භ 100 කින් සමන්විත වන අතර එය RERTF යටතේ ගම් 5 ක් අතරින් තෝරාගනු ලැබිණි. මෙහිදීද ගම මූලික නියැදි ඒකකය ලෙස සලකා ඇත. දත්ත රැස්කිරීමේ උපකරණ ලෙස සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා, සහභාගීත්ව නිරීක්ෂණ සහ ඉලක්ක කණ්ඩායම් රැස්වීම් යොදාගනු ලැබිණි.

ගෛද්‍යගත ශුඛ ඇගයුම් ක්‍රමවේදය: මෙම ඇගයුම් ක්‍රමවේදය අදියර දෙකකින් යුක්ත වේ.

- a කලාපීය ග්‍රාමය මට්ටමේ ආදායම් ඉපයුම් රටාව සහ අසමානතාවය සම්බන්ධ ආනුභවික සාක්ෂි අධ්‍යයනය සහ යටිතල සේවාවන් සමග ඇති සම්බන්ධය අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම.³³
- b මූලිකත්ව වැඩසටහන් ක්‍රියාදාමයේදී ප්‍රමුඛතාකරණය සඳහා ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමේ ආදායම් සහ ග්‍රාමීය යටිතල පහසුකම් අතර පවතින සම්බන්ධය විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීම. මෙහිදී දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවයට විසඳුම් සැපයීම අරමුණු කරයි. සෑම විචල්‍යයක්ම දර්ශක ආකාරයට යොදාගනු ලැබ ඇත. එනම්:

$$දර්ශකය = \sum \{X_1 + X_2 + X_3 \dots X_n\} \quad 0 < දර්ශකය \leq 100$$

සෘජු සහ වක්‍ර බලපෑම් ගණනය කිරීම උදෙසා දෙවන අදියරයේ අඩුතම වර්ග ක්‍රමවේදය උපයෝගීකර ගනිමින් ශ්‍රීකීක සම්බන්ධතාවය ඇස්තමේන්තු කරනු ලැබේ. ඒ අනුව, යටිතල සේවා භාවිතයේ සහ ආදායම් ඉපයුම් අවස්ථාවන්හි සාධාරණත්වය ගොඩනංවනු ලැබේ. සියළු විචල්‍යයන් ස්වභාවික ලෙස ආකාරයට දක්වා ඇති අතර ව්‍යුහාත්මක සමීකරණයන්හි උභය ආකාර ආකෘතීන් මගින් ග්‍රාමීය ගෘහ කුටුම්භවල සාමාන්‍ය ආදායම ග්‍රාමීය යටිතල සේවාවන්ට සෘජුව සම්බන්ධ වේ. ඒ අනුව පහත සඳහන් ඇස්තමේන්තු සමීකරණය ලැබේ.³⁴

$$I^H1 = f (R^R1, R^E1, R^M1, R^W1, R^{Edu1}, S^C1, \mu^1) \quad (1)$$

5. අධ්‍යයනයේ ප්‍රතිඵල

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය තුළින් මූලික සංකල්ප දෙකකට පිළිතුරු සපයනු ලැබේ. පළමුව, කලාපීය මට්ටමේ දරිද්‍රතාවයට විසඳුම් සපයමින් යටිතල සේවාවන්හි ආදායම් උත්පාදන භව්‍යතාවය අවධාරණය කරනු ලැබේ. දෙවනුව, අසමානතාවය අවම කිරීමෙහිලා සාර්ථක ක්‍රමවේදයක් ලෙස පුද්ගලයන්ට ආදායම් ඉපදවිය හැකි අවස්ථා වර්ධනය කිරීමට යටිතල සේවාවන්ට ඉඩකඩ සළසාදීම අවධාරණය කරනු ලැබේ. දරිද්‍රතාවය සහ අසමානතාවය අවම කිරීම සඳහා ඉවහල් වී ඇත්තේ මෙතුවක් කල් උපයෝගීකරගන්නා ලද ආදායම් ප්‍රතිව්‍යාප්ති ප්‍රතිපත්ති නොවන බවත් ආර්ථික වර්ධනයට ඉවහල් වන යටිතල සේවාවන් සැපයීම සඳහා රාජ්‍ය ප්‍රතිපත්ති වල

33 ආදායම් ඉපයුම් අරමුණ සඳහා සෘජු බලපෑම් ග්‍රාමීය යටිතල සහ සහායක සේවා වලට ඇතිවන බව එස්ටැෂ් (2004) පැහැදිලිව පෙන්වා දී ඇත. මෙම තර්කය මත පිහිටමින් මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ විමර්ශන ක්‍රියාදාමයද සිදුකරනු ලබන නමුත් මෙහිදී ආදායම් ඉපයුම් හැකියාව සහ අසමානතාවය පුළුල්ව ආවරණය කිරීමක් සිදු වේ.

34 එස්ටැෂ්, පෙරෙල්මන් සහ වෘෂ්ටෝ (2005) විසින් යටිතල සේවාවන්හි සාර්ථක මට්ටමේ කාර්ය සාධනය විශ්ලේෂණය කළ අතර එහිදී බලශක්තිය, ජලය, ජලාපවාහනය, ප්‍රවාහන, වරාය සහ දුම්රිය සේවය යන විචල්‍යයන් උපයෝගී කරගනු ලැබේ. එසේම, බෙහිටස් සහ එස්ටැෂ් (2005) විසින් සිදුකරනු ලැබූ තවත් එවැනිම අධ්‍යයනයකදී විදුලිය, විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා, ජලය සහ සතීපාරක්ෂක සේවා යනාදිය උපයෝගීකොටගෙන ඇත.

මූලිකත්වය සැලසීම එහිදී වැදගත් වී ඇති බවත් මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ ආනුභවික සාක්ෂි තුළින් තහවුරු වී ඇත. මෙම සාක්ෂි වලට අනුව තවදුරටත් තහවුරු වන්නේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දැනට භාවිතයේ පවත්නා ආදායම් උත්පාදන ප්‍රතිපත්ති හේතුකොටගෙන ඉතා දැඩි අසමානතා තත්වයක් නිර්මාණය වී ඇති බව මෙන්ම යටිතල සේවා වර්ධනය කිරීම පිළිබඳව රාජ්‍ය ප්‍රතිපත්ති තුළ ප්‍රමුඛත්වයක් සැලසීම ඉතා සාර්ථක විසඳුමක් සේම විෂමතාවයන් අවම කිරීමෙහිලා සාර්ථක බලපෑමක් කළ හැකි මූලයක්ද වන බවය. එසේම, මෙම සාක්ෂි තුළින් තවදුරටත් අනාවරණය වූ ආකාරයට ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමේ දරිද්‍රතා සහ අසමානතා තත්වයක් ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ පවතින අතර මෙම තත්වයට විසඳුම් සැපයිය හැකි සාර්ථක අංශයක් ලෙස ආර්ථික වර්ධනයට දායක වන්නා වූ යටිතල සේවාවන්හි ගුණාත්මක වර්ධනය පෙන්වා දිය හැක.

**பிரதேசீதியான வறுமை, சமமின்மை என்பவற்றின் சவால்கள்:
உட்கட்டுமான சேவைகள் குறித்து எடுக்க வேண்டிய
முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்திய அரசாங்க செயல் நடவடிக்கைகள்**

1. முன்னுரை

வறுமையும், சமமின்மையும் வெவ்வேறு விதமாக விபரிக்கப்பட்டும், விளக்கப்பட்டும் வந்துள்ளன. இதனை வேறுபட்ட நிலைகள் வாயிலாக அணுகப்படுவதும் ஒவ்வொரு நாட்டிலும் பொருளாதார அந்தஸ்து மற்றும் சமூக அடைவுகள் மீது தங்கியுள்ள வறுமையின் பரப்பளவு ஆகியவற்றின் நிலைமைகளைக் கொண்டு விளங்க முடிகின்றது. வெவ்வேறு ஆய்வியல் முறைகள் வறுமை, சமமின்மை நிகழ்வுகளை விளக்குவதற்குப் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவ்விளக்கங்களில் அதிகமானவை ஒப்பீட்டளவில் ஒவ்வொரு நாட்டின் சூழமைவினைப் பொறுத்து ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளக்கூடியவையாக உள்ளன. வறுமை மற்றும் சமமின்மை தொடர்பாக வீட்டினர் மட்டத்தில் கூறுபடுத்தப்பட்ட முறையிலும் மற்றும் மொத்த நோக்கில் பிரதேசீதியில், மாகாணீதியில் மற்றும் நாடு முழுவதும் ஆகிய மட்டங்களிலும் அணுகப்பட்டு, ஆராய முடிகின்றது. இலங்கையில் கிராமியக் குடும்பங்கள் தொடர்பாக வறுமையும் மற்றும் சமமின்மையும் காணக்கூடியதாக இருப்பது ஒரு விலக்கான நிலையல்ல.

வருமானப் பகிர்வு சமூகத்தில் அதிகளவில் சர்ச்சை உண்டுபண்ணும் விடயமாக இருப்பதுடன், புதிய வருமான மீள்பங்கீடு செய்ய வேண்டுமென்ற ஆலோசனையை முன்வைக்கும் சாராரினாலும், மறுபுறத்தில் சமமின்மையைக் குறைப்பதற்கு கொள்நெறிகளை வகுப்பது தவறானது, பதிலாக வறுமையினைக் குறைப்பது பொருத்தமாகுமென மற்றைய சாராரினாலும் விவாதிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. சமமின்மைப் பிரச்சினை முழுவதும் வருமானப் பங்கீட்டின் மேல் மட்டத்தில் வருமானங்கள் அதிகரிக்கும் நிலையாகின்றது. ஒப்புரவு என்பதை நிலை நாட்டுதல் என்பது வாய்ப்புக்கள் உருவாக்கப்பட்டு அதனால் எவரும் வருமானங்களை உழைக்கக்கூடிய நிலையில் இருப்பதனை குறிப்பிடுகின்றது. இது ஒருவரை, மேல் நிலைக்கு எடுத்துச் சென்று சமூகத்தில் வேறொரு பகுதியினரை கீழ் நிலைக்குத் தள்ளும் பாதிப்பினை ஏற்படுத்துவதல்ல என்பதும் கவனிக்கத்தக்கது. இந்த மூலவிதியின் மீது கவனஞ் செலுத்தும் போது ஆய்வானது வறுமையின் குறைப்பு மீது கவனத்தைத் திசைப்படுத்துகின்றது. இதனால் சமமின்மை குறைக்கப்பட முடிகின்றது. இது குறித்து உட்கட்டுமான சேவைகள் தொடர்பான வாய்ப்புகளை வழங்குவதும், அவற்றிலிருந்து எவரும் நன்மைகளைப் பயன்படுத்துவதற்கு அரசாங்கத்தின் மூலம் உட்கட்டுமான சேவைகளை முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்தும் விதத்தில் செயல்முறைகள் அமைத்தலும் வேண்டப்படுகின்றது.

2. ஆய்வின் நோக்கம்

இலங்கையில் தொடர்ந்து இருந்து வருகின்ற வறுமை, சமமின்மை பற்றிய இருதலைச் சிக்கல் நிலையும் சவால்களை இனங்கண்டு மதிப்பீடு செய்தல். இது தொடர்பாக கிராம மட்டத்திலான வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஆதரவான உட்கட்டுமான சேவைகளின் கிடைப்பு நிலை குறித்த வேறுபாடுகளை ஆராய்ந்து அவை தொடர்பாக சாத்தியமான தீர்வுகளைக் கண்டறிதல், மேலும் இவ்வாய்வில் தந்திரோபாய நோக்கில் உட்கட்டுமான வசதிகள் பற்றிய முன்னுரிமை ஒழுங்குகளை வகுத்து வறுமையையும், சமமின்மையையும் வெற்றி கொள்வதற்கான வாய்ப்பினை எடுத்துரைத்து அபிவிருத்திக் கொள்நெறி வகுப்பவர்களுக்கு சில ஆக்கபூர்வமான வழிமுறைகளை முன் வைத்தலும் முக்கியமாகின்றது. அத்தோடு வறியவர்களுக்கு அவர்கள் பொருளாதார நடவடிக்கைகளில் ஈடுபடுவதற்காக அரசாங்கம் முனைப்பான உட்கட்டுமான வசதிகளைச் செய்து கொடுத்து ஒரு சமதள நிலையினை அமைப்பது வறுமை, சமமின்மை ஆகியவற்றின் மீது உடன் நிகழ்வாக கவனத்தைச் செலுத்த வழி வகுக்கின்றது.

3. குறிக்கோள்

இலங்கையில் கிராம மட்டத்தில் பிரதேசரீதியான வறுமை, சமமின்மை ஆகியவற்றைக் குறைக்கும் நோக்கத்துடன் வளர்ச்சிக்கு முக்கிய தூண்டுதலாக இருக்கும் உட்கட்டுமான சேவைகளின் தாக்கத்தினை ஆராய்ந்து உறுதியாக அறிந்து கொள்ளுதல்.

இலங்கையில் வறுமையும், சமமின்மையும் பிரதேச மற்றும் கிராம மட்டத்தில் நிலவும் பிரச்சினையாக எடுகோள் முன்வைக்கப்படுகின்றது. இது குறித்து பல தீர்வுகள் இருக்கலாம். ஆனாலும், வளர்ச்சிக்குப் பேராதரவு தருகின்ற உட்கட்டுமான வசதிகள் கிராம மட்டத்திலான; பிரதேசரீதியான வாழ்வாதாரங்களின் வேறுபாடுகளைக் குறைப்பதில் ஆக்கபூர்வமான பங்களிப்பையும், விளைவுகளையும் ஏற்படுத்த முடிகின்றது. இதற்கு மேலாகவும் கருதப்படுவது என்னவென்றால் உட்கட்டுமான வசதிகளை முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்தி அரசாங்கத்தின் ஊடாக வழங்கப்படுவதால் வறுமை மற்றும் சமமின்மை ஆகியவை குறித்து எழுகின்ற ஏற்றத்தாழ்வுகளைக் குறைத்துக் கொள்ள முடிகின்றது. இது தொடர்பாக மேலும் பொருளாதாரரீதியில் இலங்கையில் உயர்ந்த நிலையில் உள்ள மேல் மாகாணத்திலிருந்து மற்றைய வறிய மாவட்டங்களுக்கு வளங்களை மாற்றல் செய்வதும் சாத்தியமாகுமெனவும் எடுகோள் முன்வைக்கப்படுகின்றது.

4. ஆய்வின் முறையியல்

கருதுகோள்: வளர்ச்சியினைத் தூண்டுகின்ற முன்னுரிமை அடிப்படையில் அரசாங்கத்தினால் வழங்கப்படும் உட்கட்டுமானச் சேவைகள் குறித்த செயல் நடவடிக்கைகள் பிரதேசரீதியாக நிலவும் வறுமை, சமமின்மை ஆகியவற்றைக் குறைப்பதற்கு ஒரு செயற்றிறன் வாய்ந்த தீர்வு நிலையாகும்.

தரவுகளின் தொகுதி: இவ் ஆய்வுக்கான தரவுகள் இரு மாதிரி எடுப்புகளிலிருந்து கிடைக்கப் பெற்றன. முதலாவது மாதிரி எடுத்தலில் 100 கிராமங்கள் 280 கிராமங்களிலிருந்து RERTF என்பதன் கீழ் தெரிந்தவற்றிலிருந்து கிடைத்துள்ளது. கிராமம் ஒரு முதன்மை மாதிரி எடுத்தல் தொகுதியாக கொண்டு தரவுகள் கூட்டாகச் சேகரிக்கப்பட்டன.

மாதிரி எடுப்பின் மொத்த முடிவுகள்

மாவட்டம்	கிராமங்களின் எண்ணிக்கை	மொத்த குடிசைம்	குடும்பங்களின் எண்ணிக்கை	சமுத்தி எண்ணிக்கை	சராசரி வருமானம்
கொழும்பு	4	6364	1644	429	8842
களுத்துறை	2	2316	585	267	6155
காலி	2	2683	686	319	6202
ஹம்பாந்தோட்டை	2	1882	414	232	5152
கண்டி	6	3303	706	348	6103
கேகாலை	8	6455	1642	IHI=887	5619
குருணாகல்	25	15524	4353	2458	5746
மாத்தளை	24	15549	4622	2610	5678
மாத்தறை	7	6443	1838	928	5617
புத்தளம்	9	7541	2057	1114	5350
இரத்தினபுரி	8	13702	3474	1991	5009
நுவரெலியா	1	420	132	101	4814
பதுளை	2	1785	537	345	4616
மொத்தம்	100	83967	22690	12029	5762

இரண்டாவது மாதிரி எடுப்பில் மீண்டும் RERTFஇன் கீழான ஐந்து கிராமங்களிலிருந்து 100 குடும்பங்கள் சேர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. கிராமம் தொடர்ந்தும் முதன்மைத் தொகுதியாகக் கருதப்பட்டது. இதிலிருந்து நேர்காணல், அவதானிப்புகள் மற்றும் கூட்டு உரையாடல்கள் ஆகியவற்றின் மூலம் தரவுகள் பெறப்பட்டுள்ளன. கையாளப்பட்ட மதிப்பீட்டு ஒழுங்குமுறை: மதிப்பீட்டு ஒழுங்குமுறை இரு கட்டங்களாக அமைகின்றது.

- அ) மெய்ச்சான்றுரீதியான தரவுகளை பிரதேச மட்டத்தில் வருமானம் பெறுகின்ற கோலங்கள் மற்றும் சமமின்மை மற்றும் தொடர்புடைய உட்கட்டுமான வசதியுடன் கொண்டுள்ள உறவுகள் என்பவற்றை ஆராய்தல்
- ஆ) கிராம மட்டத்தில் வருமானம் மற்றும் கிராம உட்கட்டுமான வசதிகள் ஆகியவற்றிடையே உள்ள உறவுகளை ஆராய்ந்து அதன் மூலம் அவை தொடர்பாக அரசாங்க முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்திய செயல்முறை ஒழுங்குகளை வறுமை, சமமின்மை தொடர்பாக கவனம் செலுத்துவதற்காக வகுத்துக் கொள்ளுதல். ஒவ்வொரு மாறியும் ஒரு குறிகாட்டியுடன் இணைக்கப்பட்டு நோக்கப்படுகின்றது. அதாவது குறிகாட்டி = $\sum \{X_1 + X_2 + X_3, \dots, X_4\}$

இது பூச்சிய சதவீதத்திற்கு கூடியதாகவும் மற்றும் இதனுடைய உச்ச அளவு நூறு சதவீதமாகும். இதனை $0 < \text{குறிகாட்டி} \leq 100$ எனத் தரப்படுகின்றது.

நேரடியானதும், மறைமுகமானதுமாகிய விளைவுகளை அளவுபடுத்திக் காட்டுவதற்கு இரண்டாம் நிலை இழிவு வர்க்க நுண்முறை மூலம் செய்து கொள்ளலாம். இந்த முறையினூடாக உட்கட்டுமான உபயோகம் குறித்த பயன்பாடு மற்றும் வருமானம் பெறும் வாய்ப்புகள் ஆகியவை தொடர்பான தொழிற்பாட்டுரீதியான உறவினை ஏற்படுத்தி மதிப்பீடு செய்து கொள்ள முடிகின்றது. எல்லா மாறிகளும் இயல் மடக்கை முறையில் எடுத்துக் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளன. மற்றும் வழமையான குறைக்கப்பட்ட கட்டமைப்புச் சார்பு வடிவத்திலான சமன்பாடு கிராமிய சராசரி குடும்ப வருமானம் நேரடியாகக் கிராம உட்கட்டுமானத்துடன் தொடர்புபடுத்தியதாக அமைகின்றது. அதிலிருந்து பின்வரும் மதிப்பீட்டுச் சமன்பாட்டு வடிவம் கிடைக்கின்றது.

$$I^H1 = f (R^R1, R^E1, R^M1, R^W1, R^{Edu}1, S^C1, \mu^1) \quad (1)$$

5. ஆய்வின் முடிவு

வறுமையினை கவனத்தில் கொண்டு நோக்கும் போது உட்கட்டுமான சேவைகளின் வருமானம் உழைக்கும் சாத்தியப்பாட்டினை வலியுறுத்துகின்றது. இரண்டாவது உட்கட்டுமான வசதிகள் எவருக்கும் வருமானம் பெறுகின்ற வாய்ப்புகளை கிடைக்கச் செய்வதால் சமமின்மையினைக் குறைக்க உதவுகின்றது. இந்த ஆய்வில் கிடைக்கப் பெற்றுள்ள செயல்முறையான மெய்ச்சான்றுத் தரவுகள் வளர்ச்சிக்குத் தூண்டுதலாக ஆதரவளிக்கும் உட்கட்டுமான சேவைகள் குறித்து அரசாங்கத்தின் ஊடாக

முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்தும் செயல் நடவடிக்கை மூலம் வழங்கப்படுவதும் அத்தகைய கொள்நெறிகள் வறுமை மற்றும் சமமின்மை தொடர்பாக முன்பு பின்பற்றப்பட்ட வருமான மீள்பகிர்வு முறையினை விட பொருத்தமானவை என்பதும் உறுதிப்படுத்துகின்றது. தற்போதுள்ள வருமான ஆதரவளிக்கும் கொள்நெறிகள் தொடர்ந்து சமமின்மை நிலையினை இலங்கையில் தோற்றுவித்துள்ளது என்பதற்கான சான்றுகளும் கிடைத்துள்ளன. உட்கட்டுமான சேவைகள் குறித்து அரசாங்கம் முனைப்பாக முன்னுரிமைப்படுத்தும் செயல்முறை கூடுதலான பயனைத் தரமுடிகின்றது. மற்றும் அது ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் ஒரு சமதள நிலையினை ஏற்படுத்திக் கொடுக்கின்றது. கிடைத்துள்ள சான்றுகள் மேலும் வலியுறுத்துவது என்னவென்றால் கிராமத்தில் வறுமையும், சமமின்மையும் காணப்படும் சூழ்நிலையில் வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஆதரவளிக்கும் உட்கட்டுமான சேவைகள் முன்னுரிமை முக்கியத்துவம் கொள்ளும் விடயங்களில் ஒன்றாகின்றது. இது கொள்நெறி நோக்கில் வறுமை, சமமின்மை ஆகியவை தொடர்பாக கவனத்தை திசைப்படுத்துவதில் முக்கியமாகின்றது.

CHALLENGES OF POVERTY AND INEQUALITY: PUBLIC PRIORITY ACTION ON INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Since independence, poverty reduction has been an immensely important issue for the policy makers in Sri Lanka and many attempts in trying to overcome the issue have taken place (Kar 2003). Despite these well intentioned attempts, poverty still remains a severe problem, without any effective and sustainable solution. The poverty reduction and income distribution inequality issues still remain challenges for Sri Lanka (World Bank 2007). Sri Lankan society is characterised by marked inequality of wealth distribution, with the existence of a small wealthy group and a large segment living in poverty, who are recipients of income support assistance from the government (Kar 2003; World Bank 2007).

Against this background, the main objective of this study is to examine the challenge of reducing poverty and regional inequality in income distribution by focusing on minimising regional income inequalities through access to infrastructure services. The study will also look into possible infrastructure priorities for public priority action, as well as the available opportunities to create infrastructure-led³⁶, pro-poor growth potential that addresses both poverty and inequality (Ravallion 2005).

It is evident that Sri Lankan policy makers' strategies in trying to resolve the problem of poverty and inequality have proved ineffective for two main reasons (World Bank 2000). Firstly, absolute poverty has become the overriding priority issue needing to be addressed. In this context, the policy makers largely believed that income-supportive strategies are the main solutions for reducing poverty and inequality. Secondly, these income-supportive strategies are politically motivated recipes, concocted to maintain political power. As a result, a large proportion of the poor enjoy income support assistance each year, burdening the government treasury. In the meantime, little attention has been paid to the on-going regional inequality, an equally serious issue (ADB 2003; Ravallion 2005).

³⁶ Rostow's theory, "Stages of Economic Growth" (1960), also discussed infrastructure as the precondition for the initial take-off stage of economic development of a country. World Bank's report (2004) has discussed infrastructure priorities for further economic development in Sri Lanka.

The objective of halving poverty still remains the main objective of economic development of many developing countries and also the first Millennium Development Goal (Kraay 2004; Ravallion 2005). However, poverty and inequality have been described and interpreted differently due to the adoption of different ideologies and measurements of poverty depending on the status of economic and social achievements of each country (Pattimura 2002). According to the literature, infrastructure-led strategies are considered gateway solutions to address the issue of regional poverty and inequality. The most popular solution, as suggested by Estache et al (2005), Dorward and Kydd (2005) and Richter (2006), is an infrastructure-led pro-poor growth³⁷ process that has the effect of enhancing the multiplier effects in reducing poverty and inequality. However, significant gaps in knowledge remain as to what opportunities are provided by each type of infrastructure service, how to filter back their benefits to outcomes at the household level and related income distributional consequences (Lokshin and Yemtsov 2003; Khandker et al. 2006).

The literature relating to the issue has focused on the overall macroeconomic effects of infrastructure development projects by estimating the social economic rate of return on investment³⁸ and suggested appropriate broad based rates of economic returns on infrastructure projects (White and Anderson 2000; Lokshin and Yemtsov 2003; Garmendia et al. 2004; Estache 2004 and Estache et al. 2005). For example, White and Anderson (2000) constructed a ratio between the growth rate and related level of inequality as the pro-poor growth index. When this index is greater than one, the situation is taken as pro-poor and inequality reducing growth.

³⁷ In its simplest form, pro-poor growth refers to a situation where the income share of the poor population increases in relation to the growth rate of the country and inequality would be a situation where the growth rate of the income of the poor is lower than the growth rate of the economy, as set out in the studies by White and Anderson (2000) and Lopez (2005). According to Lopez (2005) the relative inequality would fall with increasing growth, if the growth of the economy is pro-poor. In general pro-poor growth would be the situation where the income share of the poor population increases more than the average economic growth rate of the country.

³⁸ According to a study on World Bank infrastructure projects during 1999 to 2003, the average rate of economic return has been calculated as 35%, ranging from 19% for water and sanitation projects to 43% of transport projects. This yardstick is broad-based and used only for foreign aid loan approvals.

Kraay (2004) identified three potential sources³⁹ of pro-poor growth and calculated the growth-income elasticity of poverty, explaining the changes in inequality levels. According to Ravallion and Chen (2003), growth is pro-poor when the income of the poor remains the same when the index is greater than zero. Lopez and Serven (2004) calculated a ratio comparing per capita income and rate changes in poverty using cross-country level data. However, the studies by Garmendia et al (2004) and Lokshin and Yemtsov (2003) demonstrate that it is impossible to reduce poverty and inequality, unless the infrastructure necessary to support pro-poor growth potential is put in place. In the circumstances, it is quite clear that there remain significant gaps in knowledge as to how infrastructure development can support a poverty reduction process that filters back its benefits into outcomes at the household level and related distributional impacts (Khandker et al. 2006).

Rural poverty in Sri Lanka is caused in part by production and marketing bottlenecks due to weak rural infrastructure (ADB 2003). The Rural Economy Resuscitation Trust Fund (RERTF) was set up in 2002 under the purview of the Ministry of Rural Economy to address issues particularly supporting demand-driven, small scale, village based infrastructure and the present study uses the experiences of development programmes that fell under the RERTF.

1.2 The study

This study looks at village based infrastructure development programmes of the RERTF covering its experiences from 100 villages. This paper is organised into 5 sections. The remainder of this section provides an overview of the poverty and inequality situation in Sri Lanka, including the regional and Divisional Secretary Division (DSD) level disparities. Section 2 presents the methods followed in the study, including its conceptual framework, data characteristics of the study sites and framework of the analysis. Section 3 presents the empirical results, while section 4 brings out specific issues relevant to poverty and inequality in Sri Lanka from the study findings. Finally, section 5 presents the conclusions.

³⁹ Three sources of pro-poor growth are: (i) a high growth rate of average income; (ii) a high sensitivity of poverty to growth in average income; and (iii) a poverty reducing pattern of growth in relation to income.

1.3 An overview of poverty and inequality

The poverty indicators given in Table No. 1.1, have shown disappointing progress in poverty reduction over the last 15 years. The population under income support assistance has also remained fairly constant, irrespective of many other welfare packages of assistance for the poor.

Table No. 1.1. Poverty indicators from 1990 to 2005

Description	1990-91	1995-96	2002	2005
National Poverty line (Rs.)	475	833	1423	1978*
In US Dollars	11.7	16.2	15.1	19.2*
Poverty head count ratio (%)	30.4	28.8	23.9	
Sectoral poverty				
Urban	18.2	14.0	7.9	
Rural	34.7	28.9	26.4	
Estate	20.5	26.1	22.1	
Population (millions)	16.3	18.1	19.0	19.6
Estimated no. of households (mn)	3.9	4.3	4.5	4.6
Households under Samurdhi (mn)	4.6	1.5	2.0	2.0
Colombo consumers' price index in Rs: 1952 = 100; 1980 = 318.	1,065	4,621	8,925	11,396
Respective US Dollar value within brackets	(26.2)	(39.8)	(94.7)	110.6)

* Indicates the estimated probable poverty line based on the rate of inflation. The mean household income of Rs. 17,114 in 2003/04 (aggregate level) is considered a realistic estimate.

Source: Department of Census and Statistics ISSN1391-4693: Poverty indicators, household income and expenditure survey, 2002 and the Central Bank report of 2005.

At the regional and village levels, poverty and inequality have been associated with a variety of economic, social and political reasons⁴⁰. In the Sri Lankan village setup, intra-regional migration (that is from rural to urban) also impacts on the level of inequality of the respective village (World Bank, 2007). Many people move from the surrounding regions to the Western Province and into the Colombo metropolitan area, due to poor infrastructure facilities at the regional level and limited opportunities around provincial capitals, as found by Amarasinha *et al.* (2005) and the World Bank (2007). Further, income disparities are widening across the provinces and regions, mainly due to the declining contribution of primary and secondary sectors of all other provinces to GDP, against the well matured service sector in the Western Province.⁴¹

The GDP share by provinces (Table No. 1.2) shows another dimension of the problem of poverty and inequality in Sri Lanka. The Western Province has emerged as the most economically active province compared to all other provinces. The contribution from poor provinces to economic growth has been low. The low economic performance of these provinces is largely attributed to poor infrastructure facilities, coupled with stagnant agriculture productivity. On the other hand, the Western Province has locational advantages attracting the necessary infrastructure. Estache (2004) and AnaGoicoechea (2005) have shown that locational advantages are associated with economically active growth centers.

⁴⁰ Sarvananthan (1995) discussed the regional division of poverty and inequality under three causes: economical, social and political.

⁴¹ The Central bank (2005) reported the unequal GNP distribution: e.g. primary sector of 17.2%, secondary sector of 26.4% and a large tertiary service sector of 55.8%, which is also a serious issue in the economy.

Table No. 1.2. GDP share by province in Sri Lanka

Province / Year	1990	1996	2002
Western	40.2	43.7	48.1
North Western	11.1	11.3	10.1
Central	12.1	10.0	9.4
Southern	9.5	9.0	9.7
Sabaragamuwa	8.1	9.0	6.9
Eastern	4.2	4.8	4.9
Uva	8.1	5.1	4.3
North Central	4.8	4.6	3.9
Northern	4.4	2.4	2.6
National GDP	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Report No. 29396-LK by the World Bank. December 8, 2004

Making the poverty and inequality picture clearer, the overall aggregate poverty situation is classified under Divisional Secretary Divisions (DSD) by the Department of Census and Statistics (2002) and also identified the poorer locations in Sri Lanka, as shown in Table No. 1.3. Poorer DSDs are in the districts of Badulla, Ratnapura, Puttalam and Hambantota⁴². Apart from better growth performance, the poverty and unequal income distribution in the Colombo District is a unique situation where a large proportion is in poverty, whilst a small proportion is considered to be extremely well off. Colombo metropolitan suburbs are not so poor, but inequality of income distribution is considerably high (Ekanayake 2006).

Apart from income distributional disparities in Colombo, the Western Province is forming a larger consumer market with a population of 5.5 million or 28% of the total population of Sri Lanka. In the Western Province, the poor and the well off are mixed due its urban nature. This pattern is different to other provinces. Amarasingha *et al.* (2005) classified the DSD poverty map with two dominant spatial clusters. The first

⁴² According to the Department of Census and Statistics survey by DS Divisions: 2002, The poorest DS divisions starting from the poorest are in Kurunegala, Ratnapura, Kandy, Badulla and Galle Districts. The poorest provinces are: South, Central, Sabaragamuwa, North Western and Uva.

cluster shows spatial similarity of high-poverty DSDs surrounded by high poverty neighbourhoods whose main income is from agriculture related activities; and the second cluster shows low poverty DSDs surrounded by low-poverty neighbourhoods whose main incomes are from varying levels of activities. Infrastructure services to the first cluster are extremely low and those DSDs are in isolated locations when compared to economically active DSDs, as demonstrated by Ekanayake (2006).

Table No. 1. 3. Poorest Divisional Secretary Divisions

Poorest DSDs: In terms of highest head count index (HI)			Poorest DSDs with highest household population below poverty line (HPBPL)		
Name of DSD	HI	HPBPL	Name of DSD	HPBPL	HI
Siyabalanduwa	51.8	23,795	Ambagamuwa	45,324	22.9
Rideemahaliyadda	51.1	22,891	Nuwara Eliya	43,919	21.9
Meegahakiula	46.5	8,478	Colombo	39,819	12.1
Kandekatiya	46.1	10,183	Embilipitiya	36,252	31.6
Kalpitiya	45.3	36,197	Kalpitiya	36,197	45.3
Mundalama	41.1	22,503	Beruwala	30,671	22.1
Madulla	40.7	11,320	Hanguranketha	29,673	34.6
Vanathawilluwa	40.3	6,373	Hali Ela	29,672	34.6
Elapatha	40.1	14,369	Mawanella	28,192	28.8
Weligepola	39.1	11,150	Walapane	27,473	26.5

Source: Department of Census and Statistics 2002.

In addition, location-specific factors affect the poverty and inequality situation. Poverty is concentrated in locations where infrastructure services are low and inadequate (Ravallion 2005). Amarasinha *et al.* (2005) discusses the poor DSDs which are located away from towns and markets and whose connectivity, access and entry are relatively low. In such situations, infrastructure services play a significant role in keeping the human and capital resources within the specific locations (Songco 2002). Under such circumstances, the methodology of the present study inquires

into the on-going regional poverty situation and income distribution inequality dilemma in Sri Lanka and seeks to examine the feasibility of pro-poor growth-supporting infrastructure services as a gateway solution in addressing the problem.

2. Methods

2.1. Conceptual framework

The hypothesis tested in this study is that the priority public action on pro-poor growth supporting infrastructure services can be an effective solution to reduce regional level poverty and income distributional inequality in Sri Lanka.

The study is based on several assumptions that broaden its sphere of inquiry. First, it is assumed that there is a significant relationship between the income of the rural household and the (a) rural markets, (b) village based water supply situation and (c) rural road network. Secondly, it is assumed that the locational disadvantages associated with the village could be minimised through the provision of infrastructure services as they tend to improve the connectivity between villages and markets. Further, it is assumed that the infrastructure services will create a level playing field for everybody to engage in economic activities. The study disregards regional differences in prices and expresses all values in current monetary terms. Moreover, the study looks at the impact of household based private capital which can be a substitute for public infrastructure services.

2.2. Study area

The sample included 100 villages⁴³, proportionately selected out of 200 villages falling under the RERTF and representing 13 districts in Sri Lanka (Appendix No. 2). This sample represents rural villages that are closer to Colombo, villages far from Colombo and villages that were between these two extremes. According to Table 2.1, the 100 villages consisted of 23,690 households, with a total population of 83,767.

⁴³ The sample consists of 13 districts except Jaffna. There were five villages in the Jaffna District which were not included in the survey due to unavoidable circumstances.

The basic village information is summarised in Appendices 1 and 2. Essentially, Samurdhi beneficiaries, whose income is less than Rs. 3,000 per month, indicate the extent of poverty. The income figures are approximate, calculated by the Grama Seva Officer according to the available assets and income data. Very often the highest income earners in a village are land owners and traders while some of them are fixed income earning employers.

Table No: 2.1. Study sites:

Distribution of the sample across districts

Name of the District	Number of Villages	Total Population	No. of Households	No. of Samurdhi Beneficiaries	Average income
Colombo	4	6364	1644	429	8842
Kalutara	2	2316	585	267	6155
Galle	2	2683	686	319	6202
Hambantota	2	1882	414	232	5152
Kandy	6	3303	706	348	6103
Kegalle	8	6455	1642	887	5619
Kurunegala	25	15524	4353	2458	5746
Matale	24	15549	4622	2610	5678
Matara	7	6443	1838	928	5617
Puttalam	9	7541	2057	1114	5350
Ratnapura	8	13702	3474	1991	5009
Nuwara Eliya	1	420	132	101	4814
Badulla	2	1785	537	345	4616
Total	100	83967	22690	12029	5762

2 .3. Types and sources of data

The village was taken as the primary sampling unit from which the data was extracted. The data collection was carried out in three phases. During the first phase, basic demographic information was collected at the village-household level covering age, sex, occupation, household size, and income sources from employment, productive activities and income support received from Samurdhi, relatives and the remittances from family members living abroad. Secondly, data relating to infrastructure facilities covering roads, access to markets, energy, water supply and education,

available within each village, was collected. During the third phase, data relating to investment on public services within the village during a ten year period from 1995 to 2004 was collected. The village based investments included investments by the Central Government, Provincial Government, Pradeshiya Saba, NGOs, the private sector and projects funded by donor agencies, including the RERTF. In the final phase, a sample income distributional pattern was decided upon on the basis of Samurdhi recipients and the income of the rest of the households.

2. 4. Analysis

The objective of the analysis was to test whether priority public action on growth supporting infrastructure services is producing a practical solution in reducing village level poverty and inequality in Sri Lanka. There were three stages in the analysis:

- (a) Firstly, the extent of income inequality was investigated using village-based empirical evidence. Investigations were initially undertaken to identify reasons for on-going poverty and inequality in income distribution, regional divergence, traditional characteristics of poverty, impact of location-specific factors and the role played by infrastructure.
- (b) Second, the functional relationship between the village household income and each individual infrastructure⁴⁴ was examined. At this stage, each type of infrastructure and income of the village were expressed in terms of indices (Appendix No 3). The functional relationship between village based income and each infrastructure variable was tested separately in order to come to a view on the functional relationship. The equations, one to five are as follows.

$$I^H_i = f(R^R_i); \quad (\text{Equation No. 1}) \quad I^H_i = f(IR^E_i); \quad (\text{Equation No. 2})$$

$$I^H_i = f(R^M_i); \quad (\text{Equation No. 3}) \quad I^H_i = f(R^W_i); \quad (\text{Equation No. 4})$$

$$I^H_i = f(R^{Edu}_i) \quad (\text{Equation No. 5})$$

⁴⁴ Estache (2004) has clearly showed that there are direct impacts on all rural infrastructures and supporting services on the markets. This study has followed the investigation procedure on the basis of the same argument but with broader coverage of rural market infrastructure.

(c) Thirdly, steps were taken to quantify the direct and indirect effects between the household income and village based infrastructure services. In this regard, in the 2nd stage the least square technique was used to estimate the functional relationship in the system. The customary reduced form model (Equation No. 6) is estimated for the purpose of expressing a combined relationship between the village household average income and related level of infrastructure of the village and yields the following estimating equation⁴⁵.

$$I_j^H = \beta_0 + \beta_1 R_j^R + \beta_2 R_j^M + \beta_3 R_j^W + \beta_4 R_j^{Edu} + \beta_5 R_j^E + \varepsilon_j \quad (\text{Equation No. 6})$$

Where: I_j^H is the household income in jth village, R_j^R is the rural roads in jth village, R_j^E is the rural energy, R_j^M is the rural markets, R_j^W is the rural water supply and R_j^{Edu} is the rural educational facilities while error term ε_j ⁴⁵ is added to the equation. In addition, Equation No. 7 is expected to yield regional diversity as it is based on the village sample except the villages from Colombo District.

$$I_j^H = \beta_0 + \beta_1 R_j^R + \beta_2 R_j^M + \beta_3 R_j^W + \beta_4 R_j^{Edu} + \beta_5 R_j^E + \varepsilon_j \quad (\text{Equation No. 7})$$

Fourthly, Equation No. 8 will test whether poverty is concentrated in areas where connectivity to towns and markets, and access to other services are relatively low.

$$I_j^H = \beta_0 + \beta_1 R_j^{AMR} + \beta_2 R_j^{DQP} + \beta_3 R_j^{DQU} + \beta_4 R_j^F + \beta_5 R_j^{CBO} + \beta_6 R_j^{DM} + \beta_7 R_j^{ADS} + \beta_8 R_j^R + \beta_9 R_j^M + \beta_{10} R_j^W + \beta_{11} R_j^{Edu} + \beta_{12} R_j^E + \varepsilon \quad (\text{Equation No. 8})$$

Where: R_j^{AMR} = Access to main road and national roads; R_j^{DQP} = Distance and quality of paved roads; R_j^{DQU} = Distance and quality of unpaved roads; R_j^{CBO} = Village road maintenance by Community Based Organisations; R_j^F = Allocation of funds to village roads; R_j^{DM} = Distance to the closest market. Equation 8 will explain the combined effects of location specific factors and other infrastructure services.

⁴⁵ Estache, Perelman and Trujillo (2005) analysed the macro level infrastructure performance and used variables such as energy, water and sewerage, transport, ports and railways. Another similar study by Benitez and Estache (2005) used electricity, telecommunications, water and sanitation.

3. Results

This section presents the results of the analyses undertaken and the impact of village level infrastructure facilities on poverty and income distribution inequality in rural Sri Lanka. Further, it will test whether the empirical evidence supports the hypothesis and provides justification for the proposal that public priority action on infrastructure facilities is an effective solution to reducing village-based poverty and income distribution inequality in Sri Lanka.

3.1. Overall poverty and inequality

The average household income of the sample is Rs. 5,762 while the number of Samurdhi recipients is about 12,029, representing almost 53% of the total number of households. The average monthly income of a household is less than two dollars, while 53% of the entire rural population earns less than a dollar a day. Secondly, the total monthly income of a household varies between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 70,000 per month. However, only 4.1% of all households earn more than Rs. 17,500 per month. Amongst others, 36.6% earn between Rs. 3,000 to 10,000 per month, while 6.3% are income earners of Rs. 10,000 to 17,500 per month. Thirdly, around 90% of households earn less than Rs. 10,000 per month, a significant feature of rural poverty in Sri Lanka.

Table No. 3.1. Village level household income distribution pattern

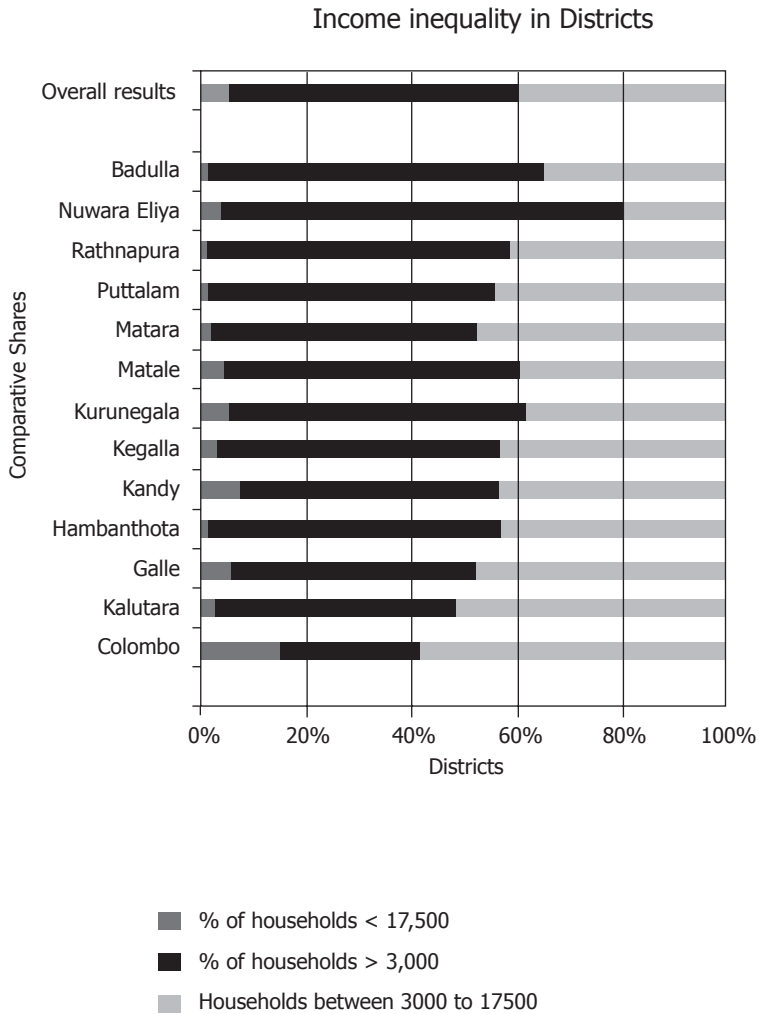
Income brackets	Number	Percentage
No. of households earning more than Rs. 17,500 per month.	922	4.1
Rs. 10000 to 17500	1,425	6.3
Rs. 3000 to 10000	8,314	36.6
No. of households earning less than Rs. 3,000 per month.	12,029	53.0
Total	22,690	100.0

Fourthly, the traditional picture of a few households in the rural sector that are relatively well off, who are economically active and owning land with sufficient capital goods, compared to others in the village is borne out from the data. The fifth feature of the rural poor worth highlighting (see Figure 3.1) is that the proportion of high income earners in a village in the Colombo District is around 15.2% of the total population, while the proportion of well off households in a village in the districts of Ratnapura, Puttalam or Badulla is between 1% to 2%. On the other hand, taking the poorest households, the proportion is around 26% in the Colombo-suburban villages, whereas in the other districts the figure is between 57% to 65%.

Another significant highlight of the results is the regional divergence in poverty levels between Colombo and the other districts of the sample. Among the sample DSDs, Homagama is reasonably better off when compared to poor DSDs like Ehetuwewa, Wanathavilluwa, Maiyanganaya, Karuwalagaswewa, Kolonna and Beliaththa. In addition, inequality is an acute problem in other DSDs compared to Homagama or Hanwella (Appendix No. 1). An important point highlighted in the study is that the poorer the village, the greater the income inequality. Greater levels of poverty and inequality are concentrated in villages where connectivity to urban markets and access to basic infrastructure facilities are relatively low.

⁴⁶ Income brackets are based on the sample data set and its pattern of distribution.

Figure No. 3.1. Income inequality in the districts.



3.2. Internal migration: a consequence of rising regional inequality

The evidence further showed a striking link between the annual departure of a large proportion of the educated, skilled and trained people from the village (mainly to the district of Colombo, seeking better opportunities) and the poverty situation of the village that they leave behind. According to the evidence, between 3 to 10 young, qualified people leave the village annually for better opportunities, while some travel daily for employment in suburban villages.

The migration towards the Colombo District resulted in adverse capital movements and inequality in infrastructure, keeping the rural sector poorer. For instance, villages in the Colombo District have better roads, access to markets, water, and energy services because of their location. These villages enjoy better education facilities together with employment opportunities. Pahalagama and Kiriwaththuduwa are villages in the Colombo metropolitan corridor that enjoyed the benefits of immigration with positive capital movements. Among the sample villages, the government has provided necessary infrastructure to the villages of Pamunuwa, Kongolla and Yahalegedara and many skilled people found employment within the village and those villages are economically active. Therefore, the evidence suggests that the provision of village level infrastructure improves the connectivity and opportunities within the village, and thus reduces migration out of the villages.

3.3. Traditional nature of poverty and inequality

Another important issue brought out in the sample is that the extremely poor are living in villages that engage in traditional livelihoods. The lowest income earning households living in the ten villages in the sample that engage in traditional livelihoods are the poorest. Importantly, these villages are also those with poor infrastructure facilities (see Annexure 2).

- The traditional, but market-oriented villages like those involved in clay-based products, for example, the villages of Kongolla, Werahara and Yahalegedara, are economically active with a higher volume of production and backed by relatively better infrastructure facilities due to the powerful lobby groups present in the village.

- There are a few wealthy individuals, even in the poorest villages, who make use of private capital in the absence of public infrastructure provision. For example, in the village of Manawa (in the Kuliyaipitiya East DSD), although 90% are poor, one household enjoys better income earning prospects due to the private capital stock held in the absence of public infrastructure facilities.
- Thirdly, it is clearly revealed that income earning opportunities are significantly linked to the level of infrastructure available in the particular village.

3.4. Impact of markets on poverty and inequality

The study findings suggest that the average household income of the village is higher when the village is closer to the district level urban markets, especially to the Colombo metropolitan market. The closer location and the distance to the market have provided better opportunities for income generation than when the village is far from the markets. Table No. 3.2 shows the market related infrastructure-based income inequality pattern across villages.

Table No. 3.2. Market related infrastructure and income inequality (expressed as percentages).

Name of the Village and DSD	Income higher than Rs. 17,500	Income lower than Rs. 3,000	Infrastructure index as a %
Pahalagama: Homagama	20.1	21.9	80
Kiriwaththuduwa: Homagama	13.2	19.2	68
Ihala Kosgama: Hanwella	19.5	39.8	64
Lahirugama: Hanwella	11.4	29.5	68
Pamunuwa West: Udunuwara	15.5	46.6	52
Egodapitiya: Karuwalagaswewa	0.4	75.9	18
Manawa: Kuliyaipitiya East	0.3	70.8	18
Handessa: Udunuwara	Nil	80.0	16
Morathanna: Mallawapitiya	Nil	89.4	16
Badigama: Ehetuwewa	Nil	87.3	7

As Table No. 3.2 shows, the villages with market related infrastructure have benefited, giving rise to lower levels of poverty and inequality. For example, the village of Pahalagama in the urban consumer corridor in the Homagama DSD, recorded the highest level of market related infrastructure, at 80%. The farmers obtained between 50% to 75% higher prices, as the transaction costs are considerably lower than that of other villages further from the markets, say in Puttalam or Kolonna. On the other hand, the village of Badigama (in Ehatuwewa DSD) records the highest level of poverty, with the lowest level of market related infrastructure, at 7%.

The functional relationship between household income and each type of infrastructure is tested in the proceeding section.

3.5. Effects of infrastructure

3.5.1 Basic characteristics

The analysis has provided spatial characteristics of data and a probable picture⁴⁷ (to a certain extent) that demonstrates village level poverty and inequality levels. The basic characteristics of the data are given in Table No. 3.3. The most important point to highlight is the elasticity relationship between household income and infrastructure. The income/infrastructure elasticity indicates that it is infrastructure relating to rural village-based road networks and markets that are the spatial factors affecting poverty and inequality at the village level.

3.5.1. Rural road/ transport infrastructure

Estimating the functional relationship between the income level of the village and the road system has revealed the following relationship:

$$I_i^H = 48.64 + 0.51R_i^R \quad (\text{Estimated equation No. 1})$$

$R^2 = 81\%$ and $t\text{-Stat: } 20.3$

Village level rural road infrastructure explains 81% of the existing poverty levels in the rural set up. These results are also validated by empirical observations. For example, the village of Pahalagama in the Homagama DSD has a comparatively better village road network, ranked highest at 75%. The worst road network is in the village of Badigama in the

⁴⁷ Lokshin and Yemtsov (2003) showed that it is impossible to estimate precisely the variables affecting household income, and related poverty and inequality.

Table No. 3 – 3. Descriptive statistics of infrastructure-based indexes

Description	Household income	Road services	Market related	Water supply	Education facilities	Energy services
Mean	100.0	99.8	99.1	98.6	99.9	100.6
Standard error	1.9	3.3	3.4	3.3	2.8	4.3
Median	99.3	101.5	97.4	100.0	102.4	100.0
Mode	N/A	105.9	120.0	111.1	107.1	66.7
Standard deviation	19.1	33.4	33.6	33.1	27.7	43.3
Sample variation	365.7	1115.7	1128.4	1092.0	767.5	1873.1
Kurtosis	2.4	2.2	2.2	1.6	0.7	0.7
Skewness	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.4	0.3	0.8
Range	117.9	202.9	208.6	194.4	142.9	196.7
Minimum	57.9	17.6	20.0	16.7	40.5	33.3
Maximum	175.9	220.6	228.6	211.1	183.3	230.0
Count	100	100	100	100	100	100
Confidence level (95%)	3.8	6.6	6.7	6.6	5.5	8.6
Income elasticity		0.1196	0.3111	0.0850	0.0422	0.0127

Ehetuwewa DSD, which ranked the lowest in the study, at 6%. Only 6 villages were rated above 50%, whilst others varied between 6% to 50%, making the sample distribution skewed to the right. The mean of the distribution is 34% indicating that rural roads are at an unsatisfactory level and hence have less income-earning potential. The situation of the village of Pahalagama shows that the traders' and collectors' accessibility to 'Leaf vegetable' farm lands is easier, cost and time-saving and also allows farmers to reach the markets as there are developed transport services. The market transaction cost is low in Pahalagama as the village is located in the corridor of the metropolitan markets. The village of Pahalagama is also the luckiest compared to the other villages in the sample, attracting the highest investment of Rs. 4.5 million for village roads in 2004. On the other hand, the village of Badigama in the northern end of the Kurunegala District, some 16 kilometres away from Galgamuwa, where the market

is located, villagers have to walk 4 kilometres to the nearest small town of Ehetuwewa, using small gravel roads. The majority of villagers are using bicycles, while nine motorbikes and nine bullock carts are present in the village. It is striking to note that during the ten year period from 1995 to 2004, the authorities have not spent a single cent on village infrastructure. The situation of many rural villages located in the districts of Badulla, Puttalam, Hambantota, Nuwara Eliya are similar to the position in Kurunegala.

3.5.2. Market related infrastructure.

The functional relationship between village-based market-related infrastructure and household income has been estimated as follows.

$$:I_i^H = 47.64 + 0.51 R_i^M \quad (\text{Estimated equation No. 2})$$

$R^2 = 86\%$ and $t\text{-Stat}: 24.6$

Similar to the position of rural roads, the results are statistically significant. Village level market-related infrastructure explains 86% of the existing poverty levels in the rural set up. These results are also validated by empirical observations. As shown before, the village of Pahalagama has the highest average household income of Rs. 10,084 and a market-infrastructure index of 80%. Many traders and collectors visit the village daily while farmers themselves carry the 'leaf vegetables' to nearby markets. Some of them directly supply leaf vegetables to the exporters and some cater to direct retailers on a regular basis. Similarly, during the rambutan season, in the village of Lahirugama in the Hanwella DSD, farmers are in a position to bargain favorably with traders and collectors who have easy access to the village market.

Similarly, in Pamunuwa in the Udunuwara DSD, both producers and traders associations have considerably better lobbying power. The village has benefited in two ways. Firstly, it has managed to obtain the necessary infrastructure and secondly, it has maintained a stable market for brass products. The village has better infrastructure facilities because the organisations were able to win the support of the authorities. During the ten year period from 1995 to 2004, the authorities invested some Rs. 6 million in Pamunuwa for market related infrastructure, out of the total investment of Rs. 15.8 million. On the other hand, in the Kolonna DSD, villagers are poor because of the lack of investment in market-related infrastructure and consequent restrictions in market access. They are

also impoverished due to poor road related mobility and connectivity. As a result, the transaction costs are very high, sometimes more than the value of the farm-products and during the season, it is noted that some farmers used to destroy banana, pumpkin, papaya and vegetable crops. Poor infrastructure has resulted in a buyers' market in the rural sector.

3.5.3. Village-based water supply infrastructure

An estimation of the functional relationship between water supply and village household income has been shown below:

$$I_i^H = 52.59 + 0.48 R_i^W \quad (\text{Estimated Equation No. 3}),$$

$$R^2 = 81\% \text{ and } t\text{-Stat: } 14.8$$

The results are statistically significant and village level water supply explains 69% of the existing poverty levels. These results are also validated by empirical observations. The water supply facilities affect the villagers' income earning ability as many of them are agriculture based villagers. According to the evidence, the villages in the sample with water supply, especially with irrigation facilities, are better off than the villages in the dry zone districts, like Puttalam, Hambantota or Kurunegala. In the wet zone, farmers cultivate their crops year-round compared to those in the dry zone, where they cultivate once a year. The results clearly show the relationship between the income earning capacity and the water supply infrastructure situation of the vilage.

In the districts of Matale, Kandy, Galle and Matara, rain water is plentiful and yet in many parts of those districts irrigation infrastructure is not available. This situation is clearly reflected in the income earning ability. The farmers in Kolonna, Raththota and Daraniyagala DSDs have suggested the provision of small scale irrigation facilities and protection of ground water beds to allow them to make use of water throughout the year.

3.5.4. Effects of educational infrastructure

The functional relationship between educational infrastructure and household income is as follows:

$$I_i^H = 58.03 + 0.42 REdui \quad (\text{Estimated Equation No. 4})$$

$$R^2 = 37\% \text{ and } t\text{-Stat: } 7.6$$

The results are statistically significant, but its implications are not acceptable when considering the observations made in the field. A larger portion of the observations have not been explained by the model, in addition to the comparatively bigger standard error of 15.2. A closer investigation showed two possible reasons for the disparity. Firstly, many academically educated youth are not employed after attainment of their Advanced Level and graduation from University, so that they become dependent on their parents. The situation has created severe inequality in the income earning capacity in the rural sector. Secondly, other than migration to take up employment in the Middle East, internal migration to the city centres has become another reason for poverty and income inequality. Many villagers confirmed that their educated youth leave the village due to lack of opportunities in the village.

Further, when there are basic infrastructure facilities, many technically qualified villagers, such as electricians, motor mechanics, goldsmiths, carpenters, masons and welders are self-employed. Such households have relatively better income earning opportunities than farmers when they are provided with necessary infrastructure services. Significantly, according to the study, poor households benefit more than wealthier households from educational infrastructure facilities. This observation indicates that educational infrastructure is capable of poverty reduction, helping to establish a level playing field for income earning opportunities.

3.5.5. Rural energy services

The estimated functional relationship between rural energy infrastructure and household income has been calculated as follows.

$$I_i^H = 66.83 + 0.33 RE_i \quad (\text{Estimated Equation No: 5})$$

$$R^2 = 56\% \text{ and } t\text{-Stat: } 11.1$$

The results are statistically significant and match the empirical observations. The information has revealed that there is very little evidence to show that energy related infrastructure is an input for income generating because many villagers utilise electricity for welfare purposes like household lighting. A few technically qualified villagers use electricity for income generation activities.

3.6. Aggregated results

This section examines the aggregate impact of infrastructure services on poverty and inequality levels. The estimated results of Equations 6, 7 and 8 are given in Table No. 3.4. Equation No. 6 is statistically significant and is supported by the empirical evidence. $R^2 = 88\%$ is a fairly representative explanation which determines the relationship between village household income and infrastructure priorities. According to the results, rural roads, village infrastructure supporting access to market and the village level water supply services get the first priority, demonstrating the 'real world' situation in rural Sri Lanka.

Amongst all variables, village market-based infrastructure has the most significant impact on household income. The market-based infrastructure provides a level playing field for rural communities, enhancing their income earning potential. Dorward and Kydd (2005) noted the same characteristics in agricultural based societies. Road connectivity and mobility are also strengthening the economic activities, complementing the income earning ability of the poor. Demonstrating the reality of rural Sri Lanka, water supply related infrastructure has significantly impacted upon the income earning ability of agriculture based villages.

In order to verify the results of this 'basic model', a comparison was made with the results of Equation 7 (Table No. 3.4). Equation No. 7 is based on 96 villages (ignoring four villages from the Western Province). The results are similar to those of the basic model (from Equation No. 6). The results are statistically significant, with $R^2 = 83\%$ and confirm the validity of rural roads, markets and water services. Further, the results have indicated priorities in infrastructure. Educational and energy related infrastructure need more policy support as they are not yet income-friendly.

The results of Equation No. 8 indicate a different picture of the rural situation, complementing the 'real' situation and the need for access and connectivity. Firstly, access to main and national roads underlines the importance of village connectivity and mobility to the outside world. Empirical evidence showed that both poverty and inequality of outward-oriented villages are less than that of isolated and remote villages. The infrastructure for the access and entry to main and/or national roads and transport services are income-friendly. For example, although the village of Pamunuwa in the Udunuwara DSD is away from Colombo, it has easy entry and access to the national road, making the village economically

Table No. 3 – 4. Impacts of village based poverty and inequality (within parenthesis t values)

Variables/Indicator R ²	Equation: 6 88%	Equation: 7 83%	Equation: 8 93%
Number of observations	100 villages	96 villages	100 villages
Intercept	42.9 (2.69)	41.1 ()	51.2 (16.72)
Village based road infrastructure	0.12 (2.10)	0.13 (2.28)	-----
Village-market related infrastructure	0.31 (4.78)	0.31 (4.64)	0.18 (3.25)
Village water supply facilities	0.09 (2.23)	0.08 (2.32)	0.06 (1.86)
Village based educational facilities	0.04 (1.28)	0.05 (1.65)	0.04 (1.48)
Village based energy facilities	0.01 (0,48)	0.02 (0.63)	-0.02 (-0.7)
Access to main and national roads			0.07 (2.20)
Distance/quality of paved roads			0.03 (1.01)
Distance/quality of unpaved roads			0.15 (6.82)
Village road maintainance by CBOs			-0.03 (-0.91)
Allocation of funds to village roads			-0.01 (-0.83)
Distance to closest market			-0.01 (-0.54)
Assessment of village road situation			-0.01 (-0.52)

active. Secondly, it is essential to upgrade the quality of unpaved village based road networks, improving the mobility and connectivity within the village. Villages in Kolonna DSD are poor and with severe income distribution inequality, partly because of its restricted internal mobility and connectivity.

The results of the statistical analysis has proved the hypothesis. Further they have drawn attention to several important issues as noted below.

- Firstly, the results have validated that input based infrastructure such as input markets, water supply, tanks, agricultural wells, irrigation

facilities, and energy services allow rural communities to participate in economic activities, as Reddy's study (2002) found in connection with the broader South Asian situation.

- Secondly, the rural economy output based infrastructure such as, output disposal markets, market information, and buyer-seller relations provide better opportunities for producers. Output disposable infrastructure services directly affect farmers' income. The value of output disposable market infrastructure is well acknowledged and understood, particularly during the seasonal harvesting periods of crops like paddy, vegetables or pepper.
- The evidence clearly demonstrates that all these infrastructure facilities are interrelated and provide complementary benefits. For example, by providing functional connectivity roads for a village, it enhances access to education, health and sanitation facility, housing in addition to the income generating benefits.

The analysis above shows that the public priority action on infrastructure services could be a practical solution to meet the challenges of reducing rural poverty and income distributional inequality. Although there are some statistical shortcomings in the absence of proper baseline survey data and panel data is needed for undertaking standard tests such as 'before and after' techniques, the qualitative evidence that was collected on the ground helped to establish the robustness of the results.

4. Discussion

The evidence suggests that regional poverty and inequality in the sluggish rural economy in Sri Lanka are due to the adverse results of backwash and spread effects due to the long outstanding infrastructure backlog. The World Bank (2004) noted that the growing spending on security and consumption was at the expense of spending on economic infrastructure. This study has promoted village-location based dimensions in policy making such as 'poor-village based programmes' and attempts to set up 'village based growth centres'. The central study issues including, Are infrastructure interventions in poor areas effective in reducing poverty and inequality? Does infrastructure make more sense in moving jobs and opportunities to people? Does infrastructure make markets work for the poor? are worth discussing further.

Firstly, the issue of effectiveness of infrastructure-led poverty solutions for minimising geographical and locational disadvantages: This study took village-based examples, and found that where infrastructure facilities are better, the incidence of poverty and inequality are less. Other studies have taken different examples. For example, the study by Amarasinha *et al.* (2005) used Divisional Secretary level poverty maps, while the reports of World Bank (2003b and 2007) were based on regions and at the district level. The present study has been useful in verifying that the village level is feasible when using targeted poverty reduction interventions or policies, particularly those integrating the village economy with the urban economies. The study found that infrastructure facilities in the village of Pamunuwa (Udunuwara DSD) enhanced its access, connectivity and mobility to the markets in Kandy, as well as those in Colombo, while also creating village-based employment opportunities. Jacoby (1998), examining the situation in Nepal and Songco (2002) examining the situation in Vietnam showed that outward orientation is income-earner friendly. Therefore, a village based infrastructure-poverty solution may be more effective than policies targeting larger areas.

Secondly, the issue of internal migration as a consequence of rising regional inequality. Similar to the World Bank (2007) findings, the present study looked comprehensively at the adverse consequence on regional poverty and inequality due to migration from villages to Colombo and other urban centers. The rural sector becomes the home for the poor while the Colombo District has been the destination of choice for those seeking better prospects, opportunities and facilities. Some villages in Sri Lanka with better infrastructure access are able to retain educated and skilled trained people as explained by Richter (2006). The evidence therefore underlines the significant role played by infrastructure in these circumstances.

Thirdly, the issue of infrastructure-led income earning opportunities. As indicated in the discussion on findings, the relationship between household income earning ability and infrastructure is well demonstrated since a large number of relatively high income earners are living in villages with supporting infrastructure. The World Bank (2004) and Ekanayake (2006) both discussed the same issues for situations at the district level. Employment opportunities in villages which enjoy high levels of infrastructure benefit from access to relatively fair trading activities, speedier mobility, connectivity and human resource development. This

finding is supported by the findings of Songco's (2003) study. The provision of infrastructure made transaction costs lower and sped up economic transactions, particularly the markets catering for agricultural inputs and agricultural produce.

Recognising that infrastructure services tend to support the poor rather than the wealthy in rural villages, it is worthwhile discussing two areas highlighted in the analysis. The first area is the impact of infrastructure services on incomes of village households. The evidence suggests that the quality and quantity of rural transport services created extra income earning opportunities in addition to the reduced transaction cost and time, a similar experience noted by Khandker *et al.* (2006) in connection with Bangladesh. Many village based examples have been cited in the analysis regarding the outcomes at the household level, together with equitable distributional consequences as noted by Jacoby (1998) in relation to Nepal.

The poverty impact on market-related infrastructure is well demonstrated in the analysis and shows the extent of effectiveness on both input supply and output disposal markets. The evidence gathered from villages engaging in paddy agriculture, indicated that paddy disposal market facilities are inadequate to meet the needs of the farmers. Compounding the situation is the seasonality of the supply. The farmers' lobbying power and the buyers' monopoly operate adversely. This point has been validated by Starkey (2003) and pointed to the beneficial effects that infrastructure has in creating trading-hubs and enhancing competition.

Further, the evidence suggested that water supply related infrastructure plays a positive role in agricultural villages (World Bank, 2004). The villages are better off when the water resources are plenty and are able to utilise them for income generation purposes. Water resources in the village tank and irrigated water are not only income supportive, but also livelihood-friendly (Reddy, 2002). According to the empirical evidence, investment in water resources has generated positive results. Educational infrastructure is another fundamental type of infrastructure related to social welfare that affects reduction of poverty and income inequality. On the same issue, Lokshin and Yemtsov (2003) presented some ambiguous results using data from rural Georgia. However, the Sri Lankan situation is relatively clear as it has been found that 'educated' families (both of an academic and technical nature), enjoyed a better level of livelihood. Rural energy

related infrastructure has highlighted two fundamental differences; as a welfare driven facility and as an income supported industrial input-driven development facility. A significant outcome of the survey is that all villages were not using energy for income generation activities except the technically trained households. However, the survey-results have revealed that rural energy dynamics are still untapped when considering its economic, welfare, equity and human development parameters (ESCAP, 2003).

The empirical evidence shows that the inter-related complementary benefits of a rural village tank, road or market also have direct individual benefits for everybody to become economically active. Garmendia *et al.* (2004) and Khandker *et al.* (2006) also showed complementary economy-wide benefits of rural roads studying developing country cross sectional data and the Bangladeshi situation. There is also evidence to suggest that infrastructure has resulted in creating self employment opportunities and a climate conducive to entrepreneurialism within the villages and regions resulting in capital resource inflow from urban to rural destinations. When considering robust results, firstly, as suggested by Pattimura (2002) and Lusting *et al.* (2002), new infrastructure-based income redistributive policies and secondly, as suggested by Kraay (2004), infrastructure based, pro-poor growth policies are equally valid when addressing poverty and inequality.

Overall results of the aggregated model have confirmed the positive role of public priority action on infrastructure services and relative complementary effects of infrastructure services, and that fighting rural poverty and inequality is possible once the ground is set for the poor to participate in the growth process.

5. Concluding remarks

Recognising that infrastructure to the rural sector directly benefits the poor, the present study recommends this solution as a way to meet the challenge of rural poverty and inequality in Sri Lanka. However, the scale of the challenge is massive. It is established that public infrastructure for the rural sector is an effective income redistribution policy which will create opportunities for the rural poor and establish a level playing field for everybody to become economically active. Therefore, it is worthwhile to create infrastructure-led, pro-poor growth potential within the rural economy instead of income support which will make one section of the society better off at the expense of others. Some policy recommendations are given below:

Firstly, the empirical evidence suggests that village-friendly strong investment push creating public infrastructure would generate income earning opportunities within the rural regions. Secondly, the policies are necessary to upgrade the volume of village-based human resources that would retain those technically trained, skilled workers in the village providing infrastructure facilities depending on the specific situations. Hence, it is worthwhile to redesign policies for addressing human resource development needs demanded by the markets within the village and at specific locations. By going through realities, empirical evidence suggests that the creation of a village based entrepreneurial class is possible by putting economic and social infrastructure in place and that will help to redistribute resources from urban cities to villages.

The issues generated and discussed in this paper have highlighted an effective option available for reducing poverty and inequality, taking public priority action on rural infrastructure services and intervening to initiate pro-poor growth in the rural economy.

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Appendices

Appendix Table No. 01

Poverty and income inequality in selected Divisional Secretary Divisions

Poverty and income inequality in selected DS Divisions							
District	Total households	% of households < 17,500	% of households > 3,000	DS Division	Average Income Rupees	% of households < 17,500	% of households > 3,000
Colombo (4)	1644	15.2	26.1	Hanwella	8109	13.1	33.3
				Homagama	9574	16.8	20.6
Kalutara (2)	585	2.5	45.6	Beruwala	5621	2.3	49.6
				Anguruwathota	6688	3.1	35.2
Galle (2)	686	5.5	46.5	Thawalama	6756	3.7	30.1
				Hikkaduwa	5649	7.9	69.2
Hambanthota (2)	414	1.0	56.0	Beliaththa	5152	1.0	56.0
Kandy (6)	706	7.2	49.3	Udunuwara	6103	7.2	49.3
Kegalla (8)	1642	2.7	54.0	Mawanella	5985	2.3	42.1
				Daraniyagala	5687	1.5	42.8
				Dehiovita	5406	3.4	62.3
Kurunegala (25)	4353	5.1	56.4	Ehatuwewa	4442	0	87.3
				Pannala	6246	1.4	47.9
				Paduwasnuwara	5736	2.1	50.1
				Banunakotuwa	4915	5.9	77.0
				Udabaddawa	6182	5.6	54.5
				Bingiriya	6840	5.2	40.8
				Polgahawela	6882	8.6	48.1
				Katupotha	6768	8.2	47.9
				Galgamuwa	5138	1.4	62.8
				Mallawapitiya	3456	0	87.5
				Kuliyapitiya (E)	4761	1.2	65.3
				Weerambagedara	5590	2.9	54.1

Matale (24)	4622	4.0	56.4	Ukuwela	5791	6.5	60.9
				Rathota	5542	2.5	53.6
Matara (7)	1838	1.8	50.4	Pitabeddara	5617	1.8	50.4
Puttalam (9)	2057	1.5	54.1	Mahakubukkadawa	•a 5349	2.1	54.9
				Karuwalagaswewa	5388	1.4	53.9
				Wanathawilluwa	5236	1.1	55.1
Rathnapura (8)	3474	1.0	57.3	Kollonna	5009	1.0	57.3
Nuwara Eliya (1)	132	3.7	76.5	Kothmale	4814	3.7	76.5
Badulla (2)	537	1.1	64.2	Maiyanqanaya	4208	1.5	80.0
				Passara	5024	1.1	62.1
Overall results	22690	4.1	53.0		5762	4.1	53.0

Appendix Table No. 02.

Village Sample: Basic data							
	Name of the Village	Divisional Secretary Division	Village population	Number of households	Samurdhi recipients	Average income	Average infra: index
1	Ihala Kosgama	Hanwella	1016	264	105	7775	66.8
2	Lahirugama	Hanwella	1784	440	130	8443	67.6
3	Palagama	Homagama	1777	487	107	10084	74.0
4	Kiriwaththuduwa North	Homagama	1787	453	87	9064	68.6
	District average		6364	1644	429	8842	69.3
5	Katukurudu-gahalanda	Beruwala	1823	423	210	5621	40.2
6	Yala	Anguruwathota	493	162	57	6688	34.4
	District average		2316	585	267	6155	37.3
7	Ellaihala	Thawalama	1461	397	119	6756	37.0
8	Udegalpitiya	Hikkaduwa	1222	289	200	5649	38.6
	District average		2683	686	319	6202.5	37.8
9	Mihidupura	Beliaththa	675	177	102	5105	31.0
10	Madhagoda	Beliaththa	1207	237	130	5200	29.6
	District average		1882	414	232	5152.5	30.3
11	Kuradeniya	Udunuwara	820	188	85	5705	34

12	Kowilakanda	Udunuwara	548	60	40	5583	34.8
13	Handessa	Udunuwara	273	50	40	3900	24.8
14	Pamunuwa East	Udunuwara	654	154	74	6896	49.8
15	Pamunuwa-west	Udunuwara	748	193	90	7863	51.6
16	Hondiyadeniya	Udunuwara	260	61	19	6672	39.4
	District average		3303	706	348	6103	39
17	Lewke	Mawanella	782	171	72	5985	29.6
18	Delgasthenna	Daraniyagala	198	54	34	5130	28
19	Nilwala	Daraniyagala	780	276	93	6147	38.2
20	Magala	Daraniyagala	432	90	42	5733	35.2
21	Keerihena	Daraniyagala	417	101	54	5738	33.2
22	Viharakanda	Dehiovita	1386	336	237	4996	30.2
23	Maniyangama	Dehiovita	1473	360	200	5681	42.6
24	Bomaluwa	Dehiovita	987	254	155	5541	33.4
	District average		6455	1642	887	5619	33.8
25	Badigama	Ehatuwewa	370	103	90	4442	9.4
26	Werahara	Pannala	316	71	34	6246	35.8
27	Ambahenehawewa	Paduwasnuwara	554	144	72	5736	41.6
28	Baddegama	Bamunakotuwa	624	170	131	4915	25.2
29	Amunuwela	Edabaddawa	1342	318	222	5931	36.6
30	Waduraba	Edabaddawa	1214	302	116	6434	39.8
31	Wellarawa	Bingiriya	403	191	78	6840	42.0
32	Hiripathwella	Polgahawela	703	238	125	6985	44.0
33	Egalla	Polgahawela	1355	271	176	5998	39.4
34	Wadakada	Polgahawela	692	209	80	7309	48.2
35	Embalawaththa	Polgahawela	439	141	60	7074	48.2
36	Habarawa	Polgahawela	546	172	70	7064	46.4
37	Lihinigiriya	Polgahawela	396	112	38	6866	43.8
38	Kongolla	Katupotha	861	250	154	6378	47.2
39	Yahalegedara	Katupotha	685	176	50	7159	48.8
40	Makalanegama	Galgamuwa	233	57	30	5570	40.4
41	Palugama	Galgamuwa	573	176	118	4682	27.2
42	Padipanchawa	Galgamuwa	198	55	33	5164	29.2
43	Waligodapitiya	Polgahawela	864	264	121	6763	46.4
44	Morathanna	Mallawapitiya	722	190	170	3553	21.4
45	Beligodakanda	Mallawapitiya	284	84	71	3696	20.6
46	Watagoda	Mallawapitiya	85	28	26	3321	22.2
47	Manawa	Kuliyapitiya (E)	981	367	260	3781	27.8
48	Hauluwa	Kuliyapitiya (E)	433	92	40	6141	42.6
49	Yalawa	Weerabugedara	651	172	93	5590	35.4
	District average		15524	4353	2458	5746	36

	Village Sample: Basic data		:				
50	Kirimatiyawa	Ukuwela	371	115	75	6087	33.8
51	Mathulemada	Ukuwela	240	72	42	5917	33.6
52	Panwaththa	Ukuwela	380	125	74	6036	37.4
53	Katuaththamada	Ukuwela	444	132	63	6413	28.4
54	Galaudahena	Ukuwela	561	140	80	5071	37.6
55	Pallekumbura	Ukuwela	365	105	60	6357	28.6
56	Wattegedara	Ukuwela	247	78	50	4872	38.2
57	Owilikanda	Ukuwela	718	202	100	6386	36.8
58	Pathi regalia	Ukuwela	716	208	148	5596	39.8
59	Alawathuwala	Ukuwela	417	130	65	6558	39.2
60	Enagulada	Ukuwela	719	209	136	6199	32.8
61	Wade mad a	Ukuwela	459	140	98	5457	27.0
62	Horagahapitiya	Ukuwela	576	139	102	4342	42.2
63	Pallehapuvida	Raththota	881	282	121	6137	34.0
64	Madakumbura	Raththota	897	288	170	5035	30.2
65	Maussagolla	Raththota	496	172	119	5485	45.0
66	Dambagolla	Raththota	1171	295	105	6746	24.2
67	Polwaththakanda	Raththota	754	232	159	4739	31.2
68	Welangahawaththa	Raththota	877	233	97	5841	35.8
69	Bambarakiriella	Raththota	1370	443	194	5800	33.2
70	Dankanda	Raththota	812	227	148	5337	24.8
71	Kirimatiya	Raththota	690	238	168	4387	24.0
72	Horagolla	Raththota	699	205	135	5171	39.2
73	Bodikotuwa	Raththota	689	212	101	6294	36.6
	District average		15549	4622	2610	5678	33.9
74	Galabada	Pitabaddara	1102	250	132	5724	36.2
75	Kalubowitiyana	Pitabaddara	1100	228	112	5728	35.8
76	Abewela	Pitabaddara	612	375	202	5316	38.2
77	Mahepothuwila	Pitabaddara	1029	324	167	5535	26.8
78	Ihalaainegama	Pitabaddara	882	241	167	4568	35.8
79	Siyambalagoda	Pitabaddara	748	180	77	6047	39.4
80	Diyadawa	Pitabaddara	970	240	71	6398	25.4
	District average		6443	1838	928	5617	33.9
81	Kandeyaya	Mahakubukka-dawara	835	235	129	5349	29.2
82	Palugassegama	KaruwaIagas-wewa	1049	301	167	5502	20.8
83	Egodapitiya	KaruwaIagas-wewa	826	224	170	4174	20.0

84	Thabbowa-South	Karuwalagas-wewa	1542	384	275	4772	33.0
85	Thewanuwara	Karuwalagas-wewa	987	275	110	5991	34.2
86	Pawattamaduwa	Karuwalagas-wewa	814	252	100	5813	37.0
87	Thambapanniya	KaruwaIag as-wewa	713	212	67	6078	33.4
88	Mangalapura	Wanathavi-lluwa	425	75	40	5367	25.0
89	Wanathavilluwa south	Wanathavi-lluwa	350	99	56	5106	30.6
	District average		7541	2057	1114	5350.22	29.2
90	Iththakanda	Kolonna	1824	562	290	5329	31.6
91	Podhdhana	Kolonna	2336	622	342	5138	37.2
92	Ranhotikanda	Kolonna	2417	553	235	5769	32.2
93	Buluthota	Kolonna	2428	562	339	4919	30.2
94	Kella	Kolonna	1379	367	212	5132	24.2
95	Pupulaketiya	Kolonna	1293	320	215	4711	21.8
96	Walakada	Kolonna	699	165	125	4697	25.0
97	Koppakanda	Kolonna	1326	323	233	4378	22.8
	District average		13702	3474	1991	5009	28.1
98	Wethalawa	Kothgmale	420	132	101	4814	19.4
	District average		420	132	101	4814	19.4
99	Dehigoola	Maiyanganaya	345	65	52	4208	29.0
100	Tholabowaththa	Passara	1440	472	293	5024	35.3
	District average		1785	537	345	4616	32.1
Totals and Averages of the Sample.			83767	22690	12029	5762	35.3

Appendix Table No. 03
Dimensions of infrastructure indexes
Dimensions of rural village road index (Weight in 100)

Dimension criteria	Weight	Remarks
Access and entry to main and national roads	20	When the village is closer to or by the side of the main road they enjoy easy access to the market and competitive prices.
Distance and quality of paved motorable village roads	20	Quality and distance of paved roads played an integral part of village livelihoods.
Distance and quality of unpaved roads and pathways	10	Village road network: gravel pathways provide access to basic needs.
Allocation of funds for village road construction and rehabilitation	10	Ten year allocation of funds from 1995 to 2004. Data has been collected and a scale constructed for each village.
Maintenance of village roads by the village CBOs	20	A scale highlighted participation of road rehabilitation under Samurdhi, food aid and other CBOs projects.
Distance from village to closest market or supply point	10	Time and transaction costs are largely determined by the distance.
Overall assessment of village road situation by DS	10	DS has provided an unbiased assessment comparing all other villages.

Dimensions of village markets and marketing facilities index (weight in 100)

Dimension criteria	Weight	Remarks
Village based markets and boutique-traders	20	When a village is isolated, the role of boutiques and traders are high and can affect the households' income.
Village level producer /farmer societies, co-operatives	25	No. of societies and their lobbying power is an integral part of bargaining power.
Contractual relationship between villagers and buyers	25	A scale represented the formal and informal contractual relationship.
No of village collectors and commission agents	10	Collectors and commission agents use to compete with village boutiques.
No of lorries and carriages coming in a month	10	A scale was constructed to accommodate road accessibility.
No of village based welfare societies	10	Welfare societies like Samurdhi, death donation types are income supportive.

Dimensions of village water supply infrastructure index (Weight in 100)

Dimension criteria	Weight	Remarks
Village tanks and irrigated water supply	40	Village based tanks are a popular symbol of agricultural activities. Size of the paddy fields is also considered.
Village level agricultural wells and other sources	25	No of wells and natural water resources help year-round economic activities.
Pipe borne water supply	20	Pipe borne water supply is an indicator of the level of income of the village.
Rain water resources in a year	25	A scale was constructed for the villages with rain water, during the year.
Drought situation in the village in a year	(10)	Income of the dry-zone and wet-zone are largely determined by the drought situation. Weight is adjusted accordingly.

Dimensions of village-level educational facilities index (Weight in 100)

Dimension criteria	Weight	Remarks
Availability of a public school in the village	20	Primary enrolment is a basic indicator of village level educational facilities.
Availability of a high school or technical college in village	20	Higher level of education is associated with household poverty and income.
Average literacy rate of the village	20	Literacy rate has a significant impact on household income earning potential.
Technically qualified, skilled and trained number of people	20	Households with skills and training have enjoyed better livelihoods than others.
Number of graduates and qualified people in the village	10	Unemployed graduates became a handicap for the household income.
Overall assessment	10	Comparative assessment of the DS considering level of educational level.

Dimensions of village-level educational facilities index (Weight in 100)

Dimension criteria	Weight	Remarks
Electricity supply to the village	20	Hydro-electrical supply has been the core of livelihood and social needs.
Number of electricity user and nonuser households.	10	A scale has been constructed on the basis of users and non-users.
Number of energy using economic activities and industrial ventures	30	It has been realised that correlation between the energy-powered economic activities and household income is high.
Generation of energy in the village	30	Energy generation using wind, solar power, hydro power, biomass and firewood and user activities like cooking, drying, lighting, transporting, etc. A scale represented the overall activities
Energy sources managed by the village communities	10	CBO managed energy activities. Some villagers engaged in energy saving, efficiency creation. For example: Brass products and clay products villages.

TELEUSE ON A SHOESTRING: POVERTY REDUCTION THROUGH TELECOM ACCESS AT THE 'BOTTOM OF THE PYRAMID'

Harsha de Silva & Ayesha Zainudeen ⁴⁸

Abstract

It has been argued that inequality in access to telecom services can lead to limitations in fighting poverty or restricting improved access to information, more opportunities to build and maintain relationships—social as well as business-increased work efficiency etc. Many studies have attempted to demonstrate the impacts of access on income at the macro-level. However supporting evidence for this argument at the household level is limited.

This paper attempts to fill this void through a study of telecom users at the 'Bottom of the Pyramid' (BOP) across five Asian countries, namely India, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

The paper looks at the impacts of access to telecom services at a micro-level in the five countries, from the perspective of the *user*. It looks at the *perceived* impact (positive or negative) in terms of the ability to increase income or save on expenditure due to access, as well as other benefits.

The findings reveal that telecom users do not perceive the benefits of telecom access to be as high as previous studies at the macro-level may suggest. However the paper argues that users do not seem to perceive the benefits as directly originating from access to telecom services.

The findings show that the price elasticity of demand for telecom services at the BOP is not as high as previously thought, implying that a fall in prices may not necessarily lead to a large increase in usage of telecom services, but instead a rise in disposable income. As a result, it appears that households at the BOP can reallocate this expenditure to other goods and services that may have positive impacts on poverty alleviation.

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The paper then briefly discusses policies at the macro-level that can help to improve and therefore address inequalities in telecom access, which in turn can help to fight poverty.

This study commenced in June 2006, with field work being conducted in July and August of 2006. This research was funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada, and the fieldwork was conducted by AC Nielsen affiliates in the respective countries. For more information: zainudeen@lirne.net

<http://www.lirneasia.net/projects/current-projects/shoestrings-2006-2007/>

**“දරිද්‍රතා පිරමීඩයෙහි” පහළ කොටස් වල පසුවන්නන් හට
විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා සඳහා ප්‍රවේශය සලසා දීම තුළින්
දරිද්‍රතාවට විසඳුම් සෙවීම⁴⁹**

තොරතුරු වලට ඇති ප්‍රවේශය පුළුල් කිරීම, සමාජයීය මෙන්ම ව්‍යාපාරික සම්බන්ධතා ගොඩනංවා ගැනීමට මෙන්ම පවත්වා ගැනීමට ඇති ශක්‍යතාවන් පුළුල් කිරීම, රැකියාවන් ආශ්‍රිත කාර්යක්ෂමතාව ඉහළ නැංවීම යනාදිය දරිද්‍රතාවෙන් ගොඩඉම් සඳහා මෙවලම් ලෙස භාවිතා කළ හැක. නමුත්, විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා සඳහා පවතින ප්‍රවේශයෙහි අසමානතාවන් පවතී නම් ඉහතින් සඳහන් කළ මෙවලම් යොදාගැනීමෙහිදී සීමාවන්ට මුහුණ පෑමට සිදුවන බව තර්ක කරයි. විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා සඳහා පවතින ප්‍රවේශය ආදායම මත ඇතිකරන බලපෑම් සාර්ථක මට්ටමින් පැහැදිලි කිරීම උදෙසා බොහොමයක් අධ්‍යයන වලින් උත්සාහ දරා ඇත. කෙසේනමුත්, මෙම තර්කය ශක්තිමත් කිරීමට ප්‍රමාණවත් ගෘහ කුටුම්භ මට්ටමේ සාක්ෂිවල යම් විරලතාවක් පවතින බව පෙනේ.

එබැවින්, ඉන්දියාව, පකිස්ථානය, පිලිපීනය, ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සහ තායිලන්තය යන ආසියාතික රටවල් පහක දරිද්‍රතා පිරමීඩයෙහි පහළ ස්ථරයන්හි පසුවන විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා ග්‍රාහකයින් ආශ්‍රිතව සිදුකරන ලද අධ්‍යයනයක් ඇසුරුකරගත් මෙම පත්‍රිකාවෙහි අරමුණ වන්නේ පර්යේෂණ ක්ෂේත්‍රය තුළ පවතින මෙම හිඬුස පිරවීම වේ.

ඒ අනුව, ඉහතින් සඳහන් රටවල් පහ ආශ්‍රිත කොට ගනිමින් විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා සඳහා ඇති ප්‍රවේශයෙහි බලපෑම් ක්ෂුද්‍ර මට්ටමින් විග්‍රහ කිරීමට මෙම පත්‍රිකාව හරහා උත්සාහ දරනු ලබන අතර ග්‍රාහක දෘෂ්ටි කෝණය මත සිට මෙම විග්‍රහය සිදුකරනු ලැබේ. පාරිභෝගිකයන් විසින් හඳුනාගත් බලපෑම් (යහපත් මෙන්ම අයහපත්) පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනයක් මෙහිදී සිදුකරනු ලබන අතර විශේෂයෙන් මෙම ප්‍රවේශය හේතුකොටගෙන ඔවුනගේ ආදායම් ඉහළ නංවා ගැනීමට ඉවහල් වූ හෝ වියදම් අවම කර ගැනීමට ඉවහල් වූ හෝ එසේත් නැතිනම් වෙනත් ප්‍රතිලාභයන් ගෙනදීමට සමත් වන ආකාරයට සිදු වූ බලපෑම් පිළිබඳ මෙහිදී අවධානය යොමු කෙරේ.

මින් ඉහතදී සාර්ථක මට්ටමින් සිදුකළ අධ්‍යයන වලින් හෙළි වූ ආකාරයට විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා වලට පවතින ප්‍රවේශය ආශ්‍රිත ප්‍රතිලාභයන් එපමණටම පවතින්නේදැයි යන්න අපගේ අධ්‍යයනයට හසු වූ පාරිභෝගිකයින්ට හැඟීගොස්තිවූ ආකාරයක් අනාවරණය

⁴⁹ C.K. Prahalad, 2004: The fortune at the bottom of the pyramid: Eradicating poverty through profit. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Wharton School Publishing.

නොවීය. කෙසේනමුත්, සැලසී ඇති ප්‍රතිලාභයන් වුවද විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා වලට ඇති ප්‍රවේශය හේතුකොටගෙන සෘජුව ඇති වූ ප්‍රතිලාභයන් බවට හැඟීමක් මෙම පාරිභෝගිකයන් තුළ නොමැති බවද අධ්‍යයනයෙන් හෙළිවිය.

දරිද්‍රතා පිරමීඩයෙහි පහළ ස්ථර වලදී විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා සඳහා පවතින ඉල්ලුමෙහි මිල නම්‍යතාව මූලික සිදුකළ අධ්‍යයන වලින් අනාවරණය වූ තරමටම ඉහළ අගයක් නොගන්නා බව මෙහිදී අනාවරණය විය. එනම්, මිල ගණන් වල සිදුවන පහළ යාමක් හේතුකොටගෙන විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා පරිභෝජනය විශාල ලෙස ඉහළ යාමක් සිදු නොවන නමුත් වැයකළ හැකි ආදායම ඉහළ යාමකදී තත්ත්වය වෙනස් වන බව පැහැදිලි විය. මේ අනුව පෙනී යන්නේ දරිද්‍රතා පිරමීඩයේ පහළ ස්ථරයන්හි පසුවන ගෘහ කුටුම්භ මෙම වියදම දරිද්‍රතාව අඩුකිරීම සඳහා දායක වන වෙනත් භාණ්ඩ සහ සේවා සඳහා නැවත යොදවන බවය.

අවසාන වශයෙන්, දරිද්‍රතාව අවම කිරීමෙහිලා භාවිතාකළ හැකි මෙවලමක් ලෙස විදුලි සංදේශ සේවා වලට ඇති ප්‍රවේශය පුළුල් කිරීම සඳහා ඉවහල්කර ගත හැකි සාර්ව මට්ටමේ ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් පිළිබඳව කෙටි විමසුමක්ද මෙම පත්‍රිකාවෙහි අන්තර්ගත වන අතර එය මෙම ක්ෂේත්‍රය ආශ්‍රිත අසමානතාවන් වලට විසඳුම් සෙවීම සඳහා යම් ආකාරයක පසුබිමක් නිර්මාණය කරනු ඇතැයි අපේක්ෂා කෙරේ.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය 2006 ජුනි මස ආරම්භ කරන ලද අතර 2006 ජූලි සහ අගෝස්තු යන මාස තුළදී ක්ෂේත්‍ර කටයුතු සිදු කරන ලදී. කැනඩාවේ ජාත්‍යන්තර සංවර්ධන පර්යේෂණ මධ්‍යස්ථානය (IDRC) මෙම පර්යේෂණය සඳහා අනුග්‍රාහකත්වය දක්වන ලද අතර ක්ෂේත්‍ර කටයුතු සිදුකරන ලැබුවේ අදාළ රටවල් අනුබද්ධිත AC Nielsen ආයතනය මගිනි. වැඩිදුර විස්තර සඳහා zainudeen@lirne.net <http://www.lirneasia.net/projects/current-projects/shoestrings-2006-2007/>.

பிரமிட்டின் (Pyramid) அடிமட்டத்தில் உள்ளவர்கள் குறித்து தொலைத்தொடர்பு வசதிகளின் பெறுவழியூடாக வறுமையைக் குறைத்தல்

கூடுதலான தகவல் பெறும்வழி மூலம் சமூகரீதியான தொழில்சார்ந்த வாய்ப்புகளையும், உறவுகளையும் கட்டியெழுப்புவதல், அவற்றைப் பேணுதல், அவற்றினூடாக வேலையில் திறமை நிலையினை உறுதிப்படுத்துதல் சாத்தியமாகுவதுடன், அவை வறுமைக்கெதிரான போராட்டத்திலும் பிரதான பங்களிப்பினையும் செய்ய முடிகின்றது. ஆனாலும் இவை, தொலைத்தொடர்புச் சேவைகள் கிடைப்பதில் சமமின்மை இருப்பதனால் வறுமைக்கெதிரான போராட்டத்தில் பயன்படுத்துவதில் மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட விதத்தில் மட்டும் தொழில்பட முடிகின்றது. பல ஆய்வுகள், தொலைத்தொடர்பின் பெறுவழி வருமானம் தொடர்பாக பேரின மட்டத்தில் தாக்கத்தினை ஏற்படுத்துவது பற்றி நிரூபிக்க முயன்றுள்ளன. எப்படியிருப்பினும், இதற்கு ஆதாரமாக வீட்டினர் துறை மட்டத்தில் கிடைக்கும் சான்றுகள் குறைவாகவே உள்ளன.

இக்கட்டுரை குறிப்பிட்ட இந்த வெறுமையான நிலையினை நிரப்புகின்ற நோக்கத்துடன் முயற்சிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. இதற்காக, ஐந்து ஆசிய நாடுகளில் உள்ள (இந்தியா, பாகிஸ்தான், பிலிப்பைன்ஸ், இலங்கை மற்றும் தாய்லாந்து) பிரமிட்டின் அடிமட்டத்திலுள்ள தொலைத்தொடர்பு சேவைப் பாவனையாளர்களை மையப்படுத்திய ஆய்வாக மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றது. இந்த நோக்கத்தினைக் கருதி இக் கட்டுரை, குறிப்பிட்ட ஐந்து நாடுகளில், சிற்றின மட்டத்தில், தொலைத்தொடர்பு வசதிகளைப் பெறுபவர்கள்/பயன்படுத்துவோர் என்ற நோக்கில் எத்தகைய தாக்கத்தினை ஏற்படுத்துகின்றது என்பதை ஆராய்கின்றது. குறிப்பாக இக்கட்டுரை (ஆக்கபூர்வமான, அல்லது எதிர்க்கணியமான) தெரிந்து கொள்ளும்/ உணர்ந்து கொள்ளும் தாக்கம், தொலைபேசி வசதி கிடைப்பதால் வருமானம் அதிகரிக்கப்படுவதற்கான அல்லது செலவு மீதான சேமிப்பை விளைவிக்கும் ஆற்றல் மற்றும் வேறு கிடைக்கக்கூடிய நன்மைகள் ஆகியவற்றினை ஆராய்கின்றது.

இந்த ஆய்விலிருந்து தெரியவருவது எதுவென்றால், தொலைத்தொடர்பு வசதிகளை பயன்படுத்துகின்றவர்கள், முன்பு செய்யப்பட்ட பேரின மட்டத்திலான ஆய்வுகள் கூறியது போன்று, தொலைத்தொடர்பு வசதிகள் கிடைப்பதால் பெறுகின்ற நன்மைகள் அதிகமானதாகக் கருதவில்லை. எப்படியாயினும், இக்கட்டுரையில் வலியுறுத்தப்படுவது, தொலைத்தொடர்பு வசதியைப்

பயன்படுத்துபவர்கள் பெறுகின்ற நன்மைகள் என்பவற்றை நேரடியாக அச்சேவைகளின் பெறுவழியிலிருந்து கிடைப்பவையாகக் கருதவில்லை.

ஆய்விலிருந்து மேலும் தெரியவருவது, பிரமிட்டின் அடிமட்டத்தில் உள்ளவர்கள் குறித்து தொலைத்தொடர்புச் சேவைகளுக்கான கேள்வியின் விலை நெகிழ்ச்சி, முன்பு எண்ணியது போன்று உயர்வானதாக இல்லை. இதனால் விலையில் ஏற்படும் வீழ்ச்சியினால் தொலைத்தொடர்புச் சேவைகளில் பெருமளவு அதிகரிப்பினை ஏற்படுத்தும் என்று கூறுவதற்கில்லை. ஆனால், பதிலாக அவ்வாறான நிலையில் செலவிடப்படுவதற்கான வருமானத்தில் அதிகரிப்பினைக் கொண்டுவர முடிகின்றது.

இதனுடைய விளைவாக கருதமுடிவது என்னவென்றால் “பிரமிட்டின் அடிமட்டத்தில்” இருப்பவர்கள் - குடும்பங்கள் - குறிப்பிட்ட இந்தச் செலவினை வேறு பொருள்கள் மீது மீள்பகிர்வு செய்து கொள்ளலாம். இது வறுமையின் குறைப்பில் ஒரு ஆக்கபூர்வமான தாக்கத்தினை ஏற்படுத்த முடிகின்றது.

இதனைத் தொடர்ந்து இக்கட்டுரை, சுருக்கமாக பேரின மட்டத்திலான முன்னேற்றத்தினைக் கொண்டுவரக்கூடிய கொள்நெறிகளை இனங்கண்டு விளக்கி தொலைத்தொடர்பு வசதிகள் குறித்து பெறுவழியிலுள்ள சமமின்மைகளை நீக்கும் நோக்கத்துடன் - இது மீண்டும் வறுமைக்கு எதிரான போராட்டத்தில் உதவுகின்ற பங்களிப்பைச் செய்கின்றது - ஆய்வினை முன்னெடுத்துச் செல்கின்றது.

TELEUSE ON A SHOESTRING: POVERTY REDUCTION THROUGH TELECOM ACCESS AT THE 'BOTTOM OF THE PYRAMID'

1.0 Introduction

Much has been said of the benefits of access to telecommunication especially at the 'Bottom of the Pyramid'.⁵⁰ The economic as well as social benefits from such access can, in theory, enable people to graduate from poverty and also contribute more widely to development. Thus it can be argued that inequality in access to telecom services can lead to limitations in fighting poverty.

Many in the 'ICT for development' movement highlight the benefits that telecommunication, Internet and other information and communication technologies (broadly put, ICTs) can bring to the fight against poverty. A number of studies have attempted to demonstrate the impacts of access on income at the macro-level. However supporting evidence for these arguments at the household level is limited at best.

This paper takes a unique look at telecom access and studies the perceived impacts of direct access to telecom services, that is, telephone ownership at a household level at the 'Bottom of the Pyramid' in five developing Asian countries. It focuses on the perceived economic impact (positive or negative) of telecom ownership in terms of the potential to increase indirect income generation capacity or save on expenditure or transactions costs. The findings reveal that some telecom users do perceive the economic benefits of direct access to be high, but this finding is not seen across the board for a number of reasons explained.

The paper is based on a large sample survey of telecom users at the BOP in Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and Thailand. Section 2 reviews the existing literature on the impacts of telecommunication. Section 3 explains the study design and methodology, and examines the difficulties faced in conducting a study of this nature and the methodological innovations undertaken. Section 4 explores in detail the impacts of telecom

⁵⁰ All due credit to C.K Prahalad (2004)

services at the BOP in the five countries. Section 5 concludes, looking at the policy implications from the study.

2.0 Literature Review

This literature review, by no means comprehensive, is to establish context for the current study by considering the existing literature on the impact of access to telecoms on the income earning potential, particularly at the lower strata of society. The objective here is to understand to what extent greater access, argued also as more equitable access, can help fight poverty. We note that while telecom is only one component of the broader set of information and communication technologies (ICT) and that access to the Internet is also considered by many in dealing with the above issues, our focus is only on telecom.⁵¹

Many studies over time have concluded that access to telecom has a fairly strong impact on growth and economic development, and therefore poverty reduction. Research into the impacts of telecommunication services at the macro-level is fairly rich. Hardy (1980), Cronin *et al.* (1991), Parker and Hudson's (1995), Cronin *et al.* (1993), and more recently Roeller and Waverman (2001) as well as Waverman, Meschi and Fuss (2005) are just a few who have demonstrated the positive impacts of telecommunication on economic growth and development. Recently, some studies have focused on the relationship between access to telecoms and economic well-being of the poorer segments of society in several countries at a micro-level, as does this study.

Souter *et al.* (2005) assessed the impact of telephones on the livelihoods of low-income rural communities in Mozambique, Tanzania and Gujarat (India). Impacts on financial capital are mixed, with most of it coming from saving travel time and cost or postage cost, but little impact on income generation. Only the better-off (in terms of wealth and education) see greater benefits in income generation. Impacts on social capital through networking, especially within the family, are large.

The 'social' use of phones has also been seen in several other studies.

⁵¹ This study finds that access to the Internet at the BOP is less than 2 percent in the South Asian countries and 10 percent or less in the Southeast Asian countries.

Zainudeen, Samarajiva and Abeysuriya (2005), in a study conducted among financially constrained users in several localities in India and Sri Lanka found that the large majority of phone use was for 'keeping in touch' with family and friends rather than instrumental uses such as business and financial transactions. Bayes *et al.* (1999) also cite 'social cohesion' availed of by telecom users, especially in the case of Bangladesh where many families have members working abroad. Such 'social' use is not to be considered 'frivolous' as the mere ability of families to stay in touch contributes to better quality of life.

Bangladesh is a widely cited example, where telecommunication is alleged to be particularly important in contributing to incomes of many poor families who depend on remittances from members working abroad. Richardson *et al.* (2000) found that the discussion of financial matters is a very important use of the phone among the rural poor, thus enabling financial transactions. In addition, phones are used as direct income generating devices in rural Bangladeshi villages through the 'resale of minutes'. This however is done with the support of micro-loans to make the initial purchase of the phone and subsidised call rates. Richardson *et al.* (2000) as well as Bayes *et al.* (1999) demonstrated the income benefits arising from this kind of business to be considerably large. However, these two phenomena are not commonly seen in other settings. Bayes *et al.* (1999) also note the non-economic benefits of phone access in rural Bangladeshi villages, such as improved law enforcement, disaster-communication, and increased social kinship.

In theory, lowered transaction costs, inter alia through faster access to more accurate information should help the poor to directly increase their incomes, or indirectly through the more productive use of the time saved by placing a call. The significant fact is that empirical evidence of such income impacts at a generalised level is sparse. Donner (2005), one of the few studies that attempted to aggregate this impact, considered the call behaviour of 277 Rwandan micro-entrepreneurs, based on the call logs on their mobile phones and found that a large proportion of their calls were with non-business contacts, regarding non-business issues. However, Donner notes that just the mere contactability and resulting flexibility associated with having a mobile might still have impacts on productivity and therefore income.

On the whole, there appears to be a dearth of empirical evidence of the economic benefits of access to telecom in developing countries, as

well as developed countries, at least available in the English language. Aside from empirical studies on the Grameen Village Phone programme in Bangladesh (which generally assess, the income impacts of selling telecom services in rural areas, a kind of income benefit which is not the focus of the current study), it is difficult to find substantial empirical evidence of benefits of telecom access on income; much of the evidence of income impacts at the BOP is anecdotal. For instance, NOKIA (2006, p.4) reports of fishermen in Porto da Manga, Brazil availing of '100-150 per cent' increases in revenues through improved catches and reduced storage losses enabled by communication with other fishermen as well as wholesalers through mobile phones. A similar phenomenon is seen among fishermen in Moree, Ghana, where mobiles are reportedly improving living standards, by allowing fishermen to cut out the 'middle man' (or women in this case) and increase their earnings (mobileafrica.net, December 2005)⁵². A study by de Silva (2005) on a project at Sri Lanka's largest wholesale agricultural market, where produce prices were available through an automated voice system accessible through mobile phones, found that most farmers believed that they were able to get accurate prices through the system over the phone empowering them to bargain for higher prices.⁵³ Kantipuronline.com (October 2006) reports of farmers in rural Nepal being saved 3 hour journeys by foot to the nearest phone, allowing them to spend more time seeing to daily farm activities;⁵⁴ i4d Magazine reports of agricultural and veterinary advice being made available through the phone in local languages to farmers in villages in Northern India (i4d, September 2006).⁵⁵

Empirical evidence at this micro-level is sparse; this paper attempts to contribute to the empirical literature at such a level, by examining the perceived benefits of direct access to telecom at the BOP.

⁵² mobileafrica.com (December 2005) Mobile Phone: A Tool For Modern Fishermen In Ghana, by Mawutodzi K. Abissath

⁵³ <http://www.globalfoodchainpartnerships.org/cairo/presentations/HarshadeSilva.pdf>

⁵⁴ Kantipuronline.com (October 2006) Hills are alive with the sound of cell phones, By Lilaballav Ghimire, 30 October 2006. Retrieved on 6 November 2006, from <http://www.kantipuronline.com/kolnews.php?&nid= 89958>

⁵⁵ i4d (September 2006) Soochna Se Samadhan Sewa, Phone-based agri info service for farmers. 28 September 2006, New Delhi, India. Retrieved on 06 November 2006 from <http://www.i4donline.net/articles/current-article.asp?articleid= 840&typ= Rendezvous>

3.0 Research Methodology

3.1 Research Considerations: Defining the *Bottom of the Pyramid* for country-wise comparisons

The study was conducted in five emerging Asian countries, namely Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Philippines and Thailand. Given the necessity for cross-country comparisons among the less privileged strata of society, the target groups had to be defined as closely as possible in a universal manner. While income levels appeared to be relevant, the practicality of using it as an indicator was limited by its reliability and comparability across countries; the problems generated by spatial and temporal cost of living adjustments would have made comparisons difficult. In addition, past studies have revealed that Asians tend to overstate or understate their income. Given the study was to be among the lower income groups, the tendency would have been to overstate their income. Thus this parameter while indicative would not have been conclusive or reflective of the respondents' status. In this background, Socio Economic Classification (SEC) was used instead of Income to define the BOP.

SEC categorizes people in to groups A to E based on the education and occupational status of the Chief Wage Earner of the household. For the purposes of this study, the 'top' and 'middle' of the pyramid was defined as SEC A, B and C, while the BOP was defined as SEC D and E. Focus was on the lower end (SEC DE) while a small upper and middle sample (SEC ABC) was covered for comparison purposes.

3.2 Target Group

Target respondents of the study were telecom users, defined as those who had used a phone (own or someone else's; paid for or free-of-charge) during the preceding 3 months. Respondents were males and females between the ages of 18 and 60, from rural and urban locations.

3.3 Research Design

Both quantitative and qualitative research modules were undertaken. The quantitative module consisted of face to face interviews conducted with the target respondent using a structured questionnaire. Interviews were conducted at home. Both households and respondents were randomly

selected. The sample was designed to represent the BOP in each country so that the findings could be projected back to this segment in each country.

Having designed the sample the next big issue was the accuracy of usage data. One of the main reasons for lack of evidence of the relationship between telephone access and economic wellbeing at the household level in developing countries could be the difficulty in accurately capturing calling patterns and behaviour at the BOP.⁵⁶ While much telecom use research in the developed world is based on billing records, in developing countries, where the majority share phones and use pre-paid mobiles, it is not possible to obtain bill details, and thus alternative methods have to be relied on, such as the respondent's recall, mobile call logs or other more sophisticated and costly real-time measures.

As a result, the current study takes an innovative approach, recording phone use and behaviour through the placement of a diary among respondents.⁵⁷ Diaries were placed among 50 percent of randomly selected respondents for a period of two weeks.⁵⁸ Number of calls made or received; whose phone or where the phone was used; who the call was to or from; purpose of the call; time of the call; whether voice or Short Message Service (SMS) etc. were recorded. An incentive was provided for diary completion while random checks were conducted to ensure that recordings were being made. Across the five countries about 90 percent of diary panellists completed calling information, but responses on SMS (text message) details was low.

A multi-stage stratified cluster sampling by probability proportionate to size (PPS) was used to select the target number of urban and rural centres. After determining the number of centres to be selected from each cell (strata in respective provinces), urban and rural areas were selected again

⁵⁶ Previous studies (Zainudeen et al., 2005) have cited the difficulties in recall data. See also Cohen and Lemish (2003) for discussion.

⁵⁷ One of the very few examples of use of this approach is a British Telecom study examined in Mckenzie (1983). Interestingly, the authors were not able to locate any comprehensive studies using this approach in the literature for developing countries.

⁵⁸ Given the low literacy level of some of these countries, a literate person in the household was selected and trained to record the necessary information.

using PPS on a constant population interval on geographically ordered centres within each cell.⁵⁹ In each selected centre, a common place such as a road, park, hospital etc. was designated the starting point for contacting households.⁶⁰ Only one respondent was selected from each household. In households with more than one valid respondent, the KISH grid (random number chart) was used to randomly select the respondent. Within each country, data was weighted by gender, province, group/zone and SEC group (ABC vs. DE) to correct over or under-sampling in certain areas and socio economic groups.⁶¹ An overview of the sample size and composition is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Quantitative sample overview

Country	Population	Sample Size			Error margin at 95 percent CI
		Urban	Rural	Total	
Pakistan	166m	900	912	1812	2.7%
India	1,000m	1645	2355	4000	1.5%
Sri Lanka	16m (excl. N&E provinces)	200	850	1050	3.0%
Philippines	87m	594	506	1100	3.0%
Thailand	65m	350	350	700	7.0%
Total sample size : 8662					

⁵⁹ For this purpose, the cumulative population of all geographically ordered centres was calculated within urban and rural areas of each province. To find out the sampling interval, the total population of these centres was divided by the required number of cities to be sampled from that cell. To select the first centre, a random number was generated. The centre where that random number fell was the first selected centre. By adding the sampling interval to that random number, the next centre was selected and so on.

⁶⁰ Around each starting point, a maximum of ten interviews were conducted. The number of starting points was determined in accordance with the total number of interviews to be conducted in each centre.

⁶¹ As a result of weighting by SEC it should be noted that in reporting the results, in some countries the SEC ABC weighted sample size becomes larger than the SEC DE weighted sample size where the former group forms a higher proportion of the country's population.

The qualitative module consisted of Extended Focus Group Discussions (EGDs) to enrich the findings of the quantitative survey. Six EGDs were conducted in each country, each consisting on average of eight respondents. Table 2 provides the sample overview. Respondents included telecom users *as well as* non-users.⁶² All groups were conducted in the local language(s).⁶³

Table 2: Sample country composition for Qualitative component

Country	SEC DE only				Centres
	Users		Non-users		
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Pakistan	2	2	1	1	Peshawar, Karachi, Lahore
India	2	2	1	1	Lucknow, Teravalure
Sri Lanka	2	2	1	1	Kurunegala, Moneragala
Philippines	2	2	1	1	Metro Manila, Batangas
Thailand	2	2	1	1	Chiang Mai
Total sample size : 30 EGDs					

62 Someone who has not used any form of telecommunication during preceding 3 months.

63 EGDs are longer than an average focus group – 3 hours or so as opposed to one and a half to two hours. The advantage is that respondents are not rushed in an EGD.

4.0 Findings

This section provides the context for the rest of the paper, considering usage and ownership issues at the BOP. After providing a backdrop to anchor the findings on, it goes on to look at impacts of access and usage of telecom services.

4.1 Equality in access, but not ownership

The Asia Pacific is one of the world's fastest growing telecom markets, with its mobile subscription base growing by 160 million in the first nine months of 2006, with China, India and Pakistan accounting for 70 percent of this growth⁶⁴. However, as seen in Table 3, number of telephones per 100 population⁶⁵ in each country suggest significant access inequalities with the number of fixed phones per 100 population ranging from 4 to 10 and the number of mobile phones per 100 population ranging from 13 to 48.

Table 3: Telephones per 100 population

	South Asia			Southeast Asia	
	Pakistan	India	Sri Lanka	Philippines	Thailand
Fixed (as at...)	4.16 (2006 Q4)	4.58 (2006 Q1)	9.50 (2006 Q4)	4.07 (2005 Q4)	10.25 (2005 Q4)
Mobile (as at...)	25.22 (2006 Q4)	8.82 (2006 Q1)	27.1 (2006 Q4)	41.30 (2005 Q4)	46.45 (2005 Q4)
Total	29.38	12.80	29.10	45.30	47.7
Source	PTA	TRAI	TRC	NTC	NTC
* lines in use (different from installed capacity)					

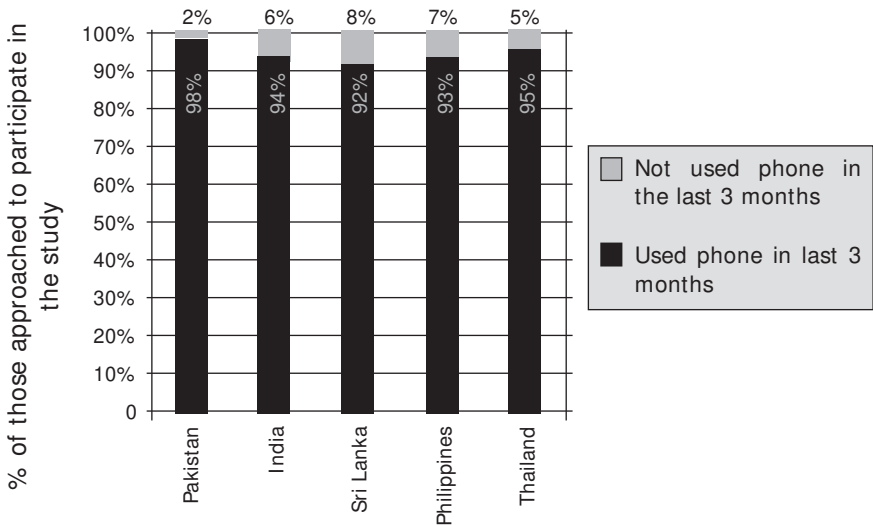
⁶⁴ <http://www.digitimes.com/telecom/a20061017PR202.html> , accessed on 17 October 2006.

⁶⁵ Also known as 'teledensity,' a telecom indicator which measures the level of telephone penetration in a country.

As such, much of the research and advocacy in the ‘ICT for development’ arena focuses on how countries can achieve ‘universal access’ to telephones, that is, a situation where everyone has a ‘reasonable means of access to a publicly available telephone’⁶⁶ (Intven, 2000; Appendix C, p.15), and how the ‘digital divide’, that is the gap between the ICT ‘haves’ and ‘have nots,’ can be closed.

One of the most significant findings of this study is that accessibility in all five countries, is extremely high; that is of all those contacted (through the random selection process), more than 90 percent in all countries had used a phone at least once during the preceding three months,⁶⁷ as seen in Figure 1. If this is the case for the whole country, then accessibility at the BOP can not be much lower. This finding therefore brings under scrutiny the real dimensions of the digital divide, that is said to exist; if almost 90 percent have access, then perhaps the ‘have nots’ in fact have *some* kind of reasonable access, but not necessarily ownership.

Figure 1: Use of a phone in the three months preceding the study.

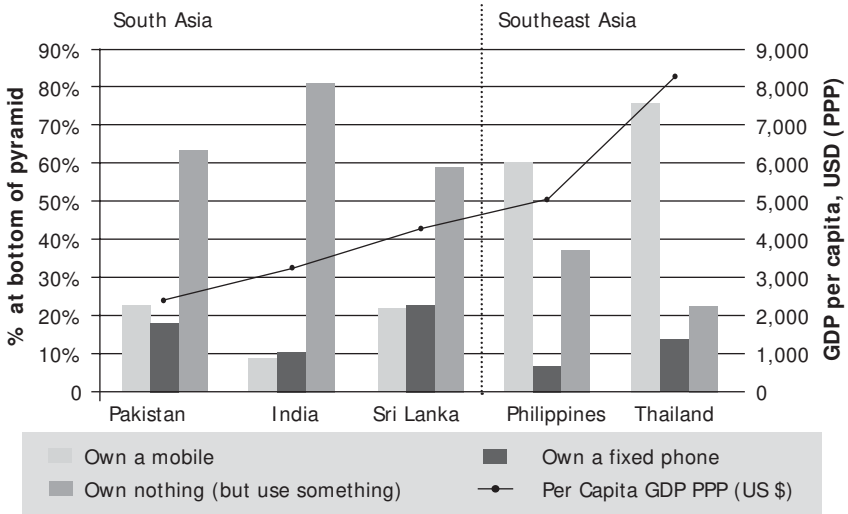


⁶⁶ This is to be seen in contrast with the concept of ‘universal service’ whereby every individual household has a connection to a public telephone network (Intven, 2000; Appendix C, p.15).

⁶⁷ That is, made or received a call, from any phone in the last three months; this was the criteria for participating in the study.

However, what we find is that while people have access to many different modes of telecommunication (personal mobile phones, household fixed phones, public phones, neighbours' phones, relatives and friends' phones, etc.) ownership patterns vary significantly across the region as seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Ownership patterns at the BOP and national *Gross Domestic Product*



Ownership at the BOP is high in the richer Southeast Asian countries, with relatively higher levels of mobile ownership (with some instances of people owning more than one mobile connection) and lower levels of fixed ownership.⁶⁸ Among the South Asian countries, overall phone ownership at the BOP is much lower, particularly in India.

However, even where ownership is low, non-owners have several options to access telecom, and do not have to travel far to use a phone—most can get to a phone in less than 5 minutes. Non-owners in Southeast Asia tend to use mobiles of other household members, or friends' and relatives' phones as their main method of communication reiterating the wider penetration of mobile phones. Non-owners in South Asia mostly rely on some kind of public phone (public call office, telecommunication centre or public phone booth). This finding is important in the discussion of access to telecoms; whether universal service⁶⁹ should be a policy objective of

⁶⁸ Ownership of a fixed phone was defined at the household level, whereas that of a mobile phone was at an individual level.

⁶⁹ See footnote 17

developing country Governments through subsidies if universal access can be achieved through competition in the market.

The use of more than one SIM card was also seen across the region with Pakistan (12% of mobile owners), Philippines (12%) and Sri Lanka (9%) at the higher end. The reason for this could be to avail of different rates and/or promotions from different service providers at different times. All of the SIM cards owned may not necessarily be active.

In contrast to many developed countries, more than 90 percent of mobile owners at the BOP in all five countries are pre-paid subscribers as seen in Table 5. The primary reason for such being, prepaid connections allow for the control of their expenditures. Except for Sri Lanka⁷⁰ and Thailand, the same pattern was seen in the SEC A, B and C sample as well.

Table 5. Type of mobile connection

	South Asia						Southeast Asia			
	Pakistan		India		Sri Lanka		Philippines		Thailand	
<i>SEC group</i>	A B C	D E	A B C	D E	A B C	D E	A B C	D E	A B C	D E
Pre Paid	9 9 %	9 9 %	9 4 %	9 5 %	8 0 %	9 2 %	9 5 %	9 9 %	8 6 %	9 6 %
Post Paid	1 %	1 %	6 %	4 %	2 0 %	8 %	5 %	1 %	1 4 %	4 %
Base (Mobile Owners)	2 8 7	2 4 6	2 1 0	3 0 9	1 9 8	1 0 4	7 5	6 0 5	3 0 4	2 6 7

4.2 Perceived impacts of direct access to a phone

Many studies over time have concluded that access to telecom has a fairly strong impact on growth and economic development. The literature survey contained in Section 2 discussed some of these. However, as pointed out in the literature survey, few of these findings have been empirically supported at the micro-level.

In general, two kinds of income benefits originating from telecom access can be distinguished. Firstly, direct income generation through the sale of telecom services, i.e., resale of minutes; i.e., the Grameen Village Phone model, where significant income benefits are seen across the board is an example. This paper does not examine such benefits. The second kind, which is the focus of this paper, are less direct, but can include the use of a phone by an auto-rickshaw driver to keep informed about hires, or the transaction cost savings made by making a call as opposed to taking a bus ride into town; in the latter case, both the monetary cost (bus fare) as well as the time cost can be considered. In theory, the time saved can be used in a more productive manner, perhaps having some impact on income.

The current study seeks to ascertain quantifiable evidence at the household level in the BOP of such income benefits. We look at how direct access to telecom (or ownership) is perceived to increase efficiency of daily activities at the BOP and how telephone owners at the BOP see that as translating to either a greater income earning or cost savings, if at all. In order to capture this, owners of phones were asked to rate on a five-point scale, *inter alia*, the extent of the impact that direct access (that is ownership – either through a personal mobile phone or household fixed phone) has had on:

- a) the efficiency of their daily activities; and
- b) their ability to earn more using the phone or save a certain expense that would have been incurred without the phone.

Across the five countries, those at the BOP strongly perceive that the efficiency of their daily activities has ‘somewhat improved’ due to telephone ownership. There is no major variation in the individual country perception and the ratings are clustered around 4. This is very much an intuitive finding and we have been able to support it using data with a high level of confidence.

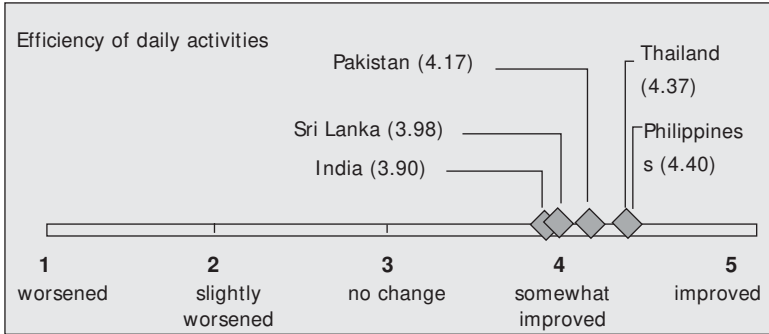


Figure 3: The impact of direct access to telecom on the efficiency of daily activities (mean response)

In general we find that people value highly the contactability any time, anywhere that (particularly) mobile communication allows. In fact, the contactability brought about through phones is one of the key reasons that are seen to be driving people to get their own connections. The ability to obtain information (any information) in an instant is also highly valued. Some interesting findings that emerged from the Pakistani qualitative studies, the only Muslim country where separation of men and women were relatively more pronounced, were that the males supported the notion that mobiles have reduced the dependence of females on the males in running general home errands.

When it comes to perceived economic benefits, there are mixed feelings at the BOP with the mean response ranging from 3.19 in Sri Lanka to 4.07 in the Philippines, as seen in Figure 4. Indians seem to be obtaining the most economic benefits from direct access with an increment of their perception score moving up from 3.90 for efficiency gains to 3.97 in ability to earn or save. On the other hand, Filipinos who perceive economic benefits at 4.07 rate it lower than efficiency gains at 4.40. The highest negative responses were seen in Sri Lanka, with a quarter of Sri Lankans at the BOP feeling that direct access has in fact worsened their ability to earn or save. In all the countries except India, the mean responses on the first of the two aspects (i.e., efficiency of daily activities vs. ability to earn or save) were significantly lower at a 95 percent confidence interval. In these countries, many respondents at the BOP do not see as much economic benefit arising from access to telecom as they do efficiency gains, with the cluster around 'somewhat improved' for efficiency gains

(Figure 3) being spread out and towards 'no change' in terms of ability to earn or save (Figure 4). There appears to be a 'disconnect,' in people's perceptions between efficiency gains (for e.g. saving travel time and cost) and financial gains, which at the outset seems counter-intuitive. There are a number of possible reasons for this.

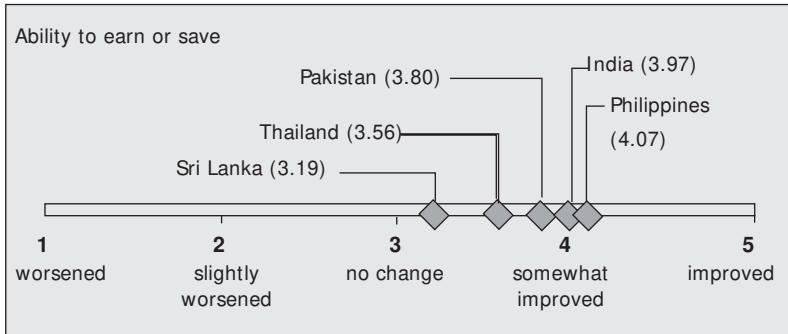


Figure 4: The impact of direct access to telecom on the ability to earn more using the phone or save a certain expense that would have been incurred without the phone (mean response)

Firstly, a reason for this finding that access to telecom is not necessarily seen as increasing the earning and cost saving potential is perhaps because people at the BOP do not use phones *directly* for business purposes (such as purchasing supplies, etc.), as seen in the diary responses (Table 6 below), as well as in other studies (Zainudeen *et al.*, 2005; Souter *et. al*, 2005). It appears that people prefer other modes for their business communication, for example, Souter *et al.* (2005) found that face-to-face communication is 'overwhelmingly' the preferred mode for specific information relating to farming, business, education, and political or government matters. Perhaps changing historical and cultural factors in the region placing importance of face-to-face contact for business purposes may take time even though the benefits of using the phone instead seem theoretically more beneficial.

Table 6: Main purpose of calls (as a percentage of all calls recorded in the sample)

	South Asia			Southeast Asia	
	Pakistan	India	Sri Lanka	Philippines	Thailand
Business	14%	14%	8%	15%	29%
Keep in touch with family/friends	82%	72%	65%	64%	70%
To check something or deliver message	4%	14%	27%	21%	2%
Base – total number of calls	16306	29748	6115	6467	16674

Another reason for this finding could be the relative importance of a barter economy at the BOP, whereby there is a large degree of overlap between family/friends and business contacts. As a result, the lines between economic transactions and social communications become blurred. For example, it may be implicit that one's brother looks after you when times are hard and although your brother is effectively your insurer, one may not assign a positive economic value to a weekly call to 'keep in touch' with one's brother; instead, one may only see it for the direct cost that is incurred. This is evident in the vast majority who stated that having access to the phone has enhanced their family and social relations, discussed later in this section.

A third reason for the relatively lower perception of economic benefits vis-à-vis efficiency benefits due to telecom ownership could be high perceptions of the cost of service; this could be the case in Sri Lanka, where startlingly, a quarter of phone owners felt that having access to a telephone had in fact worsened their ability to increase their incomes or make savings. Here, phone owners may feel that the cost of service (may or may not be actual) is greater than the benefits gained, thus leaving a net cost. For instance in Sri Lanka, the worst performer on this count, it was found that perceptions of how much it costs to make a call were higher than in other countries. Moreover, Sri Lanka is the only country among the five not to have a Calling Party Pays (CPP) regime, in that in Sri Lanka receiving a call on a mobile phone also attracts a charge.

Notwithstanding the above we find that in India, Pakistan and the Philippines, for example, more than 60 percent of those engaged in agriculture feel that access to telecom improves both the efficiency of their daily activities as well as improving their ability to earn or save more. This goes to show that not only the cost, but also the availability of relevant information (for instance agricultural prices via phone and SMS etc.) perhaps plays an important role in translating efficiency gains to financial gains.

Furthermore, a reason for the 'disconnect' could be the mere fact that there is a limited group within society who make direct earnings by using a phone, i.e., those that sell minutes and those that use the phone to sell their product or service; these are the kinds that are most likely to see a connection between the telephone and their earnings, if any.

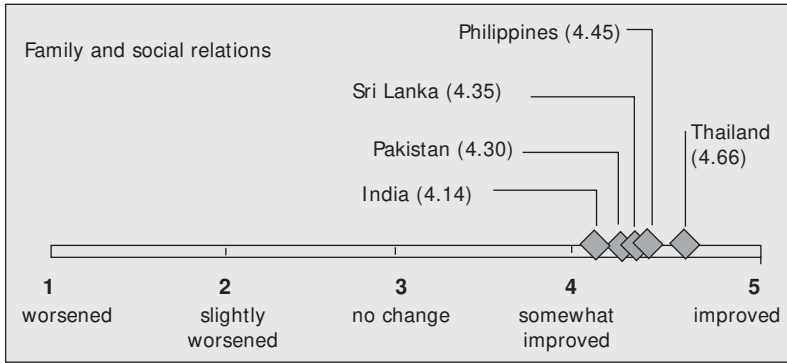
The relevant point is that the efficiency gains that are created via greater access to telephony at the BOP are not necessarily seen as translating to poverty alleviation through greater direct income generating potential. As discussed here there are a number of reasons for this outcome.

Besides the above impacts, the study also considered the impacts of access to telecoms in enhancing family and social relations; status and also in acting in an emergency.

Phone owners, by and large, testify that access to a phone can enhance their family and social relations. (Seen in Figure 5, as well as Table 6). This finding concurs with much of the existing research in the developing world; Souter *et al.* (2005) find that a highly important use of the phone in Gujarat (India), Mozambique and Tanzania is for 'social' purposes, such as maintaining contact with family. A separate study conducted in South Africa and Tanzania found that the benefits from mobile phones for communities include 'improved relationships' according to almost four fifths of those surveyed (Vodafone, 2005). A pilot study to the one under discussion in 11 localities in India and Sri Lanka found similar levels of use of the phone for 'keeping in touch' (Zainudeen, Samarajiva and Abeysuriya, 2005). Furthermore, early research carried out by Keller (1977) and Noble (1987), into the 'uses and gratifications' of conventional telephone use found social or relationship maintenance uses to be more prevalent than utilitarian, or instrumental uses.⁷¹

⁷¹ Cited in Wei and Lo, 2006; p.56

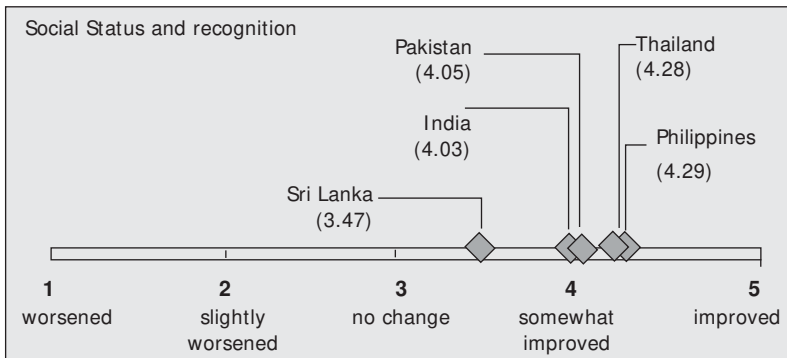
Figure 5: The impact of direct access to telecom on family and social relations (mean response)



The qualitative findings reinforced this sentiment, with many citing the importance of phones in maintaining relationships, building up new ones, and feeling connected to loved ones, as well as the outside world.

Except for Sri Lanka, around two-thirds of all telephone owners in the five countries seem to feel that ownership of a telephone has enhanced their social status and recognition in their community; in Sri Lanka, just over one third feel this way. Similar results were seen by Zainudeen *et al.* (2005), with a much weaker concern for the symbolic aspects (i.e., fashionability and improved social status) in Sri Lanka than in India.

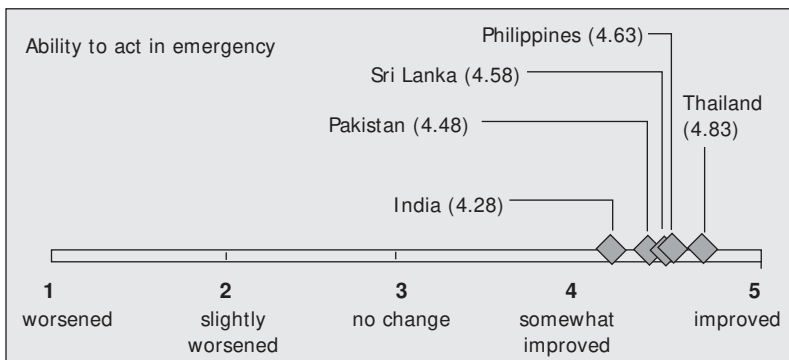
Figure 6: The impact of direct access to telecom on social status and recognition (mean response)



Even though there was not necessarily a direct positive relationship between owning a telephone and higher social status, it was found in the qualitative studies that in all countries, most feel that the fact that phones, in particular mobile phones, are more accessible to people of all socio-economic backgrounds helps in reducing the 'gap' between the rich and the poor leading to a feeling of 'upliftment' among the poor. This finding perhaps has a lot more qualitative meaning in the inequality and poverty debate through social inclusion type arguments than can be established in this mainly quantitative study.

The biggest and most widespread impact of access to telephones at the BOP is in creating a sense of security; the ability to act in an emergency. The ability to contact someone or even get help in the event of conflict, illness or death or even a broken bicycle (cited by participants in the qualitative studies) for example is an important benefit of access. Souter *et al.* (2005) similarly found this the most important use of phones in a study of the impact of telecom on rural livelihoods in India, Mozambique and Tanzania. This is intuitive, given the very nature of a telephone allowing instantaneous communication regardless of distance, most crucial during an emergency. As one might expect, elders tended to see more of a benefit, with the mean response for those aged 56 and over being significantly higher than that of the other age groups. The benefits of telecom, especially mobiles can also be seen in disaster management, from warning through response and recovery stages (Samarajiva, Knight-John, Anderson and Zainudeen, 2005).

Figure 7: The impact of direct access to telecom on the ability to communicate in an emergency (mean response)



It emerged strongly from the qualitative studies that in Pakistan, the only predominantly Muslim country in the group where women are less independent and more home-oriented, that access to a telephone helped women at home contact men in times of emergency making them feel much more secure.

Again, a point to note is that, this study is not designed to undertake any comprehensive analyses of the poverty and inequality debate in terms of access to telecoms which seems to create a greater sense of security among the poor.

5.0 Concluding remarks

This study finds that almost everyone at the bottom of the pyramid in Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Philippines and Thailand have access to telecommunication services without having to spend any significant amount of time or money in getting to a telephone. Another way of interpreting this finding is that there appears to be universal access at the BOP in these countries, bringing to the forefront the validity of the argument of the existence of any significant inequality in access. However the gap between those who use telecom services and those who actually own a telecom device is extensive indicating a vast potential for greater ownership of telephones in the region. This potential could be as high as 150 million new connections in the next two years, given that policy makers and operators could make such connections and use thereafter affordable.⁷²

Telephone ownership is perceived to provide a much higher benefit in providing a sense of security in terms of acting in an emergency and in maintaining social relationships than benefiting financially though the potential for greater income earning ability and saving costs at the BOP. While the necessary condition for such is, by and large, met in terms of access improving efficiencies in daily activities, the problem seems to lie in the perceptions of meeting the sufficient condition of the net benefit of such efficiency gains being fulfilled.

⁷² de Silva, Zainudeen and Cader, forthcoming publication, based on other findings of the same study.

High prices, both perceived and actual (due to use of commercial and other people's phones) appear to be a considerable hindrance for users at the BOP, preventing phone owners (and in the same spirit, probably non-owning users) from availing of net benefits of access. In Sri Lanka, where prices were found to be a particular issue, part of this could be explained by the Receiving Party Pays (RPP) regime in place, whereby both the caller and the callee incur charges for every call on a mobile phone.⁷³ Given that Sri Lanka is the only country out of the five who subscribes, to this regime, it could be an explanation for the higher price perceptions, low usage and also a preference for fixed phones.⁷⁴

Another equally or even more important issue is the inability at the BOP to clearly identify the link between efficiency gains and its transmission in to potential for greater income generation and/or cost saving. For instance, users at the BOP do not seem to see how instant access to important information might be helpful in making decisions that could enhance one's earning capacity or how gaining an hour (otherwise spent personally conveying a message by foot) could help reduce transaction costs. Telecom operators perhaps could change such perceptions through marketing campaigns and drawing attention to the fact that saving an hour could contribute to one's income, directly or indirectly.

These two issues will have to be tackled by both policy makers and telephone operators alike using their own comparative advantages to arrive at a win-win solution for all: fight poverty through growth and run profitable telecommunication companies.

Further investigation into this area could help understand the dynamics of the relationship between telecom access and income at the household level. Telephones alone will never be a silver bullet that will bring the hundreds of millions of people out of poverty in the emerging Asian region, but the almost-universal access will most certainly aid in that process together with other supporting policies.

⁷³ Although as a means to get around this, most mobile operators allow varying numbers of minutes of 'free incoming' calls on different packages.

⁷⁴ This was seen in the data, however, was not reported in this paper.

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Annex 1: Country-wise Quantitative sample composition

Table A1. Quantitative sample composition for Pakistan

Province	Urban	Rural	Total
Punjab	430	456	886
Sindh	300	168	468
NWFP	100	168	268
Baluchistan	70	120	190
Total	900	912	1812

Table A2. Quantitative sample composition for India

Region	State	Total Sample	Sample (SEC DE)				Sample (SEC ABC)
			Urban		Rural		
			Male	Female	Male	Female	
North	Uttar Pradesh	400	35	30	130	125	80
	Haryana	400	50	45	115	110	80
West	Rajasthan	400	40	40	120	120	80
	Gujarat	400	55	55	105	105	80
East	Bihar	400	15	15	145	145	80
	West Bengal	400	50	45	115	110	80
South	Tamil Nadu	400	75	70	90	85	80
	Karnataka	400	55	55	105	105	80
North	Assam						
East	Arunanchal Pradesh	400	25	25	135	135	80
		400	35	30	130	125	80
Total	4000	435	410	1190	1165	800	

Table A3. Quantitative sample composition for Sri Lanka

Province	Urban	Rural	Total
Western	85	200	285
Central	20	140	160
Southern	20	125	145
North Western	20	115	135
North Central	15	70	85
Uva	20	85	105
Sabaragamuwa	20	115	135
Total	200	850	1050

SEC Split	ABC	250
	DE	800
	Total	1050

Table A4. Quantitative sample composition for Philippines

SEC	Total	Urban = 54 %	Rural = 46 %
ABC	100	54	46
DE	1000	540	460
TOTAL	1100	594	506

Areas covered: The study covered Metro Manila, Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao.

Table A5. Quantitative sample composition for Thailand

For the upcountry area, the study was conducted in four regions namely North, Northeast, Central and South. Two key provinces were selected to represent the regions

SEC	Upcountry Urban	Upcountry Rural	Total
Upper (AB)	50	50	100
Middle (C)	50	50	100
Low (DE)	250	250	500
Total	350	350	700

LI ES, DAMN LI ES, AND STATI STI CS⁷⁵ : WHY RESEARCHERS SHOULD BE CONCERNED WHEN STRI VING TO UNCOVER THE ‘TRUTH’

Prashan Thalayasingam and Kannan Arunasalam

Abstract

Researchers have highlighted that socio-economic inequality between ethnic groups, or the perceptions thereof, triggered and helped maintained the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Parties to the ethnic conflict have politically manipulated both the existence of inequality or perceived inequalities to bolster allegations of discrimination by one ethnic group against the other, further fuelling the conflict. This paper seeks to argue that whilst empirical data and statistics can be valuable and necessary to challenge inequalities and perceptions of inequality between rival ethnic groups, there is a need to be aware that ‘facts’ presented by researchers can be used politically and, like the perceived inequalities that such research is looking to uncover, can be used to further political arguments and policies. Moreover, researchers working in the context of the Sri Lankan conflict bring with them their own experience and emotions connected with those experiences, which in turn lead to facts and events being examined, interpreted and presented through political lenses.

⁷⁵ The phrase is attributed to Leonard H. Courtney in 1895, who two years later became the president of the Royal Statistical Society. Alternative attributions include Mark Twain, Benjamin Disraeli and Henry Labouchere.

“Lies, damn lies, and statistics”⁷⁶ : “සත්‍ය” සොයාගත ගමනේදී පර්යේෂකයන් සැලකිල්ලෙන් ක්‍රියාකළ යුත්තේ ඇයි?

ජනවාර්ගික කණ්ඩායම් අතර පවතින ආර්ථික සහ සාමාජික අසමානතා හෝ එවැනි අසමානතා පවතින්නේය යන සංජානනය ලංකාවේ ජනවාර්ගික අර්බුදයේ ආරම්භයට හා පැවැත්මට හේතුවී ඇති බව පර්යේෂකයන් විසින් ඉස්මතු කර ඇත. ජනවාර්ගික අර්බුදයට සම්බන්ධ කණ්ඩායම්, එක් ජනවර්ගයක් අනෙක් ජනවර්ගයෙන් වෙනස්කොට සලකන්නේය යන වෝදනාවට රුකුල් දීමක් වශයෙන්, අසමානතාව හෝ අසමානතාවක් පවතින්නේය යන සංජානනය දේශපාලනික වාසි තකා මෙහෙයවා ඇත. ප්‍රතිවිරුද්ධ ජනවාර්ගික කණ්ඩායම් අතර අසමානතාවන් හා අසමානතාවන් පිළිබඳ සංජානනයන් විමසීමේදී ආනුභවික දත්ත හා සංඛ්‍යාති මගින් මනා පිටුවහලක් ලැබෙන නමුත්, පර්යේෂකයන් විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරනු ලබන කරුණු එවැනි පර්යේෂණ මගින් ඔවුන් නිරාවරණය කිරීමට උත්සහ දරන අසමානතාවයන් සේම දේශපාලනික නැඹුරුතාවකින් යුක්තවියහැකි බව සිහියේ තබා ගත යුතු අතරම ඒවා දේශපාලනික මතවාද හා ප්‍රතිපත්ති ඉදිරියට ගෙනයාමට යොදාගතහැකි බවත් සිහිතබාගත යුතුය.

ද්විධ ජනතාව, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සියළු තැන්හිදී මනා ප්‍රතිලාභ ලබන බව, 1983 දී රොනී ද මැල්, එවකට හිටපු මුදල් ඇමති පවසා ඇත⁷⁷. ද්විධ විරෝධී කෝලාහල අවසන් වූ විගස ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද මෙම ප්‍රකාශයෙන් පැහැදිලි වන්නේ බ්‍රිතාන්‍යයන් ද්විධ ජනතාවට වාසි ලබාදුන් බවත් පොදුවේ ගත්කළ ද්විධ ජනතාව වඩා පොහොසත්, වඩාත් ගුණාත්මක අධ්‍යාපනයක් ලැබූ, ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාව වැඩියෙන් භාවිතාකිරීමට අවස්ථාවක් ලද සහ රාජ්‍ය අංශයේ රැකියාවන්හි මෙන්ම උසස් අධ්‍යාපනයේදීද සමානුපාතය ඉක්මවාගිය නියෝජනයක් ලද පිරිසක්ය යන විශ්වාසය පැවති බවය. 1970 ගණන් වල බලයට පත් වූ රජයන් පුද්ගලයන් තුළ පැවති මෙම සංජානනය නිවැරදි කිරීම අරමුණු කරගනිමින් ප්‍රතිපත්ති හඳුන්වා දෙනු ලැබූවද මෙම ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් හරහාද පුද්ගලයන් අතර වෙනස්කොට සැලකීමක් සිදුවූ බවට පසුව අදහස් පළවිය.

යම් නිෂ්චිත ප්‍රස්තුතයක් පිළිබඳව පුද්ගලයන් සතු සංජානනයන් වෙනස් කිරීමට “අංක” වලට ඇති බලය මෙහි මාතෘකාවෙන් හුවා දක්වනු ලබයි. එනම්, බැලූ බැල්මටම නිවැර දත්ත හෝ කරුණු සාවද්‍ය තර්ක ශක්තිමත් කිරීම සඳහා අයුතු ලෙස යොදා ගැනීමේ හැකියාවක් පවතින බව මින් විදහා දැක්වේ. ශ්‍රී ලාංකික

⁷⁶ මෙම පාඨය 1895 දී Leonard H. Courtney විසින් භාවිතා කරන ලද්දකි. ඔහු ඉන් වසර දෙකකට පසු රාජකීය සංඛ්‍යාලේකන විශේෂඥයන්ගේ සංගමයේ සභාපති ධුරයට පත්විය. Mark Twain, Benjain Disraeli iy Henry Labouchere විසින්ද මෙවැනි සමාන යෙදුම් භාවිතා කරන ලදී.

⁷⁷ The Wages of Envy, The Economist, 20 August 1983

සන්දර්භය තුළ, ජනවාර්ගික-දේශපාලනික ගැටුමේ ආරම්භයට හා පැවැත්මට සිංහල හා උතුරු-නැගෙනහිර දෙමළ ජනතාව අතර පවතින සමාජ-ආර්ථිකමය අසමානතා (ආදායමට ඇති ප්‍රවේශය, අධ්‍යාපනය සහ සේවා නියුක්තිය වැනි කරුණු ආශ්‍රිත) බලපා තිබේද හා එසේ බලපා ඇත්නම් ඒ කුමන ආකාරයටද යන්න පවතින ආනුභවික දත්ත විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීම මගින් සොයා බැලීමට පර්යේෂකයෝ උනන්දුවී ඇත. උදාහරණයක් වශයෙන් ස්කන්ධරාජා (2005) පවසන පරිදි නිදහසින් පසු දශක ගණනාවක් තිස්සේ පැවති ද්‍රවිඩභාවය පදනම්කරගත් වාසිසහගත තත්වයන් ක්‍රමයෙන් හීනවීයන ලදී. නමුත්, යම් මතයක් ගොඩනගන සෑම පර්යේෂකයෙකුටම තම යොමුව මදක් වෙනස් කරමින් විකල්ප මතයක් ගොඩනැගිය හැක. අසමානතාවය යන ප්‍රභවයේ සත්‍ය විග්‍රහ කිරීම උදෙසා Committee for Rationale Development (CRD) මගින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද පර්යේෂණ පත්‍රිකාව පදනම් කරගනිමින් එම කමිටුව හා වන්ද්‍රා ද ලොන්සේකා අතර පැවති තොරතුරු හුවමාරුවෙන්⁷⁸ මෙය පැහැදිලිව විදහා දැක්වේ. එම පත්‍රිකාවේ යොමුව පාඨකයන් නොමග යවනුෂ්ඨ බවද එහිදී විකල්ප දත්ත ගොනුවක් භාවිතාකළ යුතුව තිබූ බවද ලොන්සේකා විසින් පෙන්වා දෙන ලදී. CRD හි ප්‍රතිචාරයද මේ හා සමාන මගක යමින් ද ලොන්සේකා වරණීය විශ්ලේෂණක් ඉදිරිපත් කරන බව පෙන්වා දෙයි.

දේශපාලනික වාසි තකා, ප්‍රත්‍යක්ෂකොට ගත් අසමානතා, මෙහෙයවනු ලැබියහැකි අතරම, පවතින දත්ත විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීම මගින් සත්‍ය හෙළිකිරීමට උත්සහ කිරීමේදී තමා නොදැනුවත්වම පවතින දේශපාලනික න්‍යාය පත්‍රයන් විරස්ථායී කිරීමේ අවධානමකට පර්යේෂකයෝ මුහුණ දෙති. සමහර අවස්ථාවලදී පවතින දත්ත මගින් නිගමනයන් කිහිපයක් ගම්‍ය කරගත හැකිවන බවද මින් සමහරක් දේශපාලන අරමුණු ඉටුකර ගැනීමට හා ගැටුම් විරස්ථායී කිරීමට සහය විය හැකි බවද පිළිගැනීම වඩා උචිත වේ.

⁷⁸ Committee for Rational Development (1984): Sri Lankan: The Ethnic Conflict. Myths, Realities and Perspectives. Navrang, New Delhi.

பொய்கள், சுத்தப் பொய்கள், புள்ளி விபரங்கள்: 'உண்மையினை வெளிப்படுத்தும் போது ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள் கரும் முயற்சி எடுக்க வேண்டியது ஏன்?'

இலங்கையில் இனங்களுக்கிடையிலான சமூக, பொருளாதார சமத்துவமின்மை அல்லது அதன் கண்ணோட்டமே (அறிவுற்ற நோக்கல்) இன முரண்பாட்டினைத் தூண்டி விட்டுள்ளதென ஆய்வாளர்கள் கருத்துத் தெரிவித்துள்ளனர். இவ்வின முரண்பாட்டைச் சார்ந்தவர்கள் தற்போதுள்ள சமத்துவமின்மையை அரசியல் ரீதியாக கையாண்டுள்ளனர். அல்லது அவர்கள் பாகுபாடு காட்டுவதிலான குற்றச்சாட்டுக்களை ஒரு இனத்திலிருந்து மற்றொரு இனத்துக்கு அநீதி இழைக்கப்படுகின்றது எனக் குற்றஞ்சுமத்துகின்றனர். இச் செயல், எரிந்து கொண்டிருக்கும் இன நெருக்கடிக்கு எண்ணெய் வார்ப்பதாக உள்ளது. இந்த முன்வைப்பானது, அடிப்படைத் தகவல்களும், முறையான புள்ளி விபரங்களும் இன்றியமையாததாக, பெறுமதி மிக்கதாக இருந்தாலும் ஆய்வாளர்களால் முன்வைக்கப்படும் உண்மைகள் அரசியல் உள் நோக்கங்களைக் கொண்டதாக நோக்கப்படலாம். மேலும் இந்த தகவல்களை உபயோகித்து அரசியல் உள்நோக்கமுடைய வாதங்களையும் கொள்கைகளையும் திணிப்பதற்கு ஏதுவாக இருக்கலாம்.

1980இல் அக்கால நிதி அமைச்சராக இருந்த ரொனி டி மெல் அவர்களின் கூற்றுப்படி “இலங்கையில் பொதுவாக எல்லா உயர் துறைகளிலும் தமிழர்கள் முன்னிலை வகித்து வருகின்றனர்” என தமிழர்களுக்கெதிரான இனக்கலவரத்தின் குடு தனியும் முன்னர் அவர் வெளியிட்ட இக்கருத்து தமிழர்கள் ஆங்கிலேயர்களால் ஆதரிக்கப்பட்டதுடன் சிறந்த கல்வியறிவையும் முக்கியமாக ஆங்கில அறிவு, உயர்கல்வி, அரசு உத்தியோகங்களிலும் இன விகிதாசாரத்துக்கு மேலதிகமாக இடம்பெற்றிருப்பதாகவும் செல்வந்தர்களாக இருப்பதாகவும் சுட்டிக்காட்டியுள்ளார். இந்த முரண்பாட்டினைச் சரி செய்வதற்காக 1970ஆம் ஆண்டுக்குப் பின்னர் தொடர்ச்சியாக வந்த அரசாங்கங்கள் எடுத்த நடவடிக்கைகள் இனப்பாகுபாட்டைப் பிரதிபலிக்கின்றது என உணரப்பட்டது.

இந்த முன்வைப்பின் தலைப்பானது சரியானது போன்ற தோற்றமுடைய தரவுகளும் உண்மைகளும் எவ்வாறு பிழையான வாதங்களை முன்னெடுக்கப் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளன என்பதை எடுத்துக் காட்டுகின்றது. சிங்களவர்களுக்கும், வடகிழக்குத் தமிழர்களுக்கும் இடையிலான வருமானம், கல்வி, தொழில்வாய்ப்பு, என்பவற்றுக்கிடையிலான சமூக பொருளாதார சமத்துவமின்மை எவ்வாறு இன – அரசியல் முரண்பாட்டை முன்னெடுத்துச் செல்கின்றது என்பதை காட்டுவதற்கு இவ்வாய்வாளர்கள் முயன்றுள்ளனர். உதாரணமாக சுதந்திரத்துக்குப் பின்னான தசாப்தங்களில் தமிழர்கள் பெற்றிருந்ததாகக் கூறப்படும் அனுகூலங்கள் “மிகச் சிறியதும், குறைந்து செல்லக் கூடியதாகவும்” உள்ளன என

ஸ்கந்தராஜா (2005) குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார். எல்லா ஆய்வுகளிலும் ஒரு முக்கியமான விடயம் என்னவெனில் ஆய்வின் நோக்கத்தை சரிசெய்வதும் மாற்று நோக்கத்தை அறிமுகம் செய்வதும் ஆகும். நியாயமான அபிவிருத்திக்கான செயற்குழு (CRD) வின் ஆய்வான சமத்துவமின்மையின் உண்மை நிலையினை அறிதல் என்பது பற்றிய டீ பொன்சேகா அவர்களுடனான கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றல்கள் இதைப் பிரதிபலிக்கின்றது.

இவ்விடயத்தில் CRD இன் பிழையாக வழிகாட்டப்பட்ட நோக்கு, இதற்குப்பதிலாக பிரயோகிக்கப்படக்கூடிய மாற்றுத்தகவல்கள் இருப்பதை டீ பொன்சேகா அவர்கள் சுட்டிக் காட்டியுள்ளார். ஆனால் CRD இது டீ பொன்சேகாவினால் “தேர்வு செய்யப்பட்ட” ஆய்வு என வாதாடுகின்றது.

LI ES, DAMN LI ES, AND STATI STI CS⁷⁵ : WHY RESEARCHERS SHOULD BE CONCERNED WHEN STRIVING TO UNCOVER THE ‘TRUTH’

Introduction

The title of this paper refers to the persuasive power of numbers: how seemingly accurate data or ‘facts’ are capable of being exploited to strengthen inaccurate arguments. In 1983 Ronnie de Mel, the then Sri Lankan Minister of Finance commented⁷⁹ that the “Tamils have dominated the commanding heights of everything good in Sri Lanka”. His comment coming in the aftermath of the anti-Tamil riots, reflected the belief that Tamils had been favoured by the British and were, on average, better educated, more likely to be literate in English, and heavily over-represented in higher education and public sector employment. Policies that were introduced during the 1970s by successive Sri Lankan governments aimed to ‘correct’ this perceived advantage, which were in turn perceived as discriminatory.

Researchers in Sri Lanka have sought to analyse empirical data to show how socio-economic inequality (disparities in access to income, education and employment) between Sinhalese and North Eastern Tamils featured in the rise and continuation of the ethno-political conflict. Depending on which studies you turn to, one can read that ethnic Tamils were discriminated against or were favourably treated. For example, Skandarajah (2005) observes that any Tamil advantage in science based admissions to University that was present in the decades after independence was ‘small’ and ‘diminishing’ as state policies began to take effect through the 1970s. But for every piece of research that reveals one point, there will always be a way to adjust the focus and come up with an alternative view. This is neatly demonstrated in the exchange of correspondence between the Committee for Rational Development (CRD) (1984) and Chandra de Fonseka (1984) over the CRD’s research paper trying to get to the ‘truth’ of the inequality issue. De Fonseka points to the misguided focus of the CRD and the existence of alternative data sets that should have been utilised. CRD’s response was very much along the same lines, arguing ‘selective analysis’ by de Fonseka.

⁷⁹ The Wages of Envy, *The Economist*, 20 August 1983

This paper opens by explaining why we are following this line of inquiry at a symposium on 'inequality'. A subsequent section examines the definitions of 'power' and 'politics' and the application of these terms to the present lines of inquiry. The sections that follow present the reasons for focusing on the particular issues and the reasons for selecting the researchers/studies. A penultimate section addresses each issue in turn and illustrates the way data is used to maintain a political position using extracts from the selected studies. A concluding section then seeks to bring together the various strands of the paper and cautions researchers that their work maybe used to bolster political arguments and drive political agendas encouraging them to be more sensitive and aware when conducting research.

Why this line of inquiry?

This paper seeks to add another layer of analysis and inquiry into the academic discourse on conflict and inequality in Sri Lanka. As part of the preparation for this paper, the Poverty and Conflict (PAC) team examined the conflict in the North and East of Sri Lanka to see what role inequality (or inequalities) or perceptions thereof have played in creating the conflict, and whether these inequalities or (perceptions of inequality) remain today and perpetuate the conflict.

The early stages of discussion about some of these factors and the conclusions they seemed to suggest, led to calls from our colleagues to check the veracity of the things we were reading. We were rightly asked to examine these things to determine if they were 'true' and so we returned to our original secondary data sources to look at how certain things were interpreted from data and how certain conclusions were drawn. We found that many different researchers, using almost identical data, draw very different conclusions about the existence of, and the extent of, inequality surrounding the Sri Lankan conflict.

This paper has emerged in part from recognising the limitations of proving and supporting conclusions in this way. The limitations emerge when 'facts' are manipulated to 'reveal' various conclusions and used to 'support' various statements.

We do not seek here to inquire about the nature of 'truth' and/or 'truths'. It is not necessary to debate on what is truth and if there is one truth or many truths in order to be aware that facts being read by one person

may not necessarily lead to the same conclusion as the same facts read by another.

The paper also acknowledges that ‘facts’ associated with the Sri Lankan conflict are highly contested. The team found that various events are highly politicised and their role in the creation of the conflict continue to be vigorously debated. The team also found that facts and events did not exist independently and that there was a great deal of emotion and experience that were brought into the analysis that led to the facts and events being read and interpreted in particular ways. Even the internal discussion about these issues and events when compiling the elements of a conflict timeline⁸⁰ revealed that there was no way of getting past the layers of associated meaning, the particular historicisation of these events and the way in which most Sri Lankans seem to be socialised to accept a particular view of history.

Rather than enter into an endless debate about the nature of truth we would like to introduce to the existing discourse on inequality, poverty and conflict, the additional layer of analysis and inquiry that comes from the recognition that our work as researchers, as both data producers and users, is extremely political. The issues that we deal with, the research that reveals different dimensions of contested historical issues, the conclusions we draw from research and the way these conclusions are used are all potentially political acts. The truths we interpret and the facts that we produce are political. They can be read through political lenses and used to further political agendas.

Politics and power

As regards, the meaning of the terms ‘political’ and ‘power’ used in this paper, we do not use the term ‘political’ here in the limited sense of being associated with political institutions such as parties and governments. Politics and political for the sake of this paper is concerned with power and social control.

⁸⁰ The timeline was also presented at the Symposium, where participants gave their views on some of the events included, what was missing and how the initiative could be improved upon. Since the Symposium, the team has developed the concept further into the Peace and Conflict Timeline (PACT) initiative, an interactive web based timeline of the Sri Lankan conflict context. The website can be accessed at www.pact.lk.

Politics is the process by which individuals or relatively small groups attempt to exert influence over the actions of an organisation. Although the term is most commonly applied to behavior within governments, politics is observed in many group interactions, including corporate, academic, and religious entities.

Turning to 'power', Max Weber defined it as the ability to impose one's will upon another, while Hannah Arendt states that "political power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert". The three dimensions of power are decision-making, agenda-setting and preference-shaping.

The decision-making dimension was first put forth by Robert Dahl, who advocated the notion that political power is based in the formal political arena and is measured through voting patterns and the decisions made by politicians. This view was seen by many as simplistic and a second dimension to the notion of political power was added by Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, involving agenda-setting. Bachrach and Baratz viewed power as involving both the formal political arena and behind the scenes agenda-setting by elite groups who could be either politicians and/or others (such as industrialists, campaign contributors, special interest groups, and so on), often with a hidden agenda that most of the public may not be aware of. The third dimension of power was added by British academic Steven Lukes who felt that even with this second dimension, some other traits of political power needed to be addressed through the concept of 'preference-shaping'. This third dimension is inspired by many Neo-Gramscian views such as cultural hegemony and deals with how civil society and the general public have their preferences shaped for them by those in power through the use of propaganda or the media.⁸¹

If we agree that the work of researchers (both as data producers and data users) is political in the way that the term 'political' has been defined, then it is not a huge theoretical leap to suggest that the work that we do as researchers can be 'read' in unexpected and unintentional ways and used to draw surprising and divisive conclusions.

⁸¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politics#Definitions>

Why these issues?

When we decided to pursue this line of inquiry there was a great deal of discussion about which issues should be examined to illustrate our points. We decided collectively on certain issues and the way in which they have been dealt with by a range of researchers, across a range of publications.

The issues that this paper will address were selected because they were seen to be 'live issues'. They are based on historical incidents that have been studied, analysed and discussed ad nauseum, but continue to remain controversial and contentious, and which remain highly pertinent to the conflict discourse today. They are often identified as issues the conflict in Sri Lanka emerged around. To put it another way, if the conflict in Sri Lanka had 'creation myths', then it would be these issues that would form their basis.

They are not events or issues that can be easily consigned to history. They are read through the lenses of socialised identities and biases. Sri Lankans (and possibly others) who read various reports and studies of these issues do so subjectively, with a certain degree of bias and inherent value judgement.

None of these issues can be read simply as a collection of 'facts'. This information is political. Its nuances and interpretations are contested and challenged and there is no common understanding or interpretation of these events. The work of researchers and other users of this information contribute to this discourse and continue to do so.

We felt that the issues that we have selected were fitting examples to speak about the subjective nature of truth especially truth arrived at through research.

Finally, these issues are all linked to inequality, the theme of this year's symposium. Inequality is one idea that is manipulated to cause and perpetuate conflict and perceptions of these inequalities are still being contested and presented by different authors.

Why these sources/ studies/ researchers?

We have selected sources that seem to be representative of the spectrum of expressed views concerning the origins of the conflict. The researchers' findings seem to mirror the extremes of political viewpoints that exist today. The sources that have been used to illustrate our position are:

- Committee for Rational Development (CRD) (1984), Sri Lanka The Ethnic Conflict. Myths, Realities and Perspectives.
- De Fonseka, Chandra (1984), Glimpses of the Whole Truth⁸².
- De Silva, K.M., Sri Lanka, Keeping the Peace in a Sharply Divided Society⁸³.
- Madduma Bandara, Sandaruwan (2002), Lion Song.
- Srisikandarajah, Dhananjayan (2005), Socio-economic Inequality and Ethno-political Conflict: Some Observations from Sri Lanka.

Since K.M. de Silva's essay acknowledges and reinforces that there are two conflicting perspectives surrounding these controversial issues, we have used it mainly to set the context under discussion in this paper.

Turning to the other sources, it is interesting to note that the opening lines testify to dealing with the issues without prejudice, and as if the analyses that others that have preceded them have failed to do so impartially. For example, the CRD states that it will look at "widely prevalent myths and contrast them with realities, which [they] have endeavoured to discern without prejudice or partiality" (author's own emphasis). Chandra de Fonseka in his Glimpses of the Whole Truth, published in response to CRD's findings, introduces his work with the statement that "such data – still imperfect perhaps, but pertinent and reliable – does in fact exist", and that he will attempt to "draw on such data sources (now ignored by CRD) in a quest for more light on the 'ethnic debate'". Dhananjayan Srisikandarajah, in Socio-economic Inequality and Ethno-political Conflict: Some Observations from Sri Lanka, is more realistic and introduces his work with an acknowledgement of the "paucity of reliable empirical data" and that "despite problems in data quality, frequency and coverage (particularly in the North East since 1983), there are some useful sources".

⁸² Included in Sri Lanka The Ethnic Conflict: Myths, Realities and Perspectives, CRD 1984

⁸³ <http://www.lankalibrary.com/pol/background.htm>

The pertinent question to ask is whether, given one's own experience of and emotional attachment to these highly contested conflict issues, it is possible to unpack the issues "without prejudice and partiality" and whether during one's "quest" to do so, it is possible (or even helpful) to shed "more light on the ethnic debate"? Or in doing so, does one simply run the risk of perpetuating the conflict?

'Evidence' presented by researchers

In this section, a brief introduction to each issue is presented, followed by extracts from the selected sources illustrating our position that researchers have arrived at seemingly different conclusions, when looking at the same issues. The researchers' approach to examining these highly contentious issues, the selection of the types of data that are analysed, the point of focus, and the point in time in which they are looked at, is highly subjective and lends itself to different interpretations and conclusions.

University admissions policy

Until 1969, admission to university was based on the attainment of grades at the Advanced level examination. The growing belief that Sri Lankan Tamils had obtained places at university in numbers "far excess of their proportions population wise" (CRD) led to the coalition government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike in 1970 to introduce a fundamental change to the university admissions policy. The government implemented a system of standardisation of marks based primarily on the medium of education. The following extract from *Keeping Peace in a Divided Society* by K.M. de Silva neatly introduces the issue and explains the attempts through subsequent amendments to mitigate the tensions that ensued:

"The effect of [this system] was to place the Tamil students at a disadvantage in that they had to obtain a higher aggregate of marks to enter the university - in the medical, science and engineering faculties - than the Sinhalese. Thereafter, a district quota system was also introduced which gave weightage to students in rural areas and from backward communities. All this represented a departure from the traditional practice of selecting students on the basis of actual marks obtained at an open competitive examination. The Tamils, justifiably, saw this change in university entrance policy as patently and deliberately discriminatory." (De Silva)

The researchers that we have selected have all attempted to get to the 'truth' of whether in fact there was a "Tamil advantage" and whether Tamils had obtained places at university in numbers "far excess of their proportions population wise" (CRD). The Commission for Rational Development (CRD) sought to address the issue by formulating a set of questions and answers. They address the issue at a different points in time, from 1981 – 1983. They posed the question:

"Is it true that Tamils gain admission to the universities in numbers far excess of their proportions population wise?"

Taking all university admissions subjects, their 'answer' was:

"This is not really true. Taking the years 1981 – 1983 (Source: Division of Planning and Research, University Grants Commission 1983), Tamil admissions to University have not been over ten percentage points of their ethnic proportions in the population. The figures run counter to popular perceptions about Tamil students in the coveted faculties of medicine, law and engineering which usually place their participation at 50%. Also interesting, is that apart from Engineering, the representation of Sinhalese is near their ethnic proportion in the population." (CRD 1984)

It is interesting to note that the figure of ten percentage points over the share of the population was used to signify the idea of "far in excess". This is also a highly subjective choice of indicator on which to judge the fairness or unfairness of the university admissions system.

The other researchers seem to agree that the "advantage" may have existed in relation to science based faculties. Sriskandarajah, whilst acknowledging that there is a "paucity of reliable empirical data" and despite "problems in data quality, frequency and coverage" finds that there was a "small but decreasing Tamil advantage in science based tertiary courses":

"North Eastern Tamils, and Jaffna Tamils in particular, had chosen to concentrate in the science based admission streams and, in the years following independence, were heavily over-represented in university science faculties." (2005)

According to Sriskandarajah, in 1964, Tamils held “37% of places in science and engineering; 41% of places in medicine and dentistry; 42% in agriculture and veterinary sciences”. However, as regards non-science based courses, Sriskandarajah found that “since Tamils never made up more than 10% of these, the overall proportions of North Eastern Tamils in Sri Lanka’s universities by the early 1980s were roughly on a par with their share of the population”. The way the argument is phrased could easily play into the hands of anyone who wanted to use the idea of a Tamil advantage in university admissions to highlight discrimination. The slightly apologetic sounding admission that Tamils did indeed have a “small advantage” could be read and used quite differently by someone who wished to highlight simply the existence of a disadvantage. Further, the fact that the advantage is diminishing could be used to highlight how corrective policies were necessary and effective in correcting this discrimination.

K.M. de Silva also accepts that there was an advantage in relation to science based admissions:

“the crux of the problem was that the Sri Lanka Tamils who constitute no more than an eighth of the island’s total population, had a dominant position in the science-based faculties of the then University of Ceylon at Peradeniya and Colombo”. In 1970, for instance, the Tamils gained just over 35 percent of the admissions to the science-based faculties; in engineering and medicine it was as high as 40%”. (De Silva)

CRD acknowledges that the popular impression amongst the Sinhalese community that the Tamils were privileged may have arisen because:

“Before 1974, in certain coveted university faculties such as medicine, engineering and the physical sciences, there were more Tamils, percentage wise, in relation to their proportions in the population.” (1984)

In Lion Song, looking also at the ethnic make up of tertiary based science admissions, Bandara found that “in 1954, 142 Sinhalese students were admitted to the University of Ceylon for science courses as compared to 145 Tamil students”:

“In 1969 Sinhala and Tamil participation in the Engineering and Medical faculties was 50% each! The plantation Tamils were almost completely absent in the Tamil numbers. This meant essentially 8% of the population, produced approximately half the university science students in the country. The only innocent (or natural) explanation for this would be that Tamils were on average about 5 times as intelligent as Sinhalese as an ethnic group.” (Madduma Bandara 2005)

But he expands his analysis:

“In 1959 the proportion of Tamil students receiving University Education compared to the population was 1:320. This was as good as the education facilities provided in the United Kingdom. But the proportion of Sinhalese receiving University Education in comparison with the population was 1:3212. It only remained to be proven that Tamil students were being illegitimately admitted to state universities at the expense of students from other ethnic groups.” (ibid)

Sriskanadarajah considered the issue of education more broadly and looked at overall educational profiles of Sinhalese and Tamils, rather than focusing on the narrow issue of university admissions. Interestingly, he found that both had “strikingly similar overall educational profiles”. Using the broader Educational Attainment Index (published in early 1980s), Sriskandarajah found that figures showed that North Eastern Tamils (scoring 4.94) were marginally ahead of Kandyan Sinhalese (4.40) and in fact, behind low country Sinhalese (5.26). Both groups were ahead of the up country Tamils (2.10) and Muslims (3.91).

And what of the measures to correct this perceived advantage? According to Sriskandarajah, the so called ‘standardisation policies’ had the effect of setting a “lower qualifying mark for Sinhala medium students so that a politically acceptable proportion of Sinhalese students could be admitted to the University”, and in the 1970s, Tamil admissions fell:

“Proportion of Tamils in science based courses fell from nearly 40% of all successful candidates in the late 1960s to around 25% by the late 1970s.” (2005)

Language

Above all other conflict issues, the 'language issue' is seen by many analysts as the critical triggering factor in the conflict in Sri Lanka and highly pertinent to a discourse on inequality.

Prior to the Official Language Act of 1956 (known popularly as the 'Sinhala Only Act'), English was the official language of Sri Lanka, with Tamil and Sinhala having parity of status.

K.M. de Silva's introduction to the issue and attempts by subsequent governments to correct the perceived discriminatory impact of 'Sinhala Only' seems a particularly helpful description and so we have reproduced it here to give some context to this issue:

"1956 saw the passage of the Sinhala Only Act in parliament. The Act made Sinhala the sole official language and was the catalyst for heightened tensions between the Tamil and Sinhalese communities that eventually resulted in ethnic riots that year and more serious riots two years later. The accommodation reached in language policy after the violence associated with the introduction of language policy reform in 1956, is significant. Modifications initiated between 1956 and 1978, through political necessity (in 1958) and a realistic adjustment to life in a plural society (1978), all but conceded parity of status to the Tamil language with Sinhala. The clauses on language in the constitution of 1978 reflected a recognition of an existing reality. The explicit reversion to parity of status to the two languages, which came in 1987 and 1988 as a part of a political settlement brokered by the Indian government, was also a recognition of this." (De Silva)

According to Sriskandarajah, the introduction of the 1956 Official Language Act and "allied regulations" in subsequent years "restricted economic opportunities for non-Sinhala speakers". The language issue is linked to the government sector employment issue discussed below, as Tamils were perceived to be better educated in English and therefore better able to take up government sector positions. And Tamils were perceived to be at a disadvantage in many ways, especially when, as Sriskandarajah puts it, "Sinhala became the lingua franca of the public service":

“This effectively meant that Tamils who had hitherto studied in English in order to get the public service jobs were now required to pass Sinhala examinations or were limited to a few regional Tamil speaking positions. Meanwhile Sinhala speakers were presented with more employment opportunities.” (2005)

On the same issue, in Lion Song, we have a very different analysis:

“Sinhala Only policy must be assessed objectively. That time Sri Lanka was in a semi apartheid situation. Later Tamil leaders have complained that ‘Sinhala Only’ made it difficult for Tamils to transact business with the Government or the Courts of Law because of the language barrier. The decision to implement a ‘Sinhala Only’ policy was not discriminatory by itself. In comparison to other countries of the world, the use of Sinhala as Sri Lanka’s official language is not only perfectly justifiable, but it is only relatively practical option [sic]. (Madduma Bandara 2002)

The comparison to “other countries of the world” explicitly ignores the fact that not all countries have chosen to adopt the language of the majority of the population as the sole national language, but have made political decisions to be sensitive to minorities and have multiple official languages.

Public Sector employment and representation

The issue here is neatly posited by the Commission for Rational Development in the following question:

”Do Tamils have a disproportionate share of the jobs in the public sector?”

Or, was it only the more visible positions that Tamils held and which then led to the perception that Tamils were unfairly represented?

[Author] in Lion Song sets out figures which ‘seem to speak for themselves’:

“In 1956, 30% of the employees of the Ceylon administrative Service, 50% of the clerical service, 60% of professionals (engineers, doctors, lecturers), 40% of the armed forces and 40% of labour forces were Tamils.”

A table of data for the “facts” to ‘speak for themselves’ is presented:

Service	Sinhala	Tamil
Permanent Secretaries	66.6%	33.3%
Ceylon Civil Service	71.2%	28.7%
Police	76.4%	23.5%
Medical Services	67.3%	33.6%
Inland Revenue	48.2%	51.8%
Irrigation Department	31.4%	68.6%
Public Works Department	53.9%	46.1%
Ceylon Government Railways	42.8%	57.2%

(CRD 1984)

He concludes that the “evidence clearly establishes that the representation of the Tamils far exceeded even the 18% total representation of Tamils in the population”. He then makes the point that “many of these Tamil civil servants could only speak Tamil and English. As such, when uneducated Sinhalese villagers attempted to transact business with the Government, they were discriminated against”.

Sriskandarajah concludes that there was a “small but highly visible Tamil advantage in top grades of the public sector”. He also presented some evidence to suggest that Tamils had done disproportionately well under the British:

By 1946, of the 116 non-Europeans in the upper ranks of the Civil Service, some 27% were Tamil and 14% part European while the remaining 59% were Sinhalese (Thambiah 1955)

Sriskandarajah continues “that this slight overrepresentation of the Tamils, particularly in the top grades, continued for some years after independence”. But then Sriskandarajah found that the Tamil presence in the public service was “probably exaggerated in public perception” because Tamils tended to hold “highly visible posts that involved public perception”. As a result, Tamils were often seen by Southerners “as part of the ruling elite”.

CRD looks at the issue much later in time, and so there is a problem with making comparisons with the findings of Sriskandarajah and Bandara. It uses DCS figures from 1980 (Census of Public and Corporation Sector Employment) and finds that Tamils with 18% of the population (Census of Population and Housing 1981), “have only 11% of public sector jobs, 13% of professional and technical posts and 14% of administrative and managerial positions.”

CRD then attempts to explain the reason for “the popular impression that Tamils have an unduly high share of public sector jobs”:

“The impression has been created by taking figures in selected government departments, or in selected fields like accountancy [and] engineering. For instance, it has been claimed that in these fields, the figures are around 22% and 42% respectively.”

[Lion Song] author concludes that “in many areas there were two Tamils in Government employment for every one in the population...Whether this discrimination was intentional on the part of Tamils is not relevant” and the fact that “discrimination existed is beyond reasonable doubt”. (1984)

Following the Sinhala Only Act, Sriskandarajah notes a “gradual reduction in Tamil public sector employment” with an increase in Sinhalese recruitment to state employment.

While the Tamil presence in the higher grades remained relatively robust, Tamil recruitment to the more numerous lower clerical grades fell considerably.

As a result, by 1972, Tamils held some 29% of all positions in the top administrative, professional and technical grades, well above their share of the population, but were under-represented in the middle and lower grades.

By 1980, census of public sector employment showed that Tamil participation in overall make up of public sector employment stood around 11%. (Manoharan, 1987)

Sriskandarajah's concluding remarks on the issue of public sector employment comes from a 1998 study conducted by Wilson and Chandrakanthan:

“Evidence from the post 1983 period suggests that Sri Lankan public sector has become an overwhelmingly Sinhalese institution and that participation rates among all non-Sinhalese ethnic groups have fallen below population parity” (1998)

Of course, studies like the one above could be used to bolster political arguments about discrimination faced by Tamils today.

Concluding remarks

Whilst perceived inequalities can be manipulated for political gain, in striving to get to the 'truth' through the analysis of available data, researchers can run the risk of inadvertently perpetuating a political agenda. Indeed much research is commissioned and carried out with intention of bolstering support for a particular agenda. Researchers are not neutral. The work of drawing conclusions and making analysis of selected data is ultimately subjective. The spin that is put on research findings is based as much on the pre existing values of the researcher and the existing political agendas as they are by what the data seems to reveal. It may be better to accept that sometimes there may be a number of conclusions that one can draw from available data sets, some of which may serve political ends and perpetuate conflict. Ultimately, this acceptance comes from a recognition that as researchers, the issues that are dealt with, the 'truths' that are interpreted and the 'facts' that are produced are political - they can be read through political lenses and used to further political agendas. Information about the conflict in Sri Lanka is political so researchers should expect

their work to be read in different ways. A lot of research is based on already existing material. This secondary data should be read with an awareness of implicit biases and agendas.

If you are reading data with political motivations to bolster political arguments, the existence of a set of contradictory data may not stop you. The exchange of correspondence between Chandra Fonseka published in the CRD compilation reveals how selective and biased data use can be. Data can be read and re-read with a particular lens to support a point of view or agenda.

Further, focusing too narrowly on an issue may not be helpful when dealing with controversial issues. Looking at university admissions is a rather narrow focus on education. The issue has been so politicised that the focus on this issue seems to have prevented researchers from looking at the broader picture. It would be fairer to look at the percentage of population actually going to university rather than the elite that have access to it and try to look at broader educational attainment. To his credit, Sriskandarajah did attempt to widen the issue and look at overall educational profiles.

These following words from K.M. de Silva about the existence of or perception of inequality underline the difficulties in trying to uncover the truth: there will always be conflicting perspectives, on which group was discriminated (and when), and whether the 'corrective measures' did in fact correct an inequality (perceived or real):

“Suffice it to say here that there are two conflicting perceptions of these conflicts. Most Sinhalese believe that the Tamil minority has enjoyed a privileged position under British rule and that the balance has of necessity to shift in favour of the Sinhalese majority. The Sri Lanka Tamil minority is an achievement-oriented, industrious group who still continue to enjoy high status in society, considerable influence in the economy, a significant if diminishing role in the bureaucracy and is well placed in all levels of the education system. The Tamils for their part would claim that they are now a harassed minority, the victims of frequent acts of communal violence and calculated acts and policies of discrimination directed at them. Most of the Tamils' fears and their sense of insecurity

stem from the belief that they have lost the advantageous position they enjoyed under British rule in many sectors of public life in the country; in brief, a classic case of a sense of relative deprivation.”

Getting to the truth may be an impossible task and the sensitive approach to researching around these contentious issues may be to simply accept that there exist a number of viewpoints, accept that there are grievances on both sides of the conflict and present data in as comprehensive a way as possible and be fully transparent as regards the flaws in data, paucity in data, the flaws therein and refrain from making too broad a conclusion from a narrow point of analysis. Then perhaps the discourse can move on.

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GLOBALISATION AND INEQUALITY: THE GLOBAL SCENARIO AND SOUTH ASIA

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Abstract

Given the significance of inequality of income distribution and other assets, it becomes important to study what is happening to inequality worldwide in the era of globalisation. In a global world, inequality has multiple forms and definitions, and this paper attempts to study the trends in inequality, starting from a global scenario to within country specifics. The relative importance and implications of each are also explained in the process. It is also becoming evidently clear that giant Asian countries like China and India have a crucial role to play in the determination of global inequalities. It is also interesting to see how the policies of globalisation affect developing countries in general and those of Asia in particular. The paper is divided into two sections. While the first discusses the global scenario, the second provides a slightly more detailed study of four countries in South Asia and draws some policy implications for that region.

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**ගෝලීයකරණය හා අසමානතාව:
ලෝකව්‍යප්ත තත්ත්වය හා දකුණු ආසියාව**

ආදායම් හා අනකුම වත්කම් බෙදීමේදී ඇති අසමානතාවේ ඇති වැදගත්කම සලකා බලන කල ගෝලීයකරණ යුගය තුළ මුළු ලොව පුරාම අසමානතාවට කුමක් වන්නේ දැයි සොයා බැලීම වැදගත්වේ. කුඩා ලෝකයක් තුළ අසමානතාවට බහුවිධ හැඩයන් සහ අර්ථකථන ලබාදිය හැක. මෙම අධ්‍යයනය ලෝකව්‍යප්ත තත්ත්වයක පටන් දේශීය සන්දර්භය දක්වා අසමානතාවේ රටාවන් සොයාබැලීමට උත්සහ කරයි. එමගින් පෙරකී රටාවන් හා උදාහරණයන් තුළ ඇති සංසන්දනාත්මක වැදගත්කම හා ගම්‍යවන කරුණුද විස්තර කෙරේ. චීනය හා ඉන්දියාව වැනි දැවැන්ත ආසියාතික රටවල් ගෝලීය අසමානතා තීරණය කිරීමේදී තීරණාත්මක වන බව පැහැදිලිව පෙනෙන්නට පටන්ගෙන ඇත. තවද දියණුවේමින් පවතින රටවල්වලට හා විශේෂයෙන් ආසියාතික රටවල්වලට ගෝලීයකරණ ප්‍රතිපත්ති කවර ආකාරයකින් බලපාන්නේදැයි සොයා බැලීම ප්‍රයෝජනවත්වේ. මෙම අධ්‍යයනය කොටස් දෙකකට වෙන්කොට ඇත. පලමු කොටස ගෝලීය තත්ත්වය විමසා බලන අතර, දෙවැන්න දකුණුආසියානු රටවල් හතරක තත්ත්වය වඩා විස්තරාත්මකව අධ්‍යයනය කරමින් එම දකුණුආසියානු කලාපය සඳහා ප්‍රතිපත්ති සැකසුම් පිළිබඳව අදහස් කීපයක් ඉදිරිපත් කරයි.

உலகமயமாக்கலும் சமத்துவமின்மையும்: உலக, தெற்காசிய நோக்கு

தன மற்றும் சொத்துக்கள் தொடர்பான சமத்துவமின்மையினை மாத்திரம் நோக்காது, உலகளவில் சமத்துவமின்மை எவ்வாறு வேறுபடுகின்றது என்பதை இந்த உலகமயமாக்கல் தசாப்தத்தில் பார்ப்பது முக்கியமானதொன்றாகும். உலகத்தில் சமத்துவமின்மையானது பல்வேறு வடிவங்கள், வரைவிலக்கணங்களினைக் கொண்டுள்ளது. அத்துடன் இவ்வாய்வுக் கட்டுரையானது உலகமயமாக்கல் தொடர்பான உலகின் பொதுவான கருத்திலிருந்து நாடுகளுக்குள் சமத்துவமின்மை எவ்வாறு வேறுபடுகின்றது என்பதைக் குறிப்பிடுகின்றது. இச்சமத்துவமின்மையின் போக்கு தொடர்பான முக்கியத்துவங்களும் இதன் மறைமுகமான தாக்கங்களும் ஆராயப்பட்டுள்ளது. உலக சமத்துவமின்மையைத் தீர்மானிப்பதில் மிகப்பெரிய ஆசிய நாடுகளான சீனா, இந்தியா என்பன பிரதான பங்கு வகிப்பது இங்கு ஆதாரங்களுடன் தெளிவாக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. உலகமயமாக்கல் தொடர்பான கொள்கைகள் எவ்வளவு தூரம் அபிவிருத்தியடைந்து வரும் நாடுகளில் குறிப்பாக, ஆசிய நாடுகளில் பாதிப்பை ஏற்படுத்துகின்றன என்பது இங்கு பார்ப்பதற்கு மிகவும் சுவாரசியமான ஒரு விடயமாகவுள்ளது. இவ்வாய்வுக் கட்டுரை இரு பகுதிகளாக நோக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. முதலாவது பகுதி உலகம் தொடர்பானதாகவும், இரண்டாவது பகுதி தெற்காசியாவில் உள்ள நான்கு நாடுகளினை சற்று விரிவாகவும் ஆராய்கின்றது. அத்துடன் இந்நாடுகளுக்குரிய கொள்கை தொடர்பான எதிர்பார்ப்புக்களையும் பிரதிபலிக்கின்றது.

GLOBALISATION AND INEQUALITY: LINKS, GLOBAL TRENDS AND THE ROLE OF ASIA⁸⁵

Poverty eradication has been long established as one of the major goals of Development Policy worldwide. This has been emphasised in the policy discourse propagated by the World Bank, the United Nations and other multinational agencies before 2005. The role of inequality in income distribution, in comparison, has found only very recent support in the development discourse. In 2005, World Bank's World Development Report, UN's Report on the World Social Situation (The Inequality Predicament) both focused on inequality and advocated equity though there were significant differences between both approaches. Despite that, the issue of redress of inequalities has still been largely undermined by the development policy discourse. In addition, discussions have largely been focused on income or consumption inequalities and are yet to comprehensively encompass other underlying and less visible forms of inequality; social inequality, gender inequalities, inequalities among social and ethnic groups and so on.

The reason behind the recognition, if limited, of inequality as something which must be addressed by the policy paradigm, is simple. It is no longer possible to deny the impact of inequalities even in the nature and extent of poverty reduction itself. The development literature does recognise that there is a crucial link between growth, poverty reduction and inequality. In the scenario of constant inequality, higher growth leads to poverty reduction. However, in a situation of increasing inequality, poverty will increase if growth remains unchanged or sometimes even if growth is declining. More importantly, poverty will not decline as much as it could have even if growth is increasing since inequality is increasing. Therefore relative deprivation has a crucial role to play in determining absolute deprivation itself.

⁸⁵ The author is indebted to Prof. Jomo K.S. and Prof. Giovanni Andrea Cornia for the material included in the first section of the paper, part of which has been drawn from their lectures delivered during IDEAs International Workshop on 'Policy Trends, Growth Patterns & Distributional Outcomes under Globalisation, Shanghai, 21-24th August, 2006. My acknowledgements also to Prof. Jayati Ghosh and Dr. Partha Pratim Pal for a lot of the material which we jointly produced for a research project for DESA, United Nations, New York and finally, to Dr. Subrata Guha, for comments and insights.

Therefore, inequality does matter. Firstly, in developing countries where average incomes are lower, inequality by itself will cause major conflicts, strife and resentment because the pie is smaller. And second, it matters crucially because increasing inequality will by itself adversely affect the rate of poverty and of poverty reduction with or without an increase in growth rates. Therefore, unlike traditional development theory, it has to be recognised that growth is simply not enough for poverty reduction.

Given the significance of inequality of income and other assets and powers, it becomes important to study what is happening to inequality worldwide in the era of globalisation. In a global world, inequality has multiple forms and definitions, and this paper attempts to study the trends in inequality, starting from a global scenario to within country specifics. Section I of the paper relates to the global scenario. The relative importance and implications of each type of inequality measure is also explained in the process. It is becoming evidently clear that giant Asian countries like China and India have a crucial role to play in the determination of global inequality. It is also interesting to see to which causes, policy related or otherwise, the trends in inequality can be linked. In the second section, the paper goes on to look at the South Asian countries of India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka in more detail and attempts to briefly outline the policy paradigm that has resulted in the current trends and to follow up with a set of policy guidelines to address the issue.

Section I

The link between Globalisation and Inequality

Globalisation generally consists of a set of specific policies including liberalisation of trade and financial markets, and freeing up of FDI flows. Proponents of globalisation suggest that globalisation will reduce inter country income inequalities by increasing developing country incomes, through higher trade and capital flows as they provide access to markets, investment, etc. Kuznets hypothesis suggests within country income inequality will rise with development initially, and then fall in the later stages of development. But this has been seen to be not necessarily true.

It is difficult to directly test the link between globalisation and inequality, since there are many other factors at play and it is difficult to isolate the effect of opening up on global inequalities and within country movements

in income distribution. Though the literature shows many studies which attempt such an analysis, the accuracy and interpretation does remain difficult. Therefore, we try to see what has been happening to inequalities globally and within countries over the period which saw a rapid opening up of individual economies. The idea is to observe the empirical trend to discern a pattern, if any.

Global Inequality: Inter-Country Inequality

This method of measuring inequality of income in the world consists of comparing countries' average per capita incomes and estimating the Gini coefficient based on the gap between an average world income and each country's average per capita income. For this measure, each country's population may or may not be used as weights. If weights are not used the measure has been referred to as Concept I and if population weights are used, the measure is called Concept II in the current literature. These definitions, of course, do not include within country income inequalities, assuming them to be zero.

The trends show a slight decline in inter-country inequality if the measure is weighted by population (Sala-i-Martin, 2002). There is, however, an increasing trend if no population weights are used (Mukand and Rodrik 2002, Maddison 2001).

Table 1. Inter-country income inequality

	1980	1990	2000
All countries	0.585	0.578	0.553
World – China	0.537	0.558	0.567
World – India	0.56	0.564	0.547
World – (China+ India)	0.473	0.51	0.541
World – E. Europe	0.606	0.593	0.563
All Countries with dampened population effects	0.614	0.62	0.625

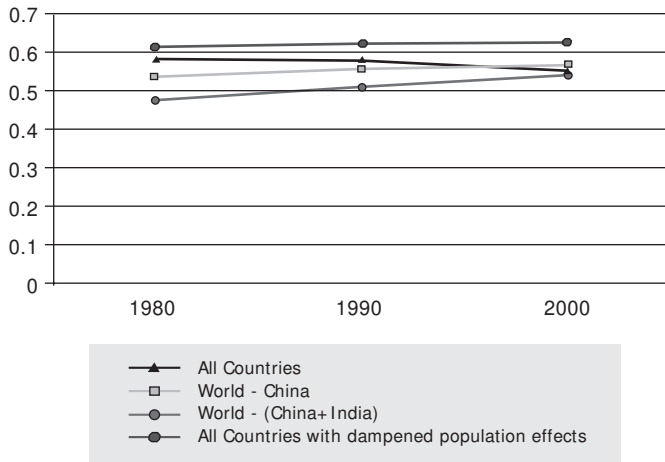
Note: Last row calculations with population weights as the square roots of actual populations

Source: Berry and Serieux 2004

But if population weights are used, the result seems to be heavily dependent on only two countries, China and India. A significant part of the inequality literature has now pointed this out (Milanovic 2000, Maddison 2001, Mukand and Rodrik 2002, Berry and Serieux 2004, 2007). This happens in the following way. China and India between them account for one third of the world's population. Since both these countries are experiencing very high rates of growth, their average per capita GDP has significantly gone up, and weighted by their huge population, considerably shortens the gap from richer country average incomes by creating an upward bias in growth rates of poorer countries. This is compounded by the fact of course, that USA, another large country, had a lower rate of growth. This phenomenon is clear from Table 1. Milanovic (2000) shows that the moment China is excluded from the sample, Sala-i-Martin's mean logarithmic deviation index, which earlier showed a falling trend, shows a relatively flat pattern with no consistent increase but no clear decline either. In Milanovic's analysis, dropping China and India re-establish the rising inequality scenario.

According to Berry and Serieux's (2007) calculations, inter country inequality has fallen from 0.585 to 0.553 between 1980 and 2000 (Table 1). When China is dropped, this trend changes to a moderately rising one and moves from 0.537 to 0.567 (see figure 1). When both China and India are dropped, the trend is rising much more sharply, from 0.473 to 0.541. Another method to eliminate the overriding effect of population has been tried by Berry and Serieux (2004, 2007) and other economists. This is to dampen the effect of population by using squares of population figures. This also gives a marginally increasing trend (see last row, Table 1, Fig. 1). This analysis clearly shows the importance of China and India and their large populations in dictating the trend of world income inequalities.

Fig. 1: Inter Country Inequality with Population Weightage



Source: Based on Table 1 (data from Berry and Serieux, 2004)

But it can be argued that these economies have grown very well, and they do happen to have large populations, so one third of the world's population are earning higher incomes and therefore global inequality is now lower. Here it is important to note the role of within country inequalities which is ignored in the concept of inter country inequality of income distribution. But for several reasons, the inclusion of within country income disparities is important in the estimation of global inequalities.

Obviously if within country inequalities are significant, then everyone in that country is not earning the average per capita income. It is the case in China and India and also in the US where there have been clearly rising income inequalities over the nineties.

Secondly, within country inequality is still the most perceived difference felt by the citizen of a country since any definition of world inequality is, until now, an interesting analytical concept but not very real to the individual located within a particular country.

This makes it imperative that within country inequalities is included in the calculation of global inequalities. This brings us to the second definition of world inequality which includes this concept, referred to as Concept

III in the current literature. As we shall see, this inclusion is fraught with difficulties at an international level. But before we discuss that, let us first discuss the definition and trends in world income inequality.

Concept III of World Inequality: Between World Citizens

This concept involves comparing individual/household incomes globally (US\$/PPP) as if national boundaries do not exist and every individual is a member of the world population. Calculating the relevant Gini involves taking the sum of each individual's income gap from a world average income which is then averaged across citizens. This includes two components. Each individual's income gap from world average can be broken up into two parts, the gap between individual income and his country's average income, and then the gap between his country's average income and the world average income. The sum of the first part across all individuals in the world gives us the total within country inequality component and summing the second part gives us the world inter country inequality component. Therefore this measure includes,

- Inter Country Inequality
and
- Within Country Inequality

For some measures of inequality, for example, the Theil index, the measure can be exactly broken up as a sum of these two components.

The trends show broadly the same pattern as inter country inequality (Sala-i-Martin 2002, Milanovic 2002, Sutcliffe 2005), of a slight decline in the nineties (Table 2). However, the gap between the very rich and the very poor has clearly increased (Table 2). The ratio of the incomes of the world's top 5% to the world's bottom 5% has increased from 101.75 to 130.46 between 1990 and 2003 while the incomes of the top 1% has increased from 275.73 times of the bottom 1%'s in 1990 income to a staggeringly high 564.27% in 2003.

Table 2. Global Inequality

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2003
Bourguignon & Morrisson 2002 (Maddison 1995)	0.635	0.65	0.657	* 0.657		
Sutcliffe 2003 (Maddison 2001)			0.667	0.65	0.627	0.63
Sala-i-Martin 2002 (PWT 6.0)		0.657	0.662	0.654	0.633	
Percentile Ratio 1/ 1			216.17	275.73	414.57	564.27
Percentile Ratio 5/ 5			120.75	101.02	116.41	130.46

Source: Sutcliffe (2005, Table 1 & 2)

According to the current literature, trends in world inequality are dominated by the inter-country inequality component, and within country inequalities have had a relatively lower impact. This means that differences between average country incomes matters more in determining what will happen to world inequalities than what is happening to income distribution within countries.

This seems to settle the debate effectively in terms of global inequalities and establishes that even when within country inequalities are accounted for, global inequality has declined, if marginally, over the nineties or the decade of major push in globalisation of the world economy.

But as we shall see, the issue is still not so clear cut. The first reason is again the role of China and India. The domination of China and India in these patterns is again clear from Berry and Serieux's (2007) study (Table 3). China and India contribute to a 13.3% fall in world inequality. This seems to be dictated by the inter country inequality effect which is clear from Table 1 which shows that when China and India are dropped, inequality increases. However, over this period, within country inequalities have increased significantly in these two large countries⁸⁶ (along with USA) which is now well established. Then if population is accounted for as it

⁸⁶ This is discussed in more detail in the following section on within country inequalities.

indeed is in the calculation of world inequalities by this second definition, it should have a significant negative impact on global inequality patterns. At least, if effectively included, these huge within country differences should have considerably brought down the positive impact on world inequality. The failure to do so seems to raise doubts about the effective inclusion and use of the within country inequality factor.

Table 3. Contribution of China and India to World Inequality

	1980	1990	2000
China	11.1%	1.0%	-12.6%
India	3.7%	0.8%	-2.6%
Combined	26.9%	10.0%	-13.3%

Source: Berry and Serieux (2007: Table 4.2)

This brings us to the problems of calculation and inadequacy of data. The problem in calculating global inequality between world citizens is that the data must include comparable estimates of within country inequality. But Milanovic (2002) shows that in most calculations done so far, National income data has been used and this has involved a large amount of approximation. According to Milanovic, this kind of data suffers from two shortcomings in this kind of analysis. The first relates to ‘fragmentary data’ which means that there is very few data (quintiles) available to derive a distribution. This means that the data is inadequate in terms of catching an accurate income distribution pattern at any point of time. The second relates to ‘sparse data’ which implies the absence of even such fragmentary data for most of the years. These missed data then have to be filled in by extrapolations. Most data sets for within country income distributions, which can be used at a comparable level for preparing global estimates of income distribution, do suffer from both kinds of data problems. Approximations therefore have to be resorted to in this kind of analysis. The problem becomes significant when the extent of such approximation becomes such that it can cast doubts on the robustness of the result.

This is the problem with the Deininger and Squire data set (1996) from the World Bank which has been used for most of the analyses carried out so far. This data set, which suffers from both sets of problems, remains the biggest accessible data set on which such kind of analysis can be

based. Most analysts have used different methods of approximating distributions based on this data set and have reached different results, but most conform to the view that world inequality has declined and that within country inequalities are the much less important determinant of global inequalities while differences in average national incomes remains the major one.

For example, Milanovic's critique of Sala-i-Martin's 2002 study shows major methodological problems. The data set used has the following characteristics:

- There are 68 countries in group A which has a time series of income shares by quintile though there is only 1 country which has income shares for all years and most have very few time cross sections of this data.
- For group B countries (29 countries) income shares are assumed constant for the entire period.
- For group C of 28 countries, all citizens are supposed to have GDP per capita of the country, which means within country inequality is nil, and only inter-national inequality is used.
- In addition, there are interesting omissions of all soviet republics (including Russia), Bulgaria and former Yugoslavia which together accounted for 6% of world population and 10% of world PPP income in the late 1980s. All these countries together have accounted for half of the 2.8 Gini point increase of 'true' (Concept III) world inequality between 1988 and 1993 according to Milanovic's calculations (2000).

According to Milanovic, these approximations have the net effect of producing a population weighted inter-national (between-country) distribution of income augmented by a constant shift parameter and not a distribution of income among world citizens. In other words, the within country component is highly approximated and therefore inaccurate and its effect is taken to be, in effect, constant. This is characteristic of many studies in this field which have to grapple with data problems in various ways.

Milanovic's own study (2002) is based on household data as opposed to national income data which he claims includes within country inequality, and shows a rise in global inequality between 1988 and 1993 (the Gini increases from 0.628 to 0.660) when other studies show a decline (for example, Sala-i-Martin finds a decline from 0.627 to 0.615). Milanovic's result is driven by growing rural urban disparities in China and India. However the problem with using household expenditure data is that it does not include public spending and its availability at a comparable basis across countries is limited in terms of number of overlapping time points.

So there are indications that if we can include perhaps more reliable and thorough estimates of within country income inequalities, either more complete sets of national income data or alternative data sets, the patterns of global inequalities may themselves emerge differently. But until such time that we have such a data set, which is comprehensible and comparable across countries, the proposition remains broadly a conjecture. But it does point towards the importance of studying within country income distribution patterns in more detail. Getting comparable cross country estimates of within country inequalities may be difficult but we still do have estimates of within country inequality patterns for most countries, even if we do not have complete time series from the more backward economies where data collection and its use are still severely limited. The WIDER's World Income Inequality Database (WIID) falls in this category. With this kind of data, there must be consistent time series, and whereas income concepts adopted vary across countries and therefore cannot be used in a cross country analysis, the same concepts are used for individual countries making estimates comparable and more reliable. A study of within country inequality patterns is also pertinent from the justifications provided earlier; that this is the most well perceived index of well being for citizens of a country is especially true of developing and least developed economies where the pie is smaller. Therefore, the next section attempts to supplement the global inequality discussion by providing a global view of within country income distribution patterns and trends.

Within Country Inequality: Trends

The trends in within country inequalities over the nineties show an interesting pattern. Cornia and Kiiski's (2001) study, based on WIDER's World Income Inequality Database (WIID) 1998 for 73 countries accounting for 80 and 91 percent of the world population and GDP-PPP, found that over the last two decades inequality has risen in 48 out of the 73 countries

that they found high-quality data for. These countries accounted for 73 per cent of the total GDP and 59 per cent of the total population of the 73 countries put together. Of the rest, 16 countries experienced constant and 9, decreasing inequality. These figures are shown in Table 4.

However, additions to this study were made (Cornia, 2004/3) by including inequality changes witnessed during the 7-8 years preceding 2003 in India, Cote d'Ivoire, South Korea, El Salvador and the Philippines. "These five countries were, thus, separately moved to the 'rising inequality' category. In this way, of the 73 countries in the sample, 53 experienced a surge in income concentration over the last 20 years. Among the developing nations, those experiencing a rise went up to 21 out of 33, with seven still showing no trend and five displaying falling inequality" (Cornia 2004/3, Pp.14). Extending this analysis till 2003 Cornia (2005), using WIID 2005, showed that there has been rising inequality in 59 of the 85 studied, is constant in 17 and declining in 9. Table 4 shows the latest results for each category of countries. This indicates that at a global level, the pattern in within country income distribution has not been very encouraging.

Table 4: Trends in within-country income inequality 1960-2003 (60s vs.'96 in parenthesis)

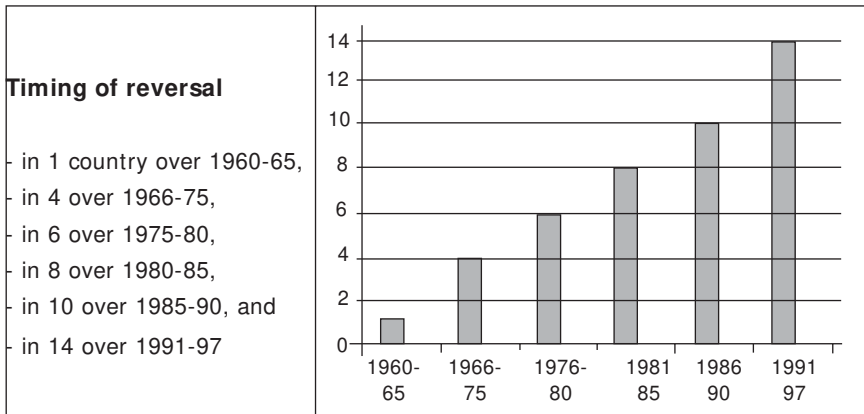
Inequality Trend	n. OECD c.tries	n. Transition c.tries	n. Developing	n. World	% of countries	% of Pop	% of GDP-PPP
Rising	13	24	22	59 (53)	69 (72)	76 (59)	71 (78)
Constant	1	1	15	17 (13)	20 (18)	19 (36)	18 (13)
Declining	6	0	3	9 (7)	11 (10)	5 (5)	12 (9)
Total	20	25	40	85 (73)	100 (100)	100 (100)	100 (100)

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate results for Cornia and Kiiski (2001) and Cornia (2004/3) study of 73 countries based on WIID 1998.

Source: Cornia 2005, Cornia (2004/3), Cornia & Kiiski 2001

If we look at the years of trend reversal, most of these seem to have happened in the nineties (Fig. 2). While 10 countries witnessed a reversal between 1980 and 1985, 14 countries reversed their trends between 1991 and 1997. The earlier years seem to have witnessed a much lower number of countries reversing to an increasing trend (Fig. 2). Recent reversals in Asia include South Korea, India, and the Philippines.

Figure 2: Reversal of Within Country Inequality Trends



Source: Cornia (2005)

At a Regional Level

What has been the regional pattern in inequality is the next question that we may ask. If we explore the above results further, we see that this pattern of rising inequality has been regionally pretty widespread and not contained in specific pockets. Over the last 25 years, income inequality seems to have followed a rising trend in 70 percent of the countries with available data representing 80 per cent of the world population and GDP (Cornia with Kiiski 2001, Cornia 2004/3). This is notwithstanding the fact that there was a wide variety in the base levels, the rates to which inequality grew, or in the impact that such a rising trend created in the respective economies. Important exceptions like France, Germany, Malaysia and Jamaica do not disqualify the general trend.

Latin America, which has had historically high rates of inequality, saw the declining inequalities of the 1970s reverse into a rise in the eighties. Inequality fell only in 3 countries (Colombia, Uruguay and Costa Rica)

out of 11 during the eighties. In the nineties, in spite of the return to full capacity growth and widespread external liberalisation, this was followed by either a constant trend (in 8 of 15 studied by Székely and Hilgert 1999) or further increases (in 7 of 15 studied). An update of this study by Székely (2003) which extended the study till 2000, found inequality increased in 10 and stagnated in 7 countries during this decade. Medeiros (2006) shows that overall in the Latin American countries, inequality rose by about 1 percentage point between early 1990 and the early 00's. In Brazil and Mexico there were declines in inequality over this period while Argentina recorded a huge increase by 7.9 percentage points. Chile and Venezuela too recorded increases in inequality. Between 1992 and 2001, previous to the peso collapse, the relative individual income of capitalist and professional/executives vis-à-vis formal and informal workers has increased significantly in LAC, due to the mass dismissal in the public utility sector contrasted with the fast growth of new jobs for high skilled executive and professionals created in financial and business activities (Medeiros 2006). This phenomenon also happened in Brazil in spite of the fact that inequalities declined.

There was a sharp rise in inequality in the former Soviet Bloc. Russia and the Eastern European transition economies experienced a collapse of the middle class that made inequality soar (Cornia 2005). While in Central Europe, earnings inequality widened less than expected and a comprehensive welfare state was kept in place, "in the former USSR and South Eastern Europe, Gini coefficients rose by an astounding 17-28 points, i.e. 2-3 times faster than in Central Europe" (Cornia 2004/3, Pp.6).

Conclusions about Africa remain a problem due to the lack of quality and quantity of data though it has been improving. There are still a few nations with at least two nationwide comparable surveys covering the last twenty years (Cornia 2004/3). The African economies faced rising urban and sometimes rural inequalities though a falling urban-rural gap (Cornia 2004/3). Sub-Saharan Africa experienced a decline in the urban-rural gap following structural adjustment by a process of 'equalising downward' (as in Cote d'Ivoire). Intra-urban inequality rose generally while intra-rural inequality rose in countries with a high land concentration (Kenya) or where recovery though peasant based was not widespread enough and failed to reach remote areas because of inadequate infrastructure (Zambia). On the other hand, it improved in countries such as Mozambique and Uganda where agriculture recovered from effects of civil unrest (Cornia 2004/3). Limited data for the MENA region indicate a substantial stability of Gini coefficients at a high 37-40.

Even the developed countries experienced rising inequality as a result of 'greater disparities in market income', the effect of which has been compounded recently by changes in the tax system, public services and income transfers. The recent literature has found a U shaped pattern in the income inequality trend of the OECD countries in part (Smeeding 2002⁸⁷). Out of the 18 countries studied, 9 recorded more than a 7% rise between the mid/late 1980s and mid/late 1990s while 8 more recorded low but positive growths of between 1 and 7%. Only Denmark recorded a decrease while Canada, France and Germany, recorded pretty low rates of increase.

China experienced rising inequality, especially between its urban coastal areas and the rural interiors (Riskin 2003, Sengupta and Ghosh, 2007). Inequality registered a sharp increase over the nineties, and the Gini recorded an annual growth rate of 2.16 per cent over this period (Sengupta and Ghosh, 2007). Rural-urban as well as intra rural and intra urban inequalities grew over the nineties, though according to Khan and Riskin (2005), intra urban and intra rural Ginis have recently fallen (comparing 1995 with 2002) while rural-urban differences have grown. In addition, in China, regional inequality has been a very strong factor aggravated by China's domestic preferential policies. The difference between inland and coastal China increased from 1.0 to 3.8 between 1990 and 2000 (Sengupta and Ghosh, 2007).

East and South East Asia has seen a relatively recent reversal in trends. In East Asia, inequality increased in South Korea and Thailand after 1997-1998 (Jomo K.S 2004). In South Korea where inequality had generally declined earlier both wage and income inequality rose again in the aftermath of the 1997 crisis. Thailand, which had already seen inequality rise between 1975-76 and 1992 and then stabilise in the following few years (Cornia 2004/3), went back to rises in inequality after 1998 (Krongkaew and Mat Zin 2007, see Table 5). In Indonesia, Malaysia, and Philippines inequality increased earlier in the early-mid nineties (Krongkaew and Mat Zin 2006). There were generally rising inequality trends in all the South Asian economies, including in India in the recent period (Sen and Himanshu 2004, Pal, Sengupta and Ghosh 2004). In India, in spite of high growth

⁸⁷ Smeeding, Timothy (2002), "Globalisation, Inequality and the Rich Countries of the G-20: Evidence from the Luxemburg Income Study (LIS)" Paper prepared for the G-20 Meeting on Globalisation, Living Standards and Inequality: Recent Progress and Continuing Challenges, Sydney Australia, May 26-28. Quoted in Cornia (2004/3).

rates, inequality rose. Bangladesh, where poverty reduction has been significant, saw an increase in inequality. The results for South Asia are discussed in more detail in Section II.

Table 5: Gini coefficients of 6 East Asian Countries
(with high growth except for Philippines)

	China	S Korea	Indonesia	Malaysia	Philippines	Thailand
1992		0.284				0.536
1993		0.281		0.459		
1994		0.285			0.46	0.521
1995	0.389	0.284		0.464		
1996	0.375	0.291	0.37			0.516
1997	0.379	0.283		0.47	0.51	
1998	0.386	0.316				0.509
1999	0.397	0.32	0.37	0.443		0.531
2000	0.458	0.317			0.51	0.525

Causal Factors and the role of Globalisation

The usual traditional causes of high inequality like land concentration, concentration of mineral resources in resource rich countries or the urban bias cannot explain the rise in the inequality trend over the last two decades. In fact, the importance of agriculture and mining in total incomes has in fact declined over this period. Secondly, there has been no systemic aggravation of 'urban bias' against rural areas except in countries like China, Thailand and Indonesia (Cornia 2005). Again, except in Latin America, there is no evidence of rises in inequality in education which can account for rises in income inequality worldwide for the past two decades, though in many countries this has had some impact over the nineties, and the impact of growing disparities in education will be severe in many economies like Africa and Russia in the years to come. Another major explanation in terms of non policy induced technical change in favour of

skill, has clearly played a significant role in some economies but does not seem a strong enough force for inducing the current changes in inequality trends globally.

There are broad indications that the general rise in inequality within countries has been caused by a rise in the share of capital while the share of labour and transfer have fallen. Cornia (2005) cites rising interest rates and interest spreads; insider privatisation; rising rents and asset concentration in the financial and real estate sector; lower redistribution via the budget; and distorted regional policies, all of which were unexpected fallouts of liberalisation policies. There is very clear evidence of this phenomenon in country specific studies on some countries. In UK, capital share increased by at least 8 percentage points between 1971 and 2001⁸⁷. In South Africa property income share rose from 18 to 30% between 1981 and 2000 and in India, incomes of the top 1% increased from 4 to 11% over the nineties, driven by the growth of the urban based service sector (Banerjee and Piketty 2001). Scattered but widespread and growing evidence from countries, such as Argentina, Canada, Chile, Japan, Mexico, Russia, Thailand, Turkey, USA, Uzbekistan and Venezuela, suggest a shift in factor shares that turns out to be a major determinant of the distribution of income and shifts thereof over the past two decades. Growing regional differences within countries and changes in wage differentials which is unexplained by the human capital theory are the other main determinants of which evidence is growing from these countries.

The recent changes in inequality seem to be mainly policy driven. Both domestic and international policies have been related to the observed trends. Policy reform in terms of globalisation and domestic structural adjustment has often led to increased inequality, though not all factors have always acted adversely. The interaction of a new policy paradigm with traditional structures has also sometimes aggravated traditional inequalities.

Among the policy variables, we are particularly interested in those of globalisation which are manifested mainly through trade liberalisation, external financial liberalisation in terms of freeing global capital flows and FDI flows.

⁸⁷ Atkinson, Anthony, B. (2003), "Income Inequality in OECD Countries: Data and Explanations", CESifo Economic Studies, Vol. 49, No 4/2003, 479-514, Munich. Quoted in Cornia (2005)

Theoretically, as a result of trade liberalisation, domestic inequality is expected to decline in poorer countries endowed with an abundant labour supply and a rise in rich capital endowed ones. The empirical results of trade liberalisation are often mixed. Trade liberalisation obviously causes inequalities to behave differently across countries. In the past there have often been examples where trade liberalisation raised domestic inequality in the rich New World countries but reduced it in the poor Old World ones. Likewise, in an analysis of the determinants of inequality in 35 small developing countries, Bourguignon and Morisson (1989) conclude that the removal of trade protection in manufacturing reduced the income of the richest 20 percent of the population and raised that of the bottom 60 percent.

In the current conjuncture, the debate on this issue remains hot. While many studies find no significant impact of trade liberalisation on inequality (Li, Squire and Zou (1998), Birdsall and Londono (1998), and Dollar and Kraay (2000)), there is also significant literature which sees trade liberalisation causing rises in inequality. In a study of 38 developing countries, Lundberg and Squire (1999), Barro (2000) and Ravallion (2001) find that openness worsens inequality in poor countries, and moreover, in some formulations, that it reduces real income of the poorest 40 percent of people in absolute terms.

FDI flows, theoretically, are supposed to create a beneficial impact in poorer countries by increasing the flow of capital and raising employment and wages of all workers (in 5 east Asian Countries studied by Velde and Morrissey⁸⁸ (2002)), and sometimes for unskilled workers as well. Empirically, we again see mixed results in the current scenario. While it has been seen to increase wages in a variety of sectors, thus reducing inequality or at least not affecting it adversely, there has often been a tendency for FDI to create a bias in favour of skilled workers, for example in Mexico. But the role of FDI in affecting domestic inequalities often depends on country specific situations. In China, FDI has clearly added to regional inequality in favour of coastal regions, both in terms of incomes and employment, but this was aggravated by domestic preferential policies followed by the Chinese government (Sengupta and Ghosh, 2007). The sectoral composition of FDI, and their impact on the domestic sector in

⁸⁸ Velde and Morrissey (2002): Te Velde, Dirk Willelm and Oliver Morrissey (2002), "Foreign Direct Investments, Skills and Wage Inequality", mimeo. ODI, London, Quoted in Cornia (2005)

terms of replacing or adding to domestic production, are other factors that play a major role in determining whether the impact of FDI remains positive on domestic income distribution.

Milanovic (2003) finds that benefits of globalisation (including trade liberalisation along with free FDI flows), depends on the average income of the country. At low average income level, it is the rich who benefit from openness but as income level rises, that is around the income level of \$5-7,000 per capita at international prices, the situation changes and it is the relative income of the poor and the middle class that rises compared to the rich. It seems that openness makes income distribution worse before making it better.

Finally, the policies of external financial liberalisation have, contrary to theory, created increases in inequalities over the nineties (Cornia 2005). This has happened on account of both inflows and outflows and contradicts the general belief that capital inflows are unequivocally beneficial for developing economies. Sometimes because of large inflows, the real exchange rate appreciates, which adversely affects the trade sector. Again, international capital hardly goes into high risk activities like agriculture which employs a large unskilled labour force. It tends to flow into high short term profit, less risky service sector activities like finance, insurance and real estate that employ higher skilled workers. The most important problem with financial liberalisation, of course, remains its volatility leading to financial crises which adversely affects both poverty and the distribution of income. This is more dangerous for developing economies where financial markets are under developed, lack an information system, and have an inadequate social security network. At first inequality may improve as relatively better paid workers are hard hit by a financial crisis, but the mid to long term impact on inequality is clearly adverse. There are ample examples in Latin America and Asia (Glabraith and Lu, 1999).

In addition to the clear negative impact of external financial liberalisation and the mixed impact of trade and FDI liberalisation on impacting inequalities within countries, the very limited reform of international labour flows has added to the tendency for perpetuating rises in trends. Limited migration has mostly been the movement of skilled workers.

Among the domestic policies, domestic financial liberalisation has largely had an adverse impact on inequalities in developing countries where the effect has been positive in rich countries. Many reasons contribute to the

pattern in developing economies, among them a problem with sequencing, increased financial instability and the increased potential for financial crises, and the bias of new financial institutions against so called risky small scale and medium enterprises. Other domestic policies in terms of liberalisation of labour market and wages, tax reforms have often led to adverse impacts.

Global Inequality: Summary

- Inter country inequality and world inequality declining if weighted by population, slight increase if unweighted or with dampened population weightage.
- But results are heavily dependent on 2 large populous countries, China and India, without them increasing inter country inequality.
- Including the Within-Country inequality factor is very important but is difficult because of data problems.
- General trend within countries: of increasing inequality, with many post 80's reversals.
- Causes related to external factors though not always. Financial liberalisation largely inequalising while trade and FDI flows have created a mixed impact empirically.

Section II

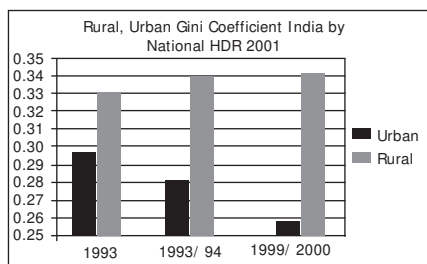
Inequality Trends in South Asia

The South Asian region has surely witnessed inequality trends which are not only similar to each other but has also recently conformed to the rest of the world which have been described in section I. Interestingly, with the exception of Sri Lanka, this region has been one of the most protected for decades and one of the most recent to open up substantially. Table 14 (end of paper) summarises the major findings in all the 4 countries. Despite the growth in India and the major strides in poverty reduction in Bangladesh, inequality has clearly indicated a rising pattern. This is not surprising given certain commonalities in policy paradigms in these economies which the section below tries to highlight at the end. Sri Lanka has, of course, been a somewhat different example, given the continuous and long civil strife. It has also faced rising inequalities though comparison is more difficult and so is the isolation of causal factors.

India

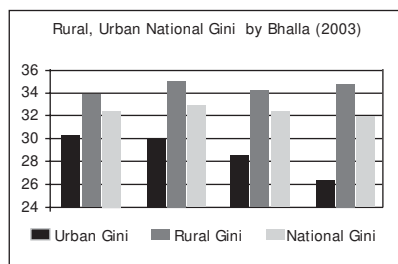
India has been the leader in the region recording high GDP growth rates over the nineties and later. There has been a fierce debate among economists about changes in inequality in India during the second half of the 1990s. The Indian case is also interesting because it is seen as a modern day success story of globalisation. Many studies had recorded a decline in inequalities within India, including the World Development Indicator report from 2004 (which compared inequality between 1999-2000 and 1997). Similar results can be found in Bhalla (2003) for the period 1983-1999 who claimed that both rural and urban Ginis had declined in India, (Fig. 4) with rural Gini falling by 2 Gini points. Singh *et al.* (2003, quoted in Pal, Sengupta and Ghosh 2004) suggest a similar result. The National Human Development Report 2001 (quoted in Pal, Sengupta and Ghosh 2004) did point out however, that between 1993-94 and 1999-2000, among the 32 states and union territories reported, 7 had experienced an increase in rural inequality while 15 states experienced increases in urban inequality. In 5, both rural and urban inequality witnessed a rise. In addition, urban inequality was clearly higher than rural inequality in almost all states. Rural inequalities had declined and urban inequalities had risen slightly, and there was no general increase in overall inequalities over this period.

Fig. 3: Rural and Urban Gini Coefficients in India (NHDR 2001)



Sources: National Human Development Report (2001) Government of India

Fig. 4: Rural and Urban Gini Coefficients in India (Bhalla 2003)



Sources: Bhalla (2003)

However, the debate had taken a most interesting turn when it was pointed out by Abhijit Sen and Himanshu (2004a, b) that there was a problem of comparability between the the NSS consumption expenditure survey statistics (which are generally used), for the years 1999-2000 or the 55th round with the earlier rounds. The reference period for the 55th round was changed from the uniform 30 day recall used till then to both 7 and 30 day questions for items of food and intoxicants and only 365 day questions for items of clothing, footwear, education, institutional medical expenses and durable goods. This led to two kinds of errors. The 7 day recall for food and intoxicants returned about 30% more consumption of these items than the 30 day recall. On the other hand, the 365 day recall for low frequency items returned slightly lower mean expenditure on these than the 30 day recall, but returned a much more equal distribution and led to Gini ratios for overall consumption about 5 points lower.

Therefore, the first error underestimated poverty figures considerably. Sen and Himanshu (2004) estimated that this has lowered the measured rural poverty for the 50th round in India by almost 50 million. The second error resulted in an underestimation of rural Gini coefficients by 3 Gini points.

Revised estimates of rural inequality calculated by a number of authors including Sen and Himanshu (2004) and Deaton and Dreze (2002) show that rural inequality and national inequality have gone up in India between 1993-94 (50th Round) and 1999-2000 (55th Round). Rural inequality has increased from 25.8 to 26.3 between the 50th and the 55th round (Sundaram and Tendulkar 2003) as compared to earlier reporting of a decline from 28.6 to 26.3 The urban Gini has increased sharply from 31.9

to 34.8 according to revised estimates whereas earlier studies indicated either a flat or mildly increasing trend. The national Gini has increased to 32%. Regional inequality has also increased from 15 to 22%.

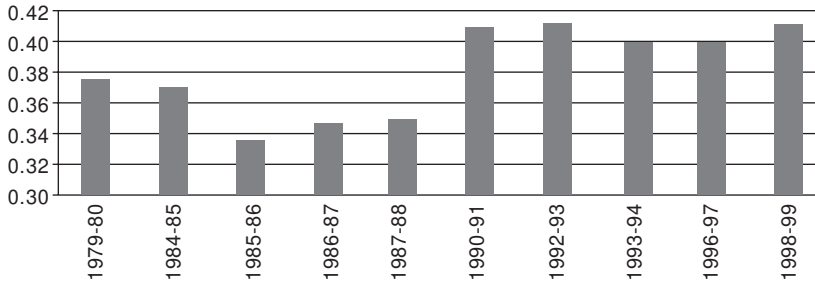
The most recent data for 2004-05 shows that both rural and urban inequality have increased sharply in India. Sen and Himanshu (2004 a, b) also use indices of real Mean Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) on URP basis by fractile groups, to show that differences between the rich and the poor increased over the nineties. The consumption of the top 60% of urban areas as well as the top 20% of rural areas increased but the consumption of the bottom 80% of rural population went down significantly. The disproportionate increase in upper end consumption is also reported by Banerjee and Piketty (2001) based on income tax returns. Their study finds that in the 1990s, real incomes of top 1 percent of income earners in India have increased by about 50 percent.

In India, most social indicators have been improving steadily since the last few decades. But many of them are still among the lowest in the world. There exists very high inter-state differences in health and education related indicators. The disturbing feature of the 1990s is the worsening sex ratio in some relatively developed states (Pal, Sengupta and Ghosh 2004).

Pakistan

GDP growth rate fell to about 4% per annum in the country compared to about 6% in the early eighties. Not surprisingly, overall inequality has increased in Pakistan during the second half of the 1990s. All through the 1980s, the Gini coefficient which had remained below 38 percent has been almost consistently above 40% since the early 1990s (See figure 10). This rise is from a much lower figure of 34.8% in 1987-88. Ratio of highest 20% to bottom 20% stands at 8 in 1998-99. This is a pretty sharp rise given the ratio of 5.5 in 1987-88. However, the lack of reliable and long time comparable data in Pakistan makes longer time analysis difficult.

Figure 10: Household income distribution in Pakistan: Gini Coefficient of Household income Distribution



Source: Economic Survey 1999-2000, Pakistan

A significant development in Pakistan has been the sharp growth in rural inequality which had traditionally been lower than urban inequality. This happened to such an extent that it has over taken urban inequality during the same period. As Table 11 shows, urban inequality in Pakistan had been quite high, increased in early 1990s, then generally declined somewhat in the latter part of the nineties. Rural Gini, on the other hand shows a phenomenal rise of 10 percentage points between 1987-88 and 1990-91, and has more or less remained at that level throughout the nineties. "Income distribution data of rural Pakistan reveal that since the early 1990s, the share of income of the lowest 20 percent of the households has declined, those at the top experienced a gain, which resulted into rising highest to lowest income ratio and a higher level of Gini coefficient" (Pal, Sengupta and Ghosh 2004, Pp. 49). Sluggish growth in agriculture throughout this period aggravated matters.

Table 11: Rural and Urban Gini Coefficients in Pakistan (1979-1998-99)

Year	Rural Share		Gini Coefficient	Urban Share		Gini Coefficient
	Lowest 20%	Highest 20%		Lowest 20%	Highest 20%	
1979	8.3	41.3	0.32	6.9	48.0	0.40
1984-85	7.9	42.8	0.34	7.0	47.7	0.38
1985-86	7.9	40.0	0.33	7.5	45.0	0.35
1986-87	8.0	39.0	0.32	7.9	44.0	0.36
1987-88	8.8	40.0	0.31	6.4	48.1	0.37
1990-91	6.0	47.4	0.41	5.7	50.5	0.39
1992-93	7.0	44.8	0.37	6.1	48.9	0.42
1993-94	7.4	43.1	0.40	6.7	47.1	0.35
1996-97	7.3	49.3	0.41	7.6	47.0	0.38
1998-99	6.9	46.8	0.40	6.0	50.0	0.33

Note: Data beyond 1998-99 are not available.

Sources: FBS HIES Data, Ministry of Finance

Inter-regional inequality has also increased and so has differences in poverty rates across states. The North West Frontier Province has the highest rural as well as urban poverty followed by Punjab while urban Sindh had the lowest rates of poverty at 16%.

There has been a sharp drop in the employment growth rate in Pakistan, generated by the deceleration in GDP. As a result, Pakistan is one of the few countries in Asia where both rural and urban poverty have increased in absolute terms after 1987-88. Rural poverty increased from 18.32 to 38.65 while its urban counterpart rose from 14.99 to 22.39 between 1987-88 and 2003. However, the most recent data for 1998-99 (for urban) and 2000-01 (for rural) shows indications of improvement.

Social indicators have been very poor for a long time in the country. This has been compounded by falling growth rates. In spite of improvements during the nineties in many indicators like life expectancy, adult literacy, infant mortality rate and access to safe water, there remains a considerable lag from most other countries in the developing world and even from

other South Asian countries, especially Sri Lanka (Easterly, 2001). There is significant disparity in the level of social indicators, both between rural and urban sectors, as well as between provinces. The human development index for Pakistan, as a whole, is 0.541 the provincial HDI varies from the highest in the Punjab, at 0.557, to the lowest at 0.499 in Balochistan.

The high expenditure by government on defense, at the expense of infrastructural development and social sectors remains a major weakness in addressing inequality and poverty issues in the Pakistan economy.

Bangladesh

In Bangladesh, the GDP growth rate has been quite high over the last quarter of the century. More importantly, per capita GDP growth rate increased from 1.5% in the late 1970s to 3% in late 1990s (partly due to demographic transition). Bangladesh has also been noted for advances in rural credit delivery through an effective micro credit system and the development of pro-poor rural infrastructure including that of rural roads. However, the impact of GDP growth on poverty has been weak, especially over the last decade basically because of increases in income inequality (Khan 2003, ADB 2003). There is some controversy on this issue. Khan claims that the poverty reduction rate was much faster in the seventies and this fell sharply since the mid eighties, and rural poverty in fact increased, a view largely supported by ADB (2003). The UNDP (2003) however argues that poverty reduction was fast in the nineties.

However, there seems to be an agreement that inequality in Bangladesh increased steadily throughout the decade of 1990s. The overall Gini ratio increased sharply from 0.303 in 1991/92 to 0.404 in 2000 (Khan 2003), so did the rural and urban Gini. The Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of Bangladesh (2002) also shows a rising Gini coefficient though generally lower compared to Khan estimates (see Table 12). According to Khan, both rural and urban Gini increased at over 3% per year between 1991-92 and 2000. According to I-PRSP (2002) estimates, urban Gini grew much faster than rural Gini, at nearly 2.29% per annum while the latter grew at 1.37 % annually (Pal, Sengupta and Ghosh 2004).

Table 12: Gini ratios for income and consumption in Bangladesh

Variable	Khan 2003	I-PRSP 2002	I-PRSP 2002	
	Income	Income	Consumption	
National				
	1991-92	0.303	0.259	--
	1995-96	0.359	--	--
	2000	0.404	0.306	--
Rural				
	1991-92	0.276	0.243	25.5
	1995-96	0.31		27.5
	2000	0.359	0.271	29.7
Urban				
	1991-92	0.327	0.307	31.9
	1995-96	0.389		37.5
	2000	0.435	0.368	37.9

Source: Khan (2003), UNDP (2003), I-PRSP Bangladesh (2003)

The gap between the very rich and the very poor has also been increasing at an alarming rate. The income inequality ratio (the ratio between the per capita income of the top 10% to the bottom 10%) was 7 in the second half of the eighties which increased to an even higher 8.8 between 1995-2000 (Pal, Sengupta and Ghosh, 2004).

The rural-urban gap in Bangladesh has also been growing. Per capita urban household income, as a multiple of per capita rural household income has increased in Bangladesh and stands at a historically high level of 1.91. All observers also agree that both urban and rural inequality growth were higher in the first half of the decade, and urban inequality dramatically so.

The increase in rural inequality over this period was driven by the growth and distribution of income from a handful of sources: non-farm enterprise; salary from non-farm employment; remittances, especially from abroad; and property income. Returns to farming activities, which are much less inequalising, have been much lower than returns to non-farm activities (I-PRSP, 2002), with the latter showing increasing concentration and rising inequality (Gini indices). This has exacerbated inequalities within rural

areas and between rural and urban areas. On the other hand, both non-agricultural salaries and non-farm enterprise incomes showed increasing concentration and contributed to rising inequality in urban incomes over the nineties. The rapid growth of the service sector in the 1990s thus exacerbated the inequalising effect of the growth in entrepreneurial incomes (Pal, Sengupta and Ghosh, 2004).

Regional inequality has also been moderately high in Bangladesh, with the coefficient of variation standing at 46.73% (1996-97). However, when Chittagong Hill Tract is excluded, Coefficient of Variation becomes much lower at 18.87% (Pal, Ghosh and Sengupta 2004). However this is also relatively high though there is no increasing tendency over time.

Bangladesh has made significant improvements in Human Development Index with human poverty index falling sharply. But significant disparity in distribution spatially is still present along with a rural-urban divide. Regional disparity in most health indicators declined between 1995 and 2000. Gender disparity is not evident in health indicators but is significant though declining in education. The gender gap in education is higher in rural areas for both primary and higher education. The distribution of education displays both an urban-rural dimension as well as a gender dimension in Bangladesh. In 1998, the rural urban ratio was 1.38 and the gap was higher among girls.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has been long open to the world economy with the objective of attaining high growth through export promotion, liberalisation and privatisation of the economy. However, given the long civil strife that the country has faced, it is not surprising that poverty and inequality have both increased, driven by slow growth. Poverty in Sri Lanka has been more of a rural phenomenon with poverty being clearly inversely associated with urbanisation.

Overall inequality has increased in Sri Lanka between 1995-96 and 1999-2000 though not very sharply. Inequality in most of the provinces has also risen moderately. But strictly speaking, Gini coefficients are not comparable as definition of expenditure was different in 1995/96 and 1999/2000 surveys. By another set of estimates provided by Vidanapatirana (2007), the expenditure Gini increased slightly from 0.45 to 0.46 between 1980-81

and 2003-4. This is definitely much slower than in its other South Asian counterparts though levels achieved at the end of the nineties are similar and are higher than in India. However compared to 1973 pre-liberalisation levels of 0.35, the movement in Gini represents quite a large rise though most of it happened in the earlier phase of liberalisation, in 1986-87. The income Gini has increased from 0.41 to a phenomenally high 0.50, over the same period of 1973-2003/4. By another source of data, the HIES expenditure data series, the Gini ratio increased from 0.31 in 1980-81 to 0.36 in 2002.

Table 13: Distribution of Income Quintiles based on CFS data (1973-2003/04)

Quintiles / periods	1973	1978/ 79	1981/ 82	1986/ 87	1996/ 97	2003/ 04
Bottom	7.2	5.7	5.7	5.0	5.7	5.1
2nd	12.1	10.3	9.5	9.1	10.0	9.1
3rd	16.2	14.3	13.3	13.5	14.1	13.4
4th	21.6	19.8	19.5	20.1	20.8	20.5
Top	42.9	49.9	52.0	52.3	49.4	52.0

Source: Vidanapatirana (2007)

But what is more interesting in Sri Lanka is the increasing divide between the very rich and the very poor (Table 13). Since 1973, there has been a steady decline in the share of income enjoyed by the bottom 10%. From 7.2% in 1973, this share has come down to 5.1% in 2003-4. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the share enjoyed by the top 10% has increased from 42.9% to 52% over this period. The income share of the top 10% is about 10 times that of the bottom 10% (Vidanapatirana, 2007). This is even higher than in Bangladesh (8.8) and of course, than India and Pakistan. This is also corroborated by Gunatilaka and Chotikapanich (2006).

Inter-regional inequality has also increased in the country mainly because of civil war situation in the Northern provinces. Inequality among ethnic groups shows a mixed trend, and has increased for some groups while it has decreased for others.

Employment generation has suffered significantly during the period 1990-2001 with an average of 2.3%, much lower than output growth rate.

Gunatilaka and Chotikapanich (2006) suggest that inequality change was driven by differential access to infrastructure, education, and occupation status rather than ethnicity, or spatial factors. The study recommends policies which can provide 'a more equitable access to income earning assets such as education and infrastructure services'. Vidanapatirana (2007) suggests that inequality rises post 1973 was a direct outcome of the policies of liberalisation, with the subsidies removal effect being compounded by the removal of protection for agriculture and industry which adversely affected employment.

In terms of social indicators, Sri Lanka has fared much better than other South Asian countries. At the end of the nineties, Sri Lanka's HDI stood at 0.730, much above that of its South Asian neighbours. In 2006, its HDI stood at 0.755, just below Turkey's 0.757. In comparison, India's stood at 0.611, Pakistan's at 0.539 and Bangladesh's at 0.530. In some indicators like life expectancy (74.3 years) and literacy rates (90.7 percent), Sri Lanka has fared better than many developed countries. A composite index of social indicators called the human poverty index shows much less inter-provincial variance than poverty, and much less compared to variations in consumption poverty. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) attributes Sri Lanka's success in social development to heavy investment by the government over the years in the social sector.

Summary of Common Economic Trends Found in the South Asian Countries⁸⁹

First, the government apparatus has withdrawn from the development process in these countries and there has been an increased and deliberate reliance on market based systems. This has been in conformity with the economic reform package initiated in most developing economies around the world.

⁸⁹ The analysis largely follows Pal, Sengupta and Ghosh (2004), based on a paper commissioned by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), United Nations, of which the author was a contributor.

Second, revenue generation of states has been negatively affected by introduction of regressive taxation policies and trade liberalisation. The adverse impact of regressive taxation policies is especially visible in post reform Pakistan and India.

Third, under pressure to reduce the fiscal deficit, capital expenditure in these countries has been significantly reduced. For this purpose and also to meet the growing demands to privatise, sale of public sector units has taken place.

Fourth, unfortunately, lower levels of public investment have been accompanied by low level of public and private capital formation. Consequently infrastructure, which is crucial for poverty reduction and addressing inequality, has suffered not only from overall development but also from spatial inequality.

Fifth, even when these countries benefited from trade liberalisation, the benefits have remained limited to a few sub-sectors. Agriculture and Small and Medium manufacturing has suffered most from a move to a tariff only regime. Countries have been feeling the pinch with lower protection levels. Sri Lanka, with a long history of liberalisation, has faced serious consequences of the removal of import protection. Stagnation in agricultural growth given the rising cost of inputs combined with a loss in protection levels, has increased deprivation levels in these countries. In Pakistan, this situation was compounded by a drought in 2000-01.

In most of these countries, a few sectors (like RMG in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, IT in India) have taken advantage of an open regime. It has created an enclave of prosperity in these countries which has meant that there has been considerable benefits of economic liberalisation and support for it thereof in certain urban pockets but benefits have not become widespread.

Sixth and very important, deflationary economic policies and low levels of capital formation prevented growth of productive employment which has proved to be a crucial indicator of inequalities in these countries. Stagnation of employment growth in the traditional sectors has not been compensated by employment growth in industry and services. Industrial employment growth except in pockets has been meagre and service sector employment has been skill biased which has been unable to address issues of poverty and inequality. In Bangladesh, employment in manufacturing

declined in absolute terms despite a sharp rise in employment in textile and garment manufacturing. Growing differences between wages in the agriculture sector and industry and between industry and services on the other hand, have significantly exacerbated inequalities across these countries.

Seventh, despite specific cases of the phenomenal development of micro credit in Bangladesh, the general pattern in credit delivery in these countries has been poor. Financial reforms, both domestic and external, for example in India, have aggravated traditional problems. Institutional credit to traditional sectors and small and medium enterprises has been grossly inadequate.

Eighth, none of the South Asian countries have received high levels of FDI though it has started growing in India in the very recent period. FDI has been concentrated in a very few sectors and areas. Most has gone to the service sector and not to traditional sectors or basic infrastructure. This is without any kind of a specific 'preferential policy' set at the domestic level in favour of certain regions or sectors like in China.

Finally, with the exception of Sri Lanka, all South Asian countries suffer from very poor Human Development Indicators compounded by the fact that public expenditure on these sectors is very low. There is also significant rural–urban and regional disparity in the distribution of these services. Significant gender bias is also noted, especially in the field of education.

Conclusions and Lessons

In terms of specific government policies, the most significant implication of the above studies is the crucial importance of continued and increased public services, on productive investment in infrastructure as well as in social expenditure. Ensuring food access through government spending is also important for high poverty countries. Both aggregate expenditures and the pattern of public expenditure are important in this regard. The patterns of taxation and the distribution of government revenues across states has also been an important policy issue. The nature and functions of the financial system, reforms thereof and its role in exacerbating inequalities has been significant.

Another key determinant of within country inequalities in the region has been the nature and sectoral composition of economic growth. More crucially, the relation between growth patterns and the extent and type of employment generation has been a key determinant of inequalities in all the economies. Wages have become increasingly differentiated and biased against traditional sectors like agriculture with large scale employment potential.

Trade liberalisation has largely had inequalising effects especially because it has benefited some sectors while making import competing sectors and small scale sectors ineffective. Redistribution of benefits through an effective government mechanism has not taken place. FDI in South Asia has been marginal and its patterns have tended to reinforce existing inequalities, possibly even more than domestic investment.

The importance of developing basic social indicators cannot be overemphasized. In the current conjuncture, equitable access to education has emerged as a basic need given the skill bias in the new sectors in an open economy framework. Simultaneously addressing health and gender inequalities has emerged as a key requirement as public access to these facilities has regressed. This will emerge as a key challenge to policy planners in the coming decades. South Asian countries can follow the example of Sri Lanka where sustained public expenditure in the social sector has ensured a high level of human development.

Finally, the domestic macroeconomic policy regimes combined with external policies in these countries have played a significant role in exacerbating inequalities and has rendered the respective poverty alleviation programmes partially ineffective.

Table 14: Increasing Inequalities in South Asia

End of 90s	India	Pakistan	Bangladesh	Sri Lanka
National Gini	Increased to 32%	High and increased to 41%, 20/20=8	Increased from 30% to 40.4%, 10/10= 8.8	Increased from 33% to 35%
Rural Gini	26.3%, Increased moderately	40% Increased sharply, overtaken urban	35.9%, increased	High
Urban Gini	34.8%	33%, increased between 1987-93, then stable around trend	43.5%, increased	Relatively low
Regional Inequality	Increased from 15 to 22%	Moderate but increasing	17-18% excluding Chittagong HT	Increasing a/c political problems
Employment and Wages	Decline Increasing wage disparity	Increasing wage disparity	Decline	Sharp decline
Social Indicators	Improving but disparity	Improving with disparity but low indicators	Low but improving indicators, with rural, urban and gender disparity	Good indicators, rel. low disparity

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TAMING THE CORPORATE BEAST: CULTIVATING SOCIAL JUSTICE INITIATIVES FOR A MORE INCLUSIVE TRADING FRAMEWORK TO FLOURISH

Chatrini Weeratunge and Bryn Gay

Abstract

Objective

This paper endeavours to conceptualise the principles of fair trade, corporate social responsibility, communal rights and benefit sharing, on which an alternative social justice-based framework, that addresses the inequalities within the current multilateral, regional, and bilateral trading systems would be based. The framework would consider provisions for small-scale growers and producers to engage effectively, as empowered economic agents, in global supply chains. Furthermore, the paper aims to analyse the role of non-state actors in shaping trade policy and to identify mechanisms that can transform the corporate sector into being a more responsible accountable partner in development. Concurrently, it examines initiatives from South Asia that foster a climate of participation, fair pricing and equitable partnership for small-scale entrepreneurs.

Countries in the global South are entering into free trade agreements to build their trade repertoires and to access larger markets. However, large-scale producers and multinational corporations dominate global markets, making it more difficult for small-scale farmers and producers to determine the terms, conditions, and pricing of goods within their countries' trading system. Under the current neo-liberal market framework small-scale growers have difficulties accessing larger and export-oriented markets. Constrained access further impedes their ability to demand a fair price, and lack of a guaranteed fair pricing system compounds problems of poor wages and labour conditions. To ensure that everyone benefits from economic growth, present trade systems must offer space for people, living in poverty or socially marginalised, to become part of the decision-making processes that set the trajectory for positive, sustainable development.

The globalised trading system is transforming the nation-state from being the key actor that shapes its economic policies to ensure pro-poor growth. The confluence of non-state actors, such as the corporate sector, civil society organisation and community networks are influential forces that have catalysed economic policy agendas. Thus, the paper examines participatory economics and non-state initiatives which help bridge the gap between local and global markets and incorporate a socially just economic framework that embodies fair trade, corporate social responsibility, communal rights and benefit sharing principles into the status quo trading system.

This paper strives to investigate potential incentives for the corporate sector to be a more responsible and accountable partner in development; it is clear that an appropriate incentive structure for the private sector to invest in fair trade and to facilitate the development of small scale producers is necessary. Simultaneously, the paper highlights pro-poor actions by small scale producers and workers that respond to non-transparent methods of conducting business. A look at the innovative initiatives within South Asia, such as notable small-medium enterprises and cooperatives will provide insight for policy recommendations. For example organic farming for exports, Geographical Indications, legislation that ensures benefit sharing, capacity building, knowledge networks, South-South cooperation are potential practices to be included in the investigation.

The conceptualisation of an alternative, social justice-based framework aims to empower small-scale growers as equal participants in negotiating trade and market access, in order to counteract mainstream practices that promote trade at the cost of development.

Major Expected Findings

- Factors hindering inclusion of small-scale farmers and producers such as trade barriers to market access, oligopolistic pricing system, bureaucracy, lack of information, competition with agri-business and contradictory methods of mono-cropping/cash cropping.
- To bring forth an alternative trade framework that is viable, based on human rights, social justice oriented economics.
- Ways to empower small scale producers as equal and capable economic agents.

- Exemplifying and linking good initiatives that potentially comprise networks of South Asian small scale entrepreneurs.
- To consolidate definitions on socially, economically just trading systems, specifically on conditions of fair trade

Sources of Data

The paper will be based on secondary literature sources which include:

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වඩාත් සාර්ථක වෙළෙඳ රාමුවක් ගොඩනැංවීම උදෙසා සමාජ සාධාරණ මූලයන් වර්ධනය කිරීම

අරමුණ

දැනට පවතින බහුපාර්ශවීය, කලාපීය සහ ද්විපාර්ශවීය වෙළෙඳ රාමුන් තුළ පවතින අසමානතාවන්ට විසඳුම් සැපයිය හැකි විකල්ප සමාජ සාධාරණ වෙළෙඳ රාමුවක් ගොඩනැංවීම අරමුණු කර ගනිමින් මෙම පත්‍රිකාව තුළින් උත්සාහ දරනු ලබන්නේ සාධාරණ වෙළෙඳාම, ව්‍යාපාරික අංශය සතු සමාජයීය වගකීම, ඒ ඒ ජාතීන් පිළිබඳ අයිතිවාසිකම් සහ ප්‍රතිලාභ හුවමාරුකරගැනීම පිළිබඳ මූලධර්මයන් සංකල්පගතකිරීම වේ. ඒ අනුව, කුඩා පරිමාණ ව්‍යවසායකයන්ට මෙන්ම නිෂ්පාදකයන්ට ගෝලීය සැපයුම් අංශය තුළ වඩාත් සඵලදායීව කටයුතු කිරීමේ හැකියාව ඇතිකළ හැකි නව මං විවරකරලීම පිළිබඳව මෙම වෙළෙඳ රාමුව තුළින් අවධානය යොමුකරනු ලබයි. තවදුරටත්, වෙළෙඳ ප්‍රතිපත්ති සංවර්ධනය කිරීමෙහිලා රාජ්‍ය නොවන පාර්ශවයන් සතුව ඇති කාර්යභාරය විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීමටත් සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාදාමයෙහිලා වඩාත් ක්‍රියාකාරී සහ වගකිවයුතු කොටස්කරුවකු බවට ව්‍යාපාරික අංශය පත්කරලීමෙහිලා කළ යුත්තේ කුමක්ද යන්න හඳුනාගැනීමටත් මෙහිදී අපේක්ෂා කෙරේ. එසේම මෙහිදී, කුඩා පරිමාණ ව්‍යවසායකයන් සඳහා සාධාරණ කොටස්කාරීත්වයක්, සහභාගීත්වයක් මෙන්ම සාධාරණ මිල ගණන් සහිත වෙළෙඳ පසුබිමක් දකුණු ආසියාව තුළින් ඇතිකරගැනීමට ඇති හැකියාවද විමසුමට භාජනය කෙරේ.

සාරාංශය

තමාගේ වෙළෙඳ පරිමාණය වැඩිදියුණු කරගැනීම සඳහා මෙන්ම විශාල වෙළෙඳපළවල් කරා ප්‍රවේශවීම අරමුණු කොට ගනිමින් දක්ෂිණ ගෝලීය රටවල් විශාල වශයෙන් නිදහස් වෙළෙඳ ගිවිසුම් තුළට අනුගතවෙමින් පවතී. කෙසේනමුත්, විශාල පරිමාණ නිෂ්පාදකයින් සහ බහුජාතික සමාගම් මගින් ගෝලීය වෙළෙඳපොළ පාලනය වන අතර එනිසාම තමාගේ රටවල් තුළ වෙළෙඳ පද්ධතීන් තුළදී වුවද භාණ්ඩ සම්බන්ධයෙන් කොන්දේසි, නියමයන් මෙන්ම මිල ගණන් තීරණය කිරීමේ අසීරුතාවකට මුහුණ පෑමට කුඩා පරිමාණ ගොවීන්ට සිදු වී ඇත. දැනට ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙමින් පවත්නා නව ලිබරල්වාදී වෙළෙඳපොළ රාමුව යටතේ කුඩා පරිමාණ ගොවීන්ට විශාල පරිමාණ මෙන්ම අපනයනය අරමුණුකර ගත් වෙළෙඳපොළවල් වෙත ප්‍රවේශවීමේ අසීරුතාවන්ට මුහුණපෑමට සිදුවී ඇත. ප්‍රවේශය සම්බන්ධයෙන් පවතින මෙම අවහිරතාව නිසාම ඔවුන්ට සාධාරණ මිලක් ඉල්ලුම් කිරීමේ හැකියාවද අහිමිව ගොස් ඇති අතරම එවැනිවූ සහතික කරන ලද මිල ක්‍රමයක් නොමැතිවීම තුළ සාධාරණ වූ වැටුප් මට්ටම් මෙන්ම කම්කරු ප්‍රමිතීන් පවත්වා ගැනීමේ නොහැකියාවක්ද උද්ගතව ඇත. ආර්ථික වර්ධනයේ ප්‍රතිලාභයන් සෑමට භුක්තිවිඳිය හැකි පරිසරයක් නිර්මාණයවීමට නම් දැනට පවතින වෙළෙඳ පද්ධතිය තුළ සියළුදෙනාටම ඉඩක් පැවතිය යුතුමය.

එහිදී, දිළිඳුභාවෙන් පෙළෙන්නන්ට මෙන්ම සමාජයීය වශයෙන් ආන්තිකකරණයට ලක් වූ සියළු කොටස් වලට ධරණීය සංවර්ධනය අරමුණුකරගත් තීරණ ගැනීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියට සම්බන්ධවීමේ ඉඩප්‍රස්ථා උදාවිය යුතුය.

දරිද්‍රතාව අවමකිරීම අරමුණුකරගත් ආර්ථික වර්ධනයක් සහතික කිරීමට සමත් ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් ගොඩනැංවීමේ ප්‍රධානම පාර්ශවකරු ලෙස ජාතික රාජ්‍ය තුළින් පිළිබිඹු වූ භූමිකාව ගෝලීය වෙළෙඳ රටාවක් සමග ක්‍රමිකව වෙනස් වෙමින් පවතී. ව්‍යාපාරික අංශය, සිවිල් සමාජ සංවිධාන මෙන්ම ප්‍රජා සංවිධානයන් වැනි රාජ්‍ය නොවන අංශයන් ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්ති න්‍යාය පත්‍රයන් ගොඩනැංවීමෙහිලා බලපෑම් කණ්ඩායම් බවට පත් වී ඇත. ඒ අනුව, මෙම පර්යේෂණ පත්‍රිකාව තුළින් අරමුණු කරනු ලබන්නේ දේශීය සහ ගෝලීය වෙළෙඳපොළවල් අතර පවත්නා වූ පරතරය පිරවීමට සමත් සහභාගීත්ව ආර්ථික සහ රාජ්‍ය නොවන මූලයන් පිළිබඳ යම් විමසුමක් සිදුකිරීම වන අතර සාධාරණ වෙළෙඳාම, සමාජ වගකීම, ඒ ඒ ජාතීන් පිළිබඳ අයිතිවාසිකම් සහ ප්‍රතිලාභ හුවමාරුකරගැනීම පිළිබඳ මුලධර්මයන් සංකල්පගත කරන ලද සමාජයීයමය වශයෙන් සාධාරණ වෙළෙඳ රාමුවක් දැනට පවත්නා වූ වෙළෙඳ රටාව තුළට අනුයුක්ත කිරීමේ හැකියාව පිළිබඳ විමසාබැලීමටද මෙතුළින් අපේක්ෂිතය.

සංවර්ධන ක්‍රියාවලියෙහිලා ව්‍යාපාරික අංශය වඩාත් වගකිවයුතු සහ ක්‍රියාකාරී පාර්ශවයක් බවට පත්කිරීම උදෙසා සිදුකළ හැකි හව්‍ය ප්‍රභෝත්සාහනයන් පිළිබඳ යම් සොයාබැලීමක් සිදුකිරීමටද මෙම පත්‍රිකාව තුළින් උත්සහ දැරේ. කුඩා පරිමාණ නිෂ්පාදකයන් නගාසිටුවීමෙහිලා මෙන්ම සාධාරණ වෙළෙඳ රටාවක් ගොඩනැංවීමෙහිලා දායක වන ආයෝජනයන් සිදුකිරීම උදෙසා පෞද්ගලික අංශය ධෛර්යමත් කිරීමට සමත් යෝග්‍ය ප්‍රෝත්සාහන ව්‍යුහයක අවශ්‍යතාවක් පවතින බව පැහැදිලිය. කුඩා පරිමාණ ව්‍යවසායකයන්හට දරිද්‍රතාව අවමකිරීමෙහිලා සිදුකළ හැකි කාර්යයන් ඉස්මතුකර දැක්වීමද මෙම පත්‍රිකාව තුළින් සිදුකෙරේ. මීට සමගාමීව, දකුණු ආසියාව තුළ ගොඩනගාගත හැකි කුඩා පරිමාණ වෙළෙඳ ව්‍යාපාරයන් මෙන්ම වෙළෙඳ සහයෝගීතාවන් වැනි නව මූලයන් පිළිබඳව සිදුකරන සොයාබැලීම තුළින් ප්‍රතිපත්ති සම්පාදනයෙහිලා නිර්දේශ සැපයීමේ හැකියාවක් ඇතිවේ. උදාහරණ ලෙස, අපනයන සඳහා කාබනික බෝග වගාව, භූ ගෝලීය ප්‍රතිලාභයන්, ප්‍රතිලාභ බෙදාහැරීමෙහිලා ඉවහල්වන ව්‍යවස්ථා සම්පාදනයන්, ශබ්‍යතා වර්ධනය, දැනුම හුවමාරුකරගැනීම සම්බන්ධ සහයෝගීතා ජාලයන්, දකුණු-දකුණු සහයෝගීතාවය යනාදිය විමසුමට ලක්කළ යුතු වැදගත් මූලයන් වේ.

විකල්ප සමාජ සාධාරණ වෙළෙඳ රාමුවක් සංකල්පගත කිරීමෙහි අරමුණ වන්නේ කුඩා පරිමාණ ව්‍යාපාරිකයන් වෙළෙඳ ගනුදෙනු තුළදී මෙන්ම වෙළෙඳපළට ඇති ප්‍රවේශය යන කාරණා සම්බන්ධයෙන් සමාන සහභාගීත්වයක් ඇති පිරිසක් බවට බලගැන්වීම වේ.

අපේක්ෂිත අනාවරණයන්

- වෙළෙඳපළට ප්‍රවේශවීම ආශ්‍රිතව පවතින වෙළෙඳ සම්බාධක, කතිපයාධිකාරී මිල ක්‍රමයන්, නිලතන්ත්‍රය, තොරතුරු හිඟය, කෘෂි-ව්‍යාපාරයන් සමග පවතින තරඟය සහ එක හෝගික/වාණිජ බෝග වෙළෙඳාම් සම්බන්ධ විසංවාදී ක්‍රමවේදයන් යනාදී කුඩා පරිමාණ ගොවීන් තරඟකාරීත්වයෙන් ඉවත් කිරීමට ඉවහල්වන සාධක.
- විනිවිදභාවයෙන් යුත්, මානව අයිතිවාසිකම් මත පදනම් වූ මෙන්ම සමාජ සාධාරණත්වය අරමුණුකරගත් ආර්ථිකයක් ගොඩනැගීමට සමත් විකල්ප වෙළෙඳ රාමුවක් ගොඩනැංවීම.
- කුඩා පරිමාණ නිෂ්පාදකයන් සමාන සහ ශක්‍යතාවෙන් යුත් ආර්ථික නියෝජිතයන් බවට පත්කිරීමේහිලා උපයෝගීකරගත හැකි ක්‍රමෝපායයන්.
- දකුණු ආසියානු කුඩා පරිමාණ ව්‍යවසායකයන්ගෙන් සැදුම්ලත් වෙළෙඳ ජාලයන් එකට සම්බන්ධ කිරීම.
- සමාජයීය සහ ආර්ථික වශයෙන් සාධාරණ වූ වෙළෙඳ ක්‍රමයන් පිළිබඳ අර්ථකථනයන් වඩාත් ශක්තිමත් කිරීම, විශේෂයෙන්ම, සාධාරණ වෙළෙඳ කොන්දේසි පිළිබඳ අර්ථකථනයන් ශක්තිමත් කිරීම.

දත්ත මූලාශ්‍ර

මෙම පත්‍රිකාව පහත සඳහන් ද්විතියික දත්ත මූලාශ්‍ර පදනම්කරගනිමින් ගොඩනංවනු ලැබේ.

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කතු වරැන් පිලිබඳ සටහනක්

වැන්රිනි වීරතුංග කොළඹ පිහිටි UNDP කලාප කාර්යාලයේ පර්යේෂණ නිලධාරිනියක් වන අතර වෙළෙඳ සහ ආයෝජන අංශයන් සම්බන්ධව කටයුතු කරයි. එසේම ඇය දර්ශනව, ධරණීය ජීවනෝපායයන් සහ ප්‍රජා සංවර්ධනය සම්බන්ධව කටයුතු කර ඇත. ලන්ඩන් විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ විද්‍යාපති උපාධිධාරිනියක් වන ඇය එඩින්බර්ග් විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ විද්‍යාවේදී උපාධිධාරිනියකි.

මුත් ගේ ද කොළඹ පිහිටි UNDP කලාප කාර්යාලයේ පර්යේෂණ නිලධාරිනියක් වන අතර වෙළෙඳ සහ ආයෝජන අංශයන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් කටයුතු කරයි. මැක්මැස්ටර් විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ Globalization and the Human condition ආයතනයේ ශාස්ත්‍රපති උපාධිධාරිනියක් වන ඇය ෆ්ලොරිඩා ප්‍රාන්ත විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ ශාස්ත්‍රවේදී උපාධිධාරිනියකි.

**சமூக நீதியை வளர்ப்பதிலான முன்னெடுப்புகளில் மேலும்
செழுமையடைவதற்கு வியாபார கட்டமைப்பு உள்ளடங்கலாக
கூட்டிணைப்பு நிறுவனங்களைப் பழக்குதல்**

குறிக்கோள்

இக்கட்டுரை நியாயமான வியாபாரம், கூட்டிணைப்பு நிறுவனங்களின் சமூகப் பொறுப்பு, சமூக உரிமைகள் மற்றும் நன்மைகளைப் பகிர்தல் போன்ற கொள்கைகள் சார்ந்த எண்ணக்கருத்துக்களை உருவாக்க முயற்சிக்கின்றது. இவற்றின் மீது சமூக நீதியை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்ட கட்டமைப்பானது ஏற்றத்தாழ்வுகள் குறித்து நடைமுறையிலான பல்படி, பிராந்திய மற்றும் இருபடி வியாபார முறைகளை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டு கவனம் செலுத்துவதாக அமையும். இக்கட்டமைப்பானது, சிறு அளவிலான வளர்ச்சியாளர் மற்றும் உற்பத்தியாளர்கள் உலக விநியோகச் சங்கிலியில் அதிகரிக்க பொருளாதார முகவர்களாக வினைத்திறனுடன் ஈடுபடுவதற்கான ஏற்பாடுகளைக் கவனத்தில் கொள்ளும். இதற்கு மேலாக, இக்கட்டுரையானது அரசு துறை அல்லாத செயற்பாட்டாளர்கள் வியாபார கொள்கைகளின் உருவாக்கத்திலும், அபிவிருத்திகளில் கூட்டிணைப்பு நிறுவனங்களை மேலும் பொறுப்பெடுப்பதையும், பதிலிறுக்கக்கூடிய பங்குதாரர்களாக உருமாற்றம் பெறுவதற்கான பொறிமுறைகளை இனம் காண்பதற்கான பகுப்பாய்வு செய்வதையும் இலக்காக கொண்டுள்ளது. இதற்கு ஒத்திசைவாக நியாயமான விலை நிர்ணயம் மற்றும் சிறிய அளவிலான தொழில் முயலுனர்களின் ஒப்புரவான பங்கேற்புக்கேற்ற சூழ்நிலைகளை வழங்கும் தெற்காசியாவிலிருந்தான முன்னெடுப்புகளையும் ஆராய்கின்றது.

சுருக்கம்

பெரியளவிலான சந்தையை அடைவதற்காகவும் தங்கள் வியாபார உத்திகளைக் கட்டியெழுப்புவதற்குமாக சுதந்திர வியாபார உடன்படிக்கைகளில் உலகின் தெற்கத்தைய நாடுகள் ஈடுபடுகின்றன. எப்படியிருந்த போதிலும், பெருமளவிலான உற்பத்தியாளர்களும் பல்தேசிய கூட்டிணைப்பு நிறுவனங்களும் உலக சந்தையில் ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்துவதுடன், தங்கள் வியாபார முறைமைகள் மூலம் நடைமுறைகளிலுள்ள நாடுகளில் சிறு அளவிலான உற்பத்தியாளர்களும், விவசாயிகளும் பாவனைப் பொருட்களின் விலைகள், வியாபாரத்தின் நிபந்தனைகள், முறைகள் என்பவற்றை தீர்மானிப்பதை மேலும் கடினமாக்குகின்றன. தற்போதைய புதிய சுயாதீன சந்தைக் கட்டமைப்பில் சிறு அளவிலான உற்பத்தியாளர்கள் பெரியளவிலான ஏற்றுமதி நோக்காக கொண்ட சந்தைகளை அணுகுவதில் சிரமங்கள் உள்ளன. இவற்றை அணுகுவதிலான கட்டுப்படுத்தல்கள், நியாயமான விலை நிர்ணயக் கோரல்களிற்கான அவர்களது ஆற்றல்களுக்கு இடையூறாக இருப்பதுடன், நியாயமான விலை நிர்ணய முறைக்கான உத்தரவாதமில்லாமை குறைந்த வேதனம் மற்றும் தொழில் நிலைமைப் பிரச்சினைகளுக்கும் கூட்டுக் காரணமாகின்றது. பொருளாதார வளர்ச்சியினால் யாவரும் நன்மையடைவதை உறுதி செய்வதற்கு, தற்பொழுதிலுள்ள வியாபார முறைமைகள், வறுமையில் அல்லது சமூகரீதியாக ஓரம் கட்டப்பட்ட மக்களும் சாத்தியமானதும், நீடித்த அபிவிருத்திக்கும் வழிசமைக்கும் விதமாக தீர்மானங்களை மேற்கொள்ளும் செயல்முறையில் பங்கெடுப்பதற்கு இடமளிக்கப்படல் வேண்டும்.

உலகளாவிய வியாபார முறைமைகள், வறுமை சார்பான வளர்ச்சியை உறுதிசெய்யும் பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கைகளை வடிவமைக்கும் பிரதான செயற்பாட்டாளர்

என்ற நிலையிலிருந்து நாட்டின் அரசை உருமாற்றுகிறது. அரச சார்பற்ற செயற்பாட்டாளர்களாகிய கூட்டிணைப்புத்துறை, குடியியல் சமூக நிறுவனங்கள் மற்றும் சனசமூக வலையமைப்புகள் என்பவற்றின் சங்கமம் பொருளாதார கொள்கைகளின் நிகழ்ச்சி நிரல்களை வினையாக்குவிப்பதில் செல்வாக்கை செலுத்தக்கூடிய சக்திகளாக உள்ளன. இதனால், இக்கட்டுரையானது, தற்போதுள்ள வியாபார முறைமைகளில் நியாயமான வியாபாரத்தன்மை, கூட்டிணைவுகளின் சமூகப் பொறுப்பு, சமூக உரிமைகள் மற்றும் நன்மைகளைப் பகிருகின்ற கோட்பாடுகளை உள்ளடக்கியதான நீதியான சமூக பொருளாதார கட்டமைப்பை கொண்டிருக்கவும் உள்ளூர் மற்றும் உலக சந்தைகளிற்கிடையிலான இடைவெளிகளை நிரப்ப உதவுகின்ற அரச சார்பற்ற முன்னெடுப்புகளையும், பங்கு கொள்ளுகின்ற பொருளாதாரத்தையும் ஆராய்கின்றது.

அபிவிருத்தியில் பதிலிறுக்கக்கூடியதும் மேலும் பொறுப்புடையதுமான பங்குதாரராக கூட்டிணைப்பு நிறுவனங்களின் துறைக்கு தேவையான ஊக்குவிப்புகள் குறித்து ஆராய்வதற்கும் இக்கட்டுரை மிக முயற்சி செய்கின்றது. சிறிய அளவிலான உற்பத்தியாளர்களை அபிவிருத்தி செய்வதற்கும் மற்றும் நீதியான வியாபார முறைமைகளில் முதலீடு செய்வதற்கும் தனியார் துறையினரிடம் பொருத்தமான ஊக்குவிப்பு கட்டமைப்பின் அவசியம் தெளிவானதொன்று. அதே நேரத்தில், வியாபாரத்தை நடத்துவதில் ஒளிவுமறைவின்மை இல்லாத முறைகளுக்கு ஏற்ப நடக்கின்ற சிறு அளவிலான உற்பத்தியாளர்கள் மற்றும் தொழிலாளர்களின் வறுமை சார்ந்த செயற்பாடுகளையும் இக்கட்டுரை கோட்டிட்டுக்காட்டுகின்றது. தெற்காசியாவிலுள்ள புதிய வழிகளைக் காணும் முன்னெடுப்புகளின் மீதான ஓர் பார்வையானது, குறிப்பிடத்தக்க சிறிய, இடைத்தர தொழிற்புறத்தினர் மற்றும் கூட்டிணைவு நிறுவனங்கள் என்பன கொள்கைப் பரிந்துரைகளுக்கு தங்கள் உள்நோக்கிய பார்வையை வழங்குகின்றன என்பதைக் காட்டுகிறது. உதாரணமாக ஏற்றுமதிகளுக்கான சேதன விவசாயத்தில், பூகோளவியல் குறிக்காட்டிகள், நன்மை பகிருதலை உறுதிப்படுத்தும் சட்டவாக்கங்கள், கொள்திறனை கட்டியழுப்புதல், அறிவுசார் வலைத் தொடர்புகள், தெற்குக்கும் - தெற்குக்குமான கூட்டுறவுகள் என்பன ஆய்வுகளில் உள்ளடக்கப்பட வேண்டிய சாத்தியமானவை.

மாற்றீடுகளுக்கான கொள்கைக் கருவானது அபிவிருத்தியை தாரைவார்த்து வியாபார முன்னேற்றம் பிரதான நடைமுறை வகைகளுக்கான பதில் நடவடிக்கையாக நீதியான சமூக அடிப்படையாக கொண்ட கட்டமைப்பு சிறு அளவிலான உற்பத்தியாளர்கள் வியாபாரங்களில் பேசி இணக்கங்காண்பதற்கும், சந்தைவாய்ப்புகளை அணுகுவதில் சம பங்குபற்றுநர்களாகுவதற்குமான அதிகாரம் கொள்வதை இலக்காக கொண்டுள்ளது.

பிரதானமாக எதிர்பார்க்கப்பட்ட முடிவுகள்

- சந்தைகளை அணுகுவதிலான வியாபாரத் தடைகள், சிலருரிமைச் சந்தை விலை நிர்ணய முறை, பணித்துறையாட்சி முறை, தகவல்களின் குறைபாடுகள், வாணிப - விவசாயம் மற்றும் தனிப்பயிரிடுதல்/பணப்பயிரிடல் முறைகளுடனான போட்டித்தன்மை போன்றன சிறு அளவில் பயிரிடும் விவசாயிகள் மற்றும் உற்பத்தியாளர்களை உள்ளடக்குவதில் தடையாக இருக்கும் காரணிகளாகும்.
- மனித உரிமைகள், நீதியான சமூகம் தொடர்பான பொருளாதாரம் என்பவற்றை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டு பலனுள்ள மாற்று வியாபாரக் கட்டமைப்பை முன் கொணர்தல்

- இயல்தன்மையும், சமபலமும் கொண்டவர்களாக சிறு அளவிலான உற்பத்தியாளர்களை அதிகாரமளிக்கும் முறைகள்
- திறனுள்ள தெற்காசிய சிறு அளவிலான தொழில் முயலுநர்களின் வலையமைப்பை உட்கொண்டதுமான சிறந்த முன்னெடுப்புக்களை இணைப்பதும், எடுத்துக் காட்டலும்
- நியாயமான வியாபாரத்திற்கான நிபந்தனைகளை சமூக மற்றும் பொருளாதார நீதியான வியாபார முறைகளிற்கான வரைவிலக்கணங்களை வலுப்படுத்துதல்

தரவுகளின் மூலங்கள்

இக்கட்டுரையானது கீழ்க்காணும் விடய மூலங்களின் துணையை ஆதாரமாகக் கொண்டுள்ளது.

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கட்டுரையாளர்கள் தொடர்பான குறிப்புகள்

சத்திரினி வீரதாங்க, ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டத்தின் கொழும்பிலுள்ள பிராந்திய நிலையத்தில் வர்த்தகம் மற்றும் முதலீடுகள் தொடர்பான பிரச்சினைகளில் ஓர் ஆய்வாளராக உள்ளார். வறுமை, நிலையான வாழ்வாதாரங்கள் மற்றும் சமூக அபிவிருத்தி தொடர்பான விடயங்களிலும் இவர் ஆய்வு செய்துள்ளார். இவர் இலண்டன் பல்கலைக்கழக கல்லூரி, இலண்டன் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் விஞ்ஞான முதுமாணிப் பட்டத்தையும், எடின்பேர்க் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் விஞ்ஞான இளமாணிப் பட்டத்தையும் கொண்டுள்ளார்.

பிராயன் கே, ஐக்கிய நாடுகளின் அபிவிருத்தித் திட்டத்தின் கொழும்பிலுள்ள பிராந்திய நிலையத்தில் வர்த்தகம் மற்றும் முதலீடுகள் தொடர்பான பிரச்சினைகளில் பணியாற்றும் ஆராய்ச்சியாளராக உள்ளார். இவர் புளோரிடா மாகாண பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் உலகமயமாக்கல் மற்றும் மனித நிலைமைகள் நிலையத்தின் முதுமாணிப் பட்டத்தையும் கொண்டுள்ளார்.

TAMING THE CORPORATE BEAST: CULTIVATING SOCIAL JUSTICE INITIATIVES FOR A MORE INCLUSIVE TRADING FRAMEWORK TO FLOURISH

“...transnational corporations and other business enterprises, as organs of society, are also responsible for promoting and securing the human rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights...” (UN Economic and Social Council 2003)

1 Introduction

Countries in South Asia are entering into free trade agreements to build their trade repertoires and access larger markets. However, large-scale producers and Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) dominate global markets, making it more difficult for small-scale farmers and producers to determine the terms, conditions, and pricing of goods within their countries' trading system. Under the current neo-liberal market framework, small-scale growers have difficulties accessing larger and export-oriented markets. Constrained access further impedes their ability to demand a fair price, and lack of a guaranteed fair pricing system compounds problems of poor wages and labour conditions. To ensure that everyone benefits from economic growth, present trade systems must offer space for people, living in poverty or socially marginalised, to become part of the decision-making process that set the trajectory for positive, sustainable development.

First, the paper discusses shortcomings of the current neo-liberal paradigm, which underline the collapse of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) Doha Development Round and the difficulties in achieving human development objectives. This section also examines how the multilateral trading system constrains policy space and impedes access to markets in the agricultural sector for developing countries, contributing to poverty and vulnerable livelihoods. It assesses the frenzy of free trade agreements and how distorted support disadvantaged small-scale producers.

Next, examples from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal and Sri Lanka explore ways that governments and non-state actors have tried to facilitate a more social economically just framework that is participatory and embodies fair trade, cooperativism and environmental sustainability principles. CSR ethical consultation for resources and benefit-sharing are

additional avenues that could lead ultimately to ‘taming’ the corporate sector.

The conceptualisation of an alternative, socio-economic justice-based framework aims to empower small-scale growers as equal participants in negotiating trade and market access, in order to counteract mainstream practices that promote trade at the cost of development. The final section proposes policy recommendations based on this framework which is applied to the different aspects of the global supply chain.

2 Current global trade regimes undermining the Southern agriculture sector

Trade has continued to grow over the last five decades with total trade having increased by 22 times in a period of 50 years from 1950 to 2000 (Nicholls & Opal, 2005). Globally, 2.6 billion people are dependent on agricultural-based livelihoods, with the majority living in poorer rural communities (Oxfam GB 2000). Hence, it is necessary for countries to invest in broad-based agricultural growth; United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) asserts that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) should be considered primarily when formulating national trade policies, especially when related to agriculture. Table 1 shows the diversity of South Asian countries’ employment and reliance on the agricultural sector. By no means is the sector static, rather a multiplicity of cross-sectoral policies and trade relations are influencing changes in agriculture. Growth in the agricultural sector has the potential to reduce poverty in cases where there is equitable distribution of land, transitional unemployment is minimised, the resource base can increase productivity, government revenue is allocated for pro-poor expenditures, and non-tradable staple items can be consumed by people living in poverty (World Bank 2005: 11; UNDP 2006: 61).

Table 1: Agricultural Sector in South Asia

Country	Employment in agriculture as a % total labour force (2000 ⁹⁰)	Employment by economic activity (%) in agricultural sector, (2000-2002)		Agriculture (value added) as a % of GDP (2005)	Growth rate of value added in agriculture (% per year) (2005)
		Female	Male		
<i>Afghanistan</i>	70	-	-	-	10.0
<i>Bangladesh</i>	63	77	53	20.5	2.7
<i>Bhutan</i>	94	-	-	25.8 ^a	3.2
<i>India</i>	67	-	-	18.6	2.3
<i>Maldives</i>	22	5	18	-	-
<i>Nepal</i>	79	-	-	40.2	3.0
<i>Pakistan</i>	47	73	44	21.6	7.5
<i>Sri Lanka</i>	42	49	38	16.8	0.5

^a 2004 data

Sources: ILO (2003); ADB (2006); World Bank (2006); ADB Key Indicators of Developing Asian and Pacific Countries 2006, Labour and Employment by Gender and Economic Activity, as cited in Weeratunge (forthcoming).

While international trade theory can be considered as a catalyst for increasing incomes, inherent market imperfections⁹¹ within developing countries are stumbling blocks to overcoming poverty through means of trade. Globalisation emphasises free trade and utilisation of countries' comparative advantage; in order to be effective liberalisation efforts must ensure that developing countries can choose the products and services to liberalise, access special treatment and a special safeguards mechanism, develop market infrastructure, improve marketing strategies, enhance

⁹⁰ Data is obtained from the ILO Global Employment Trends Report (2003) in which it is stated that the data provided is for 2000 or for the latest available year which corresponds to the period (2000-2002).

⁹¹ Market imperfections include lack of market access, lack of perfect information, lack of access to financial markets, lack of access to credit, inability to switch to other sources of income generation, and weak legal systems and enforcement of laws. See Nicholls and Opal (2005) and Stiglitz and Charlton (2005).

comparative advantage of agricultural products, diversify indirectly-related agriculture sectors when possible, and limit trade barriers⁹² within the immediate region. The World Bank (2005) notes that several non-trade strategies are important for decreasing poverty in agricultural-based communities by spurring economic opportunity, empowering agricultural producers, and decreasing vulnerability to natural disasters.

Although trade liberalisation under the WTO emphasises reciprocity between Members, Members have differing levels of economic and human development. Lack of recognition of the varying levels of economic development is evident in the inequitable outcomes for developing countries as well as in the smaller countries' exclusion from global supply chains. Measures against 'unfair' trade have been undertaken in the WTO, particularly against subsidy⁹³ and dumping.⁹⁴ However, the dominance of Northern countries' protectionist policies leaves little policy space for competing, developing countries to access their markets. For example, subsidies to United States (US) and European Union (EU) farmers exceed developing countries' development aid by six times: In 2001, total subsidies in the US and EU comprised US\$311 billion whereas their overseas development aid (ODA) was US\$55 billion (Stiglitz 2006: 62). Developing countries do not give such extensive support to their farmers. Instead, agricultural reform within the Doha Development Round remains one of the most trade-distorting, with 'Green Box' measures allowing some forms of subsidy. Moreover, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries have manoeuvred around WTO rules by shifting their categories of support to other, more acceptable forms, which are considered as less trade-distorting (Stiglitz & Charlton 2005: 59; Das 2006).

To protect against trade distortion, developing countries must grant protection for infant industries because dramatic tariff cuts may not give developing countries time to adjust and may lead to a flood of cheap imports. Cheap food imports can exacerbate poverty for small-scale farmers and deteriorate demands for local production (ActionAid 2005: 5). Price

⁹² This also may entail a review of what products fall under their sensitive lists, subject to higher tariffs.

⁹³ Government providing support to produce/export goods.

⁹⁴ Exporting products at well-below the market price.

changes can cut into farmers' costs for inputs and impact their incomes as well as price stability for agricultural products, especially food staples. By establishing steady networks of suppliers and overcoming supply side constraints producers can minimise dependence on imports and secure incomes for small-scale farmers (UNDP 2006: 61). It is clear that the WTO Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) fails to ensure the limited use of natural resources (to protect environmental sustainability), nor consider market distortions in agriculture (therefore food security is not guaranteed), nor the role of MNCs in global agricultural markets.

The multilateral trading system has much to do to document multinational agribusinesses and evaluate sources of market distortion and dumping in order to see fairer trade in agriculture. Equal, deft participation at the negotiating table could make much needed structural changes in the multilateral forum, hopefully carrying over into bilateral and regional trade practices. During the Doha Round, Members committed to the proposal of 97% duty-free quota-free access for Least Developed Countries' (LDCs') exports, but fell short of deciding how the 97% figure would be determined. Thus, it is possible that the sectors⁹⁵ most important to developing countries fall under the 3% protected access (Das 2006). Negotiators saw areas, such as tariff cuts under Non-agricultural Market Access (NAMA), agricultural subsidy reductions, and fairer trade in cotton, as binding commitments in order to correct unjust trade rules. However, these issues have not been resolved since the 24 July 2006 suspension because developing countries asserted that the commitments 'traded off' their national development objectives.⁹⁶ Since then, Members have not shifted their stance on any Doha Round issue, indicating that achieving consensus remains an arduous journey, at the expense of human lives as related to failing poverty eradication objectives. The Doha Round requires sustained commitment to boost the human development substance in international trade relations, and to redress past imbalances in honouring Multilateral Trading Negotiations (MTN) obligations.

⁹⁵ Such as cotton, rice, textiles and clothing sectors.

⁹⁶ See Adhikari (2006b).

2.1 Regional cooperation essential during frenzy of free trade agreements

Contentious issues, unresolved in the multilateral forum, are likely to be pushed by the developed North through bilateral and regional trade agreements (BTAs/RTAs), such as on Intellectual Property Rights (IPR), services, investment, and the environment. The trend for greater liberalisation, by signing these 'WTO-plus' Free Trade Agreements (FTAs)⁹⁷, emerges because countries believe they will have greater opportunities to access markets or they face pressure from international agencies regarding balance of payment deficits (UNDP 2006, p. 61).

The frenzy of FTAs makes it clear that South Asian countries must build awareness regarding the commitments they make in order to safeguard their human development objectives. For example, countries' commitments to the Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) may affect their ability to protect farmers' rights to access plant genetic resources, share seeds or pay for agricultural inputs. BTAs often stipulate 'TRIPS-plus' requirements, such as extending patent periods on new technologies or mandating patent protection on all life forms⁹⁸, including plant derivatives and genetically modified plants or animals. Complying with stringent IP regimes may impede small-scale farmers from freely exchanging seed varieties; patented technologies would be offered at premium prices, most likely unaffordable to farmers in developing countries (Adhikari 2006a; UNDP 2006).

⁹⁷ For example, developing countries may face a higher schedule of commitments than the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) regarding sectors that can be liberalised. In WTO-plus FTAs, it is more likely to use a 'negative' list approach, in which all sectors, except those specifically excluded, get covered by the commitment. This may open up sensitive, public services to liberalisation. Moreover, several intellectual property flexibilities, granted under the TRIPS Agreements, are stripped from WTO-plus agreements, which make it more difficult to access generic products and data, and could require patents on all life forms (see Das 2006).

⁹⁸ Such as US-Jordan (2000), US-Singapore (2003), US-Morocco (2004), US-Bahrain (2004), US-Oman (2006) FTAs. Afghanistan has entered a Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) with the US, which prescribes WTO-plus standards, including on investment and IP provisions. South Asia may have more concern for signing TIFA with the US because it could precede North-South FTAs in the future. Countries are signing TIFA with the pretext that they will attract more investment. See Adhikari (2006a).

Partnerships within South Asia are essential due to the failure of countries to lower their tariffs independently. Table 2 exemplifies the protective nature of the agricultural sector within the region; South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) member countries have the option of imposing high tariffs on the agricultural products listed under the Sensitive List. While these countries produce similar agricultural products, they are more likely subject to high tariff protection. Thus, the Sensitive List should be examined closely to understand how certain tariffs could be eliminated for agricultural products in order to facilitate market access around the region. On one hand, market access barriers such as the high domestic subsidies imposed by Northern countries prevent the global South from accessing their agricultural markets. On the other hand, due to the high tariffs imposed by developing countries, they limit prospects for enhancing South-South trade.

HS Code	Bhutan	Bangladesh	India	Maldives	Nepale	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
7: Edible vegetables and certain roots	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
8: Edible fruits and nuts: peel or melon	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
9: Coffee, tea, mate and spices	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
10: Cereals	•	•	•		•	•	•
11: Products of the milling industry		•	•		•	•	•
12: Oil seeds and leoginous fruits		•	•	•	•		•
15: Animal or vegetable fats and oils	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
17: Sugars and sugar confectionary		•	•	•	•	•	•
18: Cocoa and cocoa preparations		•	•	•	•	•	•
19: Prep. of cereals, floor, starch etc.		•	•	•	•		•
20: Prep. of vegetables, fruit, nuts etc.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
21: Miscellaneous edible preparations		•		•	•		•
22: Beverages, spirits and vinegar	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
24: Tobacco and manufactured tobacco		•	•	•	•	•	•

2.2 Confluent factors exclude small-scale growers

Global trade reforms and restructured supply chains have resulted in changes in power structures, with corporate actors gaining dominance in markets. Examining the supply chains present in the agricultural trading system help identify how fairer and socio-economic justice-based practices can be incorporated to facilitate more equal and development-friendly partnerships between different actors, which could help mitigate labour force transformations. McCormick and Schmitz (2002) categorise the governance of supply chains in the following typology:

- Market-based: Firms conduct transactions between other firms, based on close partnerships.
- Balanced networks: Networks and partnerships are formed between firms. There is a balance of power between the members, and trade often takes place within these networks.
- Directed networks: Networks operate between firms. The leading firms have control over goods to be produced, methods and monitoring of the production process.
- Hierarchical networks: Firms form vertically-integrated networks and directly control the majority of chain activities.

Directed networks and hierarchical networks are more prominent in agricultural trade. Producers' access to global supply chains, in terms of type, magnitude and conditions of access determine the gains from trade liberalisation. While competitiveness is important, supply chains have other influences: local supply networks, producers' access to wider markets and value chains, flexibility to respond to specific requirements, and the types of public and private policies that relate to supply chains at the national and sub-national level. Regional and global power imbalances among supply chain actors pit large retailers as dominant due to increased competition and efforts to obtain higher margins; these gains are often made at the cost of adhering to ethical practices (Box 1).

Box 1: Applying labour standards necessary for the cashew nut industry in India

The Indian cashew nut industry is an example of how corporate-dominated power structures (i.e. trade barriers, high quality standards) affect different actors in Asia's supply chains. India is a main supplier in the global cashew nut trade, and its experience makes evident the disparity between producers in developing countries and buyers in developed countries. Its supply chain and expansion of markets impact the livelihoods of producers. Large retailers and supermarkets have gained control over global supply chains, in which they obtain a larger share of revenues and dictate the terms of production methods and trading arrangements. In this way, producers at the bottom of the chain can be adversely affected. For example, these corporate actors utilise cost-cutting methods such as capitalising on gender inequalities by employing women at a lower wage. Despite doing the same amount of work for the same duration of time, women, particularly in the agricultural and food processing sectors, are paid less than male counterparts. The process of keeping the cost of labour low, and the increasing numbers of women concentrated in part-time, casual, and informal work have the effect of 'feminising' the workforce. Insufficient or precarious wages disrupt sustainable income for women and their families, which exacerbate poverty conditions. Since women carry additional responsibilities as caregivers, and employed women may suffer from time poverty, lower wages aggravate cycles of poverty for their families and communities. When the practice of cutting labour costs by paying less than a living wage becomes normative, other employers willing to pay fair wages are constrained by severe competition.

A supportive policy environment is vital to developing the cashew industry in domestic and global markets; the industry in Panruti, Tamil Nadu supplies to both. This diversity provides more opportunities to sustain livelihoods for a larger number of producers, workers and traders operating within the supply chain at different levels of capacity. Furthermore, international labour standards must be complemented with competition policies as they can address some of the negative effects on labour standards resulting from corporate purchasing practices in developed countries. "Until policies which regulate entire global value chains are seriously explored, the cashew chain will remain a clear example of how the international trading system fails to improve the livelihoods of disadvantaged groups."

The restructuring of the retail food sector in Europe and the US into a more oligopolistic market, with larger retail chains replacing independent retail stores, has led to intense price wars amongst the larger supermarket chains. These chains have the largest buying power and greatest leverage, controlling production processes right through to collection centres. This can be exemplified by the retail scenario in the United Kingdom where almost 75% of the bread, fruit, meat and milk markets have been captured by supermarkets (Harilal *et al.* 2006: 17).

Moreover, non-tariff barriers in the form of stringent standards are enforced by governments and backed by large retailers, which mandate stricter quality, health, safety and Sanitary and Phyto-Sanitary (SPS) regulations for food products. They become another hurdle for small-scale producers to supply Northern markets as they require technical capacity, compliance and quality-accreditation costs (Harilal *et al.* 2006). Because small-scale producers are often overlooked in national policies and the international trade architecture, developing the sector to incorporate farmers into the global supply chain and to foster grassroots initiatives should be key poverty reduction objectives.

3 Participatory economics

Equitable growth can offer opportunities for the poor and enable their participation in decision-making processes. Equity derives from concepts of social justice, translating into access to opportunities, fair distribution of resources and burdens, and the entitlement of everyone to an acceptable quality of living (Beder 2000). As equity is often confused with equality, a clear distinction is drawn by understanding that “the essence of equity is fairness and social justice” (Beder 2000: 1) while equality relates to achieving equal results. “[Trade] policy should be directed with impartiality, fairness and social justice towards these ends” (*ibid.*: 1). Striving for equitable growth and socio-economic justice necessitates the pursuit of a more participatory economy.

In most countries, a small number of large firms and conglomerates dominate each segment of the food production chain. To counter this dominance, efforts must try to promote inclusion at the community level as well as in the production workplace in order to ultimately transform changes at the macro-level. Smaller-scale, decentralised economic systems, which cultivate community membership and overall human well-being should be considered.

3.1 Examples of participatory economic systems

A participatory economic system functions using a network of institutions that facilitate the production and allocation of resources to meet people's development aspirations. The system advocates for remuneration according to effort, self-management and democratised access to information, jobs that empower workers, and participatory planning through democratic governing councils (Albert 2000). Worker cooperatives are existing examples that promote such an inclusive, democratic, participatory economic system (Box 2). They consider human development and social justice by incorporating economic features that are extensions of people's social values, such as pluralist decision-making, equity, methods of economic governance, equality, and participatory management of economic structures (Albert 2004).

Box 2: Mondragón – A model cooperative initiative

Cooperatives operate as employee-owned enterprises, where employees have control over all aspects of the production chain. One of the most successful cooperatives, Mondragón in Spain, has 23,000 member-owners with annual sales reaching over US\$3 billion. Membership is non-discriminatory; decisions are made in general assemblies with a one-person-one-vote system. A 'Governing Council' is elected to oversee the cooperative's management. The Council ensures accessible avenues for participatory decision-making and to transparent information.

Profitability is linked to workers' participation: Each worker tries to optimise income for themselves. In order to join, workers invested money over a two-year period, totalling US\$5,000 for each worker (in South Asia, this total could be made proportionate to local communities' ability to contribute). Profit is distributed according to proportion of labour provided, acting on principles of solidarity and taking into account free-riders, and workers receive salaries based on the coop's profitability. Thereafter workers prioritise profits to be used in its schools, health insurance, social security and other ventures that fall under the co-op's control. Yet production is not about distribution of profits, rather cooperatives emphasise workers' control over the enterprise.

The community/financial base of Mondragón grew after 400,000 families deposited money into a community development bank, which accrued

interest to finance capital. The initial investments increased over 50 years into an integrated complex of high-tech firms from which worker-owners directly benefit. Approximately 10% of cooperative profits are donated to charities, 40% are kept by the cooperative to benefit the 'common good' (such as research or job creation) and the remaining portion goes into the capital accounts of its worker-owners. Chains of smaller cooperatives are now part of Mondragón, guaranteeing fair wages and high labour standards. Ownership and financing programs are based on democratic governance, which exercises mediation and multiple consultations to balance workers' varied interests. Collective interests such as access to education, healthcare and occupational training come before workers' self-interests, profit gain, de-skilling or flexibilisation of labour. Cooperative initiatives can use worker-ownership to add value to its industry, and in effect, build a strong, highly skilled workforce. It shows that production work places, operating on principles of democracy, socio-economic justice can be profitable and productive. This successful model can be seen as a lesson to learn from and explore in the South Asian region.

Sources: IISD [n.d.]; Justpeace.org [n.d.].

The basis of a more participatory economy is formed by workers who control and manage aspects of the production chain. There are multiple management routes that workers can pursue, but a socio-economically just framework and engagement in the global supply chain would include (i) equality (owned and controlled by all for all – with equal participation in the decision-making) (ii) with equitably distributed profits. If cooperative-like firms operate with the same objectives, with workers controlling/managing the means of production, the surrounding economy becomes more decentralised, and participants in this economy work to maximise income for each person (see Box 3) (Prybyla 1972: 251).

Box 3: Sri Lankan women's participation in a cooperative community

Pockets of fair trade practices in community centres located in Ambalantota, Matara and Galle are excellent sources to understand how to implement fair, economic justice in local trading that could potentially flourish on a larger scale. Fair trade practices seen in these communities particularly consider participation by women small-scale producers when determining pricing structures; free or low cost market access; programmes to complement women's domestic responsibilities; meeting local/domestic demand before expanding into export-oriented production; and the empowerment of women.

The centres offered a space which surrounding communities could utilise for their own development aspirations, such as a space to buy and sell market goods and services, to train members of the community in English and Information Communication Technology (ICT) and to exchange information. The targeted population was women in communities affected by the tsunami, as a means to empower them about their social and economic decisions. Often what are described as fair trade principles depend on people's social and economic positions and may not be overtly articulated within the communities themselves. However, when the women were asked what they considered as the best ways to guarantee sustainable incomes through their marketing and entrepreneurship, many of their responses linked to global articulations on fair trade.

The dominant participation of women entrepreneurs countered the widespread issue of women being left behind in economic globalisation. These women's active engagement in determining the prices of their goods to primarily satiate local demand, helped to grant legitimacy and validation of women's roles in the community, as well as in the home. These women supplemented household income, while garnering pride, economic security, valuable skills and appreciation for women as breadwinners within these communities.

A simple approach to fairer trade is one that gives more importance to the participation of producers/labourers, rather than the consumers or international buyers, when determining prices. For instance, in similar spaces as these community centres, women farmers can negotiate a floor price of a good according to time and materials used in the production. Fair trade must offer the freedom to choose methods of production rather than let them be determined by exogenous actors. Most women chose organic farming, with environmentally safe methods, as it is the most cost effective way to manage their crops.

Fair trade principles must acknowledge women's additional domestic responsibilities and their challenges to market access. Many women travel long distances to arrive at markets, and the community centres remained open for long hours during weekends to accommodate their time spent travelling. The sites of the community centres were chosen in central locations to mediate the distance between the surrounding villages. Fair trade also must acknowledge constraints on women's budgets (in terms of income that must be spent on family/household), thus the low cost space to set up stalls, training classes at an affordable cost and low cost use of equipment is an integral component to facilitating women's access to domestic, and eventually international markets.

Training courses were linked to furthering women entrepreneurs' future aspirations. Some courses offered advice about what plants to grow that would create niche markets for them as well as help to satisfy domestic demand. This advice embodied the notion that sustainable development must help to meet local and domestic demand, before leapfrogging into large-scale production for export. The communities understood that any shift to large-scale markets must be based on eco-friendly methods to ensure biodiversity protection. The fair trade activities of women in these communities highlight women as social and economic agents, rather than victims of the tsunami and conflict.

Source: Gay and Weeratunge (2006).

To build cooperation and ensure fair prices for goods, cooperative societies could take on roles as intermediary agents by managing collection centres which collect products from individual producers for export. Auction-style centres could eliminate problems associated with intermediary agents, and also provide opportunities for small-scale producers to supply larger markets, such as in the Sri Lankan tea industry (see Box 4).

Box 4: Ceylon Tea - Auctioning in a human development-friendly way

“Spread of value across stakeholders appears un-exploitative. The Ceylon tea industry is characterized [sic] by the presence of a large number of major stakeholders in the value chain - pluckers, factory managers, brokers, buyers, exporters. While this may make negotiations difficult with many interests colliding, the workers who were the most disenfranchised group for historical and cultural reasons today have a political voice that helps them bargain equitable sharing of benefits. Similarly, almost 60% of total production of tea is from the smallholders who work with newer bushes, in the low elevations. The tea-sharing formula between the small holders and the factories is 68:32 – if the price at the auction per unit of tea is 100, 68 goes to small holders and 32 to the factory owners. Brokers are key lenders to small holders (who don't have collateral to borrow from the formal channels); they also offer occupational advice and serve as a social safety net in the absence of formal institutional services on finance and social security.

An efficient system of sales at auctions is transparent, competitive and fair. A unique institution in the tea trade in Ceylon is the system of auctions. It is an efficient, competitive, and fully transparent mechanism that gives a fair chance to all buyers – small and big - to bid for 95% of Ceylon tea produced. There are 450 registered buyers of which 100 are regular attendees of the twice-weekly auctions that are conducted in a lively, but subtle manner. The Colombo auctions are the largest in the world, and there's a long history of the practice with the first public sale going back to 1883. Auctions are necessary because tea quality varies immensely and needs to be tested and sampled. The auctions work like a reservoir that collects an array of tea from sellers and rationally channels these to areas where there's demand.”

Source: Quoted from Waglé (2007: 26).

Transforming mainstream trade policies to take into account human development is a long-term undertaking, but in the immediate period countries in South Asia can find new ways to access markets in developed countries. Countries cannot continue to exploit domestic resources in order to service countries with greater bargaining power; rather consumption must be influenced by values of sustainability. The nature of an economy based on human rights, socio-economic justice initiatives embodies virtues of self-reliance, economic self-determination and efficiency, while working towards collective goals of livelihoods sustainability, optimised prosperity and human well-being. Additional issues of ecological balance and improved workers' conditions can be factored into such a model (see Box 5).

Box 5: Green trade and food production in the Maldives

The Maldives are a good example of the export and import of goods and services which are often produced, traded, used and disposed of in environmentally sustainable ways which can promote sustainable development. This type of 'green trade' complies with internationally agreed upon environmental and health standards, prefers using environmentally sustainable technologies and prefers to trade in renewable energies. The case of the Maldivian Government to protect its coastal environment while expanding its fisheries industry can also be applied to the land-based sectors. Fisheries and fish processing comprise of 60% its exports, and it is significant that it looked to sustain economic growth while protecting its environment. The Government took special measures to ensure its fish were 'dolphin-friendly' and not caught at the cost of depleting oceanic eco-systems. These measures include promoting 'traditional' methods such as using fish nets rather than dynamite. Its Second National Environmental Plan uses an integrated approach to consider threats to Maldivian biodiversity such as the over use of reef resources and climate change. The plan aims to train and build capacity of fishing communities to help protect and sustain the coastal eco-systems, and to further develop a conservation plan for restoring reef damage.

Sources: UNDP Maldives (2006); UNESCAP (2006).

4 A Fair Trade model

Yardsticks of socio-economic justice involve effective governance including efficiency, order, accountability and public participation, which can all take place under Fair Trade systems. The Fair Trade model attempts to counteract the negative externalities such as power imbalances that are present in the standard international supplier-buyer relationship. It tries to ensure that there is equitable distribution of benefits among all stakeholders in the supply chain. Fair Trade's basic premise is to guarantee prices at a level where the costs of production are covered and producers are able to achieve at least a basic standard of living; therefore it is seen as a means of enhancing human development (Nicholls and Opal 2005).

Fair Trade comprises the following practices⁹⁹ :

- **Agreed minimum prices, usually set ahead of market minimums:** Fair Trade prices correspond to local economic conditions and enable producers to obtain wages that cover living costs. Fair Trade ensures that workers are paid the legal minimum wage and International Labour Standards are followed. For small-scale commodity production, Fairtrade Labelling Organisations International (FLO) set a Fair Trade floor price to include the costs of production, provisions for family members and farm improvements. Commodities are bought at world market prices from the producers, but when world market prices fall below the specified floor price, the floor price is paid instead. A guaranteed minimum price grants producers the security to plan ahead.
- **Focus on development and technical assistance via payment to suppliers of an agreed social premium (often 10% or more than the cost price of goods):** A Fair Trade premium is separate and above the Fair Trade minimum price; it is paid to small-scale producers to assist with development projects. Democratic cooperatives formed by producers or workers make decisions about the allocation of the social premium for development initiatives.
- **Direct purchasing from producers:** To reduce the number of margins in value chains and offer the best prices, goods are directly purchased from the producers.

⁹⁹ Adapted from analysis of Fair Trade concepts in Nicholls and Opal (2005): 6-7.

- **Transparent and long-term trading partnerships:** To enable producers to plan ahead and develop their businesses, as well as to provide safeguards against negative impacts of temporary partnerships, buyers are required to sign long-term contracts with producers.
- **Co-operative, not competitive dealings:** Ethical trade relationships between buyers and sellers are encouraged.
- **Provision of credit when requested:** To provide a steady income stream for producers, buyers are required to provide an advance of up to 60% of the value of purchased crops.
- **Provision of market information to producers:** Information on market prices of goods is provided to producers.
- **Farmers and workers are organised democratically:** Small-scale farmers are required to be part of democratically organised cooperatives using a one-farmer-one-vote system.
- **Sustainable production is practiced:** Resource management plans are obligatory and sustainable production practices such as organic farming methods are encouraged; use of certain pesticides are prohibited.
- **No labour abuses occurred during the production process:** The formation of labour unions has to be permitted and child and slave labour abuses are forbidden.

Proponents of neo-liberalism argue against Fair Trade systems, however conditions for the 'invisible hand' to govern the market and allocate resources efficiently are rarely present in existing economies. The Fair Trade system can be criticised for its failure to obey free market rules by influencing prices through a system of minimum pricing, fostering uncompetitive production and 'irrational' consumerism which fails to follow utility maximisation behaviour. However, this alternative framework provides answers for addressing some neo-liberal market failures (see Box 6). It works within the current capitalist system and is not an interventionist trade policy (Nicholls and Opal 2005).

Box 6: Addressing market failures using fair trade

Issue/ Market Failure	Fair Trade Solution
Small farmers lack information about prices.	Farmers must be organised into co-operatives; can pool resources to access information
Smallholder farmers lack information about market requirements.	Farmers must be organised into co-operatives; can pool resources to send co-operative leaders to visit trade shows and clients to learn about quality requirements. Direct long-term relationships are required; clients more likely to share information.
Smallholder farmers lack access to financial markets.	Farmers must be organised into co-operatives; can pool production to access futures markets.
Smallholder farmers lack access to credit.	Importers must pre-finance up to 60% of seasonal crops.
Smallholder farmers are risk-averse and do not diversify.	No direct solution – raising incomes through Fair Trade may decrease risk aversion.
Weak enforcement of labour law in producing countries.	Standards require that producers adhere to ILO standards regarding minimum wages, child labour, working conditions, freedom to join unions.
World prices not covering costs of production.	Fair Trade floor price guaranteed no matter how low the world price falls.

<p>In effort to lower costs, less sustainable production methods are used in the developing world, harming workers and the environment.</p>	<p>Fair Trade price covers the costs of sustainable production.</p> <p>Environmental standards prohibit certain chemicals and land over-use; premium required for certified organic products.</p>
<p>Farmers and the farm workers in the developing world are poor.</p>	<p>Fair Trade guarantees minimum regional wages for workers and price floors for smallholders. A social premium is guaranteed, which must be spent on development projects to improve well-being of farm workers and smallholder farmers.</p>

Source: Nicholls and Opal (2005: 53)

5 Taming the corporate sector

Economic practices also are increasingly shaped by 'transnational hegemonic forces,' partly embodied by corporations. The role of corporate actors becomes more significant when countries open their economies to foreign investment or presence by foreign companies. Pre-determined practices carry over to farmers in South Asia when foreign enterprises establish or partner with South Asian agribusinesses; there is limited manoeuvrability for small-scale farmers to assert their farming practices in a sustainable manner or to share benefits reaped from the presence of MNCs. In many developing countries they compete to find sites with the least government involvement in the regulation of its economy, the cheapest labour, the lowest tariffs and the most relaxed environmental laws (deSoto 2000; Howard-Hassman 2004; Rodriguez 2004). These practices, in the name of cutting production costs, do not preserve human, economic or civil rights, and may pose greater harm to ecological sustainability.

5.1 Corporate Social Responsibility

By examining the influence of agribusinesses throughout the global supply chain, South Asian countries can utilise CSR to shield their human development objectives. CSR is a strategic way to encourage corporations to conduct business in ethical ways, taking into account their impacts on surrounding communities and environment, and ensuring human rights are protected. Business activities can help achieve MDGs if human rights, national sovereignty and measures for corporate accountability are protected. Thorough reviews of corporate actors' business operations, which include multi-stakeholder meetings, are encouraged and go beyond CSR codes of conduct. There are a multitude of codes of conduct¹⁰⁰ for MNCs at the global and industry levels, which can be seen as good starting points for holding corporations accountable (UNDP Poverty Reduction Net 2006). However, it must be noted that there are problems with definitions and conceptualisation of CSR and the differentiation between corporate philanthropy and CSR is important.

CSR initiatives have rapidly emerged due to demand by the public for ethical products and services. For example, many international coffee distribution businesses provide premium prices to coffee growers in order to ensure social welfare for their families and communities. Some coffee MNCs offer access to credit through loan funds, as well as investing in environmentally sustainable agricultural methods, such as shade grown and organic coffee.

Yet public interest to monitor corporate practices cannot rely solely on corporate sector voluntary initiatives, but must be fulfilled through stronger, independent regulation and monitoring mechanisms. Box 7 emphasises aspects for independent monitors to consider the corporate sector's track records and operations in the global supply chain. A multilateral code of conduct is one method that could be a benchmark for MNCs' operating practices, considering that voluntary and self-regulating mechanisms are insufficient to monitor labour rights, environmental protection and human rights (UNRISD 2000).

¹⁰⁰ For more information see guidelines proposed by Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI), Global Reporting Initiative (GRI), Institute of Business Ethics and International Organization for Standardization (ISO).

Box 7: Examination of corporate sector business operations

In addition to CSR codes of conduct, independent monitors could examine MNCs' activities in relation to:

- Environmental sustainability – whether businesses emit damaging levels of pollutants; over exploitation of resources
- Employment generation with sound recognition of labour unionists and industry stakeholders
- Trade facilitation and non-restrictive trade policy without unfair commitments (e.g. costly compliance to international multilateral treaties)
- Standards on health and safety, monitoring and evaluating
- Macro-indicators of human development: Gender-related Development Index (GDI), Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), Gini coefficient and relation to poverty reduction, MDG costing, MDG indicators in terms of country's achievements
- Cost of living (e.g. if the cost of living is correlated to presence or operations of MNCs)
- Promotion of national adherence to international human rights conventions and implementation (e.g. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Declaration on Human Rights (UNDHR))
- Social justice (e.g. encouragement of freedoms, civil liberties, transfer of information)
- Impacts of corporate sector activities on local communities (e.g. cash cropping undermining food security)

6 Legislative initiatives at the national and international level

Geographical Indications (GIs) can be a form of protecting South Asian countries' biological and plant resources, often based on traditional knowledge. GI protection is granted under TRIPS Agreement Articles 22, 23 and 24, and can be applied to a range of goods such as wine, cheese and tea. GIs directly link products and end-consumers, and are useful to form niche products that can be distinguished from cheaper trade in unprocessed, bulk or generic goods. From a human development perspective, the sense of empowerment that GIs can extend to small producers is significant, especially in contexts where international trade make communities vulnerable to sharp price fluctuations.

The introduction of GIs has seen sales and prices increase rapidly. Sri Lanka largely relies on its GI on Ceylon tea for generating revenue, which brings in nearly US\$700 million in annual export earnings and employs over one million people. The Government of Sri Lanka created special provisions for protecting GIs which go beyond TRIPS by extending stronger protection to agricultural products on par with wines and spirits. Early efforts to promoting GIs require major governmental support, as part of its rural development strategy (Waglé 2007).

Governments and civil society organisations (CSOs) can take legislative initiatives to promote sustainable agricultural practices. For example, Bhutan has taken such initiatives to protect biodiversity, Small and Medium Enterprise (SME) development, protection of traditional environmental knowledge and promote traditional medicinal knowledge (Box 8).

Box 8: Bhutan's development of organic produce for niche markets

Bhutan has numerous legislative initiatives to protect biodiversity, SME development, protection of traditional environmental knowledge and promotion of Traditional Medicinal Knowledge (TMK). Since nearly 45% of medicinal plant collectors are women, the Government of Bhutan has been developing the traditional medicines sector. One pilot project in partnership with the South Asia Development Facility (SEDF) and the National Women's Association of Bhutan is training women in rural communities to cultivate medicinal herbs to create employment and build SME capacity. The trend is to encourage the production and export of high quality (low volume) niche products (mushrooms, cortisep, and other herbs and roots) to countries such as China, India, and Japan.

Its legislative initiatives make Bhutan a potential good practice example in terms of achieving MDG 7 (protecting biodiversity), as well as promoting the production of TMK, herbal products, and other niche products in an environmentally sustainable way, with simultaneous aims of generating employment and sustaining livelihoods.

Source: Gibb (forthcoming); UNESCAP (2006).

6.1 Ethical steps and sharing corporations' benefits with farmers

Many farmers' rights movements¹⁰¹ consider rights to save and exchange seeds and ways to protect their resources and land from corporate appropriation (Doan 2002; Borowiak 2004: 514-22). Sufficient consultation with women, indigenous communities, and civil society organisations that are working on farmers' rights must be facilitated when drafting trade policies and business strategies. Various consultations and campaigns with these movements have pronounced several safeguards to protect small-scale growers and farming communities (Box 9). Article 15 of the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD) requires governments to facilitate

¹⁰¹ See Asia Pacific Research Network (APRN), Pesticide Action Network-Asia Pacific (PAN-AP), SAWTEE (South Asia), Nayakrishi Andolan (Bangladesh), Beej Bachao Andolan (India), Resources Himalayas (Nepal), Roots for Equity (Pakistan), MONLAR (Sri Lanka), as examples of farmers' rights movements throughout Asia and South Asia.

access to genetic resources, which is subject to prior informed consent¹⁰² and 'fair and equitable' benefits sharing¹⁰³ on mutually agreed terms. This Convention is situated in the debates on misappropriation of plant genetic resources, or biopiracy.

MNCs in the developed countries have pushed for plant breeders' rights, requiring Members and acceding countries of the WTO to sign on to UPOV 1991.¹⁰⁴ Member-countries patent protect all forms of plant varieties; in emerging BTAs and under TIFA countries must protect all life forms (all plant derivatives, animal genetic material and micro-organisms) (Adhikari 2006a). It is possible for countries that enter into agreements with prospecting researchers to enforce PIC, to seek an ethical consultation process, and to take steps to ensure gender-sensitive, fair and equitable benefit-sharing arrangements. Disclosure of Origin is another potential safeguard in which the resource that is prepared to be patented is attributed to the originating country; this method is still under review in multilateral trade discussions. All these safeguards can be drafted in national policies and through Material Transfer Agreements, or a contract between originator/small-scale producer of plant material and user/researcher (CIPR 2002: 69). Such tools are useful for protecting farmers' rights and in the design of a socio-economically just framework for the agriculture supply chain.

¹⁰² Prior Informed Consent (PIC) is a precondition for obtaining access to a resource in which the country or community is informed about how its particular plant genetic resource, traditional knowledge or cultural material will be used. A country or community can grant or withhold its permission to the prospecting party for the use of the resource, once all information has been obtained.

¹⁰³ Access and Benefit-Sharing (ABS) Agreements facilitate access to resources and provide compensation to countries or communities where the patented or commercialised resources are derived; PIC must be obtained from the owner. ABS Agreements serve to share benefits equitably between the scientific/marketing prospector and the original custodians of the resource, with benefits decided according to provisions within the PIC arrangement. Corporations are more likely to share benefits through financial compensation, but benefits related to communal goods could go beyond royalties. Non-monetary benefits could be just the acknowledgement of the original purveyors, not transforming the good under private ownership, sharing research results or community participation in the research, training and capacity building (See Ten Kate and Laird (2000 : 252).

¹⁰⁴ International Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants; it is the French acronym for Union Internationale pour la Protection des Obtentions Végétales.

The absence of PIC may yield gendered implications, such as women custodians of this knowledge being omitted from decision-making regarding the use of the resource. Gender issues also arise when women are not incorporated in the drafting of benefit-sharing agreements. Often prospectors consider the men as leaders of a community, and they have entered into ABS agreements, perhaps without considering particular demands from women. Women may not have the bargaining capacity or legal leverage to refute unfair or inequitable aspects of the agreement. The design of benefits could extend beyond financial returns to include gender-conscious provisions such as funds created for women's empowerment, or research centres within the country or community, or trainings for managing traditional resources (UNDP AP TII forthcoming).

Box 9: Seed sharing initiatives and linkages to national trade policy

Good examples of community-based initiatives that promote seed sharing and community seed banks include Nayakrishi Andolan in Bangladesh, Resources Himalayas in Nepal, and Beej Bachao Andolan (Save the Seeds Movement) in Uttar Pradesh.

The Nayakrishi Andolan is a community driven movement which supports alternative organic methods of farming that is based on both traditional knowledge as well as scientific research. The farmers that have joined are among the poorest in Bangladesh. However, using the Nayakrishi practices they have been able to increase their yield, diversify their crops, give their families greater food security as well as increase their revenues. Furthermore, farmers are able to access different varieties of seeds free of cost from the seed storage centres located in each village. To ensure sustainability, farmers have to return double the quantity of seeds except when there is a bad harvest. These centres, insurance in the event of damage to seedlings, are run by the communities and women play a key role in managing these centres.

Initiatives found in the region focus on participatory seed management, collection of germplasm, biodiversity conservation, and serve as important sites for advocating on behalf of farmers, particularly when in consultation with government and trade delegates. For example,

when Nepal negotiated to not sign UPOV 1991, to advocate for its own system for plant and breeder rights, it was seen as a success for ensuring farmers to continue to have direct control over plant varieties. By not being bound to UPOV, Nepali women remain as the significant controllers and protectors of plant varieties and seeds.

Source: Majumder (2001); Weeratunge (forthcoming)

7 The way forward: A socio-economic justice framework for global trade

Socio-economic justice, Fair Trade initiatives such as cooperatives and community centres, predicated on participatory economics, help to incorporate small-scale growers and producers into regional and global supply chains. Conceptualising principles of Fair Trade, CSR, ethical consultation and communal benefit-sharing as well as mainstreaming gender and environmental concerns can transform the corporate sector into being a more responsible, accountable partner in development. Essentially, a framework for ensuring global trade justice¹⁰⁵ includes:

- “...removal of major sources of ‘unfreedom’ poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or over activity of repressive states” (Sen 1999: 3).
- Implementation of the human rights agenda, which includes platforms on women’s, workers’, children’s and civil rights
- Recognition of sovereignty
- Potential for global governance and monitoring corruption
- Protection of lives, livelihoods and the environment
- Investigation and rectification of the negative impacts from globalisation/regionalisation/neo-liberal capitalism, despite countries’ political wills
- Participatory policy-making that values the multiplicity of choices and inclusive participation.

¹⁰⁵ For further analysis see Walby (2000)

Some of these proposals are not new, but they can be revived to justify more inclusive, democratic, ecologically sustainable, and humanistic approaches in economic development and mainstream business practices. In the proposed framework (Figure 1) all of these practices do not have to be followed through exclusively, and it is not an exhaustive list. Yet what can be done at each level can help make the system fair and socio-economically just. Of these practices, the appropriate complementarities can be applied as suited for a particular countries'/region's context; such a framework can be adapted according to specific social/cultural/political contexts.

In the proposed framework, small-scale producers are considered a priority and their inclusion is examined from a human development perspective. The structure of the framework is based on the different actors along the supply chain. These actors do not operate in isolation, hence any action or policy recommendation for each stage of the supply chain should be examined in light of their interconnectedness. For example, facilitating access to knowledge can be implemented at the producer level through building knowledge networks through the cooperative system, at the national level through government and CSO training initiatives, as well as at the regional and international level through the transfer of technologies and enforcement of applicable legislation (e.g. adhering to CBD).

Figure 1: A Socio-Economic Justice Framework

Free Flow of Information
 Transparency and Accountability
 Participatory Approaches

SMALL-SCALE PRODUCERS AND FARMERS

- Access to information
- Access to credit
- Access to technology
- Sharing, fair and equitable



FARMER/ PRODUCER BASED CO-OPERATIVES

- National Policy Level
- Floor price
 - Provision of subsidies/grants
 - Development of niche products
 - Good legal environment and access to justice
 - Trade facilitation
 - Provision of infrastructure
 - Recognition of land rights
 - Consideration of corruption in policy strategies
 - Compliance with international human rights/labour standards



AUCTION/ COLLECTION/ WAREHOUSE CENTRES

DRAGON HEAD ENTERPRISES

MULTI FUNCTIONAL COMMUNITY CENTRES



DOMESTIC/ REGIONAL/ GLOBAL MARKETS

- Access to training
- Access to group loans/credit
- Access to future markets
- Fair Trade premium
- Democratic governance – one person-one vote system
- Pooling of resources
- Access to information
- Sharing of knowledge
- Free or low cost rent of capital



- Global Policy Level
- WTO multilateral trade framework
 - TRIPS provisions for GIs/ Access-Benefit-Sharing
 - International legal provisions
 - Enforcement of labour standards
 - Elimination of trade barriers
 - Compliance with CSR codes
 - Enforcement of environmental standards
 - Ensure gender equality
 - Regional Cooperation
 - Incentives for MNCs to adhere to good labour/environmental practices

LOCAL WHOLESALE/ RETAIL MARKETS

MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS

GLOBAL MARKETS/ SUPPLY CHAINS

GLOBAL RETAIL CHAINS

Small-Scale Producers and Farmers

At the farmer/producer level, the priority areas include access to technology, credit, information, knowledge about markets, and the sharing of fair and equitable benefits (e.g. by using ethical prospecting guidelines). At the micro-level, producers themselves can build on informal networks to share information about market prices, administrative procedures to accessing markets and credit, and agricultural techniques and technologies. Relying on information from informal networks as well as from other producers' experiences, governments, CSOs, and the private sector, producers could seek new opportunities. To protect during times of hardships, producers could provide mutual support through interpersonal relationships.

Farmer/ Producer-based Cooperatives / Societies

At the next level, to formalise these practices producers/farmers could establish associations or cooperatives. This would foster increased access to markets, credit, information, technology etc. as a result of their collective power; membership would enable them to be more self-sufficient, rather than overly dependent on government support. As exemplified in the earlier case studies, associations and cooperatives could be used as bases for obtaining access to credit, through group loans or a self-generated pool of funds, serving as micro-credit for members. Group loans can be effective to prevent individuals from defaulting on loans. As a collective, small-scale producers have leverage for gaining access to future markets which could minimise the risk of price fluctuations. Taking note of the administrative processes and the initial costs of fair trade certification, adherence to fair trade practices mean that producers can obtain a minimum floor price (which guarantee to cover the cost of production and standards of living) as well as the social premium. While the minimum floor pricing system would help stabilise incomes, the social premium could be used for common goods. The democratic governance structure of cooperatives could be extended to other areas of managing resources in order to facilitate transparency and accountability of expenditures and decision-making. Seed-sharing and community seed banks should be encouraged and practiced by producer associations, then linked to national research centres. Ongoing research and collaborative partnerships would help to advocate for farmers' rights at the national and international levels.

Meta Level

In addition, there are meta-levels that can be embodied by 'dragon head enterprises', auction centres, collection/warehouse centres or multi-functional community centres. Dragon-head enterprises are possible vertical storage, collection and distribution centres that could incorporate small-scale growers directly in supply chain processes (Box 10). These centres could be established by the government, CSOs or the private sector depending on the country context and administrative and legislative regulations. Dragon-head enterprises operate as collection centres, like warehouses, that reduce division of profits among middle agents. Rather, at dragon-head centres a farmer/producer could set a *floor price*¹⁰⁶ that would account for basic provisions and sustain them above the abject poverty line.¹⁰⁷ In this enterprise, where there is a floor price, interested entrepreneurs¹⁰⁸ could bargain their products around that price and then negotiate additional costs accordingly.

¹⁰⁶ Such as in the case of community centres in Sri Lanka.

¹⁰⁷ Considered by the UNDP to be over US\$1 per day, but sustaining income above this should not be the only or ultimate objective. The MDGs can act as a template for moving out of abject poverty by achieving the eight goals, but overall well-being, protection of human rights and access to justice are among the other ways to gauge human development.

¹⁰⁸ Such as shippers, packers and transporters.

Box 10: Dragon-head enterprises

These collective, multi-functional centres can be found in China, and practices are relevant for countries in South Asia. They operate as sites where producers within a district or region can converge to negotiate sales and distribute their goods. Usually, these centres are located along major transport arteries. They can link together to form chains of industries, to supply to different production activities. Focusing on local producers and providing a site where they can exchange information could yield competitive advantages. Over time, these enterprises could attract investment, as they link centres from the interior parts of the country to commercially prominent areas, thereby encouraging infrastructure development and further expansion. Expansion could build more permanent employment opportunities (seen throughout Henan and Pudong provinces in China).

Source: UNESCAP (2006)

Producer associations, CSOs and/or government agencies should establish multi-functional centres as they have proven to be useful sites for pooling resources, holding training workshops, buying and selling market goods and providing storage centres, work spaces as well as free or low-cost rent of capital. Owners of capital would own the means of production but also benefit from the small rents for leasing capital at low costs.

As a trade facilitation measure, governments either at the national or district levels should invest in cost-reducing storage and warehouse facilities in order to ease transportation of perishable agricultural produce. Taking cues from the Ceylon tea industry, governments could eliminate the problems associated with intermediary agents by promoting an auctioning system. These sites operate in ways that build sustainable futures, potentially adding skills and expertise for small-scale producers; they offer a hybrid of functions and multiplicity of choices outside normative business practices.

Domestic, Regional and Global Markets

At the third level, producers engage with the domestic, regional and global markets. The point of sale offers an opportunity to negotiate the floor price for agricultural goods (which applies to international markets). While

certain policy recommendations are specific to the national or international level, others are intricately linked at both levels.

It is the responsibility of governments to facilitate trade by the elimination of tariff and non-tariffs barriers, streamline cumbersome administrative and cross-border procedures, as well as assist small-scale producers to understand and apply the necessary environmental, health and safety standards. Moreover, it is the role of governments to improve infrastructure such as roads, irrigation and energy services. Often corruption within the region impedes these steps from being taken, thus it must be considered in various policy strategies. A strong legislative framework is the backbone to social and economic justice, envisaged through the recognition and enforcement of human rights treaties, protection of land rights, compliance to environmental and labour standards, and facilitation of access to justice. To overcome the problem of market power, governments can enforce competition and anti-trust laws in order to prevent foreign retailers from dominating and monopolising domestic markets.

In the market place, government and CSOs could provide seed grants to domestic food producers, encourage the production and distribution of locally-grown food and promote farmers' networks and seed-sharing practices. Taking into consideration small-scale producers' supply-side constraints, governments can promote and develop niche markets. CSOs at the grassroots levels can assist growers to identify organic products and develop them for niche markets. CSOs also could advocate to consumers about the benefits of fair trade and organic goods at the international level.

Differing standards for Fair Trade or eco-friendly compliance across countries show the need to have a harmonised labelling system, at least on a regional level. A standardised system for Fair Trade could make it easier for producers to comply with standards and thereby better access international markets.

Cross-border shipments face numerous obstacles in South Asia despite countries being members of the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA). Countries can assert their trade interests but take special consideration for small-scale producers. Methods such as branding or using a common logo to identify cargo as high-value, Fair Trade or organic perishables, should be further examined to fast track the cargo in order to surpass lengthy border delays. Transfer of shipments must be timed appropriately with

border authorities – and a more effective communication system could be established so that the transporters notify border authorities prior to arrival. Alternative routes, such as roads primarily for shippers, must be made available.

The documentation needed for trading in potential organic, Fair Trade products can be minimised through consolidation. Rather than having an assembly line of documentation specialists, some costs could be minimised if there are a number of trained administrators responsible for preparing the documentation. Building capacity on trade facilitation issues with relevant authorities and providing training to consolidate the administrative processes could cut down several hours and lengthen goods' shelf-life, which can translate into significant returns for small-scale producers. Streamlining and consolidating documentation involves intensive training related to all aspects of the documentation and inspection process.

Box 11: Export Documentation

Export documentation can be made more uniform throughout South Asian countries, with a potential fast-track process for Fair Trade or organic items. These inquiries can be included during the final quality inspection:

- Certificate of Origin and Disclosure of Origin links to Rules of Origin
- Bill of Entry/visas for the cargo
- Packing list that is prepared pre- and post-shipment needs to be prepared by the producer then checked by the purchaser at the final destination
- Shipping bills/invoices
- 'Consignment' note/truck invoice
- SPS/Good Manufacturing Practices (GMP) certificates/proof of other quality controls
- Hazard Analysis Critical Control Point (HACCP) standards
- Fair Trade certification

Source: Based on information from UNESCAP (2006).

Products for export, such as organic food items or fair trade agricultural outputs¹⁰⁹, need to undergo financial analysis to estimate their economic viability – in relation to their demand at that particular season. A closer look at these costs could fine-tune where to reduce costs, without negatively impacting human development and sustainable livelihoods (Box 12).

Box 12: Supply chain costs

There are numerous costs along the supply chain:

- Input costs to small-scale farmer/producer
- Packaging
- Labour (cleaning, grading, packing, loading, quality control)
- Transportation (as seen in relation to strains on rising fuel/ oil costs)
- Storage
- Documentation/accreditation, certification of 'fair trade'/ 'organic', inspection
- Taxes and tariffs

Within South Asia, while the majority of countries produce similar agricultural products, the types of goods are not completely homogeneous. Avenues for increasing trade within the region should be further examined taking into consideration the types of goods each country produces and their comparative advantages. For example, the tariff structures that are imposed for the neighbouring countries could be examined to improve market access within the region. Trade facilitation measures start at the national and feed into the regional levels, which would include reducing cross-border delays and harmonised and simplified procedures.

At the transnational level, this framework potentially challenges 'transnational hegemonic forces' by advocating for compliance with CSR codes, enforcing labour and environmental standards and promoting gender equality (e.g. through fair wages, eliminating gender-discrimination).¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Such as processed and canned food, staple items, weaving and handicrafts.

¹¹⁰ Hardt (2001).

Avenues for civil society must be facilitated to hold the corporate sector accountable (e.g. in efforts to independently monitor MNC conduct); civil society actors must cooperate with other CSOs that work on different issues along the supply chain.

Further exploration is necessary to assess available mechanisms at the international level that can hold the corporate sector accountable. Accountability will largely depend on CSOs to define, take action and campaign on these issues, as well as government intervention and regional cooperation to deter corporate misconduct. The possibility of reviving an international agency to oversee corporate operations, which could derive its research and policy work from civil society's actions, could be explored.

Incentives to corporate actors for adhering to labour standards and environmental sustainability could take the form of tax rebates; discounted services provisions; good publicity or good labelling which could secure future consumers; rewards to convert their production sites into being more environmentally-friendly and based on social justice; and provision of grants to recycle waste in food processing (to use as bio-fuel, thus reducing costs) or to use environmentally-friendly methods throughout the production process.

South Asian countries that are WTO Members (e.g. Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) or in the process of acceding (e.g. Afghanistan and Bhutan) should make full use of intellectual property flexibilities under TRIPS. Countries should avoid implementing patents on all life forms and instead engage in cautious, selective patenting procedures under strengthened national laws; use of IP flexibilities must be encouraged within the international trade arena. Countries should also explore the option of GIs to protect their biological plant resources as well as to promote low-volume, high-value niche goods that are specific to their territories. Proposals to expand GI protection from primarily wines and spirits into a range of other products must be examined closely. In addition, countries must specify access and benefit-sharing features, as well as ethical consultation guidelines within national legislation.

With socio-economic, just policies, rooted in fair trade, small-scale agricultural outputs could continue to be a source of employment that enhance rural living standards. Investing in small-scale agriculture could potentially impact the rest of the economy. Increased outputs can

contribute towards countries' overall food security, as well as act as a catalyst that drives the rural economy and reduces poverty (Oxfam GB, 2000). Ultimately, if these socio-economic justice initiatives are taken along the global supply chain, taking note of experiences within cooperatives, they will result in the formation of constellations or networks with other sites in this framework, which can operate on par with the transnational corporate sector.

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GLOBALISATION AND INEQUALITY: THE DEVELOPMENT RATIONALE

By Prashmita Ghosh¹¹¹

Abstract¹¹²

In the 1980's, most of the South Asian nations went through economic downturns brought on by economic mismanagement and the global economic slowdown due to the increase in oil prices. Till then, these countries were, on the whole, closed economies following import substitution policies and economies in which private economic activity was heavily regulated. Despite some successes in following inward-oriented economic policies, by the 1980's the South Asian countries – Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka were suffering from macroeconomic instability, a lack of competitiveness and low levels of economic development.

To address the deep economic crisis that had befallen them, the South Asian countries with the support of IMF and World Bank embarked on a radical reform process that included a wide range of economic reforms such as opening markets to foreign enterprises, lowering of import tariffs, reducing government regulation in home markets etc. This entire set of policy initiatives was undertaken to promote economic growth and reduce poverty and inequality in these countries. However, the results of these trade reforms have been mixed, with a number of these economies failing to increase their trade volumes, reduce inequality or eradicate poverty.

¹¹¹ The paper is researched and written by Prashmita Ghosh, Programme Officer at CUTS International. The views expressed are personal. The paper draws inputs from the country background papers and perception survey of select labour-intensive sectors of Bangladesh, Nepal, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The background papers and (draft) perception survey reports have been researched and written by project partners in the respective countries as part of the project 'Linkages between Trade, Development and Poverty Reduction' being implemented by CUTS Centre for International Trade, Economics and Environment (CUTS CITEE). The project is supported by MINBUZA, The Netherlands and DFID, UK.

¹¹² The abstract is written by Prashmita Ghosh, of and for CUTS International. The abstract draws largely from the project "Linkages Between Trade, Development and Poverty Reduction", currently being implemented by CUTS Centre for International Trade, Economics and Environment. The project is supported by MINBUZA, The Netherlands, and DFID, UK

It has been almost two decades since liberalisation has been initiated in the five i.e. Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka - South Asian countries. Despite having registered an increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate, individual country conditions have not improved when the poor people are considered. Studies revealed that in all the five countries with economic liberalisation, the countries are economically stable but the policies could not successfully lead to a decline in the poverty rate. Urban poverty has reduced to a certain extent and so has rural poverty, because of increased rural–urban migration with increased job opportunities in the urban areas. Despite the small percentage decline in poverty levels, there has been an increase in income inequality and a widening rural-urban divide.

Economic liberalisation, an important component of globalisation, has led to a growth in manufacturing industries and services in these South Asian nations. But agriculture, on which the majority of the South Asian population are dependent, has been neglected. Though agriculture was not neglected in Sri Lanka, the agricultural reforms in Sri Lanka benefited only the large farmers who cater to the agricultural export market. In Bangladesh and India, agriculture performed poorly and in Nepal and Pakistan it was a mixed performance for the agriculture sector which is the primary livelihood for about 60% of the total population in all these economies.

The impetus to export-oriented growth to keep up with global commitments outlined in World Trade negotiation agreements and Structural Adjustment reforms as per World Bank/IMF's guidelines has led to increasing income inequality between rural and urban population.

The Doha Development Agenda (2001) and Millennium Development Goals (2000) both emphasised poverty eradication and development for all through global partnership. But despite all the efforts made by the governments and the international institutions, the gap between rich and poor is widening in the developing nations. While some sectors in South Asian countries like services and manufacturing industries have been successfully performing after economic liberalisation, the remaining sectors are still waiting for the results of globalisation to trickle down. For economic liberalisation to be successful domestic policies play a major role as effective policies, institutions and inputs are provisioned for in the domestic policies.

There have been contrasting experiences of economic liberalisation all over the world. But in South Asia and especially in the subject countries, the experience has been somewhat similar. Trade liberalisation has been able to address the problem of economic growth to a certain extent by increasing annual GDP growth rate in India and Sri Lanka but even then majority of the people are still grappling with accessibility problems for basic commodities - food, shelter and clothing where the local government has to take the initiative. Conditions are bad in neighbouring Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh also. This paper looks into the growth story of the countries vis-à-vis the social indicators. In this analysis, the paper concentrates on the major export-oriented, labour-intensive sectors in these five countries to explore in depth the impact of globalisation/economic liberalisation on the development of the country as a whole.

ගෝලීයකරණය සහ අසමානතාව: සංවර්ධන මූලධර්මය

සාරාංශය¹¹³

1980 ගණන් වලදී දකුණු ආසියාතික කලාපයේ රටවල් ගණනාවකම ආර්ථිකයන් තුළ පසුගාමීත්වයන් නැතහොත් පරිහාණියන් අත්දකින ලදී. මෙයට ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම හේතුවූයේ දුර්වල ආර්ථික කළමනාකරණය මෙන්ම තෙල් මිල උද්ධමනයන් හේතුකොටගෙන උද්ගත වූ ගෝලීය ආර්ථික පසුබෑමය. ඒ වන විට මෙම රටවල් තුළ විශේෂයෙන්ම ආනයන ආදේශන ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් පදනම් කරගත් ආවෘත ආර්ථිකයන් පැවති අතර පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ ආර්ථික ක්‍රියාකාරකම් විශාල වශයෙන් සීමාවන්ට යටත්කර තිබුණි. මේ ආකාරයෙන් පවත්වාගෙන යන ලද අභ්‍යන්තරාභිමුඛ ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්ති තුළින් ලද යම් යම් සාර්ථකභාවයන් පැවතුණද, 1980 ගණන් වන විට බංගලාදේශය, ඉන්දියාව, නේපාලය, පකිස්ථානය සහ ශ්‍රී ලංකාව යනාදී දකුණු ආසියාතික රටවල් බොහොමයක් සාර්ව ආර්ථික අස්ථායීතාවකට මෙන්ම තරඟකාරීත්වය ගිලිහීයාමකට සහ දුර්වල වූ ආර්ථික සංවර්ධන මට්ටමකට මුහුණපාන ලදී.

තමාට මුහුණපාන්නට සිදු වූ මෙම දරුණු ආර්ථික පරිහාණියෙන් ගොඩඉම් උදෙසා මෙම රටවල් ජාත්‍යන්තර මූල්‍ය අරමුදල සහ ලෝක බැංකුව හා එක්ව සීඝ්‍ර ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ ක්‍රියාදාමයක් කරා යොමුවන්නට විය. එහිදී, විදේශ ව්‍යවසායකත්වයන් සඳහා වෙළෙඳපළ විවෘත කිරීම, ආනයන කීරුබදු පහත හෙළීම, දේශීය වෙළෙඳපළ තුළ රාජ්‍ය මැදිහත්වීම් අඩුකිරීම යනාදී ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ රැසක්ම ක්‍රියාවට නංවන ලදී. මෙම සමස්ත වූ ප්‍රතිපත්ති ක්‍රියාදාමයන් ක්‍රියාවට නැංවීම හරහා අරමුණු කරන ලද්දේ මෙම ආර්ථිකයන්හි ආර්ථික වර්ධනය නගාසිටුවීම මෙන්ම දරිද්‍රතාව සහ අසමානතාව අවමකරලීම වේ. කෙසේනමුත්, මෙම වෙළෙඳ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණයන්හි ප්‍රතිඵලයන් සෑම රටක් තුළින්ම සමාන ආකාරයෙන් අත්දකින්නට නොහැකි වූ අතර ආර්ථිකයන් ගණනාවකම තම වෙළෙඳ පරිමාවන් වර්ධනය කරගැනීමේහිලා මෙන්ම අසමානතාව අවමකිරීම සහ දරිද්‍රතාව දුරලීමේ අරමුණු සාක්ෂාත් කරගැනීමේහිලා අසාර්ථක වූ බව පැහැදිලි විය.

මෙම දකුණු ආසියාතික රටවල් පහ එනම්, බංගලාදේශය, ඉන්දියාව, නේපාලය, පකිස්ථානය සහ ශ්‍රී ලංකාව නිර්බාධී ආර්ථිකයන් කරා යොමුවී අදට දශක දෙකකුත් ඉක්ම ගොස් ඇත. දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදිත (GDP) වර්ධන අනුපාතිකයේ

¹¹³ CUTS International වෙනුවෙන් මෙම සාරාංශය එම ආයතනයේ ප්‍රශ්නිතා ගෝෂ් විසින් සකසන ලදී. “වෙළෙඳාම” සංවර්ධනය සහ දරිද්‍රතාව අවම කිරීම අතර සම්බන්ධතා, යන මෑයෙන් CUTS ජාත්‍යන්තරය මගින් සිදුකරන ලද ව්‍යාපෘතියක් ඇසුරුකොටගනිමින් මෙම සාරාංශය ගොඩනංවා ඇත. නෙදර්ලන්තයේ MINBUZA ආයතනය සහ එක්සත් රාජධානියේ DFID ආයතනය මෙම ව්‍යාපෘතියට අනුග්‍රහකත්වය දක්වයි.

සිදු වූ වර්ධනය හැරෙන්නට ඒ ඒ රටට අදාළව දර්ශකවෙන් පෙළෙන ජනගහනය සලකා බැලූ විට මෙම රටවල් ලබාගෙන ඇති ප්‍රගතිය පිළිබඳ ප්‍රශ්නාර්ථයක් පවතී. බොහොමයක්ම අධ්‍යයන වලින් අනාවරණය වී ඇති ආකාරයට නිර්බාධී ආර්ථිකයන් පවතින මෙම රටවල් පහ ආර්ථිකමය වශයෙන් ස්ථාවර වූවක් අනුගමනය කරන ලද ප්‍රතිපත්ති දර්ශන අනුපාතිකය පහත හෙළිමෙහිලා ප්‍රතිඵලදායක වූ බවක් විද්‍යමාන නොවීය. නාගරික දර්ශන මට්ටම යම්තාක් දුරකට පහත බැස ඇති අතර නාගරික ප්‍රදේශයන්හි වැඩි වැඩියෙන් රැකියා අවස්ථා බිහිවීම හේතුකොටගෙන සිදු වූ ඉහළ ග්‍රාමීය-නාගරික සංක්‍රමණයන් නිසාවෙන් ග්‍රාමීය දර්ශනවද යම්තාක් මට්ටමකින් පහත බැස ඇත. දර්ශන මට්ටමිහි සිදු වූ මෙම සුළු ප්‍රතිශතාත්මක පහළයාම හැරුණු විට, ආදායම් අසමානතාව විශාල ලෙස ඉහළ ගොස් ඇති අතර ග්‍රාමීය-නාගරික බෙදීමද විශාල වශයෙන් ඉහළ ගොස් ඇත.

ගෝලීයකරණයේ අත්‍යවශ්‍ය සාධකයක් වන ආර්ථික නිර්බාධීකරණය මෙම දකුණු ආසියාතික රටවල් වල නිෂ්පාදන කර්මාන්ත මෙන්ම සේවා වර්ධනය කිරීමෙහිලා ඉවහල් වී ඇත. නමුත්, දකුණු ආසියාතික ජනගහණයෙන් විශාල ප්‍රතිශතයක් තම ජීවනෝපාය සළසාගනු ලබන කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය නොසලකාහැරීමකට භාජනය වී ඇත. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ආශ්‍රයෙන් සලකා බැලූ විට කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය නොසලකාහැරීමක් දැකිය නොහැකි වුවත් මෙතුඩක් ක්‍රියාවට නංවන ලද කෘෂිකාර්මික ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණයන් තුළින් ප්‍රතිලාභ ගලාගොස් ඇත්තේ අපනයන වෙළෙඳපළ අරමුණුකර ගනිමින් වෙළෙඳාමෙහි නිරත විශාල පරිමාණ ගොවීන් වෙත බව පැහැදිලි වේ. බංගලාදේශය සහ ඉන්දියාව සලකා බැලූ විට කෘෂිකාර්මික අංශය ඉතා දුර්වල මට්ටමක පවතින බව පැහැදිලි වන අතර නේපාලය සහ පකිස්ථානය ආශ්‍රයෙන් සලකා බැලූ විට මිශ්‍ර ස්වභාවයක් පැහැදිලි වේ. මෙම සෑම රටක්ම සලකා බැලූ විට මුළු ජනගහනයෙන් 60% ක් කෘෂිකර්මාන්තය පදනම් කරගත් ජීවනෝපායයන්හි නිරත වී ඇති බව සංඛ්‍යාලේඛණ අනාවරණය කරයි.

ලෝක බැංකුව සහ ජාත්‍යන්තර මූල්‍ය අරමුදලෙහි මාර්ගෝපදේශයන්ට අනුකූලව ලෝක වෙළෙඳ සංවිධානයේ ගිවිසුම් සහ ව්‍යුහාත්මක ගැලපුම් ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණයන්හි දක්වා ඇති ආකාරයට ගෝලීය බැඳීම් පවත්වාගැනීමෙහිලා අපනයනාහිමුඛ ආර්ථිකයන් කරා වඩ වඩාත් තල්ලුවීමට ඇති බලපෑම ග්‍රාමීය සහ නාගරික ජන සමාජයන් තුළ ආදායම් විෂමතාව වඩ වඩාත් තීව්‍ර කරන්නට හේතු සාධක වී ඇත.

දෝභා සංවර්ධන න්‍යාය පත්‍රය :2001- මෙන්ම සහග්‍ර සංවර්ධන ඉලක්ක :2000- තුළින් ගෝලීය සහභාගීත්වය හරහා දර්ශනවය දුරලීම හා සංවර්ධනය අරමුණු කරන ලදී. නමුත් ඒ ඒ රටට අදාළ රජයන් මෙන්ම ජාත්‍යන්තර සංවිධාන විසින් කොතරම් උත්සහයන් දැරුවද සංවර්ධනය වෙමින් පවතින රටවල් තුළ දුප්පත් සහ පොහොසත් ජනගහණය අතර පරතරය පුළුල් වෙමින් පවතී. ආර්ථික නිර්බාධීකරණය වැළඳ ගැනීමෙන් අනතුරුව දකුණු ආසියාතික රාජ්‍යයන්හි සේවා, නිෂ්පාදන යනාදී ඇතැම් අංශ සාර්ථක ලෙස වර්ධනය වූ නමුත් අනෙකුත් අංශ තවමත් ගෝලීයකරණයේ

ප්‍රතිඵල අපේක්ෂාවෙන් පසු වේ. එලදායි ප්‍රතිපත්ති, ආයතන සහ යෙදවුම් සැලසීමේ හැකියාව පවතින්නේ දේශීය ප්‍රතිපත්ති තුළ බැවින් ආර්ථික නිර්බාධීකරණය වඩාත් සාර්ථක කරගැනීමෙහිලා දේශීය ප්‍රතිපත්ති සතු කාර්යභාරය අසීමිතය.

ලෝකයේ විවිධ වූ රටවල් ආර්ථික නිර්බාධීකරණය ආශ්‍රිත විවිධ වූ අත්දැකීම් ලබා ඇති බව පැහැදිලිය. නමුත් දකුණු ආසියාවේ විශේෂයෙන්ම, මෙම අධ්‍යයනයට භාජනය වන රටවල් වල අත්දැකීම් බොහෝවිට සමාන බව පෙනීයයි. ආර්ථික වර්ධනය හා සම්බන්ධ ගැටළුවෙහිලා යම්තාක් දුරකට විසඳුම් සැපයීමේ හැකියාවක් වෙළෙඳ නිර්බාධීකරණය ආශ්‍රිතව ගොඩනැංවී ඇති බව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සහ ඉන්දියාවේ වර්ෂික දළ දේශීය නිෂ්පාදිත වර්ධන අනුපාතිකයේ සිදු වී ඇති වර්ධනය තුළින් පෙනී යයි. එසේවුවද, බහුතරයක් ජනතාව තවමත් ආහාර, නිවාස, ඇඳුම් පැළඳුම් යනාදී මූලික අවශ්‍යතාවන් සපුරා ගැනීමේ නොහැකියාවක පසුවේ. එබැවින් එම මූලික අවශ්‍යතාවන් සපුරාලීමේ කාර්ය තවමත් රජයට පැවරී ඇත. මෙම තත්වයන් නේපාලය, පකිස්ථානය සහ බංගලාදේශය ආශ්‍රිතවද දරුණු ලෙස අත්දැකිය හැක.

මෙම විශ්ලේෂණයේදී, රටක සංවර්ධනයෙහිලා ගෝලීයකරණයේ එසේත් නැතිනම් ආර්ථික නිර්බාධීකරණයේ බලපෑම් වඩාත් ගැඹුරින් විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීම අරමුණු කරගනිමින් ඉහතින් සඳහන් රටවල් පහ ආශ්‍රිත ප්‍රධාන අපනයනාභිමුඛ මෙන්ම ශ්‍රම සුක්ෂ්ම අංශයන් දෙස අවධානය යොමු කරනු ලැබේ.

உலகமயமாக்கலும், சமமின்மையும் அபிவிருத்தியின் தேவையும் நியாயப்பாடும்

சுருக்கம்

1980களில் அநேகமான தென்கிழக்காசிய நாடுகள் பொருளாதாரரீதியாக கீழ்ச் சென்ற நிலையினை அனுபவித்தன. இது, எண்ணெய் விலைகளின் ஏற்றத்தை பின் தொடர்ந்த உலகளாவிய பொருளாதார மந்த நிலையைப் போக்கினாலும் அச் சூழ்நிலையில் பொருளாதாரரீதியில் தவறான முகாமைப்படுத்தல் செயல்களினாலும் விளைவிக்கப்பட்டது. அக்காலம் வரை இப்பொருளாதாரங்கள் கூட்டுமொத்தமாக முடப்பட்ட பொருளாதாரங்களாக இருந்துள்ளன. இதற்கு ஏற்றவகையில் இறக்குமதிப் பதிலீட்டுக் கைத்தொழிலாக்க கொள்நெறிகளைப் பின்பற்றி வந்தன. இப்பொருளாதாரங்களில் தனியார் பொருளாதார நடவடிக்கைகள் கட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்டன. உள்நோக்கிய பொருளாதாரக் கொள்நெறிகள் ஓரளவு வெற்றியடைந்துள்ள போதிலும் 1980களில், தென் கிழக்காசிய நாடுகளான பங்களாதேஷ், இந்தியா, நேபாளம், பாக்கிஸ்தான், இலங்கை ஆகியவை பேரினரீதியான உறுதிப்பாட்டின்மை, போட்டித்தன்மை இல்லாமை மற்றும் குறைந்த மட்ட பொருளாதார அபிவிருத்தி ஆகிய முக்கிய பிரச்சினைகளை அனுபவித்தன.

ஆழமான பொருளாதார நெருக்கடியினால் பாதிக்கப்பட்ட இந்நாடுகள் சர்வதேச நாணய நிதியம், மற்றும் உலக வங்கி ஆகியவற்றின் ஆதரவுடன் ஒரு முக்கியமான சீர்திருத்த முறைவழியினை ஆரம்பித்தன. இத்தகைய சீர்திருத்த முயற்சியில் உள்ளடக்கப்பட்டவை, பரவலான பொருளாதாரச் சீர்திருத்தங்களாக, சந்தைகளை வெளிநாட்டு நிறுவனங்களுக்குத் திறந்து விடுதல், இறக்குமதித் தீர்வைகளைக் குறைத்தல், உள்நாட்டுச் சந்தையில் அரசாங்கக் கட்டுப்பாடுகளைக் குறைத்தல் முதலானவை சேர்க்கப்பட்டன. இவ்வாறு தீர்மானிக்கப்பட்ட முழுக் கொள்நெறி முனைவுகளும் பொருளாதார வளர்ச்சியினை மேம்படுத்துவதையும், வறுமையினையும், சமமின்மையினையும் குறைத்துக் கொள்வதையும் அடிப்படை நோக்கமாகக் கொண்டிருந்தன. எப்படியாயினும், கடைப்பிடிக்கப்பட்ட வர்த்தகச் சீர்திருத்தங்கள் எதிர்பார்த்தளவுக்கு விளைவுகளைக் கொண்டு வரவில்லை. பல பொருளாதாரங்களில் வர்த்தகத்தின் அளவு அதிகரிக்கப்படவில்லை என்பதுடன், சமமின்மையும், வறுமையும் குறைக்கப்படவில்லை.

குறிப்பிட்ட ஐந்து தென் கிழக்காசிய நாடுகள் பங்களாதேஷ், இந்தியா, நேபாளம், பாக்கிஸ்தான், இலங்கை ஆகியவற்றில், இரண்டு தசாப்தங்களாக தாராளமயமாக்கல் கொள்நெறிகள் நடைமுறைப்படுத்தப்பட்டன. வறியவர்களின் நிலைமையினைக் கவனத்தில் கொள்ளுமிடத்தில், உள்நாட்டு மொத்த உற்பத்தியில் (GDP) குறிப்பிடத்தக்க அளவில்

அதிகரிப்பு ஏற்பட்டுள்ள பொழுதிலும் தனிப்பட்ட நாடுகளைக் குறித்து வறியவர்களின் நிலை முன்னேற்றமடையவில்லை. செய்யப்பட்ட ஆய்வுகள் தெரியப்படுத்துவது என்னவென்றால் தாராளமயமாக்கலுக்கு உட்படுத்தப்பட்ட எல்லா ஐந்து நாடுகளும் பொருளாதாரரீதியில் உறுதிப்பாட்டினை அனுபவித்துள்ளன. ஆனாலும், பின்பற்றப்பட்ட கொள்நெறிகளினால் வெற்றிகரமாக வறுமை விகிதத்தினைக் குறைத்துக் கொள்ள முடியவில்லை. நகரப்புற வறுமை ஓரளவிற்கு குறைந்துள்ளது. அதே போலவே, கிராமப்புற வறுமையும் இருந்துள்ளது. இதற்கு காரணமாக அதிகரித்துள்ள கிராம-நகரப்புற இடப்பெயர்வு ஏற்பட்டதுடன், அத்துடன் கூடுதலான வேலைவாய்ப்புகள் நகரப்புறங்களில் விளைவிக்கப்பட்டன. வறுமை மட்டங்களில் சிறிதளவான வறுமை இறக்கம் ஏற்பட்டுள்ள போதிலும், வருமானச் சமமின்மை அதிகரித்துள்ளது. அத்துடன் கிராம-நகர பிளவுறு நிலையும் விளிவடைந்துள்ளது.

உலகமயமாக்கலின் பிரதான கூறாக இருந்துள்ள பொருளாதார தாராளமயமாக்கல் தயாரிப்பு கைத்தொழில்கள் மற்றும் சேவைகள் ஆகியவற்றின் வளர்ச்சியினை குறிப்பிட்ட தென்னாசிய நாடுகளில் விளைவித்துள்ளது. ஆனாலும், தென்னாசிய குடிசனத்தில் பெரும்பாலானோர் தங்கியிருக்கும் விவசாயத் துறை போதிய கவனத்தைப் பெறவில்லை. இலங்கையில் விவசாயத் துறை கவனத்தைப் பெற்றுள்ள பொழுதிலும் இலங்கையில் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட விவசாய சீர்திருத்தங்களில் விவசாய ஏற்றுமதிச் சந்தையைத் தழுவி நடவடிக்கைகளை மேற்கொண்ட பெருமளவிலான விவசாயிகள் நன்மையடைந்துள்ளனர். பங்களாதேஷிலும், இந்தியாவிலும் விவசாயத்தின் செயலாற்றம் நன்றாக இருக்கவில்லை. நேபாளத்திலும், பாகிஸ்தானிலும் விவசாயத்தின் செயலாற்றம் ஒரு கலந்த நிலைப்பாட்டைக் காட்டியுள்ளது. இந் நாடுகளில் விவசாயத்துறையே முதன்மை வாழ்வாதார மூலமாக மொத்தக் குடிசனத்தில் 60 சதவீதத்தினர் தங்கி இருக்கும் துறையாக விளங்குகின்றது.

உலகளாவியரீதியில் உறுதிப்படுத்தலிலான உலக வர்த்தக அமைப்பின் ஒப்பந்தப் பேச்சுகளிலும் மற்றும் உலக வங்கி;சர்வதேச நாணய நிதியம் ஆகியவற்றுடன் கட்டமைப்புச் சரிப்படுத்தல் சீர்திருத்தங்களிலும் எழுந்த பல்வேறு பொறுப்புகளின் நிமித்தம் ஏற்றுமதி சார்பான வளர்ச்சிக்குக் கிடைத்த ஊக்கப்பாடுகள் முக்கிய இடத்தை பெற்றன. ஆனாலும், இவற்றின் சூழமைவில் வருமானச் சமமின்மை, கிராமிய நகரப்புற குடிசனத்திடையே அதிகரித்துள்ளதை அறிய முடிந்தது.

டோஹா அபிவிருத்தி நிகழ்ச்சி நிரல் (Doha Development Agenda, 2001) மற்றும் புத்தாயிரம் ஆண்டுக்கான அபிவிருத்திக் குறிக்கோள்கள் (Millenium Development Goals, 2000) ஆகியவை இரண்டும் எல்லோரையும் குறித்த வறுமை ஒழிப்பினையும் அபிவிருத்தியினையும், உலகளாவிய கூட்டுப் பங்களிப்பு முறையினூடாக

மேற்கொள்ளப்படுவதனை வலியுறுத்தியுள்ளன. ஆனாலும், அரசாங்கங்களினாலும், சர்வதேச நிறுவனங்களினாலும் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட அதிகரித்த முயற்சிகளின் மத்தியிலும் வறியவர்களுக்கும் செல்வந்தர்களுக்குமிடையே உள்ள இடைவெளி மேலும், அபிவிருத்தியடையும் நாடுகளில் விரிவடைந்து சென்றுள்ளது. தாராளமயமாக்கலுக்கு பின்னான காலத்தில் தென்னாசிய நாடுகளில் பொருளாதாரங்களின் சில துறைகள், சேவைகள், தயாரிப்புக் கைத்தொழில்கள் ஆகியவை நல்லதான செயலாற்றத்தைக் காட்டியுள்ளன: மற்றைய துறைகள் இன்னும் உலகமயமாக்கலின் விளைவுகள் வடிந்து செல்வதனை எதிர்பார்த்திருக்கின்றன. பொருளாதார தாராளமயமாக்கல் வெற்றியடைய வேண்டுமானால், உள்நாட்டுக் கொள்நெறிகள் பிரதான வகிபாகத்தினை, பயனுறுதி வாழ்ந்த முறையில் கொள்நெறி வகுத்தல், நிறுவன ஒழுங்குகள் மற்றும் முக்கிய உள்ளீடுகள் ஆகியவை உள்ளடக்கியதாக அமைதல் வேண்டும்.

உலகளாவிய முறையில் முழுவதாக நோக்குமிடத்து பொருளாதார தாராளமயமாக்கலின் அனுபவங்கள் வேறுபட்ட விதத்தில் அமைந்துள்ளன. ஆனாலும், தென்னாசியாவின் அனுபவங்கள் ஓரளவுக்கு ஒத்தவையாக இருந்துள்ளன. வர்த்தக தாராளமயமாக்கல், பொருளாதார வளர்ச்சி வீதம் தொடர்பாக, இந்தியாவிலும் இலங்கையிலும் ஓரளவுக்கு அதிகரிக்க முடிந்துள்ளது. அப்படியிருந்தும், பெரும்பாலான மக்கள் அடிப்படைப் பண்டங்களாகிய உணவு, புகலிடம், உடை ஆகியவை பெறுவது குறித்துப் போராட வேண்டியுள்ளது. இவை தொடர்பாக உள்நாட்டு அரசாங்கம் முனைப்பாகத் தொழில்படுத்தல் வேண்டும். அயல் நாடுகளாகிய நேபாளம், பாகிஸ்தான் மற்றும் பங்களாதேஷ் ஆகியவற்றில் நிலைமைகள் நல்லதாக இல்லை.

இக்கட்டுரை குறிப்பிட்ட நாடுகள் தொடர்பான வளர்ச்சி பற்றிய போக்குகள், அனுபவம் ஆகியவற்றை சமூகக் குறிகாட்டிகள் உதவி கொண்டு நோக்குகின்றது. இந்த ஆய்வில் கவனம் செலுத்திய விடயங்களில் பிரதான ஏற்றுமதி சார்ந்த உழைப்புச் செறிவான துறைகள் எல்லா ஐந்து நாடுகளிலும் முதன்மைப்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளன. இதனுடைய நோக்கம் எதுவென்றால் ஆழமான வகையில் உலகமயமாக்கல் பொருளாதார தாராளமயமாக்கல் ஆகியவை நாடுகளின் அபிவிருத்தி மீது எத்தகைய தாக்கத்தினை ஏற்படுத்தின என்பதை அறிந்து கொள்ள முடிகின்றது.

GLOBALISATION AND INEQUALITY: THE DEVELOPMENT RATIONALE

1 Introduction

The definition of globalisation is disputed, but for the purpose of this paper, I refer to the process of globalisation as the many and varied social, cultural and economic transfers which take place between and within countries around the world. Such transfers are not solely a recent phenomenon, but economic transfers in particular have become the focus of attention as many developing countries have adopted the paradigm of growth through economic liberalisation and international trade. This paper focuses on economic globalisation in particular. Economic globalisation can be examined in terms of production, consumption and, most importantly, international trade, which is facilitated by the liberalisation process that is being undertaken in most developing countries. By liberalisation, I refer to the opening of economies to let market forces decide the price, demand, and supply of commodities.

The last two decades have seen major economic policy changes in most of the world economies. The 1980's were marked by severe economic crises in a number of developing countries brought on by economic mismanagement and a global economic downturn during that period. These economies, particularly the countries to be studied in this paper; Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, were formerly closed economies following import substitution policies. The economic crisis and increased pressure from international financial institutions, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, ultimately led these countries to move towards more liberalised and open economies. However, economic reforms and liberalisation did not start at the same time or proceed at the same pace in these countries.

The economic liberalisation policies, which have been fervently followed by developing countries to foster rapid economic growth and prosperity, have resulted in some successes and failures. While liberalisation policies have accelerated the growth rates in some developing countries and brought about macroeconomic stability, their impact on poverty reduction has been depressingly slow and in many countries the income inequality between masses has been exacerbated.

Growth rates in the five South Asian countries – Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka - have been rising steadily, especially over the last five years, averaging 5%. Despite this performance, South Asia is home to the majority (40%) of the world's poor. India herself can be divided into two - one India benefiting largely from the economic liberalisation process and the other India far from the gains brought about by high, consistent GDP growth rate. This trend is also evident in other South Asian countries in a region where income inequality has been traditionally high. Unequal access to education and other public services, selective access to credit, emphasis on industries in the urban sector, unequal access to agricultural land; all these issues have further aggravated income inequality in these countries, post liberalisation. Economic reforms promoted much needed economic growth, generated employment and increased incomes for some, but have not been able to reduce poverty to a great extent and address income inequality adequately.

This paper attempts to analyse the economic liberalisation process and its impact on rural-urban income inequality within countries in South Asia. The analysis is restricted in some cases due to inadequate availability of supporting data. The paper is structured as follows: there are five sections outlining the economic conditions in the five South Asian countries. For each country there is a general economic overview followed by a short description of some prominent labour intensive export-oriented sectors in these economies. The analysis follows, aiming to understand the inequalities persisting in these economies, followed by the conclusion.

2 Reform experiences of South Asian Developing Countries

2.1 Bangladesh

Like many developing countries Bangladesh followed an import substitution strategy for industrialisation in the 1970's without any major success. Following serious macroeconomic imbalances in the early 1980's Bangladesh adopted a set of policy reforms and a Structural Adjustment Programme was undertaken under the guidelines of IMF and World Bank. These reforms were taken to steer the economy from being an import substitution one to an export oriented economy. Reforms were undertaken in agriculture, industry, external trade, finance and banking and foreign exchange. The reforms entrusted faith in the role of market forces rather than in the

government's role. The instability of the 1980's was corrected by the growth of manufacturing industries especially the Ready Made Garments (RMG) industry and increased foreign remittances. Increased remittances from Bangladeshi migrants abroad were instrumental in declining foreign aid dependence from 7 % of GDP in early 1980s to about 3 % in 2004 and contributing to more favourable economic conditions. Remittance earnings contributed around 3.2% of GDP in 1981-82 and 3.5% in 1998-99 (The Government of Bangladesh, UN Conference, 2001).

From 1990 onwards structural changes began in the Bangladeshi economy. In 1990, agriculture accounted for 30% of GDP and provided direct and indirect employment to 60% of the labour force. The manufacturing sector's share was around 13%. This trend changed in 1999-2000 when the manufacturing sector's share of GDP was 15.4% and agriculture's share fell to 25.5% in the same period. However, the percentage of people employed in the manufacturing sector was around 7.4% compared to 62.3% in agriculture, forestry and fishery in 1999-2000 (Bangladesh Economic Review, 2004).

Export-oriented RMG was the primary driver of growth in the manufacturing sector. The establishment of the RMG sector in Bangladesh occurred because of relocation of businesses by East Asian exporters to avoid the quota restrictions imposed under the Multi Fibre Agreement. Preferential access to the USA, EU and Japanese markets and abundant labour supply prepared to work at lower wages led to this industry's growth in Bangladesh. The RMG sector has had a profound impact on poverty and incomes of the poor. In 1985, 0.1 million people were employed in the RMG sector which grew to about 1.9 million employed in 2005, accounting for 35% of all manufacturing employment in the country - 80% of whom were women (Rahman 2004, cited by Razzaque and Eusuf 2007).

Although the RMG sector provides large-scale employment, Bangladesh is known to be a country with one of the lowest wage rates in the world. While the low wage rate reflects abundant labour supply, the legal minimum wage has not increased in this sector in the last 10 years. Minimum monthly wages for the workers were fixed 12 years ago in 1994. However, it is often argued that the actual minimum wage rate has increased because of increased standards of living and inflation. In 2006, there was labour unrest in the RMG sector for revision of the minimum monthly wage rate. Growth of RMG in Bangladesh is important, but because of abysmally low wages, income inequality persists despite the rise in employment. The

export boom of RMG has not trickled down to the masses through RMG workers because of the low wages, wages so low that labourers often have to access micro loans just to meet their daily expenditure. Simply increasing employment is not enough to reduce poverty and inequality. Currently Bangladesh specialises in producing a large volume of low priced garments. Commensurate support such as the establishment of technical institutions, educational institutions, availability of capital, technological progress will enhance workers' skill sets which could in turn increase the production of high value goods. Production of high value goods will mean higher wages for the workers.

The telecom industry is another promising sector that has registered phenomenal growth over the last couple of years. The telecom sector employs well-educated young workers with direct employment levels standing at around 8-10,000. The cell phone has also given a large number of people the opportunity to be self-employed by starting phone businesses and the number of people employed indirectly is around 250-300,000 (Eusuf, Toufique 2007). The evolution of the telecom sector has provided new employment opportunities, primarily in urban areas, and has influenced existing poverty by providing new/more income opportunities for people. The availability of mobile phones in semi-urban areas has facilitated business management and cut down transaction costs.

Between 1991-92 and 2000, the proportion of people living below the poverty line declined on an average by one percentage point per annum. Poverty incidence in recent years has fallen by 0.3-0.5 percentage points, but has been accompanied with rising inequality. Bangladesh's economic reforms could not reduce rural poverty or reduce income inequality. This could be because both RMG and telecom are urban-based industries.

2.2 Nepal

Nepal started the economic liberalisation process in the mid 1980s. GDP growth rates averaged less than 5% per annum during the 1980's and 1990's and overall economic growth in the 90's decelerated owing to slow agricultural growth. The reform process was at full peak in the early 90's to keep pace with the Indian reform era. The Nepalese economy is driven by two external agents - India and foreign donors, since Nepal is an aid-dependent country. Issues such as persistence of acute and widespread poverty, low economic growth rates, lack of improved technology, land and capital, slowed down the growth process during the reform era. Political instability in Nepal was also responsible for slow growth rates.

Incidence of poverty is very high in Nepal, with one-third of the population below the absolute poverty line, especially in remote areas and excluded communities. Only 10% of people are in absolute poverty in urban areas of Nepal, while in rural areas it is 34%. Land constitutes the single most productive asset for rural Nepalese. But high population growth rates and inheritance laws have led to land fragmentation and reduction in farm sizes over the years. Small farm holdings render less income. Moreover, the less developed regions in Nepal i.e. the mid-western and the far western hill and mountain regions suffer from low literacy, gender discrimination in education, high labour intensity in small farms, inadequate infrastructure and political conflict. All these factors have led to low economic productivity in these areas.

The positive impact of economic reforms is visible in the non-agricultural sectors with an increase in the number of business enterprises in urban areas. The urban centre in Nepal has developed in and around the capital, Kathmandu. Inequality in Nepal has widened in recent decades with economic growth led by market forces not delivering distributive justice. Rural inequality in income distribution has increased faster compared with urban income inequality between 1996-2004. Further analysis reveals that economic growth has contributed to a 24.1% decline in poverty whereas the way income was redistributed exacerbated poverty by 13.2%, thereby net poverty declined by only 11%. This demonstrates that there has been less growth amongst the poor compared to the rich class.

Income distribution in urban areas was not a deterrent to poverty reduction, but in rural areas income distribution posed a deterrent to poverty reduction by increasing poverty levels as income distribution was not equal. The rural economy is primarily dependent on agriculture, and economic reforms did not affect agriculture which remained at subsistence level. Post-reforms subsidies were withdrawn for micro-credit and fertiliser that further aggravated agricultural problems and rural incomes.

Two sectors, RMG and the tea industry are discussed in brief here to analyse two labour intensive sectors. RMG has occupied an important position in the exports of Nepal. The share of garments in total exports was 17.7% in 2003-04. The RMG industry in Nepal has some characteristic traits; the US is the most important market for garment exports, exports are limited to a few product items, production costs are high, and technology is outdated.

After 2000, Nepalese garment exports started to decline. One of the main reasons cited is the preferential market access granted to Sub Saharan African countries by US under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Since the US was the major market, AGOA proved disadvantageous for the RMG sector. Secondly, with the abolition of the quota system in 2004, total exports from Nepal have declined. Thirdly, because of a lack of initiative from government and business entrepreneurs there has been no upgrading of technology. Since, Nepal's RMG is based on imported inputs production costs are high, and outdated infrastructure and a limited range of products further restrict Nepal's exports. Low labour costs remain the sole advantage for Nepal. However low labour productivity remains a hurdle to competitiveness.

Most of the workers dependent on the garment industry are from low-income families with low skill sets. In the last two years, there has been a drastic rise in unemployment in the garment sector following the end of quotas in January 2005. Salaries in garment factories are low because of reduced production due to the removal of the quota system and the inability of garment factories to compete in the international market. Moreover frequent political disturbances within the country have led to destruction of infrastructure, displacement of labour, and disruption of development work. Increased domestic conflict has also led to diversion of financial resources for security provision.

Despite, the internal conflict the tea industry in Nepal has been able to reduce rural poverty. The tea industry consists of large-scale firms and small farmers. Post-reforms, the state monopoly on tea production lessened and with increased private participation, the size of the sector has increased considerably. In 2000, the Nepalese government passed the National Tea policy that provided financial incentives and more availability of land for plantation purposes. The policy also aimed to establish training centres to enable small farmers to participate in growing tea. Small farmers' participation in tea cultivation has increased from 20% in 1994-95 to 41% in 2003-04. The small farmers are now specialising in production of this cash crop and are using the profits to buy food grains. Tea farming has given the small farmers a commercial crop and a way out of poverty. Moreover the growth of small farmers demonstrates that tea trade benefits are no longer restricted to large farmers but can be accessed by small farmers with little or no access to capital. Liberalisation opened up the markets for private participation that drew large numbers of farmers to cultivate the cash crop tea for economic gains.

The two industry cases given above show that national policy plays an important role in generating employment opportunities for people and to generate income. The garment industry has not been able to scale up because of lack of supporting government initiatives and international trade policies. On the other hand, the tea industry benefited with government support and judicious policy implementation.

2.3 Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka was the first economy in South Asia to open up her market and initiate the reform process in 1977. The reform measures comprised trade liberalisation policies, de-control of prices, private sector development, financial sector reforms and foreign investment promotion. The economic reforms transformed Sri Lanka to an industrial economy from an agricultural one. In the early 1990's the economy grew at an average of 5.6%. Economic growth became sluggish in the late 1990's becoming worse in 2001 when GDP grew by 1.5% in the face of rising international oil prices and civil conflict within Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka's export growth during the 1970's suffered several weaknesses which decelerated the growth momentum, including lop sided growth and inadequate export orientation. Moreover, Sri Lanka's prime export, garments, was dependent on imported inputs. Though the garment industry utilised the advantage of import liberalisation of raw materials and benefited from heavy inflow of foreign funds, the benefits could not be availed of by small producers. It was expected that small firms would contribute to export led growth by being sub contractors to large exporting firms. However, small firms were unable to establish linkages with large-scale firms and lost out. In most cases the constraints faced by small firms were a lack of working capital and knowledge that public and private sector institutions existed to promote linkages between large and small firms.

The economic reforms of 1977 had adverse consequences on the poor through direct impacts on employment. This can be attributed to a collapse in the supply of government-subsidised inputs as part of the government's policy to withdraw producer subsidies and release control of prices. In addition, privatisation led to the closure of state owned inefficient textile mills that provided employment to a large number of people. The rapidly expanding manufacturing sector was not able to absorb the huge number of rural labourers displaced due to the closure of the state owned

enterprises (SOEs). The curtailment of formal employment opportunities in the organised sector caused workers to be employed in unstable wage employment with non-regulated working conditions. Almost all the workers employed in small-scale industries and in large public sector mills belonged to the low income segment in the country and had less resources and lacked dynamic working skills to enable them to adjust to new employment opportunities within the export oriented RMG sector.

In the post-reform period employment opportunities were created, including migration of Sri Lankan nationals to the Middle East, employment opportunities in the government's public investment programme, and an increase in military recruitment. Despite the various employment opportunities, reforms impacted the rural people employed in carpentry, handloom, coir work, etc. The national poverty headcount ratio showed a modest decline from 26.1% in 1990-91 to 22.7% in 2002, but during this period the poverty gap between the urban sector and the rest of the country widened. Urban poverty halved, but rural poverty declined by only 5%, and there was a significant increase in poverty in the tea plantation export sector (50%) because of declining tea exports.

From the mid 1990's rural poverty declined slightly because of a recovery in the agricultural sector. The Western province of Sri Lanka, which contributes 50% of GDP, has the lowest rates of poverty thereby reflecting regional disparity in poverty incidence. The areas surrounding the capital, Colombo, in the Western province have high growth rates and poverty headcount rates stand at 11%, less than the national poverty rate of 23%. However, this percentage masks the fact that the highest absolute number of people living in poverty are found in the Western Province due to the high number of people living there. The overall poverty headcount ratio has remained fairly high although some progress has been made in reducing absolute poverty levels. Inequality increased by almost 24% for the country as a whole between 1990-91 and 2002, including an increase of 19% in the urban sector and 30% in the rural sector.

Sri Lanka experienced accelerated economic growth rates despite continuous conflict within the country after the 1977 reforms. Trade reforms promoted the export oriented garment sector, and the rural handloom sector collapsed and rural people could not access the employment opportunities of the export-oriented garment sector to the fullest extent. A growing manufacturing industry and the revival of the tea industry have created lot of employment opportunities for people, however, outside the

Western province more opportunities for setting up businesses need to be explored to ensure more equitable growth.

2.4 Pakistan

Pakistan's economic growth was quite impressive between the 1960's and 1980's, with the economy growing at 6% per annum. However, in the second half of the 1990's the growth rate declined to 4%. Whereas poverty levels declined in Bangladesh, India and Nepal by 9%, 10% and 11% respectively over the last decade, poverty increased in Pakistan by 8% (Devarajan and Nabi 2006). The economic slowdown was contingent on external factors such as trade sanctions and severe droughts. Pakistan began its tariff liberalisation in 1987-88. Exports grew at 5.6% compared to 8.5% in the 1980's. The tariff reforms were not able to stem the slowdown in export growths, but from 2000 onwards Pakistan's GDP has been posting a higher growth rate with an average of 6.5-7% between 2002 and 2005. Agriculture grew by 7.6%, services by 7.9%, and manufacturing by 12.5%. The electronics, automobiles, paper and paperboard and fertiliser sectors performed well. However, traditional industries, such as cutlery, were left behind.

Despite accelerated economic growth rates, poverty levels in Pakistan have stayed high. Between 1990-91 and 2000-01 overall poverty increased from 26.1% to 32.1% (Akhtar 2006). There are regional disparities within Pakistan, for example in Punjab province (the most industrialised province in Pakistan) districts in the North with better infrastructure and higher education standards have a higher level of development than the Southern districts. Similarly, an unequal growth pattern is also observed between industries such as the cutlery and telecom sectors.

The cutlery sector is based in the Punjab province and is a traditional Pakistani industry. The industry is small and medium (SME) scale in nature and provides employment opportunities for people in semi-urban areas who are semi-skilled. Tough competition from China and lack of technological progress are factors hindering development of this traditional industry. Reduction of customs duty led to massive Chinese cutlery imports that affected local production. The cutlery sector is based in Punjab province where other manufacturing industries such as textiles, sports goods and electrical appliances are posting high growth. This aspect of unbalanced growth increases inequality among the masses.

Post liberalisation, the telecom sector has performed well. In 2004 the government declared the telecommunication sector a priority area for employment generation and poverty reduction. 333,939 (Asian Institute of Trade and Development 2007) job opportunities were created and further indirect employment will be generated through franchises, vendors and distributors. The telecommunications industry in Pakistan has come a long way and continues its journey towards transition from state-owned monopoly to a liberalised competitive structure at multiple levels including policy, regulation, competition, privatisation, and social development goals. It will take some time for the benefits of this transition to trickle down to the masses.

While the manufacturing and services sectors are growing at 8.6% and 8.8% respectively, agriculture, the mainstay of Pakistan's economy grew at only 2.5% in 2005-06. Pakistan's growth is driven by high growth rates in the manufacturing and services sectors, but agriculture, on which the majority of people are dependent, is lagging behind because of low growth rates compared to the number of people dependent on the sector.

Studies show that manufacturers and exporters of cotton products, rich and upper middle-income groups, large and medium scale farmers engaged in rice and cotton cultivation, are gainers from the reforms. The losers are the lower middle-income families, small and petty traders, unskilled labour in the informal sector and subsistence farmers in the rural areas. Recently, increased spending because of higher average household income in the middle classes has led to food price inflation. This in turn has led to reductions in real income and has affected the lower income classes the most. Between 2001-05, urban inequality increased faster than rural inequality. Urban areas are more diversified with respect to skills, education, training etc., factors which aggravate inequality.

2.5 India

India is one of the major South Asian countries and the growth process in India will have significant impact on the economic development of the region as a whole. Despite experiencing steady, consistent growth over the past few years, India has been unable to address the problems of poverty and income inequality. Like her other South Asian neighbours, India had an inward looking economic policy post-Independence. With the economic crisis of 1991, the Indian government had the opportunity to make major macro-economic policy reforms, removing the restrictive

controls of state monopoly and promoting private enterprise. However, the agriculture sector was not liberalised in 1991.

The economic reforms did bring positive results in terms of higher economic growth, an expansion in exports, increase in GDP growth rates from 3.5% (so-called Hindu rate of growth) to 5-6% in the 1980's and 1990's, touching an all time high of 8.2% in 2003-04.

Agricultural growth post-1991 has been disappointing with growth rates struggling to climb above 2–3%, compared to an average growth rate of 3.8% during the 1980s. However, performance has varied across the various agricultural sectors; rice, sugar and wheat production has increased but the cotton sector is struggling to maintain production and quality in the face of increased import competition. One of the worst affected crops after agricultural liberalisation is oil seeds.

The inward looking policies present until the mid 1990's ensured that India was self sufficient in oil seed production. This policy along with doubling the output and stabilising oil seed production in the country, led to diversification and the production of new crops such as soya bean, and sunflower as well as of rapeseed - mustard and ground nut. Due to some limitations such as restriction in interstate movement and low capital base (most of the producers were small), the industry could not take full advantage of the import substitution policy. When the government reformed the agriculture policy in 1994-95 the oil seed sector was impacted negatively by the opening of markets for oil imports. Consumers benefited from cheap imports of palm oil, but the small inefficient producers could not withstand the inflow of cheap oil imports and went out of business.

From being self sufficient in oil seed production and also a major exporter in the 1990's, India became the largest importer of oil seeds in the world. In the survey conducted (Pahariya 2006) in the oil seed producing districts of Rajasthan it was found that farmers' earnings were very low and 60% of them lived below the poverty line. The policy measures taken at the national level to keep in line with international agreements have led to both winners and losers. To keep up with the commitment of farm reforms made by India in 1995, Indian consumers gained from cheap oil. Prices have declined in the market, but the farmers have lost.

This section tries to address the situation of inequality within India. Post-reform growth has been unequal in India. Economic reforms are expected

to accelerate growth rates and play an important role in alleviating poverty and help the population at large to achieve a minimum standard of living. Growth rates increased but the 1990's saw a slowdown in rural employment growth and a slowdown in growth momentum in rural non-agricultural activities. These affected rural poverty and aggravated rural-urban disparities. The widening rural/urban poverty gap has coincided with widening inequality in urban expenditure between different groups. The per capita expenditure of the top 30% increased at 3.31% per year, while that of the bottom 30% increased at just 1.70%.

In the 1990's rural inequality was on the decline. Improvement in real wages with growth in agriculture supported a considerable part of the population. Growth in the food processing industry led to growth in agriculture. Apart from agricultural growth there have also been poverty alleviation programmes run by the Indian government. However, despite these efforts growth is concentrated only in specific regions, thereby giving rise to regional disparity that seems to be widening with time. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are the two largest and poorest northern states with 25% of total population and per capita GDP in 2002-03 less than half the national average (Devarajan and Nabi, 2006). Rural poverty declined in the agriculturally prosperous states of Punjab, Haryana and the Southern states. Some of the better off states such as Maharashtra, West Bengal and Gujarat also have a high share of rural poverty. Apart from inter-state poverty differences, there is also a relatively higher share of rural poverty among the backward communities of India. The tribal communities are a deprived group among Indian citizens, lacking ownership to assets required for livelihood such as land, capital and livestock. Moreover lack of educational facilities, inability to access information on commercial activities etc. push them further towards penury.

The reforms have increased the growth rate of Indian economy, led to increasing opportunities and increased competition and in turn led to higher incomes for educated people. The urban centres are flourishing with a variety of job opportunities for the educated youth, but the reforms have not addressed the livelihood concerns of the uneducated, unskilled populace. In fact employment elasticity in the 1990's reflects the deceleration of employment growth in this period, while GDP growth continued to accelerate. Much of the slowdown in total employment growth was due to development in two important sectors; agriculture including forestry and fishing and community social and personal services. These sectors, accounting for almost 70% of total employment, experienced no growth in employment in the period 1993-94 to 1999-2000.

The following section outlines the inequality aspects in these five South Asian countries and tries to understand the possible reasons behind increasing inequality despite a high rate of economic growth as a result of liberalisation.

3 The Inequality Dimension

Experiences in the South Asian countries have been similar; traditionally these economies had high levels of rural, uneducated poor people with little or no assets. Over the last two decades these economies have struggled to accelerate growth rates. Internal conflicts, wars across borders and the traditional problem of a massive rural populace are slowing down the growth process.

The distribution of the benefits of rising economic growth rates have been extremely skewed. As pointed out in the World Bank Report on Economic Growth in South Asia,

“Poverty is not just endemic, but increasingly concentrated in particular, lagging regions. Not only are these regions poorer, but their growth rates are substantially slower than the better-off regions.”

In India increasing income and regional inequalities have become more acute and inequality has caused social and political instability. It is difficult to pinpoint the reasons for this inequality. Employment generation avenues have increased, as in Bangladesh, employment has increased as have export revenues, but increased revenues have not been translated into income distribution justice.

Shifts in the labour market, rising migrant remittances and demographic effects may have been responsible for the recent rise in inequality. Over the years, there has been a decrease in labour's share of total income vis-à-vis the capital share. This is evident from the declining share of agriculture. The majority of the people in the five countries are dependent on agriculture but the share of agriculture in GDP is declining over the years as manufacturing industries and services are gaining prominence. In India for example, around 60% of people are dependent on agriculture, whereas agriculture currently contributes only around 20% of GDP.

What are the possible reasons for this increasing inequality? A major reason for rising inequality is the unbalanced growth in these economies. The growth pattern in these economies can be described as pocketed growth, where specific areas are benefiting from the rapid growth in certain economic activities. Economic activities tend to be concentrated in and around urban areas where educated people are benefiting from gains in incomes. The rural poor in South Asian countries are characterised by a number of common general, economic and social factors; lack of access to land, capital and equipment, low levels of education, lack of timely information on market opportunities etc., all of which prevent them from accessing economic opportunities.

The income inequality that has been discussed in this paper can be attributed to different employment activities which are linked to education and skill sets, i.e an educated person in a skilled manufacturing job will get paid more than an unskilled farm labourer. The poor find it difficult to improve their skill sets because of a lack of capital, opportunities etc. This type of poverty could be aided by constructive steps by governments such as building educational institutions, developing infrastructure so that people remain well connected, giving easy access to inputs such as credit, equipment etc. to help the farmers raise productivity and income. Infrastructure development is vital for sustained economic development in far flung areas such as the mountainous areas in Nepal and remote areas in India which are unable to develop due to lack of proper connectivity with the developed regions.

As growth takes place, because of adjustment costs such as labour displacement etc., there will initially be a temporary rise in inequality. With the increase in manufacturing industries and the services sector, and the ever increasing demand for land there will be land transfers. These transfers for development might lead to labour displacement if farm lands are taken away. Temporary labour displacement is an inevitable adjustment in the economic development process and may cause more inequality as displaced labour may be unable to find jobs in the interim period. This can be addressed by government initiatives to develop labourers' skills, develop educational, vocational institutions, etc. Although governments are keen on infrastructure development and employment generation schemes for poverty eradication, such schemes will only succeed if the opportunities are available to those who need them most. In many cases such schemes are not accessible to the poor because of a lack of information.

Comparison is often drawn between the growth rates of South Asia and East Asia. It is opined that if South Asian countries attain the growth rates of East Asian countries poverty could be reduced to a greater extent. East Asian growth rates were driven by high growth of the manufacturing sector supported by infrastructure facilities and a skilled labour force. East Asian countries made massive investments in technical education to develop this skilled labour force, supported by investments in infrastructure such as power and telecommunications. East Asian growth was boosted by all round investments in education, training, infrastructure, etc. Investments are being made in South Asian countries but they are concentrated only in certain geographical areas where economic development is already on the way.

There are a number of reasons behind the persisting inequality in South Asia despite the sustained moderate growth rates of these countries. Most of the reasons are traditional and structural. These have to be addressed first. Currently the growth is driven by expansion of urban areas. Economic growth initiatives have to begin in the rural areas, only then will the rural population benefit. East Asia's growth story was driven by simultaneous surplus labour shifts from agriculture to manufacturing as reforms progressed. In the South Asian case, surplus rural labour shifts to the manufacturing industry or semi-skilled sectors have not happened. This may be because of governance issues as well as a lack of adequate infrastructure leading to delays in labour shifts, thereby aggravating income inequality.

4 Conclusion

South Asian countries attained a high growth level over the past decade. To continue at a steady pace certain common initiatives have to be taken by the countries. Wherever there is a successful growth story in South Asia, such as the telecom sector in Pakistan or RMG sector in Bangladesh, it is because of a sustained government initiative in framing growth-promoting policies and developing supporting institutions. Growth of any sector is dependent on a number of supporting institutions, starting from the basic raw material stage to the time it reaches its destination consumer or country. In this regard, lack of any input, be it in the form of foreign exchange restriction, poor and stringent labour laws, or unavailability of electricity, will hinder the growth process.

One major point that comes out of this study is that, whether it is the garment industry in Nepal or the oil seed sector in India, the sectors that have been negatively impacted after trade liberalisation could not cope because of a lack of institutional support which has to be provided by the government. Given the huge labour supply in these South Asian countries that can be recruited at low wages, government initiatives should be aimed at generating sectors or boosting existing sectors that can generate employment. It is vital that efforts are made to ensure that increasing income inequality does not counter pro-growth initiatives. Massive investments have to be made by governments and private entrepreneurs in the areas of education, health services and infrastructure so that the vast resource of labour can be transformed into valuable human capital and usher in development for the region as a whole.

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Questions about the link between poverty and inequality were the focus of the 7th Annual Symposium on Poverty Research in Sri Lanka, which was held on the theme “ Does Inequality matter? Exploring the Links Between Poverty and Inequality’. The symposium provided a forum for researchers, policymakers and other stakeholders to discuss new research, both in Sri Lanka and in the region, and to discuss implications of this research on policy.

Presenters focussed on diverse aspects of the relationship between inequality and poverty including social exclusion, access to new technologies, conflict and trade. Two panels looked at how inequality is addressed in practical terms by a selection of institutions that seek to address it in their work, and how it is tackled in the policy sphere.

This volume is a compilation of selected papers presented at the 7th Poverty Symposium and includes an introduction summarising the main points from panel discussions and plenary discussions held during the event.



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