

RECENT WORK/RELATED PUBLICATIONS AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

I.

Introduction and Summary

My main work over 1989-1992 has focused on a number of related themes in respect to structural transformation of livelihoods with an enabling context and access to basic services (or social and human investment) for absolutely poor and poor households. The focus geographically has been Sub-Saharan Africa - especially Southern Africa - with the Philippines partly as a 'reference' case and partly as (in many respects) a 'misplaced' SSA economy/polity/society.

This represents partly an evolution and partly a shift from 1981-88 work which focused more on structural adjustment, external debt and Southern African development cooperation. The first theme is still prominent and the latter two alive but secondary.

The themes within the 1989-1992 focus have included:

1. The overall SSA economic context including poverty;
2. Linkages of Structural Adjustment/Transformation and poverty reduction;
3. Destitution and income transfers (unempowerable households);
4. Land reform/agrarian reform, food security (household and national), poverty reduction and power;
5. Linkages of environment and poverty (including three way linkages including structural adjustment);
6. External debt, structural adjustment and livelihood/employment plus enabling physical and service infrastructure interaction;
7. Emergency assistance (including food aid) and national calamity coping capacity;
8. Post war economic reconstruction focused on livelihood rehabilitation (including enabling context);
9. NGO and Civil Society implications in respect to above (two way).

Gender issues have not been a separate cluster because this appeared to me analytically and programatically less productive than raising them within the themes listed. For example, universal access to basic health-water-education services is disproportionately beneficial to women; a higher than average proportion of single adult (which in practice in SSA means female headed) households are absolutely poor; gender issues are significant in access, equity and operationality aspects of land reform.

The work has been pursued through a variety of methods:

- a. formal consultancies - especially to the Government of Mozambique and UNICEF;
- b. informal (unpaid) advisory/consultancy work to inter alia FONDAD, Freedom from Debt Coalition (Philippines), Catholic Institute for International Relations, World Council of Churches, SADCC (Now SADC), Government of Tanzania;
- c. Structural Adjustment/Transformation Study Seminar (annual 1986-1992);
- d. guest lectures - e.g. QEH, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and Conference paper presentations - e.g. African Leadership Forum, IDS (especially food aid and emergency assistance);
- e. write-up under ODA agreed programme finance and/or own time.

The topics at the moment look rather fashionable and trendy. This is more a shift (in part cyclical revisitation) in fashions than a sea change on my part. The livelihood reconstruction and development theme goes back - in somewhat evolving or contextually linked forms - to the late 1960s. In the 1970s (McNamara's "war against absolute poverty", ILO's "employment, growth and basic human needs") it was analytically and operationally trendy but over 1981-1987 it was very much "out" recovering from 1989 to date. doubtless over the next six years its 'popularity' will peak and a decline - hopefully not to its 1980s nadir! - set upon the topic.

The work has been set out in terms of analytical themes and a poverty reduction and development focus. This is valid for the operational as well as the research and teaching components. In Mozambique my primary assignment has been the struggle against absolute poverty beginning with building up a sketch map and from there identifying practicable strategic initiatives. In the particular context of Mozambique, these have to a substantial extent come to focus on emergency and reconstruction programming. Particular pieces of consultancy (particularly during 1986-89 for UNICEF) on Mozambique and Namibia were perhaps more related to the economic and social as well as human costs of war, but even these included analysis of short term alleviation and medium term reduction programme projection. While the food security analytical work began before the 1991/92 Southern African drought (and famine risk) crisis, the 1992 focus on emergency assistance does flow directly from an overwhelming applied policy challenge including mass famine prevention, the linkage of emergency with reconstruction and the medium term requirements of stabilising and winning the peace which had become foreseeable in Mozambique by mid-1992 and was achieved in October/November. Similarly, while 1990-92 UNICEF work does - naturally - centre on children the particular inputs made focus on macroeconomic and poverty reduction requirements (and strategic programmes) for household viability (and reduction of gender discrimination) not on particular health programming as such. In the Study Seminar my areas of special responsibility - apart from public finance and debt - have been the 'soft' or 'human face' ones, i.e. Production by Poor People, Employment, Basic Services, Gender, Environment and with refocusing from short to medium term Stabilisation/Adjustment to medium to long term Structural Transition/Transformation.

Recent publications/drafts for publication linked to ongoing themes are cited at the end of each. These presumably are the items likely to be of greatest interest to the Board.

II.

Clusters

1. Overall - the decline of per capita output, economic balance and human indicators in SSA over 1980-1984 was nearly ubiquitous (whereas for a majority the 1975-79 trends had been quite different). 1985-1991 has seen growing diversity - a majority of economies (albeit not comprising a majority of population) show signs of recovery dynamics albeit weak and fragile ones. The causes of the relative unsuccess are complex and vary from state to state. The roads to recovery via adjustment and transformation (plus peace and reconstruction in countries accounting for a third of all SSA people) are both complex and ill understood. What will not work - both on the interventionist and neo-liberal fronts - is clearer than what will. Increasing recognition of these facts and of the importance of human dimensions of development and of production by poor people plus human investment has created a potentially non-polemic and operational applied analysis agenda. The comparison of the agenda and the work done on it is less encouraging.

Related Publications

- a. The Struggle Against Absolute Poverty in Mozambique, SDA Project, National Directorate of Planning, Mozambique, January, 1991.
 - b. 'Towards livelihoods, services and infrastructure: the struggle to overcome absolute poverty', paper presented at the Africa Leadership Forum, 'Conference on the eradication of poverty in Africa', 27-29 July 1992, Ota, Ogun State, Nigeria (To appear in conference volume.).
 - c. 'Africa, 1975-95: The Political Economy of Boom, Decline, Conflict, Survival - and Revival?', United Nations Non-Government Liaison Service, Occasional Paper, August 1991.
 - d. 'Human Dimensions of Absolute Poverty' in Graham Howe and Pieter le Roux (eds), Transforming the Economy: Policy Options for South Africa, Indicator South Africa, University of Natal/Institute for Social Development, University of the Western Cape, Durban, 1992: pp 187-200.
 - e. 'Politics, Power and Poverty: Health For All In 2000 In The Third World', in Social Science & Medicine, Vol 32, No 7, Pergamon Press plc, 1991 pp. 745-755
2. Linkages of Structural Adjustment/Transformation. That structural adjustment - in a broad sense - is essential, that it is not the main cause of poverty and that it can be consistent with poverty reduction are now widely agreed points. How, when, with what instruments, allowing what types of contextual variation are not. While the World Bank has learnt from experience and gained degrees of freedom by the retreat of the neo-liberal political tide, it does tend to be too

macroeconomic, too contextual and too little able to work out practicable strategic means to enable poor people to produce more. The last is almost equally true of SSA governments, a number of whom in any event do not appear to give high priority to poverty reduction. Much of the debate is unduly shrill and/or defensive albeit both its quality and operational results improve when conducted by serious governments (and their analysts) out of the limelight.

Related Publications

- a. 'The Human Dimension as the Test of and a Means of Achieving Africa's Economic Recovery and Development: Reweaving the Social Fabric, Restoring the Broken Pot', Adebayo Adedeji, Sadig Rasheed and Melody Morrison (eds), The Human Dimension of Africa's Persistent Economic Crisis, Selected Papers from the United Nations International Conference on the Human Dimension of Africa's Economic Recovery and Development, Khartoum, 5-8 March, 1988, published for the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa by Hans Zell Publishers, London/Melbourne/Munich/New York, 1990, pp. 1-8
 - b. 'Themes and Issues Notes' IDS Study Seminar 132, Seminar on Sub-Saharan Africa, 'Through Structural Adjustment to Transformation', 3-21 August, 1992, Arusha, Tanzania, May, 1992
 - c. 'Reduction of Absolute Poverty: A Priority Structural Adjustment', IDS Discussion Paper 287, May, 1991
 - d. 'A pobreza, o sector familiar e à terra', National Planning Directorate, Mozambique, December 1991.
 - e. 'From Stabilisation To Transformation: the way ahead for African Women', Africa Conference, UNIFEM/UNDP, Maastricht Conference on Africa, July 2-4, 1990.
3. Destitution and income transfers. Especially (but not only) in urban areas a significant proportion of absolutely poor households are unempowerable. The ratio of hands to work to mouths to feed is the bottom line problem. Single adult (95% female headed), and aged or handicapped person headed households dominate this group but where wages in the formal and informal sectors are very low a significant proportion of wage earning households of above average size are included (almost 20% of Mozambican civil servant households are not merely absolutely poor but destitute). Old age pensions and direct income transfers both have a record of limited but real (and growing) success in Namibia and urban Mozambique. Whether these can be sustained and strengthened, and what the underlying conditions for their success are, may be of direct relevance to a significant number of SSA countries by 2000.

Related Publication

'Toward Food Security for Unempowerable Households: An African Conceptual and Contextual Articulation' (draft), December 1991.

4. Land reform is a common issue but one whose precise significance varies. While power and sub-class profit considerations are uniformly important the same cannot be said of macroeconomic potential (pro or

con) nor of probable relevance to poor households. The issue interacts with tenure where the high noon of 'freehold titling now' seems to have passed with the realisation that African tenure systems in practice provide secure land use rights, are not usually negatively impacting productivity, evolve with the economic context and are both accepted and administrable - none of which appears to hold for universal freehold tenure approaches which are, at best, accepted as a one-off bureaucratic nuisance and then ignored by the family farming sector. A glaring exception to the basically functional and acceptable nature of most systems is access for female headed households (which traditionally did not exist - each adult female having a land use right within a male headed household's allocation, a situation which no longer holds).

Related Publications

- a. 'The Land Question: Restitution, Reconciliation and livelihood - Some political economic and agro economic issues', AGRICONA, Windhoek, Namibia, 8 December, 1990.
 - b. 'A pobreza, o sector familiar e à terra', National Planning Directorate, Mozambique, December 1991.
 - c. 'Women's Land Use Rights In SSA: Modernisation As Marginalisation - What Is To Be Done?'. Paper presented at the 12th Symposium on Law and Development, 'Realising the Rights of Women in Agricultural Development Process, Faculty of Law, University of Windsor, Windsor Ontario, Canada, 12-15 March, 1992 (to be published in INTWORLSA Annual Review).
 - d. 'External Debt, Internal Debilitation: The Philippine Context', in Tugón vol VIII, no 2, 'Forgive Us Our Debts', National Council of Churches in the Philippines, Manila, 1988, pp 15-182 (passim).
5. Environment and poverty. Environmental degradation in SSA presses most heavily on poor households. In many cases poverty is also the main driving force behind environmental degradation. How to build relevant national (not procrustean bed global export model) environmental strategies articulated to face and to reverse these realities has received relatively little attention and that which there is tends to be far away from the central economic decision taking/resource allocating process. There is work on agro-forestry, community linked wildlife preservation, game farming (including 'mixed herds'), water allocation and household fuelling but largely in unrelated fragments and more often critical of what is, than fully analytical or applied.

Related Publications

- a. 'Ecology, Poverty and Sustainability: Environmental Portents and Prospects in Rural Namibia', IAAE/AGRECONA Inter-Conference Symposium 1990, Swakopmund, Namibia, December.
- b. 'Structural Adjustment and National Environmental Strategies: What Interactions? Notes from Namibia', in Melissa Leach and Robin Mearns (eds), 'Environmental Change, Development Challenges', IDS Bulletin, October 1991, vol 22 no 4, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex. pp 38-44

6. External debt reduction cannot cause structural adjustment or renewed development. The absence of it - especially in debt encumbered economies with GDP/capita badly under \$1,000 and severe short term export enhancement constraints can prevent it. While these points are now (as they were not in 1989) agreed in principle and to a growing extent in practice many countries have not benefited. These include some cases in which 90% of the non-IFI debt is, in fact, "overhang" irrecoverable to lenders if the economies and livelihoods are to recover and some (notably the Philippines) in which negotiators have chosen to crucify themselves on a cross of pacta servanda sunt.

Relevant Publications

- a. 'External Debt, Internal Debilitation: The Philippine Context', in Tugón vol VIII, no 2, 'Forgive Us Our Debts', National Council of Churches in the Philippines, Manila, 1988, pp 15-182
 - b. 'What Real World? Philippine Debt, Interest and Exchange Rate Policy - and Its Price', Freedom From Debt Coalition, Manila, August, 1992.
 - c. 'Africa, 1975-95: The Political Economy of Boom, Decline, Conflict, Survival - and Revival?', United Nations Non-Government Liaison Service, Occasional Paper, August 1991 (passim).
 - d. 'Unmanageable - toward sub-Saharan African debt bargaining?', in S. Griffith-Jones (ed), Managing World Debt, Harvester-Wheatsheaf/St. Martin's Press, pp 245-81
 - e. 'Third World sovereign debt re-negotiations 1980-85 and after: reflections on procedures and paradigms', in H. W. Singer et al. (eds), Resource Transfer and Debt Trap, New World Order Series, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi.
7. Emergency assistance (including food aid) is a case study in how not to do it and one in which learning by experience is - both nationally and internationally - the exception not the rule. Further, in long running emergencies (usually linked to war) the form of international assistance and of its delivery have often been so decapacitating and so little correlated to speed (to avert forced migration), to livelihood rehabilitation (to build back from survival) or to vulnerability reduction (to limit future recurrences or at least reduce their intensity) as to be self-perpetuating. Famine - except in war contexts - has been contained or averted, but that is an inadequate test (after all the colonial powers with limited transitory exceptions, achieved that from the mid-1920s onward).

Related Publications

- a. 'Reduction of Absolute Poverty: A Priority Structural Adjustment', IDS Discussion Paper 287, May, 1991.
- b. 'Commodity Aid and Counterpart Funds in SSA: Some Macroeconomic Aspects', in 'Counterpart Funds and Development', IDS Bulletin, Vol. 23, No. 2, April 1992, pp. 22-28.
- c. 'Sound The Tocsin: The Third Horseman Mounts To Ride - Drought In Southern And South Africa 1991-1993', March 1992.

- d. 'Southern Africa: That The People May Be Fed: Tocsin through pledges and Paper to Transportation and Distribution', June, 1992.
 - e. 'Toward More Life Sustaining Calamity and Catastrophe Alleviation and Rehabilitation Action by the UN Extended Family, Notes for an Annotated Agenda', September, 1992.
 - f. 'Conflict, Food and Famine: reflections on sub Saharan Africa', short background paper, and 'Conflict, Food and Famine', Annex 1, both in Celia Petty et al (eds), Conflict and International Relief in Contemporary African Famines, Report of a meeting convened by Save The Children Fund (UK) and Health Policy Unit, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, London, 26 March 1992.
 - g. 'The Political Economy of Drought: Southern Africa 1991-1993', paper presented at the Health Policy Unit Seminar, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, London, 18 November, 1992.
8. Post war economic reconstruction focused on livelihood rehabilitation is crucial to whether majorities in SSA countries with over 175,000,000 people will remain poor and miserable. Because it has not been conceptualized in macroeconomic terms, nor seen as a continuation of emergency assistance, remarkably little systematic analysis or draft programming exists. Mozambique - where Reconstrucao (within the framework of the struggle against absolute poverty) is perceived as the central political economic priority - is a partial exception. A strategic approach turning on livelihood rehabilitation, local infrastructure reconstruction, basic services access enabling the enterprise sector to restore competitive market access and expansion of wage employment (both labour intensive public works and micro-enterprise) is not hard to design - articulating, relating to poor household needs and capacities as they perceive them, working through macroeconomic impact (apparently potentially surprisingly positive, at least in Mozambique) and - perhaps especially - convincing resource transferors to re-enter a field which has become terra incognita since European post war reconstruction ended (and the R dropped from IBRD) are much more difficult.

Related Publications

- a. 'Neo-Liberalism and the Political Economy of War: Sub-Saharan Africa as a case study of a vacuum' in States or Markets? Neo-Liberalism and the Development Policy Debate, Christopher Colclough and James Manor (eds), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991.
- b. with C. Broad and R. Morgan, Signs of Hope: Towards Rehabilitation and Renewed Development for the Children of Southern Africa, UNICEF, New York (forthcoming)
- c. 'Reconstrucao: The road from Emergencia to Desenvolmento - livelihoods and macroeconomics', National Directorate of Planning, National Planning Commission, Maputo, May 1992.
- d. 'The Four Horsemen Ride Together: scorched fields of war in Southern Africa', paper presented at the Refugees Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 11 November, 1992.

- e. 'Human and Livelihood Rehabilitation After War: Reconstruction, Structural Adjustment and Transformation In SSA', paper prepared for The Social Dimensions of Economic Reform, Inter-Africa Group Second Annual Symposium, Addis Ababa.
9. NGOs/Civil Society. NGOs have become a 'flavour of the year' with very little consideration of what precisely is meant and of whether international NGOs really empower as opposed to by-passing or even decapacitating African civil society and local governance. African civil society forms are remarkably unlike international NGOs and African NGOs looking like international ones are rarely deep rooted or broad based - indeed are often created to, or diverted to, fit the flavour and reap the transfers. These issues have not been examined seriously in any systematic way and hamper both the development/capacitation of African civil society bodies and local governance and building up mutual beneficial, non-client-patron relationships with external NGOs. This is a somewhat strange oversight given the official enthusiasm for NGOs and the fact that on balance their relationship to African governmental and civil institutions looks remarkably similar (on a smaller scale on both sides) to that of bilateral resource transferors. That they can play valid and useful roles (not least in the north) is not open to serious question - that present performance gives any ground for triumphal congratulation (let alone self-promotion) is.

Related Publications

- a. 'Human and Livelihood Rehabilitation After War: Reconstruction, Structural Adjustment and Transformation In SSA', paper prepared for The Social Dimensions of Economic Reform, Inter-Africa Group Second Annual Symposium, Addis Ababa (passim).
- b. 'The Four Horsemen Ride Together: scorched fields of war in Southern Africa', paper presented at the Refugees Studies Programme, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 11 November, 1992 (passim).
- c. 'Transformation, Poverty and Civil Society In SSA: What Roles for NGO's?', paper presented at 'Europa-Universo: Crisi O Abandono?', 19th Forum Internazionale, Cuneo, Italy, 17-19 September, 1992.
- d. 'Human rights, human condition and law: some explorations toward interaction', IDS Discussion Paper 267, October.

III.

Future Plans

Over 1993-1996 I propose to continue work on the same themes. A higher proportion of time will be allocated to writing up and to polishing drafts and operational papers into more systematic manuscripts.

Operational work on several topics will continue because I am committed to it. Financially this is doubtless to the IDS advantage. Analytically it is also crucial because on - e.g. - land reform, reconstruction, production by poor people present data, analysis and - a fortiori - applied experience

is much too fragile and/or limited to attempted even semi-definitive analysis.

Beyond that time frame the perspective becomes blurred. A possible rational priority over 1997-2000 would be systematic review and synthesization of 1989-1996 (and earlier) work into one to three volumes.

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13-XII-92