
WORLD POVERTY

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Calvin, John (1509–64)

JOHN CALVIN CRITICIZED the French Catholic Church's interpretation of the Bible. He turned to Protestantism for fresh ideas, even though quite a number of so-called heretics were burned at the stake for their dissident ideas. Calvin moved around constantly, until he settled in Geneva, and when he died, his version of Protestantism, instead of the one propagated by Martin Luther, increased in popularity.

Even though Calvin insisted that church and state should be separate, he believed the state should be run according to Christian principles. The government had to be theocratic. After all, God was primary, and God's ideas were the foundation for the whole of society. Calvinism contained views on all aspects of life: politics, economics, and culture. Regrettably, Calvin believed man was essentially sinful and nothing but God's predestination for salvation in heaven could save a person. Other human beings were condemned to hell.

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) expressed that humans are alone, nasty, brutal, and aggressive in a more direct political meaning in his book *Leviathan*. Even if one led a perfect sinless life, one might still go to hell, as decided by God, but at least one died with inner peace.

As an individual, one was to make certain decisions. You and nobody else could make the decision as to which way to go—even though, of course, in the very end God's word overruled everything.

Besides the centrality of God, Calvin also emphasized the importance of the individual rather than that of the organized church (the pope's followers in Rome). Max Weber, in his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, encouraged the individual to work industriously and never wastefully on this earth, rather than seeing life on earth as passive preparation for the afterlife of hell, heaven, or purgatory. Rational capitalism needs ongoing investment. It needs an individual's ascetic lifestyle rather than wasting money made in business on personal luxury or indulgences such as the building of castles, gambling, or fanciful clothes, or in Thorsten Veblen's words, "conspicuous consumption."

Personal wealth could be seen as a favor from God, maybe even as a sign of predestination. This, of course, meant that one would have to work as hard as possible to receive this sign. Material prosperity was now seen as positive, not as a sign of greed and exploitation. Max Weber sees this ascetic lifestyle as encouraging capitalist production and behavior; he links the Calvinist ethic of frugality and serving God to the "spirit of capitalism,"

the “accumulation of wealth” in a continuous, rational manner, rather than that capitalism comes about through economic changes, as Karl Marx analyzed it. According to Weber, because of Calvinism, capitalism developed in northern Europe and not in China (Confucianism), India (Hinduism), or the Arab world (Islam).

Weber understands Calvinism as breaking through the feudal order and preparing the ground for the acceptance of private profits and capitalism. The feudal political, economic, and cultural order fell apart and Calvinism was one of the responses. However, Calvin never advocated capitalism; he lived a God-fearing life on earth, but he did emphasize the importance of the individual and his decision for leading a life as God had intended—and the individual is also the key decision-maker in capitalism.

Calvin was no revolutionary. Until the end he advocated “render unto God what is due to God and to Caesar what is due to Caesar.” Calvin advocated obedience to political authority, as Jesus had done earlier, but once the individual was set free from papal edicts, he was also set free economically. The unintended consequences of Calvinism led to capitalist industrialization and breakthroughs in the natural sciences. Protestantism, particularly in its Calvinistic form, is essentially individualistic in its outlook. Salvation is a matter between the individual and his or her creator in Protestantism, even though the ultimate decision may be a rather one-sided affair and every individual is to work for the greater glory of God. Calvinism became the ideology of the newly risen bourgeoisie.

SEE ALSO: Catholic Church; Protestant Churches; Protestant Ethics; Religion.

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Cambodia

CAMBODIA IS A country of some 11 million people located in tropical mainland southeast Asia. The major-

ity of the people are involved with subsistence rice agriculture. Despite being home to the powerful and socially and technologically advanced Khmer Empire, Cambodia suffered from colonization by the French, and then monstrous misrule by Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge, the communist Cambodians who seized power in the chaotic scenes following the defeat of American forces in Vietnam. The Khmer Rouge regime murdered an unknown number of Cambodians either directly or through overwork and starvation.

The United Nations reports that poverty in Cambodia is characterized by low income and consumption, poor nutritional status, low educational attainment, little access to public services including school and health services, little access to economic opportunities, vulnerability to external shocks, and exclusion from economic, social, and political processes. Poverty has also contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Additionally, one of the legacies of Khmer Rouge rule has been the destruction of the intelligentsia in the country and, hence, the effects of poverty are exacerbated by the lack of medical, teaching, and scientific professionals, whose role in alleviating some of the effects of poverty is essential. Approximately 90 percent of the poor are located in rural areas, where incomes and educational and economic opportunities are lower than in the small urban areas. Around 40 percent of rural people and 36 percent of the population as a whole live below the poverty line of \$1 per day.

The government of Cambodia has established a poverty monitoring and assessment mechanism and is also working with neighbors and with donor nations and organizations to reduce poverty. Priority policy goals include the provision of education for all and awareness of health issues. Basic minimum needs for people in rural locations are being established with a view to strategy formulation. The government has also been working to develop some export industries to generate income, although at a very low level.

However, low levels of capacity in the government, together with the threat of pervasive corruption in government, threaten to reduce the effectiveness of government achievements. These problems are worsened by poor resource management, the presence of unexploded ordnance such as mines and bombs across much of the country, and unresolved issues relating to the previous genocide.

Tackling poverty will require considerable strengthening of civil society institutions to promote greater government and private-sector accountability. Promotion of potentially valuable economic activities such as

tourism, garment manufacture, and exploitation of natural resources must also continue. However, the great lack of government resources has prevented necessary funding of health and education services and is also threatening to derail the long-running, multilateral process aimed at bringing to justice former members of the Khmer Rouge.

Human Development Index Rank: 130

Human Poverty Index Rank: 81

SEE ALSO: Communism; Corruption; Rural Deprivation; Starvation.

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Cameroon

IN THE LOW-INCOME western African nation of Cameroon, where 48 percent of the population live below the national poverty line and where almost one-third of the people are unemployed, inequality continues to thrive. The lowest 10 percent of the population share less than two percent of national income, while the richest 10 percent possess 36.6 percent. Over half of Cameroon's population lives on less than \$2 per day. Cameroon continues to be dominated by the agricultural economic sector, in which 70 percent of Cameroonians labor.

Democracy has made slow inroads in this country, but the ruling ethnic oligarchy has achieved relative stability by promoting the agricultural and petroleum sectors and through improved infrastructure. In conjunction with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, Cameroonian officials have instituted economic reforms that include poverty reduction and increased privatization.

Cameroon's population suffers from low life expectancy, and the median age is 18.6 years. Some 41.7 percent of the population are under 14 years of age. Be-

cause Cameroonians have a 40.2 percent chance of not surviving to see their 40th birthday, only 3.3 percent live past the age of 65. Approximately 42 percent of the population have no sustainable access to an improved water supply, and 21 percent lack sustainable access to improved sanitation.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic has become a major threat to Cameroonian health, and the 6.9 percent prevalence rate is a constant drain on the country's resources. By 2003 estimates, some 560,000 Cameroonians were living with HIV/AIDS, and 49,000 individuals had died from this disease. Other health problems include very high risks of contracting food and waterborne diseases such as bacterial diarrhea, hepatitis A, and typhoid fever. Under the guidance of the Carter Center, health officials and local groups have waged war against river blindness, which has affected an estimated 5.1 million Cameroonians. This debilitating disease is spread by bites of the blackflies that inhabit fast-flowing rivers.

In 1997 in conjunction with the Carter Center, Cameroon successfully eradicated Guinea worm disease, which is caused by contact with infected water. In some areas, vectorborne diseases such as malaria and yellow fever pose a serious threat, as do schistosomiasis and meningococcal meningitis. Health problems are complicated by the fact that Cameroon has only 0.1 physician and 2.6 hospital beds for every 1,000 people.

Children in Cameroon suffer disproportionately from poverty, and some 22.1 percent of Cameroonian children are malnourished. Infant mortality is estimated at 68.26 deaths per 1,000 live births. Poverty is responsible in great part for the mortality rate of 166 for children under the age of 5. Less than one-quarter of Cameroonian children receive oral rehydration therapy when necessary, and almost one-third lack access to affordable drugs. The result is that children die from what should be treatable diseases. Cameroon has improved its childhood immunization rates in recent years. In 2002, the measles immunization rate for infants was 62 percent, and the tuberculosis rate was 77 percent. By 2003, 61 percent of all children between the ages of 12 and 23 months had been immunized against measles, and 73 percent had received DPT3 immunizations.

Cameroonian women continue to suffer from the high fertility rate of 4.47 children per woman. Barely a quarter (26 percent) of Cameroonian females between the ages of 15 and 49 use contraception, and the adolescent fertility rate of 123 per 1,000 live births is unacceptably high. Cameroon's maternal mortality rate of 730 per 100,000 live births also poses problems for

health authorities. Since the mid-1990s, the Cameroonian government has pledged to end sex discrimination and has instituted new policies and programs that promote education and opportunities for women and which place increased attention on reproductive health. By the beginning of the 21st century, 60 percent of all births were attended by trained health workers.

While 84.7 percent of Cameroonian males are literate, almost one-quarter (26.6 percent) of females lack this necessary skill. Literacy rates have improved over the last decades. Between 1990 and 2000, the rate of illiteracy among males and females dropped from 43.8 to 20.9 percent and from 69.0 to 36.3 percent, respectively. Primary education is now free, and between 1999 and 2003, Cameroon saw a rise of 17 percent in total primary school enrollment and a 15 percent increase in the number of females completing primary school.

Human Development Index Rank: 148

Human Poverty Index Rank: 67

SEE ALSO: Children and Poverty; Disease and Poverty; HIV/AIDS; International Monetary Fund.

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Campus Compact

CAMPUS COMPACT IS a consortium of over 900 university and college presidents, representing more than five million students, across the United States, whose stated mission is to advance the public purposes of colleges and universities by deepening their ability to improve community life and to educate students for civic and social responsibility.

The organization was founded in 1985 by the presidents of three private universities (Brown, Georgetown, and Stanford) as well as by the president of the Education Commission of the States, an organization that

serves a clearinghouse function for advising education institutions on helping state leaders shape educational policies. At the time, the media was apt to portray college students as nothing more than money-hungry and self-centered individuals who were unconcerned with the world around them.

The four institutional presidents felt that that perception was incorrect and wanted to demonstrate that college students could make a difference in the lives of their fellow Americans. Thus, they founded Campus Compact to give students the opportunity to make that difference through voluntary work in their communities.

Through Campus Compact, students are taught the importance of public service and helping to improve the lives of those persons less fortunate than themselves. To this end, Campus Compact provides services to its member schools, such as training for students, faculty members, and administrators; research on programs that work; advocacy toward volunteer community partnerships; and leadership development.

The success of this organization can be measured in terms of organizational growth and student participation in volunteer opportunities. For example, Campus Compact estimates that student volunteers at member campuses contribute at least \$4.45 billion per year in services to their communities. Also, Campus Compact has enjoyed a large increase in both membership and activities in the five-year period between 1998 and 2003, the last year for which statistics are available.

Membership had increased from 548 to 924, and the percentage of students on member campuses who were volunteering their time had increased more than threefold, from 10 percent to 36 percent. Faculty involvement had increased from 10,800 to 22,000 faculty volunteers. Volunteers participated in a variety of programs, including those dealing with widespread hunger, housing and homelessness, environmental issues, and voting rights.

While Campus Compact is a national organization it also has state Compacts in each of the 31 states that have participating universities. The state Compacts are engaged in a variety of activities in support of the mission of the national Compact. For example, the California Compact has organized 40 conferences, workshops, and other events to provide training and opportunities to volunteers and others within their communities. In Indiana, the Compact became involved in 522 literacy programs, 85 percent of which resulted in an improvement in reading skills. The ability to read and write can have a major impact on helping people lift themselves

out of poverty by providing them with better opportunities to succeed.

SEE ALSO: Charity; Education; Deprivation; Nongovernmental Organizations.

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Canada

THROUGHOUT THE DECADE of the 1990s the United Nations Human Development Index regularly ranked Canada first in its quality of life survey. While this ranking has slipped slightly in recent years, Canada continues to be presented as one of the most affluent nations in the developed world.

This image, combined with Canada's vast natural resources, strong manufacturing sector, growing technological industries, and history of strong social policies, suggests that Canada provides a secure "safety net" to protect its citizens from the consequences of poverty. Despite this assumption, Canada's poverty rate remains inordinately high. According to a 1996 United Nations Children's Fund report, the poverty rate for families with children in Canada was the second highest of 18 industrialized nations, double the poverty rate of the Netherlands and six times higher than that of Finland or Sweden.

While these figures provide a shocking counterpoint to Canada's affluent image, conditions are worse for Canada's indigenous peoples, who have been isolated in remote communities and excluded from resource and industrial development. Consequently, despite its legacy of social security and welfare reform following World War II, the Canadian state has failed to effectively address poverty as a social issue. Rather than strengthen the state's role, policy changes since the 1980s have abandoned a universal approach and have increasingly returned social services in Canada to a "residual" model relying on private charity, a transition that drew effectively on the antiwelfare backlash throughout the 1990s and which has resurrected older social attitudes separating the "deserving" from the "undeserving" poor.

Well into the 20th century in Canada, the state had little direct role in providing for social welfare. The resistance to government involvement concerning social welfare reflected the socioeconomic structure of Canada during the mid-19th century. In a predominantly rural nation whose economy was driven by both the agricultural and resources sectors, it was assumed that anyone who was capable of working could find gainful employment and that charity would naturally account for the deserving poor.

Consequently poverty relief was based on a residual model where destitute individuals were expected to turn to their families, church, and philanthropic organizations, and only subsequently municipal or provincial governments, for relief. The residual system placed the emphasis on family and the local community to determine the level at which the indigent would be supported, and allowed for a simplistic separation at the community level between the deserving and undeserving poor. Essentially, outside of direct family-based charity, only those individuals whom the community deemed to deserve it would receive support. The elderly, widows with small children, the blind and deaf, and men crippled through work-related injuries could expect to receive community support.

Others, who were characterized as simply unwilling to work, could not find support. The underlying assumption behind this restrictive measure was the belief that charity inevitably produced dependency. Consequently, following practices that dated back to the Elizabethan Poor Laws, relief payments were customarily kept below the lowest level of wages that could be earned in the community and, to further discourage dependence, often required able-bodied recipients to perform some community service (cutting logs, breaking rocks, or sweeping the streets). These payments were usually made in kind (necessary goods and supplies), as it was generally assumed that individuals who were incapable of supporting themselves could not effectively manage cash relief payments.

In urban areas, this was particularly true in the case of relief provided to temporarily unemployed workers, seasonal workers, or recent immigrants, who were seen to have mismanaged their personal finances and who were often perceived to have succumbed to vices such as drinking or gambling.

In this manner, relief from poverty was dependent on both community attitudes (often toward the applicant personally) and local economic circumstances. This emphasis on community standards inevitably increased surveillance of relief recipients and encouraged



One of the most developed nations, Canada still wrestles with issues of poverty and state support of the “deserving poor.”

the enforcement of strict codes of personal morality and behavior.

The initial crisis for the residual system began in the late 19th century as rapid urbanization and industrialization radically altered the socioeconomic nature of Canadian society. Canada’s urban population increased dramatically in the late 19th and early 20th centuries from only 13 percent in 1851, to 35 percent in 1901, and 47 percent by 1921. While urbanization and industrialization provided new opportunities for some Canadians, for unskilled workers and recent immigrants the low wages, sporadic employment, and poor living conditions of urban tenements also heightened their vulnerability to poverty.

Although workers in skilled trades were able to establish contributory benevolent societies to provide limited security from illness, injury, or temporary unemployment, this option was beyond the reach of the majority of Canadian workers who lived at or slightly above the poverty line. These issues were highlighted by the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital (1887), which revealed the exploitative working conditions and substandard housing experienced by Canadian workers. While rural workers had usually been able to turn to family for short-term assistance, the

demographic dislocation caused by urbanization severed many of these traditional family ties and forced an increasing reliance on private, church, and state systems of social welfare.

Consequently the late 19th century saw both an increase in working-class agitation for social reform, and the expansion of a middle-class reform movement. While labor leaders focused on unionization, improved working conditions, and higher wages as solutions to poverty, middle-class social reformers were more concerned with transforming the working-class itself to make workers both more industrious and more thrifty.

Although these middle-class reformers were deeply concerned with issues such as child poverty, they frequently blamed the structure of working class families, rather than low wages, for the poor living conditions experienced by working-class children. In response to this concern with child poverty, which the middle class intrinsically associated with juvenile delinquency, the state empowered private agencies, such as J.J. Kelso’s Children’s Aid Society (1887), to act to protect children by removing neglected children, and those in danger of becoming delinquents, from their homes.

In many instances these categorizations represented little more than a clash between the normative assumptions of middle-class social reformers and the realities of working-class family-oriented economic strategies, which frequently required the economic contributions of children and adolescents. Of particular concern to middle-class reformers was the practice of taking in paying boarders, either by having opposite-sex children share the same bedroom or by having male boarders share a room with adolescent boys. While working-class families viewed these practices as necessary economic arrangements, middle-class reformers viewed these arrangements as potentially dangerous sources of immorality.

Canada’s social welfare system had a direct influence on the lives of all Canadians.

Beyond its support of quasi-state agencies such as the Children’s Aid Society and its financial support of private institutions such as asylums for the insane or reformatories for delinquents, the state’s involvement with social welfare in the early 20th century was largely restricted to efforts to address the growing issue of poverty among the elderly. At the federal level the first attempt to address this issue was the Government An-

nities Act (1908), which allowed individuals to contribute to government-secured pension funds.

However, as with other private pension schemes, this did little to address the needs of the average worker who lacked the surplus income to contribute toward a pension. In 1927 the federal government passed the Old Age Pensions Act, in which the federal government funded 50 percent (increased to 75 percent in 1931) of provincial spending on old-age pensions. However, the “means-tested” qualifications continued to assume that family, not the state, had the primary responsibility for the care of the elderly.

While the need to support crippled soldiers and war widows following the First World War served to legitimize the state’s role in maintaining social welfare, beyond the establishment of various mothers’ allowance programs at the provincial level, little was done to restructure the residual model of social welfare in Canada. This failure was evident in Canada’s response to the Depression, which emphasized local responsibility for relief programs with only minimal support from provincial or federal agencies.

While Canadian Prime Minister R.B. Bennett’s Employment and Social Insurance Act (1935) attempted to establish a national system of unemployment insurance, these efforts were sidetracked by constitutional objections. This failure contributed to Bennett’s electoral defeat by W.L. Mackenzie King, who turned the jurisdictional questions raised by Bennett’s policies over to the protracted Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (1937–40). Following constitutional alterations, which gave the federal government increased powers over taxation and employment policies, Mackenzie King’s Unemployment Insurance Act (1940) initiated Canada’s transformation into a modern welfare state.

Beginning in the early 1950s and continuing throughout the 1960s, numerous pieces of legislation were introduced to expand and support the creation of a universal social safety net within Canada. Key elements in this legislative initiative were the Old Age Security and Old Age Assistance Acts (1951), which were replaced by the Canada Pension Plan (1965) and the Guaranteed Income Supplement (1966), the Unemployment Assistance Act (1956), and the Canada Assistance Plan (1966).

Combined with a nationally funded healthcare system, by the early 1970s Canada’s social welfare system had a direct influence on the lives of all Canadians. This switch to an institutional model of welfare reflected a reversal of the earlier social attitudes that had character-

ized the residual model. Under this institutional system, Canadians qualified for government assistance simply by virtue of their citizenship. Social assistance was transformed from charitable acts intended to assist the “deserving poor” to a government mandate, which reflected the state’s obligation to protect all Canadians. This changing attitude was most evident in the Canada Assistance Plan, which, by providing direct financial assistance to the working-poor, sought to break the spiral of intergenerational poverty.

By the mid-1980s the decline of Canada’s welfare system was already evident.

However, as the costs of these institutional programs increased through the 1970s and 1980s, the potential to achieve a fundamental restructuring of Canadian society was not realized. Rather than eliminating poverty, Canada’s social safety net simply functioned as an ameliorative system, which sought to provide continued social stability for capital development.

By the mid-1980s the postinstitutional decline of Canada’s welfare system was already evident and, throughout the 1990s, the rapid reduction of federal funding for welfare programs essentially returned Canada to a residual model as the burden of poverty relief was increasingly shifted back to charitable institutions. This process was contributed to by a virulent backlash against welfare programs throughout the 1990s, which recharacterized poverty as a problem for the lazy and irresponsible.

One example of this process can be seen in the transformation of Canada’s unemployment insurance program during the 1990s from an almost universal system into an increasingly restrictive and punitive program where only 40 percent of all applicants qualify for benefits. Partially, this transition also reflects structural changes to Canada’s economy, which have increasingly emphasized part-time and contract labor, changes that have increased the financial pressure on the working poor while undermining the minimal security that government programs had previously provided. For working families with young children, this transition has been particularly traumatic. Between 1984 and 1996 government assistance for working families with children was reduced by \$800 million (Canadian).

In 1996 the long-standing Canada Assistance Plan was replaced by the Canadian Health and Social Trans-

fer, which further reduced federal funding for social services. A clear indication of the effect of these program changes on poor families can be seen in the expansion of charitable food bank programs across Canada, increasing from 75 food banks in 1984 to 625 in 1996. Consequently, despite the Canadian federal government's commitment in 1989 to eliminate child poverty by the year 2000, poverty has continued to be a daily issue for many Canadian families.

According to Statistics Canada's 2003 figures, 52.5 percent of children in female-headed, single-parent families live below its "low income cutoff" line. While Canada's rate of child poverty has improved since the mid-1990s, dropping from 23.6 percent in 1996 to 17.6 percent in 2003, this rate remains far higher than in western Europe. As a result, given the increased business reliance on part-time and contract work, the increased utilization of food banks by working families with children, and the reduction of real earning across the three lowest economic quintiles, it seems evident that poverty will continue to be a major social issue for Canada.

Human Development Index Rank: 5

Human Poverty Index Rank: 9 (HPI-2)

SEE ALSO: Capability Measure of Poverty; Children's Aid Society; Deserving Poor; Rural Deprivation; Social Insurance (Universal); United States; Urbanization; Welfare Dependence; Welfare State.

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Capability Measure of Poverty

THE CAPABILITY MEASURE of poverty (CMP) is a response to the growing recognition that income poverty is only a part of what constitutes conditions of poverty. The impetus for developing capability measures of poverty comes from the 1996 Human Development Report (HDR), produced by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

In that report, human development is defined in relation to the expansion of capabilities while deprivation is defined as the lack of basic or necessary capabilities. The 1996 HDR attempted to better understand both the extent of poverty and experiences of poverty by considering factors beyond income. Addressing links between poverty and human development and attempting to assess the multiple needs of poor people, the report introduced the CMP criteria to provide a multidimensional measure of deprivation. The capability measure of poverty shifts focus from means or input, such as income, toward ends by focusing on outcomes that reflect people's quality of life. Emphasis is placed on understanding how, and under what circumstances, people are able to act toward meeting their needs.

The CMP focuses on the percentage of people who lack basic or essential capabilities that are necessary to allow people to escape income poverty in a manner that can be sustained. Of particular concern is the lack of three basic capabilities for which the CMP provides a composite index. The first is the lack of nourishment and health as reflected in the proportion of children under 5 years old who are underweight. The second concerns the capability for healthy reproduction, as represented by the proportion of births unattended by people with proper training. The third factor is the extent of female illiteracy, which expresses a lack of capability to access education.

These factors are taken to speak to broader issues, such as overall health and nutrition and access to health services as a whole and to education. Significantly the measures emphasize women's deprivation because this has such a crucial impact on the development of families and social relations.

Applying the capability measure of poverty suggests that almost twice as many people in developing countries are poor than would be identified as such if one focused only on those below the income poverty line. Looking at poverty beyond the lack of income and addressing capability poverty reveal that the number of poor people in developing countries may be underesti-

mated by almost 700 million people where only income poverty is accounted for. In addition to the problem of underestimating the extent of actual poverty, failure to improve people's capabilities will contribute to the further growth of income poverty.

The Human Development Report of 1996 concluded that poverty cannot be eradicated simply by increasing income. Properly addressing poverty also requires a broadening of human capabilities as well as the productive deployment of those capabilities.

More recently there have been efforts to develop more comprehensive or refined measures of people's capabilities. Among the difficulties facing more comprehensive approaches remains the lack of available data across contexts.

Perhaps the most influential contribution to a capability measure of poverty is offered in the work of the economist and Nobel laureate Amartya Sen. Sen notes that the relationship between income and capabilities can vary greatly between communities and between individuals in the same community. Thus a numerical poverty line based on means such as income does not address variations in personal or social characteristics. Sen's work benefits from comparative analysis, which shows, as in comparisons between the United States and Europe or China and India, that countries with a similar Gross Domestic Product (GDP) can show widely differing capabilities for survival and education.

SEE ALSO: Absolute-Income-Based Measures of Poverty; Income; Indicators of Poverty; Sen, Amartya; Sen Index.

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Cape Verde

POVERTY IN THE ARCHIPELAGO of Cape Verde is a result of lack of natural resources, a crowded job market, and poor agricultural conditions. Although in the mid-1990s, nearly half of the population of Cape Verde lived below the national poverty line, conditions have

steadily improved and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has recently declared the islands to be a medium developed country (MDC). Existing in this developmental margin means that while some of Cape Verde's poverty problem has been alleviated, the country is still a nation at risk of pervasive impoverishment. The persistent problems affecting poverty in Cape Verde include a high unemployment rate (16 percent) and the fact that at best, Cape Verde can supply food for only 15 percent of its population, relying heavily on international food aid.

Poverty in Cape Verde is dependent on variables outside the citizens' control.

Emigration and migration as a result of insufficient resources and opportunities have been a consistent theme in the history of Cape Verde. Today it is estimated that as many Cape Verdeans live outside the country as within, and the economy is greatly bolstered by support from its diasporan community. This trend of emigration is a major factor stifling the development of Cape Verde, because half of the employable population works in foreign markets. Domestic migration has overwhelmingly been from rural to urban areas, where well over half the population resides, and where the service and manufacturing industries provide 70 percent of the nation's jobs.

This migration has caused a great strain on available social services in city centers and the saturation of the job market, which accounts for some of the unemployment and poverty in Cape Verde. The government of Cape Verde has both implemented a welfare program and has widely instituted public works projects, which provide permanent and temporary employment as well as public services in order to alleviate these pressures. However, poverty in Cape Verde is frequently believed to be a result of the structural inferiority of a young nation, in regard to the equitable dispersion of employment, healthcare, education, and sanitation facilities and the improper management of the public works programs. The country had only been independent for 30 years in 2005.

A large portion of the poverty in Cape Verde lies in the rural regions, where a quarter of the employed population shares less than seven percent of the Gross Domestic Product. Poor agricultural conditions resulting from persistent drought and a nationwide scarcity of fresh water yield erratic harvests from year to year. Peri-

odic famine as a result of crop decimation is the cause of widespread hunger and poverty on the islands.

Farmers or agriculturalists in Cape Verde maintain a tenuous existence wherein their economic security is frequently upset by a harsh climate, which is known for decimating entire harvests every few years. This level of economic risk and uncertainty extends beyond the agricultural sector to be a theme for Cape Verde's economic fragility. Relying heavily on international aid (both nutritional and monetary), support from the diasporan community and international trade, all of which are not secure resource streams, poverty in Cape Verde is dependent on variables that are outside the citizens' control, and thus subject to sporadic fluctuation. While Cape Verde is now enjoying a period of economic growth and prosperity, its future sustenance hangs in the balance.

Human Development Index Rank: 105

Human Poverty Index Rank: 45

SEE ALSO: Drought; Famine; Structural Dependency; Urbanization; Welfare.

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Capitalism

THE CHARACTER OF capitalism has been changing since its inception. Great changes have taken place since the emergence of the capitalist mode of production, particularly in the second half of the 18th century, when the great Industrial Revolution was born, first in England, and then in other European countries. *Laissez faire* capitalism, based on pure capitalism, or a perfectly competitive market model, was exercised in these countries until the end of World War I (1914–18). After World War II (1939–45), capitalism transformed into modern capitalism, which may also be called managed, welfare, guided, or regulated capitalism.

At present, the perfect market model or pure capitalism is not exercised in any country of the world. Even the United States and the United Kingdom do not

have pure capitalism and are indeed exercising mixed economies. But their economies are still based on a free-market economy or capitalist mode of production, since the major role in these economies is played by the private sector.

DEFINITION OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism is a mode of production, based on the principles of institutional privatization, the maximization of profits, and a free-market economy. Under capitalism, all means of production are owned and operated by individuals or firms with the sole consideration of the desire to earn a profit.

Sidney Webbs defines capitalism with the necessary implications of the system. He states that “by the term ‘capitalism,’ we mean the particular stage in the development of industry and legal institutions in which the bulk of the workers find themselves divorced from the ownership of the instruments of production in such a way as to pass into the position of wage-earners whose subsistence, security and personal freedom seem dependent on the will of a relatively small proportion of the nation, namely, those who own and, through their legal ownership, control the organization of land, the machinery and the labour forces of the community and do so with the object of making for themselves individual and private gains.”

FEATURES OF CAPITALISM

A wide study of capitalism reveals the important features or characteristics of this system with an assumption of *laissez faire*. The following are some of the common features of capitalism as experienced in different capitalist countries in the world.

The most important feature of capitalism, as experienced in various capitalist countries, is the individual ownership of private property and the existence of the system of inheritance. It results in the vital inequalities in respect to the distribution of wealth and property in the society. Rich persons become richer and, on the other hand, the poor become poorer.

Moreover, capitalism also consists of the private ownership of the means of production, which are utilized exclusively by a few individuals in their own interest. The result is that the lion's share of national income goes to a few rich people and the masses share the rest.

Economic freedom means the freedom of a producer or an individual to select his or her own enterprise, to operate it on a contract or agreement basis, and

to utilize personal property and wealth in his or her own way. It is a very outstanding feature of capitalism. An individual has the full liberty to establish and operate any firm in a capitalist society wherever he or she likes, provided that he or she has the desired capital and ability.

Another very important characteristic of capitalism is its operation on the basis of self-interest and the profit motive. Under capitalism, the profit motive is the main inspiration of an individual to undertake any productive activity. Capitalism does not rely on the sentiments and love of society, and all economic decisions are made by an individual in order to get maximum profit.

It was with this view that the classical economists, including Adam Smith and others, imagined an “Economic Man” under the capitalist mode of production who was merely a selfish and cruel person, and always thought of his profit rather than that of the welfare of the society. Alfred Marshall has explained the Economic Man as a person “who was under no ethical influence and who pursues pecuniary gain warily and energetically, but mechanically and selfishly.” Thus, it was a hypothetical man who is at least not found at present in the world, and who appeared after the emergence of the Industrial Revolution, especially in England.

The other important feature of capitalism is the presence of consumer’s sovereignty in a capitalist economy. It is thought that under capitalism the “consumer is king,” which refers to the consumer’s sovereignty in the real sense of the term. Broadly speaking, every consumer has a freedom of choice to get any service or commodity from wherever he wishes to purchase it, provided he has the desire and the ability to purchase the commodity or service. But in practice, since the income and the availability of goods and services are limited, and there are state interventions, the consumer’s sovereignty is restricted even in the economies of the United States and the United Kingdom.

The open competition in the market, whether it is the resource market or the goods and services market, is another important feature of capitalism. All economic decisions depend on the conditions of the market, which are made by the private owners of the firms or the factories. Producers compete with each other to affect the consumer’s choice through the media of publicity or advertising. They can depreciate the price or improve the quality of the products and/or offer other rebates or concessions to their customers. On the other side, there is also competition among customers to get

the commodities who may offer a higher price for them. Similarly there is also a competition among the owners of the various means of production, including land, labor, and capital.

Another remarkable feature of this economic system is the presence of class conflict in society. Society is divided into two classes, the rich and the poor. Since the rich people, small in number, dominate over the millions who are poor and belong to the exploited class, it leads to the conflict between capital and labor in capitalistic countries. The class struggle in such economies seems to be an inherent character, which does not have any immediate solution.

The masses do not find themselves in a position to get even two square meals a day.

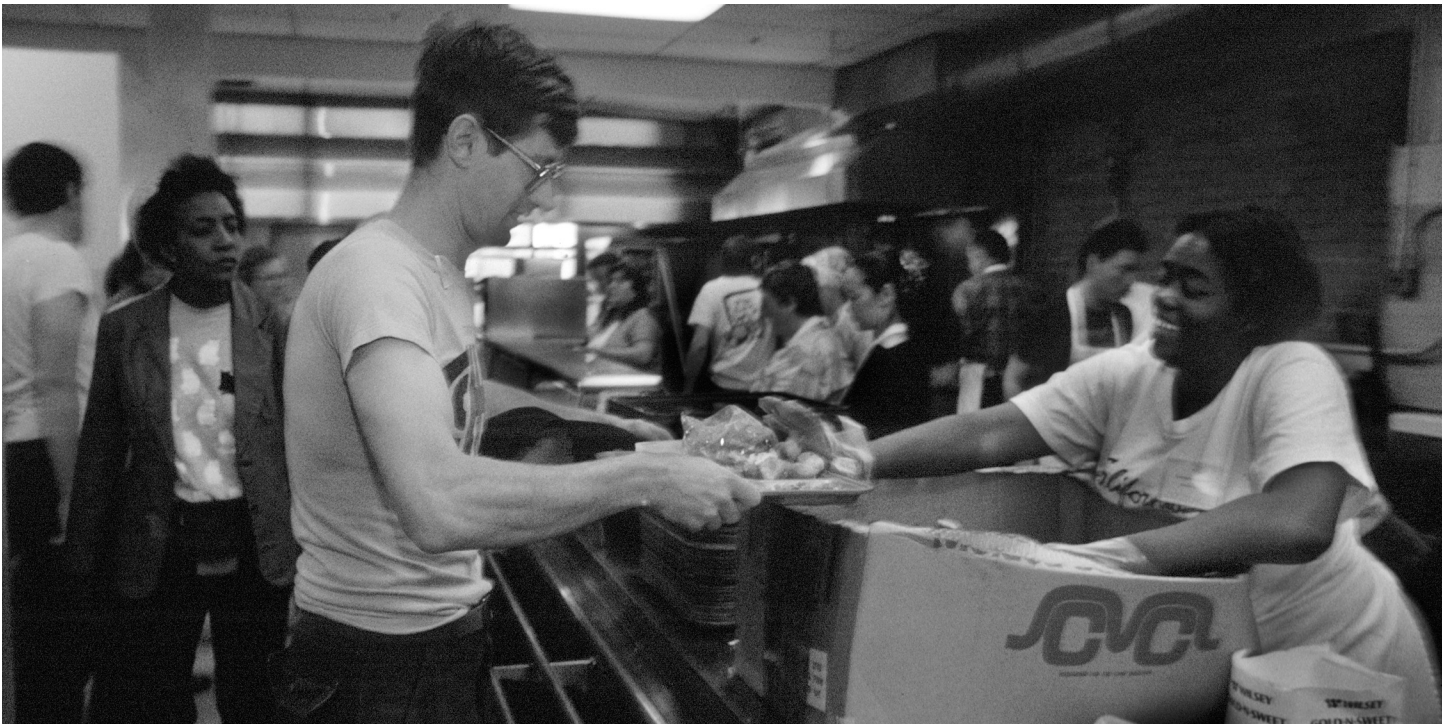
The capitalist society is always followed by the inequalities of income and wealth, a very important characteristic of such a society. A few rich people enjoy all sorts of conceivable luxuries, and, on the other hand, the masses do not find themselves in a position to get even two square meals a day. The most painful thing is that the gap between the rich and poor is continuously getting wider.

Every economic decision is governed by the price mechanism in a free-market economy. The whole economic functioning in capitalism depends on the price system, that is, the demand and supply of the commodities and means of production determine their price in the market. Price is a very important factor in capitalism in order to operate the economic system and control it.

The absence of central economic planning is also a very remarkable characteristic of a private-enterprise economy. In such an economy producers and consumers, on the basis of the price mechanism, make the important economic decisions independently. The economies of the United States and the United Kingdom, characterized by the capitalist mode of production, do not have central planning. However, such economies depend on microlevel planning.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism, as experienced in various countries of the world, has certain remarkable achievements. One of the main achievements of capitalism is its automatic functioning. This type of economy works out automatically



For critics of capitalism, the entire society is assumed to be divided into two major classes—the rich and the poor, that is, the “haves” and the “have-nots.” The exploitation of the latter by the former gives rise to the class struggles in the society.

through the price system, as we have learned earlier. It does not require any central and comprehensive planning, but mainly depends on competition and the open-market economic system.

Under capitalism, the personal profit motive works as the most powerful incentive. The producers in such an economy always try to maximize their profits. To achieve this objective, they manage and operate all economic activities in such a way that the target of maximum production may be fulfilled at the lowest cost with the largest amount of profit. According to the law of returns, it will be possible when the optimal use of resources is ensured.

On the other hand, the functioning of capitalism also provides incentives to the workers through higher wages, bonuses, and overtime. It improves the efficiency of workers and all factors of production work in a coordinated manner and efficiently, which accelerates national output and the economic growth of the country.

The incentive of profit stimulates entrepreneurs to take risks, and new avenues of production are explored, with the result that the growth of the country increases significantly and the standard of living of the people rises. In this respect, in the United States and European capitalist economies, the economic system based on

personal profit motive has ensured a high level of productivity along with an increasing rate of per capita income and standard of living.

The economy of the United States generally supplies annually all sorts of goods and services abundantly, and even the common people of the country enjoy them with pleasure. In this respect, Professor J.A. Schumpeter states: “The capitalist achievement does not typically consist in providing more silk stockings for queens but in bringing them within the reach of factory girls in return for steadily decreasing amounts of efforts. The capitalist process, not by coincidence but by virtue of its mechanism, progressively raises the standard of life of the masses.”

Another very important achievement of the capitalist economy, as observed in several capitalist countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, and other European countries, has been the good chances for individuals. All factors of production, including land, labor, capital, management, and entrepreneurs, get good opportunities for progress in these countries. Moreover, the special features of a capitalist economy, such as the right of private property and inheritance, private profit motive, and personal freedom, have encouraged productive forces to mobilize and direct all re-

sources into productive works. Besides the fast developments in different spheres of life, capitalist countries have attained remarkable progress in respect to technological developments. Individual freedom in the U.S. economy, followed by the personal profit instinct, has explored new avenues.

The production of high-quality goods follows the latest inventions, new processes, and technological developments. U.S. technological developments are advanced compared to the progress of technology in the countries of other economic systems. In this respect, the United States has attained remarkable progress in the development of space technology and cost-reducing technology.

In the capitalist economy, where people enjoy not only economic freedom (that is, the freedom of consumption, freedom of production, and freedom of savings and investments) but also political freedom, democracy is regarded as essential for the sound and regular progress of individuals in the country. It is with this view that during the 20th century, the monarchy of capitalist countries was replaced by democracy. Even in England, the monarchy is merely formal and ornamental; the real power is in the hands of the government elected by the people.

CRITICISM OR FAILURES OF CAPITALISM

Though there have been many remarkable achievements of capitalism, it has also been criticized from all directions. A capitalist economy, or a free-market economy, gives birth to useless and wasteful cutthroat competition. It sometimes leads to sheer waste of money, time, and property on a large scale. Some economists may say a huge amount of money is wasted on publicity or advertising. Moreover, the person who has employed a large degree of resources in production and has been defeated in the race may suffer from a big loss. Cutthroat competition does not ensure any corresponding social benefit to the public in general, though it may be in the interest of the firm concerned.

Capitalism has been criticized for the recurrence of economic instability, particularly in Western capitalist economies. In such an economy, economic decisions are made in the absence of planning on the basis of the demand of the customers.

The overestimation of effective demand by producers in the prosperity period leads to the position of overproduction, and that further leads to the economic instability in the economy. The Great Depression of the 1930s is the best example for explaining economic insta-

bility, when capitalist countries were seriously under the cloud of depression and were the victims of unemployment.

In the boom period, there may be a danger of inflation, which may cause large-scale suffering to the poor and create political instability in the country.

Under capitalism the entire society is assumed to be divided into two major classes—the rich and the poor, that is, the “haves” and the “have-nots.” The exploitation of the latter by the former gives rise to the class struggles in the society. The class struggle sometimes causes the replacement of capitalism by a socialistic pattern of society.

The economies of industrial countries or capitalist countries assume that such an economy is supposed to be stabilized at the level of full employment. Unfortunately, the assumption of full employment in the open-market economies failed. Many economists state that the capitalist economy may stabilize somewhere above the level of full employment because of various rigidities and distortions in the economy.

It is a very serious charge against an economy based on a price system that the capitalist economy promotes the economic disparities in society. The general observations of capitalist economies, particularly in the context of the U.S. economy, reveals that the distribution of income and wealth is quite uneven, and there is a wide gap between the rich and the poor. Despite state intervention, the gap between the two is improving. As G.D.H. Cole observed, “there is a world of difference in terms of happiness between the high priest and the slaves in the temple of industry.”

The monopolists, once in control, try to exploit consumers on a large scale.

Free competition in a free-market economy leads to the emergence of monopolies and the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few people. It thus becomes difficult for an ordinary producer to compete with them in the market. These big businesses, through their command and control over the means of production, defeat small producers in the open-market competition and establish monopolies in the market. The monopolists, once holding control over the market, always try to exploit consumers on a large scale by charging high prices for their products.

Sometimes the capitalist is blamed for the misallocation and misuse of the means of production. Under

capitalism, production is not undertaken merely to fulfill the basic requirements of the poor people. Resources are generally used to produce luxury goods for the rich, and the interests of the poor are crushed significantly.

The alignments of big industrial countries like the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and Russia, which are mostly capitalist, enforce the terms of trade against backward countries. Moreover, the policy of big industrial countries consists of applying several restrictions against the under-developed countries so as to bring down their growth and hence enhance their dependence on them. Ultimately, poor countries have to depend largely on rich and powerful countries for undertaking their development programs, as we know that poor countries get their requirements fulfilled through foreign aid exclusively extended by the rich.

Their alignments also lead to several socioeconomic distortions. Some historians have pointed out that the big powerful countries may indeed take interest in provoking wars between two or more countries so that their leadership and supremacy may exist on the one hand, and their armament factories may be able to achieve success in selling arms to these countries, on the other.

ECONOMIC CRISIS UNDER CAPITALISM

The first stage of the economic crisis of capitalism started with World War I and the Russian Revolution. In this stage, the Soviet Union was fully under the influence of the capitalist world. But the economic benefits of the socialist system as compared to the capitalist economy were clearly visible. In due course, the Soviet Union by the end of 1930 appeared to be a powerful state, as it had been transformed from a backward agrarian country into a highly developed industrial country. The proportion of industrial output of socialist countries in the world rose from 3 percent in 1937 to 10 percent in 1977.

The crisis of the capitalist economies began with the struggle of independence, which spread over the imperial colonies and semicolonies. The proletariat, the most consistent fighter against colonialism, strongly protested against imperialism and forced all the working classes, including the peasantry, to join the struggle against the capitalist mode of production.

The most important feature of the national liberation movement in that period was the spontaneous attack of the oppressed and exploited masses against

colonialism. Such class struggles started not only in Soviet Russia but also in Indochina, the Philippines, and China.

The economic crisis of capitalism was thus characterized by the gradual intensification of all contradictions of capitalism. The bourgeoisie was unable to use productive forces, the unemployed army of youths provided instability in the capitalist pattern of the society, and the movement of establishing socialism carried on with success.

The second stage of the economic crisis of capitalism developed during World War II with socialist revolutions in various European and Asian countries. The revolutionary transformation of capitalism to socialism, which began with the great Russian October revolution, continued, registering the victories of socialist revolutions in various European and Asian countries.

The victory of the Soviet people in World War II stimulated national liberation movements in various countries and strengthened the liquidation of colonial regimes. It also encouraged the breakup of the colonial system of imperialism. China, North Vietnam, and North Korea undertook socialist movements and established communalism in their countries, replacing the old capitalist system. American imperialism, converting into a new form of colonialism, spread its capitalist influence.

The third stage of the economic crisis of capitalism started in the mid-1950s, a period of rather peaceful co-existence and competition between the two economic systems. This proved the claim of some people that socialism could come only with war. According to the Marxist approach, the development and deepening of the crisis of capitalism are basically the output of the internal contradictions of the capitalist mode of production.

The final stage of the economic crisis of capitalism is characterized by the development and formation of the state-monopoly nature of modern capitalism, consisting of all its economic and social contradictions.

The capitalist economy became unstable with the new crisis of overproduction, which the capitalist world faced from 1957 to 1961 and from 1969 to 1971. The new crisis of overproduction seemed to be the worst and deepest of all crises experienced since the beginning of the 1930s. It affected all major capitalist countries significantly.

The economic disparities among the developing countries have led to interimperialist contradictions and to competition among three imperialist regions—the United States, western Europe, and Japan, causing

further decay of imperialism and emergence of new military powers.

Schumpeter has widely discussed the growth, development, and fall of capitalism in his book *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. Schumpeter understands the entrepreneur as the most important agent to be held responsible for the growth and development of capitalism, and describes him or her as a lever that plays a key role in a human body, whereas Karl Marx calls him or her a parasite for the failure of the capitalist system.

According to Schumpeter's analysis, the internal inspiration of an entrepreneur encourages him or her to invent new methods of production and management so as to produce new products of good quality, and to put the economy on a strong economic foothold. As an organizer, the entrepreneur has to find new sources of raw materials, new methodology, new products, and wide markets for every increasing output. Thus, it is the entrepreneur who with his or her intellectual and other capacities brings capitalism to its highest level of success. It is with this view that the class of capitalists or entrepreneurs may be a catalyst to improve the general standard of living in a country.

SEE ALSO: Colonialism; Communism; Depression, Great; Economic Liberalization; Industrial Revolution; Privatization; Socialism; Structural Dependency.

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CARE

CARE IS AN INTERNATIONAL humanitarian organization with headquarters in Brussels, Belgium. There are 11 separate CARE organizations serving millions of poor people in the poorest nations in the world. CARE, USA is headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia. CARE is

governed by a board of directors, elected by its members at an annual meeting. All of the board members are uncompensated volunteers. The acronym CARE today stands for Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere.

World War II witnessed enormous dislocations of millions of people who were suffering hunger, sickness, and starvation. Part of the suffering was due to the events of war, but much of it was the result of policies by the combatant nations that were designed to starve the enemy. By the end of World War II millions of people had fled their homes, factories were destroyed, and farms were often abandoned. The need for relief in postwar Europe was great. To provide relief, a consortium of 22 American charities united to create the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe (CARE). The consortium, CARE, has been providing relief ever since.

CARE's relief operations in 1946 saw the first CARE packages arrive at Le Havre, France. During the Soviet blockade of occupied Berlin in 1948, CARE packages arrived on the airlift to supply the city. CARE's relief work during the Korean War (1950–53) encouraged Congress in 1954 to pass Public Law 480, which authorized the distribution of surplus American food to reduce hunger in foreign countries. Contributions were encouraged by celebrities like Ingrid Bergman who made *CARE package* household words. CARE has been involved in providing civilian relief in numerous conflicts. Eventually over 100 million CARE packages went to people in need.

In 1949 CARE began aiding the poor in the developing world with resources for development. Its first program was opened in the Philippines. When President John F. Kennedy signed the law establishing the Peace Corps, he sought help from CARE in training the first volunteers in Latin America. After 1966 CARE expanded its mission from relief work to self-help projects in developing countries, often with financing from indigenous governments. In 1974 CARE provided relief supplies for drought victims in Niger and Chad. Famine relief was greatly expanded in 1985 in Africa following drought in the Sahel. Expanded famine relief was undertaken in the politically unstable situation in Somalia in 1992.

In 1993, famine relief for people in Haiti was undertaken. In 1994 CARE was again on the front line providing relief as the civil war and ethnic massacres in Rwanda sent great numbers of refugees into Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) and into Tanzania. A shift in developmental mission was initiated in 1986

with CARE's program for small-business development. A new family planning program to reduce poverty was begun in 1990. Family planning was expanded in 1997 into a holistic program embracing all aspects of family life in order to fight poverty systemically.

CARE's importance in humanitarian work in the last half of the 20th century was recognized in 1996 when the Smithsonian Institute included a CARE package in its permanent collection. In 2002 CARE reorganized and refocused its mission toward achieving lasting victories over poverty in the years ahead. Today CARE is one of the world's leading international humanitarian organizations dedicated to fighting global disease and poverty. Each year, its programs directly improve the lives of tens of millions of people in some 70 countries around the world as CARE helps poor communities create lasting solutions to their most threatening problems.

SEE ALSO: Conflict; International Nongovernmental Organizations; Standard Food Basket; Starvation.

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Caritas

CARITAS, AN INTERNATIONAL confederation of more than 150 Roman Catholic relief, development, and social service organizations, coordinates aid to the poor in over 200 countries. Taking its name from the Latin word for charity, the organization is headquartered in Vatican City, providing a structure for collaboration between Church-sponsored charitable agencies. As one of the most significant networks in the world supplying humanitarian aid, Caritas has provided assistance to tens of millions regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, or religion.

The first local organization of Caritas was founded in 1897 in Freiburg, Germany. Similar organizations were soon founded in Switzerland (1901) and the United States (National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1910).

The confederation represented 60 organizations by 1924, when delegates from 22 countries met in Amsterdam. Four years later the organization took the name Caritas Catholica, though it remained an informal collaborative grouping. The confederation members agreed to meet biennially to discuss how they might collaborate to address the needs of the poor, migrants, and displaced persons. World War II interrupted their meetings, but they resumed in 1947 to organize war-related relief. That same year the Vatican secretary of state authorized Caritas to represent Catholic charitable organizations at the United Nations.

In 1950 a weeklong International Congress of Catholic Charities was summoned in Rome at the suggestion of Giovanni Battista Montini, then an official of the Vatican secretary of state and the future Pope Paul VI. At that meeting, it was decided to found an official international confederation of Catholic charities. After the Vatican approved the organization, the first official meeting of Caritas was held in December 1951. The official founding organizations represented 13 countries including Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States. In the United States, the affiliated entities include Catholic Relief Services and Catholic Charities USA.

Under the leadership of Karl Bayer (1915–77), a German priest and first secretary-general of Caritas, the organization evolved into a major aid network. In 1957 the confederation changed its name to Caritas Internationalis to reflect its increasingly multinational membership. The Caritas-affiliated organizations focus their efforts on economic development, emergency relief, supporting human rights, and care for the environment. Significant emergency relief efforts have included airlifts of food and medical supplies to Nigeria during the Biafran civil war (1969–70), airlifts during the lengthy civil war in Angola, aid to refugees of the war in Rwanda (1994), and Asian earthquake and tsunami relief (2004–05).

Caritas roots its work in the teachings of Jesus Christ in the Gospels, literally following Christ's injunction to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and give shelter to the homeless. Influenced by the social teachings of the Catholic Church that have developed since the late 19th century, Caritas' work stems from its belief in the dignity of every human person by emphasizing social justice, solidarity with the poor, and advocacy.

SEE ALSO: Catholic Church; Charity; Religion; Social Assistance.

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Carnegie, Andrew (1835–1919)

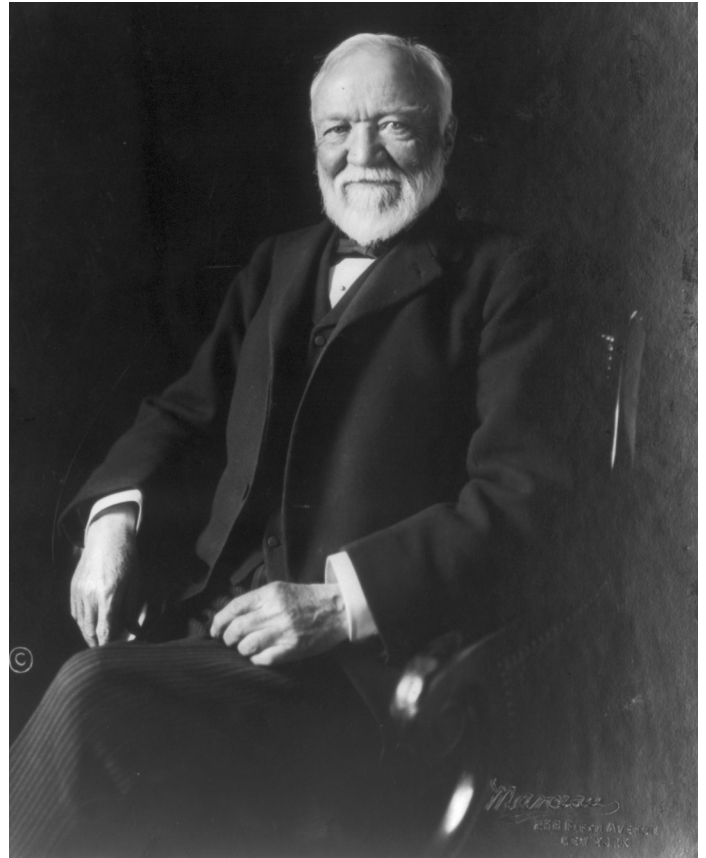
ANDREW CARNEGIE ROSE from poverty to become an industrial magnate as well as a prolific and influential writer. His writings celebrated individualism, democracy, competition, and economic growth, while challenging the wealthy to practice a philanthropy that would elevate humankind.

When Carnegie immigrated to the United States from Scotland at age 13, poverty compelled him to work as a bobbin boy in a cotton factory. Making opportunities for himself, working hard, and learning quickly, he rose to become superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad's western division by age 24. Desiring greater autonomy, Carnegie left the railroad in 1865 to run his own enterprises. By the end of his career, the vertically integrated Carnegie Steel Company was the world's largest steel producer

Carnegie owed his incredible business success to a strategy of relentlessly cutting costs, reinvesting profits, constantly rationalizing production via scientific research, and buying out financially strapped competitors during business downturns. He was a master at organization and at finding, rewarding, and keeping the best talent as his business partners. In 1901 he sold his interests to J.P. Morgan's syndicate for \$300 million, making himself one of the world's richest men. Thereafter he turned his attention to distributing his wealth and promoting international peace.

The voluble and eloquent Carnegie became the period's self-appointed spokesman for capitalism and democracy. Although he had only four years of formal education, between 1882 and 1916 he wrote 63 articles and eight books, and had 10 of his major public addresses published as pamphlets. Carnegie stood for a meritocracy in which, with integrity, thrift, self-reliance, and hard work, any man and his family could ascend the economic ladder—an optimistic creed that many Americans eagerly accepted.

His general thesis was that America's democratic institutions and the economic and social freedoms they



Andrew Carnegie dismissed complaints that the American economy had made the rich richer and the poor poorer.

encouraged were responsible for its ascendance over monarchical Europe and its progress in reducing poverty.

Citing statistical evidence (with which modern economic historians concur), Carnegie dismissed complaints by populists and socialists that the American economy had made the rich richer and the poor poorer. Although he admitted that income inequality had increased, he concluded, “much better this great irregularity than universal squalor,” admonishing that the “poor enjoy what the rich could not before afford. What were the luxuries have become the necessities of life.”

To cure poverty, he championed the era's relatively *laissez-faire* economic policies and the ameliorative power of competition, to which “we owe our wonderful material development.” He acknowledged that the growing economic and social distance between rich business owners and poor workers was breeding mutual distrust, but argued that the interests of capital and labor were not in conflict. In his most influential essay, “The Gospel of Wealth” (1889), he warned the wealthy

against spoiling their heirs with large inheritances—"I would as soon leave to my son a curse as the almighty dollar"—and supported an inheritance tax as a goad to force the wealthy to give away their riches during their lifetimes, because "the man who dies rich dies disgraced." He identified the "duty of the man of wealth: to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so, to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the trustee and agent for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves."

The ideal philanthropist gave away wealth for large projects, which could be a "more potent force for the elevation of our race than if distributed in small sums to the people themselves." Traditional charity and almsgiving were destructive: "It were better for mankind that the millions of the rich were thrown into the sea than so spent as to encourage the slothful, the drunken, the unworthy. Of every thousand dollars spent in so-called charity to-day, it is probable that nine hundred and fifty dollars is unwisely spent—so spent, indeed, as to produce the very evils which it hopes to mitigate or cure." Instead, "in bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves. ... The best means of benefiting the community is to place within its reach the ladders upon which the aspiring can rise"—especially libraries, colleges, research laboratories, museums, concert halls, and parks.

Carnegie practiced what he preached, giving away over \$350 million before he died. Among the projects he funded were 3,000 libraries, the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, and pensions for college professors. Atypical for his era, his donations went to many African-American organizations and he championed equal rights for blacks.

Critics attacked Carnegie on both the right and left. Many on the left found him hypocritical—celebrating the radical egalitarianism of his Chartist father and grandfather and making pronouncements about the sacred right of workingmen to combine—while living in a restored Scottish castle and trying to wash his hands of the use of force and strikebreakers in hard-nosed labor relations practices that included the infa-

mous strike at his Homestead steel mill in 1892. Some on the right saw his call for giving away surplus wealth as dangerous and decried his turn toward trust-busting and government regulation—which, conveniently, occurred after he had sold his own company to help create a powerful trust.

SEE ALSO: Capitalism; Distribution; Industrialization; United States; Wealth Inequality.

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Carter Center

U.S. PRESIDENT JIMMY Carter and his spouse, Rosalynn Carter, founded the Carter Center as a nonprofit and nonpartisan organization in 1982 in partnership with Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. The Carter Center and Emory University appoint the members of the Carter Center Board of Trustees.

The mission of the center is to "advance human rights and to alleviate human suffering." To this end, it has launched a variety of domestic and international programs on human rights; disease control, prevention, and eradication; agricultural development and hunger alleviation; peace and conflict resolution; and international sustainable development. In this regard it has been an effective domestic and international anti-poverty agent.

The center's Human Rights Program works with other human rights organizations to promote legal and institutional changes in developing countries—especially in the newly emerging democracies in Africa—to establish and protect universal human rights. The center has been active in advising governments and policymakers on a wide range of human rights issues, such as their incorporation into the constitution and other civil and military laws, and their enforcement if human rights are violated.

The center's Health Programs focus on mental health and infectious diseases, especially the eradication of Guinea worm (Medina worm) disease and onchocerc-

ciasis (river blindness), and the control and prevention of trachoma and schistosomiasis (Bilharziasis or fluke). The center has been remarkably successful in controlling these diseases in Africa and Latin America. In addition, the center holds regular conferences on mental health, blindness, and other handicaps to increase global awareness and to fight the stigma and discrimination associated with them.

The center has several peacemaking initiatives, most notably observing elections globally to guarantee an honest and fraud-free election. In the early 2000s, for example, it has been an observer in the presidential elections in the Palestinian Authority, Mozambique, Indonesia, Guatemala, Nigeria, Kenya, Jamaica, Sierra Leone, Nicaragua, and other nations. Another peace initiative of the center is the Conflict Resolution Program, which mediates conflicts to avert crises.

In 2004, for example, President Hugo Chavez of Venezuela requested that Jimmy Carter mediate between him and the opposition group. The result of the deliberations and negotiations led by Carter was a democratic recall vote on Chavez, monitored together by the Carter Center and the Organization of American States (OAS), which Chavez won overwhelmingly. The mediation most likely averted an armed confrontation between the two factions in Venezuela.

International development initiatives by the center focus on the domestic ownership of development strategies in developing countries, and an international cooperation among donor countries. The center promotes and mediates increased participation at the policymaking stage by civil society organizations and other stakeholders, such as the business community, labor groups, and governments, to facilitate wider ownership of the long-term social, political, and economic development strategies. In addition to these national development strategies, the center has been successful in promoting agricultural training and new techniques to enhance crop yields and sustainable development in developing countries.

SEE ALSO: Agriculture; Carter, James (Administration); Disease and Poverty; Human Rights.

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Carter, James (Administration)

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION will be remembered for its promise to discontinue "immoral realpolitik," Watergate-type secrecy, and destabilizing CIA interventions by reducing military budgets, bringing some of America's overseas forces home, cutting arms sales abroad, slowing nuclear proliferation, and discontinuing the U.S. support of dictatorial regimes.

James "Jimmy" Earl Carter, Jr. (1924–) was elected 39th president of the United States on January 21, 1977, on the slogan "A Leader, for a Change." During the campaign he depicted himself as an outsider who could "clean up the mess in Washington" and restore credibility to the presidency. He portrayed himself as an embodiment of a revived national consensus and claimed that U.S. politics should reflect basic American values. Carter argued that the common people were his constituency and that it was their common sense that guided him instead of relying on the recommendations of power brokers or the calculations of the Washington, D.C., establishment.

Carter, a devout Baptist who became a "born again" Christian, was a profoundly and unequivocally religious person who endeavored to construct administration policies on moral principles, and committed the country to supporting human rights more than any president in the past. He ran the country with unassuming austerity to distinguish his administration from those of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. Carter's inauguration festivities were low-key and he wore a business suit instead of formal wear. To fortify his image of simplicity he walked to the White House instead of being driven in the limousine, to the horror of the Secret Service.

DOMESTIC POLICY

Carter's first act as president was to extend full pardon in January 1977 to the resisters of the Vietnam War, draft dodgers, military deserters, and all others who violated the Selective Service Act from 1964 until 1973, expanding the partial pardon Ford granted in 1974. Carter's pardon generated renewed controversy among the general public, who had been deeply divided on the issue.

The opponents in all branches of government were acutely frustrated with this decision because there was no constitutional mechanism to challenge the president's apparent unilateral decision. The pardon significantly contributed to the further alienation of the



Jimmy Carter is much more highly regarded today than when he lost his reelection bid in 1980 against Ronald Reagan.

executive branch of the federal government. It also demonstrated that Carter had a dislike for the back-room dealing that tends to be pervasive in Washington, D.C. A pattern of mutual distrust and contempt between the new president and Congress was strengthened when the consumer-protection bill and the labor reform package were shot down, to which Carter responded by vetoing a public works package in 1978. Carter never managed to bridge the chasm that continued to grow throughout the presidency and prevented him from establishing good working relations with Congress. Carter's only successes with Congress were when he backed existing Democratic programs like raising the minimum wage; deregulating the airline, railroad, and trucking industries to lower transportation costs; and establishing a fund to clean up toxic waste sites.

The Gerald Ford administration passed on a deeply tormented economy that has been ravaged by high inflation, unemployment, and a federal fiscal deficit. One of Carter's election pledges was to stabilize the economy and to end the period of stagflation (galloping inflation and a recession), but despite frequently changing the policy course, he was unable to inspire public confidence and fulfill his promises. Notwithstanding several

anti-inflationary measures that were put in place, the annual rate of inflation rose from 5.8 percent in 1976 to 13.5 percent in 1980, the federal budget deficit for 1980 grew to a staggering \$59 billion, while the unemployment rate remained around seven percent, amounting to about eight million people out of work by the end of Carter's term in the White House.

The program to solve the energy crisis, sparked in the early 1970s by the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) embargo, was among the more successful domestic legislative propositions. The president made public appeals for conservation of energy, which he stimulated by tax reductions for installing energy-saving devices and using a range of alternative energy sources.

The Carter administration also proposed energy taxes, limits on imported oil, and greater reliance on domestic sources of energy. Additional legislative accomplishments include successful deregulation of the nation's airline industry, the passing of major environmental legislation to protect the environment and instigate cleanup of hazardous waste sites, the revamping of the civil service, and the creation of the Department of Education.

Carter was given little credit for the administration's accomplishments, but gained a reputation for political ineptitude. He did not like to bargain and was portrayed by the media as both sanctimonious and arrogant, or as utterly incompetent. Carter was impersonal with reporters who mocked his moralistic attitudes and portrayed him as a cynical and manipulative politician. Though Carter was not physically clumsy like Ford, his media appearances frequently eroded his public image and added to his inability to control the Democratic majority in Congress and to rally the support of the general public.

One of the most far-reaching blunders was Carter's "malaise speech," which he delivered on July 15, 1979. He castigated American citizens for their extravagance as consumers and evoked the image of a nation plunged into crisis by the excesses of affluence, even though most of the nation had grown anxious about their purchasing power in the wake of the second major energy crisis of the 1970s.

FOREIGN POLICY

Carter believed in the rule of law in international affairs and in the principle of self-determination for all people. He also believed that American power should be exercised sparingly and he hoped that relations with the So-

viet Union would continue to improve and relax Cold War tensions. Human rights were the main tenet of the administration's foreign policy, demonstrating the full extent of Carter's idealism. He frequently criticized foreign nations for violating human rights and attempted to link economic and military cooperation with the country's commitment to the American ideals of freedom and equality.

The Middle East policy and the ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty were two success stories of Carter's diplomacy. Carter invited Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to Camp David in September 1978, where, after two weeks of intense negotiations, the deal was brokered for a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt that was eventually signed in March 26, 1979. Though the Camp David Accords were never fully executed, the agreements provided a framework for settling the problem of the occupied territories and helped to temporarily reverse the president's downward spiral in popularity.

The Iranian hostage crisis was the most difficult problem of the Carter presidency and sealed the president's reelection hopes. In the wake of the overthrow of U.S.-supported Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in November 1979, the militants seized the U.S. embassy in Teheran, taking 60 American hostages. The failed attempt of April 1980 to rescue the hostages, and an inability to resolve the hostage crisis through negotiations for over a year, paralyzed Jimmy Carter as a leader and tainted his presidency. Ironically, the Iranians released the hostages in January 20, 1981, once Ronald Reagan was sworn in, and after Reagan promised to unfreeze the Iranian assets in the United States.

AFTER THE PRESIDENCY

Though challenged from within his party by Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, Carter won the nomination of the Democratic Party for president in 1980. He subsequently lost the election to Republican Reagan by nearly 10 percent of the popular vote and by 440 electoral college votes.

Carter continued actively promoting human rights in the years after he left office, and in 2002 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for "his decades of untiring effort to find peaceful solutions to international conflicts, to advance democracy and human rights, and to promote economic and social development." Carter is much more highly regarded today than when he lost

the reelection. His exemplary postpresidency includes mediation in disputes between nations, untiring leadership in the protection of human rights and democracy around the world, and seeking to eradicate hunger, malnutrition, and homelessness through the work of the Carter Center and Habitat for Humanity.

SEE ALSO: Carter Center; Democratic Party; Ford, Gerald (Administration); Human Rights and Poverty; Inflation; Minimum Wage; Moral Poverty; Reagan, Ronald (Administration); United States.

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Catholic Campaign for Human Development

THE CATHOLIC CAMPAIGN for Human Development (CCHD), a program administered by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, attempts to address the root causes of poverty among Americans. It is among the largest privately funded, self-help initiatives aiding the poor in the United States. Founded in 1970, the Campaign for Human Development has attempted to move beyond traditional forms of charity by promoting and supporting community organizations that

offer opportunities for men, women, and families to break free from poverty. In the wake of a heightened interest in humanitarianism brought on by President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society initiatives, the U.S. Catholic bishops began their own social justice program to aid minority groups and the poor in gaining economic strength and political power while educating Catholics about the need to be in solidarity with the poor.

The campaign is funded primarily from the contributions of Catholics in the United States, obtained through a special collection at churches throughout the United States each November before Thanksgiving. In the 30-plus years of the campaign, American Catholics have donated hundreds of millions of dollars. Of the money collected, 25 percent is retained by individual dioceses to be used at the local level. The remaining funds are allocated for individual projects in communities throughout the country. A committee of 15 that includes eight Catholic bishops and seven other members determines the policies and funding decisions of the campaign.

Though the funds allocated by the initiative are derived from private sources, the campaign's work has been scrutinized. Some detractors have argued that the charity practiced by the campaign is politically motivated. The CCHD has been criticized for siding with the aims of the Democratic Party in the U.S., while others charge that organizations supported by the campaign are frequently apathetic, if not hostile, to the Catholic Church, advancing contrary positions on abortion and euthanasia. In 1998, at the request of the United States bishops, the word *Catholic* was added to the organization's name and guidelines for funding were enacted to more closely adhere to the Catholic Church's teaching on social issues.

Some 4,000 local projects have received financial support from the Catholic Campaign for Human Development during its history. While direct aid to the poor is not provided from CCHD funds, local initiatives include job creation and vocational training, neighborhood improvement, and programs for students and young children.

To be eligible for funding from the campaign, initiatives must aim to attack the root causes of poverty; the beneficiaries of the initiative must be from low-income communities; and those who plan and implement the initiative must be poor themselves. A secondary aim of the campaign is to offer initiatives that educate Americans about poverty and its causes. A recent educational initiative, Poverty USA, raises awareness of the extent

of poverty in the United States and what citizens can do to curb its impact.

SEE ALSO: Catholic Church; Islam and Poverty; Johnson, Lyndon (Administration); Protestant Churches; Religion; United States.

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Catholic Church

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S teachings and activities about poverty reflect the church's own view of itself as an institution with a dual nature: an institution that is "in the world, but not of the world." This dual view of itself and its mission leads the Catholic Church to hold two views of poverty that, if not actually in conflict, are in tension with each other.

On one hand, the church teaches that this world is our preparation for the next, and that material poverty is a less serious problem than spiritual poverty: "Before all else, man must be concerned about his soul; gaining the whole world is not the purpose of this life," as stated by the Pontifical Council in 2005. In this, the church affirms Jesus' Gospel admonition through Matthew: "Lay not up treasures for yourself on earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt and where thieves break through and steal; But lay up for yourselves treasures in Heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal; For where your treasure is, there will your heart be, also."

On the other hand, the church teaches that all human beings have a duty to help those who are in material poverty. According to St. Gregory the Great, who served as pope from 590 to 604, "When we attend to the needs of those in want, we give them what is theirs, not ours. More than performing works of mercy, we are

paying a debt of justice.” *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* (a document used to teach the church’s doctrines to its lay members) affirms that “giving alms to the poor is one of the chief witnesses to fraternal charity; it is also a work of justice pleasing to God.” The *Catechism* goes on to admit that the church and its members have not always carried out these duties perfectly: “The church, since her origin and in spite of the failings of many of her members, has not ceased to labor for [the poor’s] relief, defence, and liberation through numerous works of charity which remain indispensable always and everywhere.”

CHURCH ACTIVITIES AGAINST POVERTY

Because of the church’s dual mission, its antipoverty activities have been both material and hortatory. On the material side, the church has founded and managed many charitable programs around the world, often serving as an intermediary for donations from its parishioners to the poor. Many orders (organizations) of priests and nuns throughout history have devoted themselves to aiding the poor by providing them with food, shelter, money, and spiritual guidance.

Usually members of these orders take vows of personal poverty, renouncing worldly goods for themselves so that they can focus their resources on helping the needy. If such vows have at times been followed imperfectly, the church would say it was a foreseeable result of imperfections in human nature: imperfections shared no less by the clergy than by the lay population. That we cannot perform these tasks flawlessly does not release us from the obligation of doing what we can.

On the hortatory side, the church has preached about the importance of helping the poor. It has preached not only to its own members, but also to people of all faiths around the world, as well as to governments, international organizations, local businesses, and global corporations. The impact of these efforts cannot be measured, but in the long run it is probably significant. As the economist John Maynard Keynes remarked in a different context, ideas “are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed, the world is ruled by little else.... The power of vested interests is greatly exaggerated compared with the gradual encroachment of ideas.”

SOCIAL AND PERSONAL DUTIES TO THE POOR

One of the earliest sources of the church’s view of social and personal duties to the poor is in the Hebrew

Bible, which Christianity shares with Judaism and Islam, but sometimes interprets in different ways. In the Book of Deuteronomy (derived from the book’s Greek title and meaning “second law,” though the book’s Hebrew title is *Devarim*, meaning “words,” and is derived from the first sentence in the book), Moses told the Israelites, “If there is among you a poor man, one of your brethren ... you shall not harden your heart or shut your hand against your poor brother, but you shall open your hand to him, and lend him sufficient for his need.”

The church harbors no illusions that poverty can be eliminated once and for all.

The Catholic *Catechism* expresses the same view even more strongly: “It is by what they have done for the poor that Jesus Christ will recognize his chosen ones.” In the European Middle Ages—from the fall of Rome in 410 to the Renaissance in the 15th century—this view spurred wealthy people to give alms to the poor in hope that the prayers of the poor would secure forgiveness of their sins and admittance into heaven.

At the same time, the church harbors no illusions that poverty can be eliminated once and for all. First, beyond the most abject inability to secure food and shelter, poverty is relative: in any society, those people who have the least are poor. Most poor people in developed Western countries of the 21st century are better off than most wealthy people in medieval Europe.

Second, poverty—real, not relative poverty—still seems to be an intractable feature of a world in which wealth naturally flows most easily to those who already have it, as described in the *Catechism*: “Christian realism, while appreciating on one hand the praiseworthy efforts being made to defeat poverty, is cautious [about] the illusion that it is possible to eliminate the problem of poverty completely from this world. This will happen only on Christ’s return.... In the meantime, the poor remain entrusted to us and it is this responsibility upon which we shall be judged at the end of time.”

The church applies its thinking not merely to relations within society but to international relations as well. It opposes protectionist policies that further impoverish poorer countries by restricting trade in their goods. Paul VI espouses this idea in *Populorum Progressio*, published in 1967; as does John Paul II, in his *Encyclical Letter Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, published in 1988. The Catholic Church holds that trade should promote

the common good, combined with “attention to the rights and needs of the poor in policies concerning trade and international cooperation.”

HISTORY OF CHURCH WORK

From early in its history, and even earlier, Christianity and the teachings of Jesus appealed to the poor and powerless in society. In the Roman Empire, Christians were persecuted until the emperor Constantine made Christianity the state religion. In 360, Constantine’s successor Julian (“the Apostate”) tried to restore the empire’s pagan religion and stamp out Christianity. His attempt failed, at least in part because of the church’s untiring efforts to help the poor, which are described by T. Bokenkotter: “One of the most potent reasons for the appeal of the church to the masses was its magnificent system of charity, which aroused the admiration even of Julian the Apostate. Eventually, it broadened out to include a whole organism of institutions, including orphanages, hospitals, inns for travelers, foundling homes, and old-age homes—so much so that as the state became increasingly unable to cope with the immense burden of social distress brought about by the barbarian invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries, it relied more and more on the church.”

Julian’s successors gave official authority over poor relief and social welfare to the bishop of Rome (the pope), who ate his meals with the poor every day. Church law also required bishops to spend a portion of their region’s revenues on help for the poor. Usually, they did this by founding a *hospitium*, which means a home for the poor.

In the Middle Ages, the collapse of the Roman Empire left a void of public services (and of the educated bureaucracy that was needed to deliver them). The church stepped into the breach. It continued and expanded its historic programs of poor relief, all centered on its hospitals (descendants of the *hospitia* of Roman times), which both cared for the sick and sheltered the poor. In England in the 14th century, for example, there were 17 hospitals in London and 18 in York.

One of the important aspects of the church’s work was the formation of clerical orders dedicated to helping the poor. One of these orders, the Franciscans, was founded by St. Francis of Assisi (1181–1226), an Italian priest. St. Francis also founded a similar order for women, the Order of St. Clare. St. Francis and his followers took personal vows of poverty and devoted all their possessions to helping the poor with food, housing, and, of course, religious instruction.

The seriousness with which members of Catholic orders took their commitment to the poor is shown by a vignette from the life of St. Francis as told by Bonaventure, a 13th-century theologian. Even if the story is apocryphal, it shows how the priestly orders aspired to behave: “Once it happened that one of the friars responded gruffly to a beggar who had asked for an alms at an inconvenient time. When [St. Francis] heard this, he ordered the friar to strip himself, cast himself at the beggar’s feet, confess his guilt, and beg for his prayers and forgiveness. When he had done this humbly, [St. Francis] added sweetly: ‘When you see a poor man, my brother, an image of the Lord and his poor mother is being placed before you.’”

*The church continues its help for the poor
via material and spiritual ministry.*

At the time of the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the church was uncertain what position it should take about factory working conditions, slum overcrowding, and the subsistence wages received by workers. Several leaders of the church urged that it take an active role in trying to make the system more humane, such as through legislation to limit work hours, permit rest days, inspect factories for safety, and discourage labor by women and children. However, as related by Bokenkotter, “Catholics had to take cognizance of the exceptional gravity of the social problems and the need to talk no longer of the poor but of poverty and to undertake collective action for reform rather than trusting to individual charity. Secondly, there had to be a sufficiently optimistic attitude toward the future.”

The church vacillated on the issue until finally taking a strong stand in the 1870s, led by the English Bishop Henry Manning. Manning was an advocate of workers’ rights who in 1874 gave a lecture on “the rights and dignity of labor” wherein he denounced child labor, defended the right of workers to form unions, and suggested legal limits on working hours. He worked with the British government on those issues as well as on a commission to make better housing available to the poor.

From the 19th through the 21st centuries, the Catholic Church continued its help for the poor via material and spiritual ministry. In the 20th century, the church became more involved in campaigns for economic justice in both Western societies and poor coun-

tries of the world. The church worked through the religious orders, such as the Franciscans; through national Catholic charities in each country of the world; and administered some aid directly from the Vatican.

In the United States, the national organization for poor relief is called Catholic Charities USA, and is fairly similar to its corresponding organizations in other countries. It manages a network of local Catholic charitable groups across the United States. These local groups administer relief for the long-term poor and homeless by the distribution of food, money, housing, and spiritual advice. They also help victims of personal misfortune and natural disasters, such as hurricanes. About two-thirds of Catholic Charities USA's 2005 budget of \$2.69 billion came from grants and contracts with local, state, and federal government agencies to provide poor relief, daycare, welfare-to-work programs, and other services. Another 14 percent came from the church and from individual donors. In 2005, the organization employed 51,000 paid staff members and had 175,000 volunteers for its relief programs.

SEE ALSO: Catholic Campaign for Human Development; Christian Antipoverty Campaigns; Francis of Assisi; Mendicant Orders; Missionaries; Religion; Western Monasticism.

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CDF Black Community Crusade for Children

THE BLACK COMMUNITY Crusade for Children (BCCC) is an initiative of the Children's Defense Fund (CDF), which is a nonpartisan, not-for-profit organization aimed at providing a head start for all American

children and the creation of generations of young people able to achieve political and personal freedom.

As part of the CDF, the BCCC was created to "weave and reweave the rich fabric of community that historically has been the cornerstone of the healthy development of black children. Tap into and strengthen the strong black community tradition of self-help. Rebuild the bridges between generations and between the black middle class and poor. Assist and galvanize current black leadership around specific goals for children. Identify, train, nurture, link, and empower a new generation of effective black servant-leaders younger than 30." There has been concern that breakdown of relations between generations and classes in the African-American community has contributed to increased inequality and social problems.

BCCC programs include the Student Leadership Network for Children, the Ella Barker Child Policy Training Institute, and the CDF Freedom Schools. One of these schools is the CDF Haley Farm program, which features community building; spiritual, character, and leadership development; intergenerational mentoring; interracial and interethnic communication; interdisciplinary networking, and training.

The activities held to further BCCC objectives include community building; spiritual, character, and leadership development; intergenerational mentoring; interracial and interethnic communication; interdisciplinary networking; and training. The Social Leadership Network for Children is a partnership of college interns and faculties that helps operate the CDF's Ella Baker Child Policy Training Institute and the CDF's Freedom Schools.

These are aimed at producing generations of young people willing and able to celebrate academic and societal achievements and to work toward the continued need for the emancipation of black people from poverty and discrimination. It is connected on several levels with faith-based organizations, more especially as many preachers articulate the link between faith and the need for social justice and equality.

One of the focal points of this collaboration is the Annual Samuel DeWitt Proctor Training Institute for Child Advocacy Ministry, which is due to meet for the 12th year in July 2006. Morning devotions and periods of meditation and prayer will be mixed with more practical workshops, training sessions, and information exchange aimed at revivifying advocates and activists who may have found their enthusiasm waning as a result of constant opposition and the relentless stream of evidence of increasing inequality in American society. The

BCCC offices are located in Washington, D.C., and also in Jackson, Mississippi.

SEE ALSO: African Americans and Poverty; Children's Defense Fund; Children and Poverty; Racial Discrimination.

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Center for Community Change

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY Change (CCC) is an organization that was established in 1968 as a result of ideas prevalent in the 1960s, which featured social change led by community involvement in the United States. The CCC works, therefore, to establish and develop community organizations nationwide that can raise awareness of all issues related to poverty and affecting community affairs to national attention and government action. Original partners influential in its formation include the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Fund, the Ford Foundation, and the leaders of the United Auto Workers.

The CCC has provided expert advice and organizational capability on a wide range of issues, such as income support and job creation, affordable public housing, economic development, transportation, hunger and malnutrition, and immigrant rights. It has endeavored to be active in both rural and urban areas, as well as in all areas, and takes special care to represent as many different ethnic groups as possible. Its actions have been instrumental in creating initiatives such as the food stamps program, the Community Reinvestment Act, and the incubation of organizations such as the Coalition on Human Needs, the Workforce Alliance, the Environmental Support Center, and the National Campaign for Jobs and Income Support.

The National Campaign for Jobs and Income Support was an initiative of the CCC that, from 1999 to 2002, united organizations from more than 40 American states in the hope of achieving a refundable child tax credit and the restoration of food stamp eligibility

for many immigrant households. More than 1,000 grassroots organizations were involved, including low-income, women's, immigrant, and faith-based groups. They were united in the wish to bring poverty and economic inequality back onto the national agenda and forging a powerful alliance that, working together, could achieve far more than individual voices could manage. The work has been succeeded by the California Partnership, which unites more than 70 community-based organizations in that state and aims at stimulating decent job creation.

Other areas in which the CCC is active currently include community voting, education, the federal budget, welfare reform, immigration, and transportation. The Native American Project recognizes a group of people often left out of social development and aims at developing at the grassroots level leadership, organizational capability, and ability to effect social change among communities. It works with established groups such as the Affiliated Tribes of the Northwest, the American Indian Housing and Community Development Corporation, the Southern Californian Indian Center, and the Teton Coalition. The Voices for Change Project is a list-enhancement program that uses modern information technology to help link together like-minded community organizations so that their voices increase in strength.

A wide range of institutional donors supports the CCC. Executive Director Deepak Bhargava calls upon several dozen specialists and community organizers. The CCC is an example of the communitarian aspect of American society, which encourages individuals to join societies and associations at the local level, and enhances the power of these to cause desirable social change regionally and nationally through enhancing their effectiveness by networking, partnership, and organizational development.

SEE ALSO: Antipoverty Organizations; Community-Based Antipoverty Programs; Nongovernmental Organizations.

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Center for Democratic Renewal

THE CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC Renewal (CDR) is a multiracial organization that is intended to advance a vision of a democratic, diverse, and just society that is free from racism and bigotry. It was established in 1979 as the Anti-Klan Network, which united more than 60 smaller organizations in the struggle against resurgent racist violence in the United States. Its founders were the Reverend C.T. Vivian and southern rights activist Anne Braden. The CDR works closely with a wide range of civil and religious organizations in collecting data and publishing and promoting reports aimed at combating racism, bigotry, and white supremacy. Central to this effort has been *When Hate Groups Come to Town: A Manual of Effective Community Responses*, which documents practical steps that can be taken to resist racists. The CDR is based in Atlanta, Georgia.

Recent projects pursued by the CDR include an initiative to enable released felons to be eligible to vote and continued efforts to combat the burning of African-American churches. Inevitably, people with various types of political motivation have sought to besmirch the reputation of the CDR, claiming that its research has been falsified, is itself politically motivated, and is even a hoax. Nevertheless, the arson attacks on African-American churches continue and so too do attempts by white supremacists to instigate racial hatred. The debate as to where acceptable political beliefs shade into unacceptable bigotry is still being contested.

In the wake of the 2001 terrorist attacks, new controls have been introduced to regulate movement of people into and within the United States. This includes the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System. The CDR has opposed this scheme and argued, "This program is another in a series of moves to criminalize immigrants, particularly those from Muslim countries, and to promote a climate of fear, division, and repression during the United States' perpetual 'war on terror.' This system, used in conjunction with a soon to be broadened USA-Patriot Act, is leading to what many are calling a 'new totalitarianism.'"

In the political climate on the United States under the George W. Bush administration, this form of campaigning is maligned as unpatriotic and unacceptable. As the locus of acceptable political debate has been moved to the right, therefore, social campaigners such as the CDR have found itself recategorized in much of the mainstream media as extremists. Nevertheless the CDR continues to promote research and advocacy concerned with such issues as anti-immigrant vigilantism

and the need to broaden and strengthen antihate crime legislation, and monitors far right white supremacist and neoconfederate activity.

SEE ALSO: African Americans and Poverty; Antidiscrimination; Crime; Immigration; Racial Discrimination.

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JOHN WALSH
SHINAWATRA UNIVERSITY

Center for Education Policy

THE CENTER FOR EDUCATION Policy (CEP) was founded in 1995 by John F. (Jack) Jennings; it is a national nonprofit independent organization, an advocate for public education and improving public schools. It is a division of the SRI (Stanford Research Institute) and has offices in California and Washington, D.C. CEP receives its funds predominantly from charitable foundations.

SRI's Center for Education Policy works on several projects: standards-based school reform that aims to increase student achievement through creating a set of stable expectations for what students need to know and be able to do, combined with professional development and curriculum initiatives to help the students to reach the standards; teacher development, which involves preparation, induction, and continuing support of teachers, with an emphasis on which policies lead to a guarantee of good teachers; math, science, and technology, which involves evaluations and studies on mathematics and science education since the 1980s; as well as studies on technology integration in the classrooms.

Other projects include school choice, which reflects the national debate on public versus charter schools, and literacy and lifelong learning, which stresses that the technology and the new information age create incentives for further education for all ages to acquire high-level language and literacy skills. Within that issue SRI's Center for Education Policy also explores issues of adult literacy and English for speakers of other languages.

To achieve its objective of improving public learning institutions, the center engages in research and evaluations on the design, implementation, and impact of a variety of educational programs. SRI's Center for Education Policy works closely with SRI's Center for Education and Human Services on programs that affect children and youth, as well as SRI's Center for Technology in Learning on issues related to the use of educational technology to improve educational practice.

Most of the work involves multiple methods, such as surveys, case studies, expert panel reviews, and focus groups. SRI's Center for Education Policy conducts work for federal agencies, state departments of education, local school districts, private foundations, and nonprofit groups. It serves as a link with educators and the public on the pertinent issues in education improvement, as a discussion forum for educators and policy-makers, and as a think tank for policy initiatives. SRI's Center for Education Policy organizes meetings and presentations; conducts studies through surveys, panel reviews, and focus groups; and publishes reports and newsletters on a variety of topics, such as democracy and public schools, education and jobs, No Child Left Behind Act, testing, and improving public schools.

SEE ALSO: Education; Nongovernmental Organizations; Technology; United States.

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PAUL AND TANYA SLOAN
INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

Center for Law and Social Policy

THE CENTER FOR Law and Social Policy (CLASP) is a Washington, D.C.-based organization that advocates for the poor and less fortunate of American society. CLASP was founded in 1968 as a public-interest law firm by a group of attorneys with the support of the late U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg. For its first 14 years, CLASP concentrated on a variety

of legal issues affecting such areas as the rights of women, mental health, human rights, healthcare for the disadvantaged, and the environment. CLASP also served as an incubator for organizations such as the National Women's Law Center, whose stated mission is "to protect and advance the progress of women and girls at work, in school, and in virtually every aspect of their lives," and the Bazelon Center on Mental Health Law, whose stated mission is "to protect and advance the rights of adults and children who have mental disabilities." In 1981, CLASP's board of trustees decided to focus the mission of the organization on those issues particularly pertinent to the poor and less advantaged.

CLASP is involved in public policy research on approximately 10 issues directly related to poverty and the disadvantaged. CLASP analyzes proposed legislation and regulations that may directly impact the poor, children, and others and provides testimony, legal services, and policy on these issues. For example, CLASP is one of very few organizations that deal with the issue of prisoner reentry into society. A disproportionate percentage of prison inmates are people of color, who often go to prison poor and leave prison poor, with few positive opportunities.

As a result, poverty, homelessness, and recidivism rates for ex-convicts are extremely high. CLASP, in partnership with Community Legal Services, Inc., of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, provides information on this important issue, as well as making suggestions for policies and solutions to assist decision-makers in finding positive ways to reintegrate ex-convicts into communities and families, while providing positive opportunities to reduce poverty and recidivism.

CLASP has taken an advocacy role in proposing that state and federal laws be changed such that garnished payments are passed directly to the custodial parent for the care of the children, rather than to state coffers. Related to this is CLASP advocacy against federal budget cuts to foster-care programs, which would make it harder to place abused and neglected children in the care of relatives such as grandparents, aunts, and uncles. While the authors of such legislation may be well-meaning in their intent, removing children from the familial sphere may under some circumstances have long-term consequences.

SEE ALSO: Nongovernmental Organizations; Poverty Laws; Poverty Lawyers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Center for Law and Social Policy, www.clasp.org (cited December 2005); National Women's Law

Center, www.nwlc.org (cited December 2005); Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law, www.bazelon.org (cited December 2005).

LAWRENCE M. SALINGER, PH.D.
ARKANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, JONESBORO

Center for the Study of Urban Poverty

PROFESSORS MELVIN OLIVER and Jim Johnson established the Center for the Study of Urban Poverty (CSUP) at the University of California in 1989. It exists to conduct research into issues relating to urban poverty and to strengthen capacity for future research and understanding by training undergraduate and graduate students, while supporting junior faculty members. Research has given rise to reports and publications and has fostered policy formulation and advocacy. The CSUP has established a reputation for creating and nurturing relationships with government agencies and other partners to create better researchers and social service providers.

The CSUP's research agenda focuses on three broad areas: poverty in Los Angeles, the working poor and transition to work, and disadvantaged low-skill workers. The location of the CSUP, in Los Angeles, means that it is placed in an environment in which large numbers of Latin American, Asian, and African immigrants first come to the United States, and the city offers numerous low-wage, low-skill jobs in both the formal and informal service sectors. As a result, Los Angeles offers an unusually interesting opportunity to study the dynamics of transitions into a large, complex, and flexible labor market. The lessons learned have wide application throughout the United States.

Research projects have included the Immigrants Organization Survey, which united the research efforts of four universities to study the creation and operation of formal and informal migrant organizations. These organizations can help new arrivals to integrate into society and, in particular, the labor market, as well as to maintain transnational links with their origin countries to provide information and resources to possible future arrivals.

The Geographic Skills Mismatch and Racial Differences in Search and Employment project considered the implications of racial housing segregation and job

decentralization in many large North American cities. These factors often lead to areas of high unemployment in low-skilled ethnically alike areas as, for example, those of African Americans whose search strategies for work may be improved.

Other projects have considered barriers, potential barriers, and perceived barriers to entry into employment. Employer Demand for Ex-Offenders in Los Angeles and Perceived Criminality, Criminal Background Checks and the Racial Hiring and Practices of Employers were both projects investigating the attitudes of employers toward various groups of people who have experienced difficulty in obtaining employment.

Publications include working papers, research reports, poverty report cards, and policy briefs. Abel Valenzuela, Jr., has headed the CSUP since July 2001. Its importance lies not just in its research and policy formulation but also in helping to educate the public about the importance and role of migrant and low-skilled workers to the economy as a whole, and the problems that these people face.

SEE ALSO: Crime; Employment; Immigration; Racial Discrimination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Center for the Study of Urban Poverty, www.sscnet.ucla.edu/issr/csup (cited July 2005); Mary Beth Sheridan, "Pay Abuses Common for Day Laborers, Study Finds," *Washington Post* (June 23, 2005); Abel Valenzuela, Jr., et al., *In Pursuit of the American Dream: Day Labor in the Greater Washington, D.C., Region* (CSUP, 2005).

JOHN WALSH
SHINAWATRA UNIVERSITY

Center on Budget and Policies Priorities

THE CENTER ON BUDGET and Policies Priorities (CBPP) is a nonpartisan research organization in the United States that was established in 1981 to identify federal budget priorities, particularly with respect to lower-income American families. The CBPP's brief has expanded considerably since that time, and its members now conduct research into a wide range of areas, at state and federal levels, as well as the interactions between the two levels of government. Research areas include pension reform, Social Security reform, Medicaid, food

stamps, low-income housing programs, and low-income tax credits. The CBPP has attracted many plaudits for the quality of its research and its preference for honest and open analysis rather than political posturing. The CBPP's board of directors and researchers are drawn from academic and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) or research institution backgrounds and are united by their research interests. The CBPP is registered as a nonprofit-making, nonpartisan organization and is constituted as a charitable foundation.

Institutions are subject to criticism when their analysis challenges governmental policy.

Additional activities that the CBPP pursues include outreach programs and information dissemination. For example, more than 6,000 NGOs and governmental agencies participate in the center's Earned-Income Tax Credit (EITC) campaign, while the Start Healthy, Stay Healthy campaign links numerous health service providers, users, and advocacy groups in the hope of identifying more eligible recipients of free or low-cost health insurance programs. Working at both the state and the federal level, the CBPP focuses on accurate and timely analysis of specific budgeting policies and their likely outcomes. This is intended to strengthen states' abilities to create and transact prudent fiscal policies. Clearly, extensive tax cuts and excessive budget deficits are not viewed as being prudent.

Inevitably, given the polarized nature of American politics in the 21st century, all institutions are subject to criticism when their analysis challenges or contests governmental policy, especially in areas that are divisive and controversial, such as tax cuts, as well as correcting inaccuracies in analysis or reporting by other bodies. Since the center is concerned with the impact of policy changes on the poor and on issues of equity, it is widely portrayed as being a leftward-leaning organization, although the same can be (and is) also said of religious institutions that also have very conservative social agendas.

Recent CBPP policy briefs have featured, among many other issues, the failures of President George W. Bush's long-term Social Security plan, the economic problems inherent in substantial long-term budget deficits, consideration of medical insurance programs, and the need for supplementary social welfare for people in vulnerable groups. This has led its political opponents to criticize its research output and characterize the

group as a partisan lobbying organization. The center has described itself as fiscally conservative and with an interest in promoting policies to support low-income workers.

SEE ALSO: Bush, George W. (Administration); Earned Income Tax Credit; Healthcare; Nongovernmental Organizations; Social Security.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Center on Budget and Policies Priorities, www.cbpp.org (cited July 2005); Paul Krugman, *The Great Unravelling* (Penguin Books, 2004); Shawn Zeller, "Advocacy, by the Numbers," *National Journal* (v.33/12, 2001).

JOHN WALSH
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Center on Hunger and Poverty

THE CENTER ON HUNGER and Poverty (CHP) is part of the Institute on Assets and Social Policy (IASP) at the Heller School for Social Policy and Management at Brandeis University, located in Waltham, Massachusetts. The CHP developed from the Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, which, based at Harvard University under Dr. Larry J. Brown, was responsible for field trips and reporting across the country concerning the issue of hunger, which was of growing importance during the 1980s. The reports concerned not just hunger but its root causes, poverty, and economic inequality. It moved from Tufts University to its current home at Brandeis University in 2000.

The CHP has graduated from working through the Asset Development Institute and the Food Security Institute through a variety of special products. As an independent entity, it is able to employ greater focus and awareness of its aims, enabling it to compete better for research grants and attracting top-level research staff.

As part of the IASP, the CHP has focused on research in the following areas: "domestic hunger, including its dimensions, health, and nutritional consequences, and policy responses over time; hunger and food insecurity prevalence at the national, state, and local levels; promotion and expansion of the child nutrition and food stamp programs; development of nutrition education materials, specifically designed for low-income families with children; and program design and evaluation for innovative community initiatives in the hunger/nutrition field."

These objectives include a wide range of areas, from research and publication to policy formulation and advocacy, outreach, training, and development of educational materials. These activities require a wide range of skills and resources to complete satisfactorily.

Successes achieved by the CHP to date include initiating and drafting the Hunger Relief Act, preparing the National Food Security Scale and the Welfare Development Scale, being part of a network initiating and sponsoring the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act, conducting the "1993 Congressional Analysis: 30 Million Hungry Americans and Two Americas: Child Poverty in the U.S.," creating the Nutrition-Cognition Initiative, and being part of an initiative entitled the Medford Declaration to End Hunger in the U.S., which mobilized the leaders of more than 3,000 organizations that represent in excess of approximately 100 million members.

Special projects include Feeding Children Better, which provides resources and technical expertise to food banks across the country to improve the nutritional quality of supplies. An educational program entitled Know Hunger is designed to help students understand hunger and nutrition issues directly affecting their neighborhoods and is organized in association with the Gerda and Kurt Klein Foundation, which is a public, nonprofit organization aimed at helping young people to develop social awareness and then translate this into community service.

As one of the National Anti-Hunger Organizations, the CHP subscribes to the Blueprint to End Hunger, which recognizes that large-scale social change is necessary to end hunger in society, notwithstanding the charitable nature of many members of American society. This commitment includes the belief that "the root cause of hunger is a lack of adequate purchasing power in millions of households. When individuals and families do not have the resources to buy enough food, hunger results. As a nation we must encourage work and also assure all who work that the results of their labor will be sufficient to provide for the basic needs of their families."

In other words, the most effective method of ending hunger is to take a holistic understanding of society, which connects poverty with the responsibility of society and government to provide work for all, and work with a level of remuneration sufficient to sustain healthy and functional households.

SEE ALSO: Food for the Hungry; Food Stamps; Hunger; Nutrition.

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JOHN WALSH
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Center on Urban Poverty and Social Change

THE CENTER ON URBAN Poverty and Social Change (CUPSC) is part of the Mandel School of Applied Social Change at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio. It "seeks to address the problems of persistent and concentrated urban poverty and is dedicated to understanding how social and economic changes affect low-income communities and their residents." Founded in 1988, its home city of Cleveland acts as a site for both conducting research and formulating policy, and is also a location in which community building can take place. The CUPSC focuses, that is, on action research that is designed to alter the environment it is studying.

As of 2005, two codirectors, Claudia Coulton and Sharon E. Milligan, lead a team of more than 20 staff members. Numerous partners and funding supporters have joined the CUPSC, including the Cleveland Housing Network, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the U.S. Department of Education. Activities include research and publications, education and outreach, and the CAN DO network. Funded research projects are clustered into four main areas: welfare, neighborhood change, community safety, and child and family.

Research activities focus on those in the most vulnerable categories and their experiences in the context of radical reform in the mid-1990s, as well as looking for opportunities for positive community development. Publications naturally concentrate on the CUPSC's areas of interest and are provided in a wide range of styles and formats to permit maximum appeal to a wide range of audiences. These include reports and working papers that are published to bring timely results of research findings. Methodologies and tools provide the actual survey instruments and research design plans that enable other researchers to conduct work of a sim-

ilarly high quality that may be comparative in nature. Reports specially designed to be broadly accessible to the general public include presentations and the *Briefly Stated* series.

Education and outreach activities include fellowships and assistantships, continuing education and training, and providing public speakers. Educational goals are to “prepare students for the roles as policy analysts and researchers; provide an opportunity to work directly with neighborhood residents/groups, community and political organizations in social welfare policy; have available to the center a corps of students who can undertake much of the actual data collection and data analysis (under faculty supervision); integrate the information resources and research experience of the center and its faculty into the Mandel School’s curriculum whenever possible.” Again, the educational function combines research with policy formulations and advocacy and action research.

CAN DO is the Cleveland Area Network on Data and Organizing. This involves the creation and maintenance of an online database of community and neighborhood statistics, including population and housing census data, economic data, crime and child maltreatment statistics, and other indicators. Neighborhood profiles are available for 36 neighborhoods in the city of Cleveland and 58 municipalities in Cuyahoga County. Researchers can use these data in their own work, and people generally can obtain up-to-date information about their home environment.

Cleveland has a high incidence of urban poverty, and this is felt particularly by women and female-headed families. More than one-quarter of all women in Cleveland live in poverty, and more than half are unmarried or have never been married, while the proportion of children born to unmarried mothers is twice the national average. Women’s wages continue to lag behind men’s. These factors are all interrelated in complex fashion, as researched by the CUPSC.

SEE ALSO: Community-Based Antipoverty Programs; Education; Feminization of Poverty; Poverty Research.

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JOHN WALSH
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Central African Republic

IN THE LOW-INCOME, SEVERELY indebted Central African Republic, subsistence agriculture and forestry dominate the economy. Poverty is widespread, with 67 percent of the population living below the poverty line and 45 percent living in absolute poverty. Some 84 percent of the population live on less than \$2 a day. Almost a quarter of children in the country suffer from a lack of adequate nourishment. Decades of civil unrest and four coups have drained resources and hampered efforts to deal with economic problems, and basic health and education services have often been interrupted by paralyzing strikes.

Over 70 percent of Central Africans live in rural areas where resources are inadequate and healthcare is limited. Inequality is a fact of life, and the lowest 10 percent of the population receive only 0.7 percent of total income, while the richest segment possesses almost half of national income. The fragile economic situation in the Central African Republic has led to a call for international attention and aid.

The Central African Republic suffers from low life expectancy (41.01 years) and a low growth rate (1.49 percent). The median age is 18.12 years, and 42.5 percent of the population are under the age of 14. Only 55.3 percent of Central Africans can expect to see their 40th birthday, and only 3.4 percent of the population have reached 65 years of age.

Central Africans lack adequate access to potable water, basic sanitation, physicians, and lifesaving drugs, and the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate of 13.5 has created a national health crisis. Some 260,000 Central Africans are living with the disease, and 23,000 have died from the disease or its complications. Very high risks of food- and waterborne diseases such as bacterial diarrhea, hepatitis A, and typhoid fever continue to further drain the country’s resources, as do malaria, polio, meningococcal meningitis, and the so-called sleeping disease.

Central African children are at significant health risk, and the infant mortality rate of 115 is unacceptably high. Between 1995 and 2000, the mortality rate for children under the age of 5 rose from 158 to 194 per 1,000 live births. Child immunization rates are declining, with only 35 percent of children between birth and 23 months receiving measles vaccinations and only 40 percent receiving DPT3 immunizations. Between 1990 and 2000, immunization rates for measles, DPT, and tuberculosis declined. Only 35 percent of all children receive oral rehydration therapy when necessary. Current estimates place the number of Central African orphans



Females in many African countries are often victimized by endemic discrimination, a significant lack of resources, and a tacit acceptance of violence. Women are more than twice as likely as men to contract HIV/AIDS.

at 110,000, in great part because of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Children have also frequently been taken hostage during the constant political upheaval that has plagued the country.

Females in the Central African Republic are often victimized by endemic discrimination, a significant lack of resources, and a tacit acceptance of violence. Women are more than twice as likely as men to contract HIV/AIDS. Central African women continue to produce children at a rate of 4.5 children per female, and only 28 percent of all women use any form of contraception. The fertility rate of 122 per 1,000 births and the maternal mortality ratio of 1,100 per 100,000 live births are indications that the country needs to pay increased attention to reproduction health and education. Less than half (44 percent) of all Central African births are attended by trained medical staff, and barely one-fourth of rural women receive obstetrical attention.

Central African education is at a critical point, and the government has begun to develop programs and al-

locate resources designed to improve access to and the quality of education. While literacy rates for males have risen to 63.3 percent, less than 40 percent of Central African females are literate. Between 1990 and 2002, school attendance declined from 58 percent to 49 percent. Less than one-third of children in rural areas attend school regularly. The educational crisis has affected girls disproportionately at the primary level, but girls are now more likely than boys to attend secondary schools.

Human Development Index Rank: 171

Human Poverty Index Rank: 92

SEE ALSO: Debt; Disease and Poverty; HIV/AIDS.

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ELIZABETH PURDY, PH.D.
INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

Chad

IN THE CENTRAL AFRICAN nation of Chad, some 80 percent of the population live below the national poverty line. Almost one-third of the total population and some 28 percent of all children are malnourished. Annual per capita income in Chad is \$210. The United Nations Human Development Report ranks Chad among the lowest countries on quality-of-life issues, but assessment of Chadian poverty is somewhat hampered by insufficient reporting of data.

From the 1960s to the 1990s, Chad was plagued by civil unrest and was invaded by neighboring Libya. Even after democratic elections were held in 1996 and 1997, power remained concentrated in the hands of an ethnic minority. The Chadian economy is dominated by agriculture, and more than 80 percent of the population are dependent on subsistence farming and livestock. The economy is expected to improve in the near future because a consortium led by two American oil companies invested \$3.7 billion to develop Chad's oil reserves, which are estimated at one billion barrels.

Chadians have a median age of 16.02 years, with approximately half of the population under the age of 14, and 2.8 percent reaching the age of 65. Life expectancy is 47.94 years, and Chadians have a 42.9 percent chance of failing to survive until their 40th birthday.

The Chadian population lacks proper access to potable water. Additional health and environmental concerns derive from the soil and water pollution that has resulted from improper waste disposal in rural areas. Lack of access to physicians, hospitals, and life-saving drugs further threatens the population. Chad faces a 4.8 percent prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS, with 200,000 people living with the disease and 18,000 deaths attributed to the disease and its complicating factors.

Chadians also face a very high risk of contracting food- and waterborne diseases such as bacterial and protozoal diarrhea, hepatitis A, and typhoid fever. Additional health concerns include schistosomiasis, a

water contact disease, and outbreaks of malaria, cholera, and meningococcal meningitis. In conjunction with the Carter Center, Guinea worm, which is also spread through infected water, was eradicated in Chad in 1998. Chad's infant mortality rate is unacceptably high at 117 deaths per every 1,000 live births, as is the mortality rate of 200 for children under the age of 5. In 2003, 61 percent of children between the ages of 12 and 36 months were immunized against measles, and 47 percent of that group received DPT immunizations. Among Chadian infants, 61 percent were immunized against measles, and 67 percent were immunized against tuberculosis. Only 36 percent of Chadian children received oral re-hydration therapy when necessary.

The fertility rate of 6.2 children among all females of childbearing age and the fertility rate for women aged 15 to 19 pose unacceptable risks to Chadian women. Only eight percent of Chadian women use contraceptives of any sort. The maternal mortality rate of 1,100 deaths per 100,000 live births is indicative of Chad's widespread poverty and its poor healthcare system. In 2003, less than 20 percent of all Chadian births were attended by trained medical staff. Chadian girls continue to be subjected to genital mutilation despite the efforts of both government and nongovernmental organizations to stop this practice.

Many parents in Chad feel that it is unnecessary to educate their daughters, so girls lag behind boys in literacy, educational levels, and overall achievement. Just over half of the male population of Chad is literate (56 percent), and only 39.3 percent of females possess this skill. Most children in Chad receive no more than five years of basic education.

Overall, school enrollment has increased from 30.2 percent in 1993 to 55.0 percent in 2001, but girls lag behind boys in enrollment rates. From 1995 to 2000, primary enrollment rates for boys rose from 59 to 79 percent, while enrollment for girls rose from 33 to 47 percent. During that same period, completion rates rose from 21 to 29 percent for males and from eight to 12 percent for females.

Human Development Index Rank: 173

Human Poverty Index Rank: 100

SEE ALSO: Child Malnutrition; Child Mortality; Children and Poverty; Libya.

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ELIZABETH PURDY, PH.D.
INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

Charity

CHARITY IS LOVE FOR fellow human beings, often expressed in a donation of goods and services to those in need. It is the spirit of active goodwill toward others, demonstrated in deeds to promote their welfare. The word *charity* is taken from the Latin word, *caritas*, or "love." Thomas Aquinas called charity the greatest of the virtues.

It has been said that the family is the oldest charitable and social welfare organization on earth. The family feeds, protects, and nurtures in a variety of ways all family members. One could say historically that two processes have been going on at once in the family, mutual aid and nurturance, and protection from outside forces. In early history, aid and protection gradually expanded to include other extended family members and other members of the tribe. This in turn accompanied the growth in cooperation in such areas as agriculture, hunting and fishing, and building. In time, charity became more structured and formalized.

All the major world religions developed teachings on proper conduct, including charity. These teachings became more structured over time. It is necessary to state this because most of the published works by authors in the West give considerably more attention to Judeo-Christian charity values and philosophies. There is more literature appearing of late on Islamic perspectives on charity, but little on Eastern religions (such as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Hinduism) and their perspective on charity.

One can find teachings on charity in the various sacred texts of Eastern religions, such as the various sayings about charity in the *Bhagavad Gita*. The act of giving a gift (*dana* in Sanskrit or *dan* in Hindi) is surely one of the more seminal characteristics of Hindu religiosity. It is a central component in the Law of Manu (dating from the 3rd century B.C.E.) and in the *Rig Veda* (dating back over 3,000 years).

Buddhism emphasizes compassion for all living entities (humans, animals, and plants). In Buddhist thinking, charity that is done for no reward here or the hereafter is referred to as pure and unsullied, and is viewed as the best kind. The importance of compassion (*metta*) is a foundation stone of charity. Perhaps charity has not been structured as much in Buddhism because Buddhism has not traditionally had as strong an organizational base. Buddhists have been involved in charitable endeavors of various kinds, some of which have been modeled on Christian programs.

Confucianism treats the individual as a relational being. The person is not a detached and solitary entity, but is constantly involved in human relationships. In all relationships, both parties have obligations. For example, the father should show kindness, and provide security and education, in addition to other duties. In turn, a son should be respectful and obedient, and must show charity toward his father in old age, caring for his needs.

Jainism dates back to the 6th century B.C.E. A central teaching of Jainism is *ahimsa*, nonviolence to all living things. This surely influenced Mohandas Gandhi, who was not a Jain but grew up among Jains. *Ahimsa* can certainly be looked at in the context of a broader perspective on charity. In Jainism, charity or donation is *Dana*, and it should be done with compassion, with no desire for material gain, and in a spirit of self-sacrifice, and yet also should include joy in giving. Charity is of four kinds in Jainism, donation of food (*Ahara-dana*), donation of medicine (*Ausadha-dana*), donation of books or of education (*Jnana-dana*), and giving protection or freedom from fear (*Abhaya-dana*). In the *Kundakunda Pancastikaya*, it states that to be moved at the sight of a person in need and to offer relief to him is the "spring of virtue." In the *Sutra-keit-anga*, there is a similar statement that can be found in various other religious beliefs, namely, to treat all creatures in the world as one would like to be treated.

Similar statements to the above can also be found in the Bahai faith, Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, Sikhism, Taoism, Zoroastrianism, other religious traditions, and even in Aristotle and in Greek philosophy.

One of the strongest declarations about the importance of charity can be found in Judaism. Jewish prophets like Amos, in the 8th century B.C.E., called on people to embrace charity, as did other Judaic prophets. Moses Maimonides (1135–1204) contributed notably here. The Jewish perspective on charity for ages past has emphasized justice or righteousness. In Judaism the



St. Francis of Assisi renounced wealth and founded the Franciscan order, which emphasized the love of the poor and the needy.

word *tzedakah* is employed to describe charity. *Tzedakah* does not mean love per se, but justice or righteousness. Christianity has taken the meaning of charity to be *caritas*, or love. There is an important distinction here. *Tzedakah* (which has its source in the Old Testament) turns the concept of charity into something of an entitlement. There is in Judaism a strong obligation to care for the poor. The Old Testament established rules for *tzedakah* by developing the rule of *peah*, leaving the corners of the fields unharvested, for the benefit of the poor.

Tzedakah was balanced by *chesed*, which is loving kindness. Charity and social welfare must ideally include both—justice on the one hand, and love on the other. St. Augustine (354–430) once stated that charity “is no substitute for justice withheld.” Christianity inherited from Judaism a rich heritage of teachings in re-

spect to charity. Indeed, the very founder of Christianity was himself Jewish, Jesus of Nazareth.

Jesus called upon all to go beyond the structures of *tzedakah*, and called for a more individualized approach to caring for the poor. Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant Christianity inherited this strong impulse to *caritas*. Thomas E. Woods, Jr., states that Catholic Christianity historically created and maintained strong social structures to ensure that charity occupied a central place. Examples abound, but a few stand out.

Medieval monasteries took their cue from St. Benedict of Nursia (480–547), the founder of the Benedictine order and the author of a monastic rule that included a strong component of charity and hospitality. St. Francis of Assisi (1181–1226) renounced wealth and founded the Franciscan order, which emphasized the love of the poor and the needy. The modern-day example of Mother Teresa (1910–97), an Albanian nun who worked among the poor and homeless in Calcutta, India, is yet another illustration of this *caritas* tradition.

She founded a religious order of nuns, the Missionaries of Charity, who are working with the poor in many parts of the world. The works of Thomas Aquinas (1225–74) and other noted figures and the papal social encyclicals provide a further backdrop. Charitable activities have been particularly in evidence with the “mainline” Protestant denominations (such as Lutheran and United Methodist). Certainly charity occupies a central place among all Christian denominations. Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant Christianity is engaged in a vast, wide-ranging network of charitable activities worldwide.

Islam places a considerable amount of importance on the care of the poor and the needy. *Zakat* is a kind of alms tax, which goes to charitable activities. It is viewed more as charity by Shiite Muslims, and more as a social justice activity by the majority Sunni Muslims. In this respect, the Sunni view would come closer to the Jewish concept of *tzedakah*. In contrast to *zakat*, *sadaqa* is voluntary almsgiving to the needy and the poor. It is not mandatory but voluntary, and goes beyond the required *zakat*.

Another voluntary-sector charitable instrument in Islam is the *waqf*, a form of endowment. The Islamic concept of *umma* is important here. *Umma* means community, people, or nation, and has at times an almost ethereal quality in Islam. In this respect, *zakat* and *sadaqa* serve the needs and welfare of *umma*. Islam does not posit a “welfare state” to meet all the many needs of the poor, but assumes a strong voluntary-sector involvement, indeed an individual commitment and involve-

ment, to see this to fruition. Really, all the Abrahamic world religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) would be similar in that respect.

The concept of charity has undergone considerable change over the last 150 years. The Social Gospel movement, which took root in the post-Civil War period in the United States, conjoined with Progressive-era movements to address living conditions, dislocation, and poverty. Charity was housed in a number of voluntary sector agencies like the Salvation Army throughout the early period of the 20th century. Gradually government involvement in social welfare grew, especially with the advent of the New Deal (1933–41). Increasing governmental involvement in social welfare during that period took place in a number of other countries.

The modern example of Mother Teresa is another illustration of this caritas tradition.

In some countries (such as Sweden) the involvement was so pronounced that it became known as a welfare state. Thus people who once were the recipients of charity gradually began to assume a right to social welfare benefits. The road through charity had ended up with entitlements. The view of social welfare programs as rights began to dominate over the view of social welfare as charity.

Charity is linked with the residual view of social welfare. It is not a basic, universalized, central part of the system, but is something that society does from the heart, not from the law. United Way agencies, for example, are not mandated by law to carry out charitable activities. The institutional perspective on social welfare bespeaks social welfare as more of a social right of citizens. The United States, in contrast to a number of welfare state countries, has maintained a dynamic, active, private, voluntary, nonprofit social welfare sector (many of these agencies are faith-based agencies). In that sense, it could be said that a more traditional view of charity is more in existence in the United States.

SEE ALSO: Catholic Church; Entitlement; Hinduism and Poverty; Islam and Poverty; Judaism and Poverty; Missionaries; Religion; Welfare State; Western Monasticism.

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Charity Organization Society

THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION Society started in England in 1869. It was originally designed to coordinate the work of various organizations that delivered charity and aid to the poor. It came to the United States in 1877 when a British cleric working in Canada named Samuel Humphrey Gurteens crossed the border and went to Buffalo, New York, to do welfare work. Gurteens's work coincided with the increased call for public attention to the growing seriousness of social problems in the United States.

Gurteens went to Buffalo in 1875 to serve as an assistant minister in the small parish called St. Mary's. There, he witnessed the economic devastation caused by the 1876 depression. Gurteens formed an alliance with T. Guilford Smith, a moderately successful businessman who shared Gurteens's interest in the plight of the poor. They joined forces with several other young professionals and came to the decision that the British working in the charity organization held the key to solving poverty. Gurteens traveled to England where he studied these organizations and then refined their methods and changed their approach to fit the situation in Buffalo.

Gurteens traveled the city preaching his brand of poverty reform, detailing his answers in “the phases of poverty,” his response to the call for a comprehensive welfare reform program. The Buffalo Charity Organization Society, which opened in 1877, copied the British model, and had almost instant success. It served as a role model for other cities such as Baltimore, Boston, Detroit, Indianapolis, Philadelphia, and New York, dealing with staggering poverty rates. Gurteens and Smith traveled the country preaching the benefits of the Charity Organization Society. Gurteens’s *Phases of Charity and Handbook of Charity Organization* served as the guidebook for those who established similar societies in their cities.

The Charity Organization Society anchored its support in what it called scientific charity. They believed that they could get rid of public charity and replace it with private philanthropy by coordinating relief. The Charity Organization Society emphasized seven fundamental ideas. They included: individualization, community education, interagency cooperation, preventive philanthropy, personal service, repression of mendicancy, and adequacy of relief. Because of its reliance on cooperation, the Charity Organization Society was totally dependent on registration so that people would know who was getting aid and from where.

Of equal importance was the need to be nonsectarian so that the cooperative spirit could be maintained. The Charity Organization Society workers were under strict orders not to provide aid. Instead, the “friendly visitors” who staffed the Charity Organization Society offices would investigate, and then after consultation come up with a course of action. They relied on education to teach both the poor and wealthy as the best way to provide aid to the poor.

Poor people were to be taught abstinence and diligence, while the wealthy were to learn to give modestly of their means, but liberally of their time. Charity Organization Society staff conducted stringent investigations into each request for aid. The staff was made up of friendly visitors, and later, agents that were responsible for investigations and getting aid for the families. The friendly visitor was supposed to be a semipermanent part of the family, providing instruction in nutrition, employment, healthcare, and education. The Charity Organization Society evolved into the most popular welfare organization in the country until its decline in the 1930s.

SEE ALSO: Begging; Charity; Education; Mother Teresa; Poverty in History; Religion.

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Child Malnutrition

CHILD MALNUTRITION IS a global problem that exists in developing as well as industrialized countries. In developing countries, poor nutrition contributes to more than half of all childhood deaths. One in three children in Africa is underweight, while half of all children in south Asia are malnourished. Approximately five million children in these developing countries die each year from malnutrition.

Child malnutrition impacts countries well beyond the individual effect it has on the children. Inadequate consumption of food and necessary vitamins and minerals during the developing years can have irreversible effects on a child’s physical and mental capacities that consequently contribute to decreased productivity of future generations and of the society as a whole.

Infectious disease is highly associated with malnutrition and can be the cause of this condition, or the result. Families in poverty very often do not have adequate healthcare and live in impoverished areas that lack proper sanitation and clean drinking water. These conditions contribute to malnutrition by creating environments that are conducive to infectious diseases. A lack of essential nutrients breaks down the body’s ability to fight off disease. Children, with their immature immune systems, are highly susceptible to these diseases, especially if their bodies are already fragile from lack of nutrition.

While malnutrition often invokes images of underweight children, those who suffer from malnutrition may suffer from obesity. Obesity as a result of malnutrition is often seen in more developed countries such as the United States. The United States is one of the richest countries in the world; however, areas such as the Rio Grande Valley, Central Appalachia, and the Mississippi experience poverty rivaling countries in the developing world. Reliance on cheap food that is high in calories and low in nutrients precipitates malnutrition

in poor families in the United States, which can lead to obesity and diabetes in children.

Micronutrient deficiency and protein-energy malnutrition are the two basic types of malnutrition. Micronutrients are trace vitamins and minerals that are essential for health. Deficiencies in the micronutrients vitamin A, iron, and iodine are of great concern for poor people in developing countries. A deficiency of the micronutrient vitamin A can cause night blindness, a reduction in the body's resistance to disease, and growth retardation.

Iron deficiency is a principal cause of anemia and results in a decrease in the amount of red cells in the blood. For children, health consequences of iron deficiency anemia include infections, physical and cognitive development impairment, and elevated risk of premature death.

Iodine deficiency can have devastating effects on a child's health, even before he/she is born. Iodine deficiencies in the mother can result in permanent damage to her child by increasing the risk of congenital abnormalities such as cretinism, a grave, irreversible form of mental retardation.

Child malnutrition is a devastating problem that is also a concern in prosperous countries.

The second type of malnutrition, protein-energy malnutrition, is the most lethal form of malnutrition and results from inadequate consumption of calories and protein necessary to meet the physical requirements for an active and healthy life. This type of malnutrition affects every fourth child worldwide and is the type normally thought of when one discusses malnutrition. Infants and young children are the most susceptible to protein-energy malnutrition because of their high energy and protein needs.

The degree of malnutrition in children is normally determined by height, weight, and age of the child. Three indicators often used to assess malnutrition in children include stunting, wasting, and underweight. For a child to meet the international criteria for malnutrition, he or she must be two or more standard deviations below the international average for height (stunting) or weight (wasting and underweight).

Children who do not have adequate height for their age may meet the criteria for stunting. Stunting is the result of chronic malnutrition at a young age. Adequate nutrition is essential to support growth; consequently,

children who are lacking in nutrition do not have the ability to sustain growth and their height may be retarded as a result.

Wasting and underweight both refer to inadequate weight. Wasting is a condition in which the child's height is within the normal range for his age; however, the weight is below the expected weight for his height. Therefore, wasting compares the child's weight to her height. Conversely, the underweight indicator compares the child's weight to the average for her age. Children who are two or more standard deviations below the average weight for their age are said to be underweight.

Malnutrition is a devastating problem that ultimately impacts everyone. While children in developing countries are at great risk of suffering malnutrition, it is also a concern in more prosperous countries. The future of societies is rooted in their children. Strong, healthy children create strong, healthy future generations.

SEE ALSO: Child Mortality; Children and Poverty; Disease and Poverty; Malnutrition; Nutrition.

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Child Mortality

WHILE THE TERMS *child mortality* and *infant mortality* are often used interchangeably, technically they are not the same thing. Infant mortality refers to the incidence of death among infants in their first year of life, whereas child mortality also refers to deaths of older children. Demographers define the infant mortality rate as the annual number of deaths among infants less than a year old per 1,000 births, whereas the child mortality rate usually refers to deaths prior to the fifth birthday.

It is useful to draw a distinction between the two types of rates as the likelihood of death is not nearly as high among children as it is among infants. Both of these age-specific mortality rates are widely considered among the most valuable indicators of societal development.

The risk of dying during the first few years of life has varied dramatically across societies and over time. For example, throughout most of human history, child mortality was almost universally high. Reasonable estimates indicate that about 30 percent of all births in pre-modern societies would have died in infancy. With the epidemiological transition of the 19th and 20th centuries, mortality declined dramatically, such that the vast majority of births in most societies now survive to adulthood. Yet there are important exceptions to this general rule, as high rates of death and disease continue to characterize the young in many parts of the world.

As an example of high child mortality, the United Nations has estimated for sub-Saharan Africa that overall, about 17 percent of all births in 2003 are not expected to survive to their fifth birthday. The situation is even worse in selected countries of equatorial Africa, as for example in Sierra Leone, where the comparable figure is about 28 percent of all births. While poverty is closely linked with high mortality, a variety of other interrelated factors are also important, including the relative success of public health initiatives, improvements in sanitation systems, water quality, the availability of modern medicines, antibiotics, vaccines, and the control of communicable diseases. The extraordinarily high child mortality that characterized Sierra Leone occurred in an already impoverished country that encountered drought, famine, and a breakdown in social order because of a violent and prolonged civil war.

Across affluent nations in the 21st century, the risk of death in infancy has plummeted to unprecedented low levels. For example, across most Western nations, the percentage of births not surviving the first year of life hovers at about one-half of a percent (slightly above or slightly below five deaths per 1,000 births). In this low mortality context, it is really the short period of time, just before or after birth that is most dangerous for infants. For this reason, there are special measures of infant death that assist in more clearly identifying the etiology of mortality. It is possible to distinguish between neonatal mortality (which refers to deaths of infants within 28 days after birth) and postneonatal mortality (which covers deaths from 28 days to one year).

When infant mortality is very low, as is true throughout most Western nations, neonatal deaths

comprise a large proportion of all infant deaths. On the other hand, postneonatal deaths are more common in poor countries, as they are more closely linked with poverty, inadequate diet, viral and bacterial risks, as well as injuries. In rich countries, most infant deaths relate to processes associated with gestation and birth, including premature birth, low birth weight, congenital anomalies, as well as obstetrical hazards associated with delivery.

Yet this is not to say that socioeconomic class and poverty are irrelevant, as neonatal mortality is higher among mothers who are economically disadvantaged. Better care for mothers and their infants before and after birth, including regular medical consultation, can reduce the risk of neonatal deaths as well as the risk of miscarriage. Other causes of low birth weight and premature birth include inadequate diet, smoking, and drug abuse by mothers, which also varies by socioeconomic class.

In demonstrating the extent to which poverty and underdevelopment are relevant in explaining infant mortality, the United Nations has estimated that just five diseases—pneumonia, diarrhea, malaria, measles, and AIDS—account for half of all deaths to children under age 5 worldwide. Many of these deaths can be avoided through relatively low-cost prevention and treatment measures. The encouragement of breastfeeding can have a major impact on infant mortality in a context whereby sanitation and water quality are problems. The availability of antibiotics and oral rehydration can have a major impact on the risk of death among infants who suffer from diarrhea and gastroenteritis.

The widespread impact of malaria could be reduced through the use of insecticide-treated mosquito nets and appropriate medicines. In addition, a large proportion of newborns born prematurely or with low birth weight in developing nations die of conditions routinely treated in the hospitals of industrialized nations.

SEE ALSO: Alcohol and Drugs; Child Malnutrition; Children and Poverty; Disease and Poverty; Sanitation.

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Child Welfare League of America

THE CHILD WELFARE League of America (CWLA), headquartered in Washington, D.C., was founded in 1920 as a result of President Theodore Roosevelt's 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. The stated mission and vision of CWLA are "We are committed to engaging people everywhere in promoting the well-being of children, youth, and their families, and protecting every child from harm. We envision a future in which families, neighborhoods, communities, organizations, and governments ensure that all children and youth are provided with the resources they need to grow into healthy, contributing members of society."

CWLA serves as an advocate for children and their parents through a network of members including local organizations, corporate and philanthropic partners, nongovernmental organizations, state offices, and public agencies. Through this network, CWLA lobbies for policies that will best benefit children and their families, while opposing policies that it considers to be harmful to children and their families. An organization of member agencies rather than individual members, in 2004 CWLA was composed of 909 agencies. Also in 2004, CWLA held 197 conference workshops on various issues affecting children, engaged in 74 collaborations with national organizations and 11 local collaborations, and held 200 contracts worth a total of \$2.2 million.

One underlying value of the organization is that it concentrates on applying research to practice. That is, CWLA conducts research, often in partnership with public agencies or other organizations, for the purpose of applying what is learned to improving the lives of children and their families. For example, in June 2005, CWLA held a national conference in Miami Beach, Florida, on best practices for dealing with juvenile delinquency. At that conference, the opening session

dealt with a collaborative effort between CWLA and the Seattle-King County, Washington, juvenile court system to improve the outcomes for children petitioned to that court for a variety of reasons. In addition, all of the conference presentations dealt with successful child advocacy programs, such as an in-school gang delinquency prevention program in Racine, Wisconsin, and a young prostitute rescue program in Boston, Massachusetts. CWLA learns from both positive and negative program outcomes, and helps communities and agencies put the positive into practice.

Through its National Center for Program Leadership (NCPL), CWLA advocates in at least 20 areas important to children and their families, such as adoption, child mental health, foster care, teenaged pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, and homelessness.

SEE ALSO: ChildLine; Children and Poverty; Children's Aid Society; Disease and Poverty; Nongovernmental Organizations.

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ChildLine

CHILDLINE IS the United Kingdom's free, 24-hour help line for children in distress or danger. The help line provides a counseling service to comfort, advise, and protect children and young people who may feel they have nowhere else to turn. ChildLine began in 1986, shortly after a television consumer program invited individuals to respond to a survey it was conducting on child abuse.

As the program raised sensitive issues, a help line was provided for 24 hours after the program was broadcast. The help line received an overwhelming number of calls from children who wished to disclose reports of abuse and mistreatment while remaining anonymous. A national, toll-free telephone number was subsequently created and staffed by volunteers. Since its launch, ChildLine has counseled well over one million children.

One of the most common reasons why children call ChildLine is abuse. Statistics show that in Britain abuse was accounted for in the following ways: physical neg-

lect (42 percent), physical abuse (32 percent), sexual abuse (19 percent), and emotional abuse (16 percent), with some overlap, according to B. Corby. Children suffering abuse are often threatened to remain silent or made to feel ashamed and guilty. Therefore, children and young people can be afraid to disclose their abuse for fear of what may happen to them or their family. However, ChildLine offers a service that is fully confidential and can therefore be a stepping-stone for children to begin to talk about their experiences and seek the help they need. Counselors can also give children information and advice about speaking to other adults and services, and will support them through this process.

There are a variety of reasons why perpetrators abuse children. For example, such people may have experienced abuse themselves. However, research shows that the biggest risk factor in the abuse of children is poverty, as shown by C. Becket. This is a complex issue and is not an exhaustive determinant. However, many factors contribute toward this risk. The National Research Council (1993) reported that in the United States, families who received welfare support, had single mothers, had unemployed fathers, or were living in poor neighborhoods were more likely to have children placed on a child protection register. All of these issues, and more, impact a parent's physical and mental well-being, especially cumulative stress.

ChildLine also received 31,000 calls in 2004 from children who were experiencing bullying. Children can be bullied physically, verbally, or emotionally, and experience hurt and humiliation. Threatening text messages and e-mails add to bullying in a more indirect way. A recent survey of 2,869 18- to 24-year-olds in Britain reported that 43 percent of children and young people had previously been bullied or discriminated against at school, according to P. Cawson et al. As in other forms of abuse, children who are bullied find it hard to disclose their experience, with 30 percent suffering in silence, as studied by D.S. Hawker and M.J. Boulton. In response to an increase in calls regarding bullying, ChildLine created a working partnership with schools, called ChildLine in Partnership with Schools (CHIPS). CHIPS works to highlight and address the issues surrounding bullying.

ChildLine provides training for staff and children, allowing children and young people to be more involved in dealing with bullying, as well as providing greater communication across all levels. ChildLine is prominently made up of volunteers for all its fundraising, outreach, and counseling work.

SEE ALSO: Child Welfare League of America; Children and Poverty; Children's Defense Fund; United Kingdom.

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Children and Poverty

IN ACKNOWLEDGING that every individual under the age of 18, if recognized by a country's law, has certain rights that must be protected, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child sought to ensure the well-being of all children and treat them as individuals with their own privileges and freedom of expression. The convention, which was ratified by most United Nations member states (the exceptions being Somalia and the United States) and adopted into law in September 1990, asserts that children must be protected and provided with the necessary supports in order to mature into healthy adults.

Adoption of the convention has spurred a growing awareness on the part of world leaders that more concerted efforts were needed to provide children with a healthy start and protection against abuse, exploitation, and inadequate diet. To this end, the September 2005 United Nations World Summit witnessed one of the most auspicious gatherings of world dignitaries to reaffirm the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) that the United Nations declared in 2000. Among the nine stated goals that the MDG seeks to realize by 2015 is an improvement in the life chances of children by eradicating extreme poverty and hunger and reducing child mortality.

Poverty is highly contextual, which means that child poverty can take on different forms and can be accounted for by varying micro and macro conditions, depending on what region of the world they reside in. For

some of the most impoverished nations in the southern hemisphere, poverty is often described in absolute terms and reflects an individual or family's ability to consume a specific caloric intake of food that is considered to be minimal to guard against starvation, dehydration, or life-threatening disease.

Even the richest nation is a long way from eradicating poverty at home.

For richer nations, where basic human needs such as food and water are provided, poverty measures often focus on income disparities or individuals' ability to purchase a range of goods and services deemed acceptable based on a country's standard of living. Poverty measures used around the world reflect these technical and conceptual distinctions about what constitutes poverty and also underscore differences in the standard of living enjoyed by nations of the northern hemisphere compared to those in the south.

A commonly cited measure of poverty in developing countries is the World Bank's Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) estimate, which sets the international poverty level for extreme poverty around \$1.08 per day or \$32.74 a month. By the end of the 1990s, the per capita income for nearly 44 percent of the population of least developed countries was at or below this extreme poverty threshold and close to 75 percent of the population were trying to survive on nearly \$2 per day.

In contrast, most western European countries have favored measuring poverty in "relative" terms, whereby thresholds are set in terms of the proportion of households with incomes less than 50 percent of the median adjusted household income for the country of residence. The United States' Federal Poverty Line (FPL), a more "absolute" approach, which was established in the mid-1960s to define a minimum level of subsistence, takes into consideration the size and composition of a household to determine its poverty status at a fixed point in time. Families are considered as being in poverty if their annual earnings fall below a designated threshold, depending on the size of the family. For a family of four in 2004, the U.S. poverty threshold was \$19,307.

Critics of an absolute measure of poverty contend that a more accurate appraisal of poverty would involve comparing some combination of a person's economic, social, and cultural resources to those of the society. Using such estimates, child poverty rates would be ad-

justed upward in countries like the United States where income disparities are far greater than in other developed nations in Europe and elsewhere.

Even by existing and possibly restrictive measures of poverty, rates of severe deprivation among children in the developing and industrialized world remain woefully high at the dawn of the 21st century. By 2000, babies in least developed countries were twice as likely to die at birth than infants born in richer nations. In addition, children in these countries experienced lower immunization coverage, worse healthcare services, higher rates of malnutrition, and greater gender disparities, in comparison to their better-off counterparts in the richer nations.

Wealthy nations are not above reproach. Official U.S. Census Bureau figures, using an absolute measure of poverty, report that the rate for children under 18 years of age was 17.8 percent in 2004, one of the highest among leading developed countries. Given how strongly individuals' social class during childhood predicts their economic opportunities later in life, such statistics suggest that even the richest nation is a long way from eradicating poverty at home.

CAUSES OF CHILD POVERTY

In addition to the ravages of war and a pandemic rise in the incidences of life-threatening diseases such as AIDS/HIV, which kills millions of adults and leaves countless children orphaned and impoverished, childhood poverty in underdeveloped countries is due in part to global economic restructuring, the outmigration of low-income families from rural or agricultural-based dwellings to urban areas, demographic shifts, cultural norms, as well as an institutional framework that fails to meet the changing needs of indigenous peoples.

Though children constitute nearly 50 percent of the size of the population of least developed countries, investments in children are woefully inadequate. And, given the realities of enormous external debt, bureaucratic mismanagement, social norms, and cultural values that subjugate the rights of the child, plus a lack of a basic infrastructure upon which to build a compendium of services to support children, these countries face incredible obstacles to raising the quality of life of their youngest citizens, as noted by H. Penn.

Since children depend so much on parents' income, child poverty in both the north and south goes hand in hand with the economic prosperity of an adult caretaker. In some of the richer nations, global economic restructuring also has played a prominent role in the

marginalization and social isolation of low-income families and their children. The shift from manufacturing to a service-based economy and the increased emphasis on technology have excluded large portions of the population from the labor force in developed countries. A comparison of unemployment and child poverty rates among richer nations reveals some apparent inconsistencies. Whereas countries like the United States, United Kingdom, and Italy have low levels of unemployment but high rates of child poverty, others, like Finland and Spain, have higher rates of unemployment yet report lower levels of child poverty. What accounts for these dissimilarities is the concentration of unemployment and underemployment among adults with families, as is the case in countries like the United States, unlike Finland and other nations where young, childless adults are overrepresented on the unemployment rolls.

Literacy among mothers is also linked to child poverty rates in developing countries.

Other social demographic indicators have also been linked to poverty rates among children. In the United States, as divorce and nonmarital birth rates increase, so does the proportion of children who reside in single-parent, often female-headed families. Apart from the absence of an additional adult breadwinner, low-income female-headed households are often characterized by other socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, such as mothers' low educational attainment and early childbearing, which increase the likelihood that the children will spend some part of their formative years in poverty.

Minority status also matters since minority populations often find it harder to access employment opportunities that would afford a family a reasonable standard of living. In the United States, for example, where the legacy of slavery and racial intolerance continues to impact the life chances of black children, overt discrimination as well as the cumulative effect of prejudicial policies that prevented blacks from reaching their true potential in past decades today help to account for why black adults are more likely to be unemployed and earn less on average when they find a job.

Literacy among mothers is also linked to child poverty rates in developing countries. More educated girls are seen to delay marriage and make more informed decisions about childbearing and -rearing prac-

tices. In addition to basic literacy rates, low-income women's reproductive patterns, notably short birth spacing as well as mother's age at first birth, are strong indicators of poverty among children.

CONSEQUENCES OF POVERTY

Exposure to prolonged poverty can be especially detrimental to the health and safety of children. In instances where caregivers are either incapacitated, jobless, or have died or abandoned their offspring, children are often required to work for their own survival. Domestic and international laws have succeeded in outlawing child labor in wealthy nations around the globe. In developing countries the situation is much more complex, since poor families must often depend on the earnings of all household members, including the youngest.

Human rights groups have discovered some egregious examples of inhuman child labor conditions, and while the practice continues, such actions have increased the pressure that is brought to bear on developing countries and the companies that promote it, to abandon the practice altogether. What is not so easy to regulate and indeed continues to flourish below the radar screens of many international observers is the use of children as domestic laborers or indentured servants. Often these children endure long hours and the ever-present danger of physical or sexual abuse. Such labor is often associated with minimal or no compensation for the child and little regard for his or her personal development.

In addition to such flagrant examples of child neglect, poverty among children is also causally linked to illiteracy, short life spans, lack of access to appropriate healthcare, as well as social and economic disenfranchisement. For instance, enrollment rates in school for children were around 58 percent in least developed countries by 2000 compared to 85 percent in richer nations, according to UNICEF. These numbers only begin to elucidate the extent of the problem, since the rates are even starker if we look at disparities by gender (girls usually do worse on most measures in comparison to boys), region, birth order, caste, or ethnic origin of children in certain parts of the world. Even then, our understanding of the consequences of poverty on children in poorer countries is quite superficial apart from such fundamental measures that have been cited. This is because the south has not benefited from the wealth of investments, in terms of time and money, that have been devoted to understanding poverty's varied effects on children in the north.



In households where resources are greatly limited, girls may be the first to be denied opportunities for advancement.

North American and European studies, and growing evidence from the south, reinforce the argument that regardless of where they are born, the short- and long-term consequences of poverty on children are profound. While prolonged poverty is thought to have the most severe effects, even short exposure to extreme poverty, especially during prenatal or postnatal periods, can cause irreparable psychological, physical, or emotional harm to a child. A preponderance of evidence indicates that growing up poor increases the likelihood of cognitive deficiencies, health problems, poor academic achievement, as well as impaired behavioral and psychosocial abilities among children and earnings inequalities among adults, according to J. Brooks-Gunn and G.J. Duncan.

Mounting evidence also bolsters the argument that even among richer nations, the physical and social isolation of poor families in high-poverty neighborhoods has detrimental effects on children and youth. Communities that are characterized as being low in social organization and social control among neighbors are most often characterized as risky for children, as shown by R. Sampson et al.

GENDER DIFFERENCES

Faced with the need to support themselves or other family members who are unable to find work, boys and girls are often expected to assume the responsibility of

primary provider for themselves and their families. When conventional methods of employment are unavailable, youth often resort to illegal activities. Boys are more likely to engage in property crimes, including theft or larceny, and in some instances, prostitution.

Girls are also likely to engage in pilfering when no other viable legitimate means are open to them, but all too often they are forced to sell themselves in order to earn a living. Ethnic and civil strife in some of the world's poorer nations has had an enormous impact on the number of boys who populate towns and villages. Boys are either conscripted into the armed forces or are some of the first victims of warring factions. Girls are more often the victims of sexual violence and are more likely to be exposed to sexual disease and impregnation.

Gender also confers different statuses on children, which, when coupled with the retarding effects of poverty and cultural norms, can further compound their precarious situation. In households where resources are greatly limited, girls may be the first to be denied opportunities for advancement. However, boys' preferred status does not provide them with a free ride since they are often the ones who are expected to work outside of the home to supplement meager household earnings or serve as the family's sole breadwinner.

Policies that work to ameliorate poverty are as diverse as are the conditions under which child poverty is realized and accentuated. In an effort to tackle the fundamental social inequalities that exist in many underde-



Children constitute nearly 50 percent of the population of least developed countries.

veloped countries, there is currently enormous support for loan forgiveness programs, which would help to remove some of their debt burden. Such actions, as well as increased and consistent support from donor countries, proponents of such policies argue, would allow these nations to redirect the saved monies toward much needed investments such as primary education, access to clean drinking water, and better health and nutrition services for pregnant mothers and children, according to J. Sachs.

Job training, affirmative action programs, setting minimum wage limits, and providing tax credits as well as public cash transfers and noncash benefits are just some of the approaches used by countries in the north to try to reduce poverty. Cash transfer programs seek to raise the standard of living of poor families and their children. Noncash benefits include such things as housing allowances and food stamp programs that are geared toward basic commodities that help to improve family security. Support for childcare in formal settings is also favored as an important service for low-income single mothers who must work outside the home.

However, prevailing notions of what constitutes basic entitlements are being challenged in some countries. In 1996, breaking from existing policies that supported low-income single mothers' desire to remain at home to raise a family, the U.S. federal government passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), which placed a limit on the amount of time low-income families can receive cash assistance and imposed strict work requirements on all able-bodied caregivers. Such approaches aim to increase the marketable skills and work readiness of low-income parents.

Other approaches in vogue currently include policies that promote marriage among unwed couples, which at their core also aim to reduce the numbers of poor children in the country. Though child poverty rates did fall in the United States during the 1990s, it remains to be seen if these gains were due to changes in national policy or a robust economy that has since fizzled.

SEE ALSO: CDF Black Community Crusade for Children; Child Malnutrition; Child Mortality; Children's Aid Society; Children's Defense Fund; Children's Hunger Relief; Third World; United States.

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Children's Aid Society

THE CHILDREN'S AID Society (CAS) was founded in 1853 in New York City by the Reverend Charles Loring Brace. Although it is best known as the original sponsor of "orphan trains" that carried about 150,000 dependent urban children to new homes in rural areas, the 19th century Children's Aid Society of New York was a multiservice agency. The CAS pioneered industrial schools, day schools for children with disabilities, visiting nurses, free dental clinics, and camping for poor children. In the 21st century, the CAS remains a child welfare agency offering a range of family and children's services at numerous sites in New York City. Other societies of the same name operate in large cities around the world.

The CAS of New York was founded during a period of high European immigration to the United States, accompanied by overcrowding of major cities. Poor families suffered from low wages, dangerous working conditions, high rates of morbidity and mortality, and few sources of help for the destitute. The middle of the 19th century was a period that embraced the "institutional ideal," the vision that people needing society's aid were best served in specialized hospitals, orphanages, and asylums.

Accordingly, voluntary and religious groups in most U.S. cities built orphanages for dependent children. Many of their wards were not complete orphans, but rather children who needed aid due to other family circumstances, including illness or death of a parent, desertion or family separation, acute poverty, or maltreatment. However, the existing institutions could not meet the extensive needs in large urban areas. Brace, a Protestant minister who had become aware of New

York's street children as well as those in institutions, was convinced that both groups of children could best be helped by placement with farm families in rural parts of the country. He founded the CAS of New York and began a program of placing children out of the city, the best-known service of the early CAS. Actually, the CAS helped children, young people, and their families in a variety of ways, and one study shows that only about a quarter of them fit the profile of orphaned, homeless, or abused "waifs."

Brace chronicled his work in *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them*, published in 1872, and he directed the CAS until his death in 1890. His legacy, and that of the early society, are somewhat mixed. During the years of the placing-out program, there was serious opposition from non-Protestant immigrant communities to the placement of their children in predominantly Protestant families and regions. More recently, the society's early work has been criticized for frequently disrupting poor families, and praised for including moral reform, as well as tangible assistance, in its work with poor families. Most commonly, the society is recognized as laying the groundwork for modern foster-care programs.

The CAS of New York has evolved into a complex child welfare agency, offering traditional, therapeutic, and medical foster care as well as adoption, health and dental care, school-based social services, teen pregnancy prevention, services for the homeless, community building, and camping and recreation. It has an annual budget of more than \$70 million and serves an estimated 120,000 children and families each year, including some in teen pregnancy programs and school-based services in U.S. cities outside of New York.

The Children's Aid Societies of Pennsylvania (established 1890) and Vermont (founded 1919) are examples of other large CASs that provide a range of child welfare services, while the Children's Aid Society of Utah (established 1910) operates as a traditional private adoption agency. Canadian Children's Aid Societies, such as Toronto's (established 1891), operate under public mandates to investigate allegations of child maltreatment and place children in substitute care. These nonprofit agencies receive substantial governmental funding and oversight. In Australia, the Victorian Children's Aid Society (founded 1893) merged with other voluntary children's agencies and assumed a new name, Oz Child-Children Australia, in 1992.

SEE ALSO: Children and Poverty; Family Desertion; Family Size and Structure; United States.

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Children's Defense Fund

THE CHILDREN'S DEFENSE Fund (CDF) was established more than 30 years ago in 1973 with the mission to Leave No Child Behind, by giving each child a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start through caring communities and families (the phrase *No Child Left Behind* was later employed as the name for the 2002 Education Act, with which it has no connection).

Based in Washington, D.C., the CDF aims to represent all of America's children, no matter how disadvantaged or disempowered they may be. The 2004 Annual Report states that "CDF provides a strong, effective voice for all the children of America who cannot vote, lobby, or speak for themselves. We pay particular attention to the needs of poor and minority children and those with disabilities. CDF educates the nation about the needs of children and encourages preventive investment before they get sick or into trouble, drop out of school, or suffer family breakdown." It also notes how the invasion and occupation of Iraq and the campaigns to counter terrorism have been used to deflect and marginalize social criticism. The increase in child poverty and mortality in the United States, for example, has received very little attention.

The CDF is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization, which is supported by donations from corporations, organizations, and individuals, as well as bequests and sale of assets and other activities. Total net assets reached \$49 million in 2004. Activities pursued by the CDF include research and publication with policy advocacy. This is credited, in part, with successful implementa-

tion of legislation relating to the treatment of children and their mental and physical well-being. Publications of the center promote children's health and development, family income, and employment prospects, while outreach programs are aimed at engaging with faith-based and other organizations to forge partnerships supportive of the overall goals.

CDF Freedom Schools is an initiative inspired by the American civil rights movement, which led to its 1993 launch of programs featuring literacy, conflict resolution, and social interaction that now serve 5,500 children annually. College-level interns and staff facilitate these educational programs, which are aimed at children aged 5 to 18 and operate in 40 cities for five- to eight-week sessions.

The CDF's Haley Farm is a center located on a 157-acre site that once belonged to the author Alex Haley. There, young people and activists are able to meet and study new methods of becoming the servant leaders who can help lead the way toward spiritual and political freedom. The Action Council provides a center for campaigning and advocacy.

The Beat the Odds Program was started in 1990 as a means of celebrating the potential of teenagers, who are so often characterized in the popular media as victims or troublemakers. It works with local and community leaders to help recognize outstanding achievements by young people, whether academic, social, or creative in nature.

Marian Wright Edelman, who has a long and successful career as a lawyer and advocate for disadvantaged Americans, founded the CDF. She was the first black woman to be admitted to the Mississippi Bar and worked with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Poor People's Campaign, among many other achievements. The CDF has become very successful in promoting children's rights in America. An influential early employee of the organization was Hillary Rodham Clinton.

SEE ALSO: CDF Black Community Crusade for Children; Child Mortality; Children and Poverty; Clinton, William (Administration).

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Children's Hunger Relief

THE CHILDREN'S HUNGER Relief Fund (CHRF) was established in 1975 by a group of American businessmen who were inspired by the tale of the Good Samaritan in the Bible to create a charity to assist needy children. This has led to the creation of overseas missions to open and operate orphanages and care centers in some of the poorest countries of the world, including Afghanistan, Rwanda, and the Darfur region of Sudan.

The three-part strategy used for rescuing vulnerable children entails keeping children alive, providing children with hope for the future, and breaking the cycle of poverty in children's lives. By working with local partners, CHRF claims to keep its administrative costs at less than three percent of total funds so that 97 percent of donations will directly reach those poverty-stricken populations in the Third World that are intended to receive them.

The 2003 Annual Report listed 97.2 percent of expenditures (\$33,277,047) as being spent on aid, emergency relief, and community development. The 2004 Annual Report states that this proportion increased to more than 98 percent (\$38,326,172).

Founder Colonel V. Doner was a leading member of the movement to mobilize professed Christian voters to elect President Ronald Reagan, and subsequently resigned in disappointment. After some years, he conceived of the "Samaritan strategy" as a way to spread his version of Christianity around America and the rest of the world.

The charity provides material assistance and education in American Christianity.

The part of his beliefs relating to charity states: "Do what you can for the child in front of you, and then the next child, and then the next." This results in "saving the world, one child at a time." In the Executive Message in the 2004 Annual Report, Doner writes:

"Children's Hunger Relief Fund is committed to saving children's lives and sharing God's love by helping people transform their lives and their communities so they can live productively and peacefully in a 'celebration of life.'

"To this end, we provide for people's immediate survival needs through feeding and medical programs, and also empower them for long-term transformation

through education, business, vocational and leadership training.”

The charity provides material assistance, therefore, as well as education in a form of American Christianity. This second aspect is resented by some critics who believe that the children concerned are very vulnerable, and should only with great care be introduced to beliefs often alien to their culture, which may cut them off from other members of their own communities.

The CHRF is now joined in the Samaritan Group by a number of like-minded organizations in many different countries, from Mexico to Uganda to Italy. Each has the same strategy of helping children on a step-by-step basis. Orphaned children’s homes have been opened in Nicaragua, Mexico, Rwanda, and other locations in Africa and Asia.

SEE ALSO: Children and Poverty; Christian Antipoverty Campaigns; Missionaries; Samaritans.

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Chile

THE REPUBLIC OF Chile is composed of a narrow strip of land that runs for 1,800 miles between the Andes Mountains and the Pacific Ocean in South America. Originally inhabited by Incas, the Spanish settled Chile in the mid-16th century. After winning independence from Spain in 1818, Chile was ruled by a number of military regimes. A Marxist regime was overthrown in 1973 under the leadership of Augusto Pinochet, who ruled Chile until 1990, when free elections were held. The past decades have brought steady economic growth to Chile, and the country has become a model for democratic and economic reform. Chile has also taken an active role in regional and international affairs, particularly in the promotion of human rights.

With a per capita income of \$10,700, Chile is an upper-middle-income nation with a diverse market economy that attracts a high level of foreign trade. The Chilean economy is dominated by services, which employ 63 percent of the labor force. Industries engage

23.4 percent of the workforce, and the additional 13.6 percent are involved in the agricultural sector.

Chile’s economic reforms of the 1990s created an environment in which initial growth was around eight percent. Growth fell to around four percent in 1998 in response to the global financial crisis, deficit checks, and decreased export earnings within Chile. By 2002, economic recovery had begun, but a poverty rate of 20.6 percent and an unemployment rate of 8.5 percent continue to be of major concern to the Chilean government.

Over nine percent of the poorest Chileans live on less than two dollars a day. Inequality is an endemic problem in Chile, with the richest 20 percent of the population controlling 62.2 percent of available resources and the poorest 20 percent claiming only 3.3 percent. Chile is ranked 57.1 percent on the Gini Index of Human Inequality. The United Nations Human Development Report ranks Chile 43 of 177 on general quality-of-life issues.

Even though poverty levels are high, antipoverty measures, coupled with economic growth, have succeeded in reducing poverty levels from 38.6 to 20.6 between 1990 and 2000. During that period, the rate of female poverty dropped from 39.2 to 20.8 percent. In Chile, females head one in every three households. As a result, women, especially those who live in rural areas, are more likely than men to be among the ranks of the poor. The Training for Employment Program for Women on Low Incomes was established to address the issue of female poverty, and single mothers have priority. Over the past few years, 70,000 women have received benefits from the program.

In 2002, the Chilean government implemented the Comprehensive Social Protection program, designed to distribute services and support to the 225,000 poorest families in Chile. Under this program, a government grant is issued to the woman of the family, whether she is a single parent or not. In addition to the monetary assistance distributed through the program, the government gives recipients preferential access to social promotion programs, employment assistance, and social security benefits.

According to estimates for 2005, life expectancy in Chile is 76.58 years. In general, women (80.03 years) survive men (73.3 years) by seven years. The population of 15,980,912 has a median age of 30.07 years. Slightly over one-fourth of the population is under the age of 14, and eight percent have seen a 65th birthday. Except in remote areas, Chileans have access to basic necessities. Four percent of the population lack access to safe

drinking water, and seven percent lack access to safe sanitation. There are 115 physicians for every 100,000 residents, and 80 to 94 percent of Chileans are able to afford essential drugs.

Childhood mortality has fallen drastically in Chile over the past decades. Between 1970 and 2004, infant mortality fell from 98 to eight deaths per 1,000 live births. Among children under the age of 5, the mortality rate decreased from 98 to 12 deaths per 1,000. Chilean children tend to be healthy, and only one percent of children under 5 are malnourished. Five percent of infants are underweight at birth. Infant immunizations range from 94 to 95 percent, and the rate for children between 12 and 23 months is 99 percent.

Females bear an average of 2.02 children each, a decline from 3.6 children per woman in 1970. For females between the ages of 15 and 19, the fertility rate is 43 per 1,000. Some 56 percent of Chilean women use some method of contraception. Healthcare is readily available, and trained medical staff attend 100 percent of all births. According to modeled estimates for 2000, maternal mortality in Chile occurs at a rate of 31 deaths per 100,000 live births.

Chile has made great advances in education in the last decade. Preschool education increased from 21 to 32 percent, secondary education rose from 80 to 90 percent, and tertiary education climbed from 15 to 31 percent. Primary school completion rates reached 100 percent. These gains are the result of a constitutional amendment that made 12 years of school compulsory. Education is free for all Chileans below the age of 21.

Expanding the accessibility and quality of education has become a major priority in Chile, and particular attention has been paid to improving school enrollment rates for females and rural residents. Grants that increase with the level of education are allotted to students who live in extreme poverty. Low-income mothers of school-age children are eligible for an education completion program. The government has also implemented the High School for All program to improve enrollment rates at the secondary level. As a result of the emphasis on education, the Chilean population is highly literate. Among the population over 15, 96.4 percent of males and 96.1 percent of females can read and write.

Human Development Index Rank: 37

Human Poverty Index Rank: 2

SEE ALSO: Economic Liberalization; Education; Human Rights and Poverty; Welfare.

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China

ON JANUARY 6, 2005, China officially reached a population of 1.3 billion. With this number, the country accounts for one-fifth of the world's population. The real size of the Chinese population is, however, unknown, in particular because of secret and thus unregistered births in the rural parts and questionable counting methods. Despite a number of loopholes, the one-child policy has contributed to a decline of the fertility rate from 2.29 children per woman in 1980 to 1.69 children per woman in 2004, and to 300 million fewer births in the last 30 years. The policy has helped to ease the pressure on resources and reduce poverty.

However, the policy is currently being questioned because of an increasingly aging population and a strong imbalance in the sex ratio of 118 boys to 100 girls. The population number excludes Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao. The average life expectancy climbed from 63.2 years in the first half of the 1970s to 71 years in the period 2000–05. Life expectancy in 2002 climbed to 68.8 years for men and 73.2 years for women. The infant mortality rate was down to 31 (per 1,000 live births) in 2002, from 85 in 1970.

The under-five mortality rate fell from 120 to 39 in the same period. Living standards have increased and the diet has improved. The official adult literacy rate of 2002 is 90.9 percent (86.5 for women, 95.1 for men); the combined gross enrollment ratio for primary, secondary, and tertiary schools is 68 percent (64 for women, 69 for men). Within a decade, the percentage of undernourished people fell from 17 percent to 11 percent, and the population with sustainable access to improved sanitation rose from 29 percent to 40 percent. Eleven percent of the under-5-year olds are underweight; 16 percent of the under-5-year olds are under-height. Be-

tween 80 and 94 percent of the population have sustainable access to affordable essential drugs. The annual average growth rate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita was 8.2 percent between 1975 and 2002, and 8.6 percent between 1990 and 2002. In 2004, GDP rose officially by 9.5 percent.

Unemployment is rising high; 10 million workers per year enter the urban employment market; 14 million are still laid off from state-owned enterprises; and in 2003, 110 million migrants sought work and an estimated 150 million surplus laborers could be found in the countryside. Of the population, 16.6 percent live below the income poverty line of \$1 a day, 46.7 percent below the line of \$2 per day.

POLICIES

The reform program of the “four modernizations” (*si ge xiandaihua*), which was declared in 1978, has produced a development gap between the industrialized coastal belt and the landlocked rural hinterland and between urban and rural areas. A third gap of intrarural and intraurban income is on the rise.

In June 1986, in order to streamline responsibilities of the various agencies and ministries involved in national and regional poverty alleviation programs, the government established a Leading Group (or Committee) for Economic Development in Poor Areas under the State Council; in 1993, it was renamed Leading Group (or Committee) for Poverty Alleviation and Development under the State Council. Beijing’s immediate poverty alleviation policy focuses on providing access to adequate food and clothing for the population in the rural areas.

Although urban poverty is a growing concern, the need to concentrate poverty alleviation efforts in the countryside is still acknowledged by the government. Measured at China’s national poverty line, official statistics say that in 1978 the number of the extremely rural poor with inadequate access to food and clothing was 250 million, or roughly one-third of the total rural population (the exact numbers differ from source to source between 30.7 percent and 33 percent). By 1985, the number was down to 125 million, to 80 million in 1994, and by the end of 2003, to 29 million, or 3.1 percent.

In 2003, however, the number of extremely poor Chinese, defined as living below an annual net income of 637 yuan per capita (\$77), rose by 800,000. In the same year, the national average annual income reached 2,622 yuan (\$316).

The gap between both income lines has widened since 1992, and a stop to this tendency is not within reach. In addition, natural disasters in the provinces of Henan, Anhui, Shanxi, and Heilongjiang caused an official rise in the numbers of poor Chinese by more than two million in 2003.

The Chinese way of measuring poverty in the rural areas is the household responsibility system, which was introduced in 1983 as a replacement for the people’s communes, a system that was in part responsible for agricultural mismanagement and widespread famines owing to bad harvests.

The household responsibility system in practice re-introduced private land property, although by law private property is not allowed. In lockstep with the reestablishment of private markets, farmers again were given the incentive to produce on their “own” land and sell the surplus at private markets to increase their income. Township enterprises began to boom, employing rural people unable to find a job within the agriculture sector.

Ninety million people fall below the poverty line, including 75.8 million rural residents.

In the mid-1980s, however, the rural economy started to stagnate. In 1986, the poverty standard was calculated at 206 yuan per capita net income in rural areas for the year 1985. In 1994, the standard was raised to 400 yuan per capita net income for the year 1992. In 2004, the rural poverty line was adjusted to 668 yuan, from 637 yuan in 2003; the low-income line rose from 882 yuan to 924 yuan. The population living at the low-income line is said to have solved the problem of access to food and clothing.

By the end of 2004, the rural population in absolute poverty was calculated as 26.1 million or 2.8 percent of the total rural population, a decline of 2.9 million or 0.3 percentage point from 2003. The low-income population was 49.77 million at the end of 2004, a decline of 6.4 million from 2003. The proportion of the low-income population to the total rural population was 5.3 percent, down by 0.7 percent. However, even the official media criticizes this standard as distorting the real picture given the rising living expenses, and in May 2005, the government acknowledged that, under international standards, 90 million rural and urban people fall below the poverty line, including 75.8 million rural residents.



As exemplified by the bright lights of the city of Shanghai, China has pursued a capitalist economic system that has created a new wealthy class, yet China is now eager to emphasize its concerns for those losing out in the era of capitalist reform.

Under the 1994 standard, 592 counties were designated as poor. The so-called 8-7 plan (National Plan for Poverty Reduction), run from 1994 to 2000, targeted these counties with the aim of relieving them of poverty by the year 2000. The 8-7 plan was introduced to reverse the trend of growing poverty, which coincided with a stagnation of the rural economy in the mid-1980s. As a result of the stagnation, per capita net income fell from an average of 12.2 percent between 1978 and 1985 to an average of two percent between 1986 and 1993.

The failure of the 8-7 plan to channel funds directly to the poor and alleviate the incidence of poverty prompted a new plan, the New Century Rural Poverty

Alleviation Plan, for the period from 2001 to 2010. Under this plan, the government has pledged to wipe out poverty by 2010. This plan not only targets counties declared as poor, but also specifically 50,000 villages, a measure that is designed to help villages in counties that are not designated as poor and hence were not included in the 8-7 plan.

The new plan recognizes village participation and multisector approaches. It places a new emphasis on sickness as contributing to poverty, and accordingly the government has started to experiment with healthcare and social security programs in rural areas. The plan also puts an emphasis on education and a reduction of obstacles to rural-urban migration in order to enable

the unemployed to leave the countryside and find work in the urban areas without the bureaucratic difficulties, which the household-registration (*hukou*) system still imposes on migrants. The government itself does not seem to be very confident about achieving the abolition of poverty by 2010. The government has announced it will abolish poverty by 2020, a target set within the framework of the United Nations Millennium Goals.

The government has set a goal to increase the income of local farmers, including professional training and development of local enterprises. It has also focused on providing adequate infrastructure, financial services, and employment, and is experimenting with the extension of social security and assistance systems from the urban to the rural areas, including those of healthcare and education. The regions principally targeted by rural poverty alleviation programs are the landlocked western regions and the industrialized northeast.

One of the programs concentrating on the west was the China Southwest Poverty Reduction Project, supported by the World Bank and carried out between 1995 and 2001 in the provinces of Guangxi, Yunnan, and Guizhou. At present, on the provincial level, the 9+2 initiative is under way.

The initiative is a program that aims at the establishment of economic cooperation between well-developed provinces and those that are less developed. The idea behind this is to use the economically vibrant Pearl River delta with Hong Kong, Macao, and Guangdong province as the core for a spillover effect into the southwestern provinces of Hainan, Guizhou, Jiangxi, Yunnan, Sichuan, Hunan, Fujian, and Guangxi. Other specialized poverty relief projects are Project Hope, which deals with schooling of poor children; the Glorious Cause, which helps private businesses in underdeveloped areas; and Project Happiness, which targets poor mothers.

Other special projects concentrate on the handicapped, bringing more girls in compulsory education, and on the self-reliance of poor rural households. On October 17, 2004, the Office of Poverty Alleviation and Development under the State Council and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce signed an agreement to include more private-sector initiatives in the poverty alleviation measures.

URBAN POVERTY

Urban poverty has become a matter of rising concern to the government. Increased unrest over urban living conditions are due to the structural changes in the econ-

omy since 1978. Socialist societal characteristics, such as the “iron rice bowl” (*tie fanwan*), which guaranteed lifetime employment including housing, food, clothing, healthcare, old-age support and other welfare services looked after and controlled by the “work unit” (*gongzuo danwei*), were abolished and have not yet been comprehensively replaced under the new market conditions. Urban poverty projects thus focus on re-employment measures, unemployment benefits, old-age support, health care and other social welfare systems.

In 1997, the first national urban poverty line was calculated at 1,700 yuan annual per capita income. In the same year, the State Council decreed all towns and cities would set up urban poverty relieve schemes by mid-1999. In September 1999, the State Council issued the Regulations on the Minimal Living Standard for Urban Residents. Under this scheme, laid-off SOE (state-owned enterprise) workers are trained at reemployment centers and receive a living allowance for three years. Should they be unable to find a new job, they receive unemployment benefits for two years.

China expects the middle class to expand to 45 percent of the population by 2020.

After that, some are entitled to a minimum subsistence allowance. The laid-off workers at reemployment centers do not appear in the unemployment statistics, which is why the centers are often accused of hiding unemployment. The effectiveness of their training is also doubted. The statistics show only those who are officially registered as unemployed: 4.3 percent in 2003, 4.2 percent in 2004. Also, the financial and organizational capacities of carrying out this and other programs vary across municipalities. In addition, each city has its own poverty line. Urban poverty is mostly due to redundancies at SOEs. This forces many workers previously employed by the formal state sector and for whom the “work unit” is unable to find reemployment to enter the informal nonstate sector (mainly consisting of menial work, such as street vending, rubbish collecting, knife sharpening, housekeeping, construction working, “self-employed” decorating, carpentry, and barbering), which used to be the exclusive work place of rural migrants.

This problem is enforced by the general breakdown of the rural-urban divide, as a result of which an increasing number of rural migrants leave the countryside in search of employment in the urban informal

sector. In 2003, the official number of urban poor according to the national urban poverty line was 22.35 million.

In January 2005, the National Bureau of Statistics published a definition for the urban middle class based on a four-month survey of 263,584 households. The income line was defined as falling between 60,000 yuan and 500,000 yuan. The result was that the middle class turned out to be smaller than previously thought, comprising only 5.04 percent of the population. Whether real or unreal, the bureau expects a rapid expansion of the middle class to 45 percent of the population by 2020.

BACKGROUND

Deng Xiaoping's reform program laid the emphasis on prosperity rather than equality and opened the country to the capitalist economy. It put the emphasis on pragmatism and results instead of an economy guided by ideological visions. Deng argued that "whether a cat is black or white makes no difference. As long as it catches mice, it is a good cat."

As opposed to that, the Maoist development concept had paired equality with prosperity. Its aim was the complete socialization of economy and society. A successive collectivization of land was taking place since 1951 and resulted in the establishment of the People's Communes in late 1956.

The Great Leap Forward (*da yue jin*) of 1958–59 was supposed to press this aim forward, including the functions of the family. The Great Leap is perhaps the most well-known example of the failed Maoist development concept. The famine that followed the ill-conceived policy of the Great Leap Forward to industrialize the country was made worse by the so-called three bitter years of 1960–62, during which natural disasters plus the famine reduced the overall population. How many died is unknown; estimates vary between 20 and 75 million people.

The years that followed the famine saw a struggle between reformists and conservatives in the party and state hierarchy over the correct economic and social policies. The victory of the reformist wing was followed by a reassertion of the conservatives led by Mao during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (*wenhua dageming*), which started in 1966, reached its height in June 1967, and was officially stopped in 1969, when the government felt it necessary to crush the Red Guards it had originally instigated in order to stop their violent excesses.

The repercussions of the revolution, however, were felt until 1976, the year in which Mao died. The number of victims is estimated to be three to seven million people. After Mao's death, the Gang of Four—the group of leading Marxists, which included Mao's wife—was quickly imprisoned, and Hua Guofeng had to succumb to the reformist wing gathered around Deng Xiaoping.

A prominent system that had to adjust to the modernizations since 1978 is the household registration (*hukou*) system. The *hukou* system was in place from around 1957. It was based on the separation of the economy in agricultural and industrial production—the rural-urban divide. In order to be able to manage this separation, the flow of resources between both sectors had to be controlled. Once a household was registered with an urban or agricultural *hukou*, it was almost impossible to change it.

Only few exceptions were made, such as sending redundant young people entering the urban economy to the countryside—a measure of economic necessity clouded in ideological pronouncements (learning from peasants through hands-on experience), especially some years later during the Cultural Revolution—and employing rural residents for menial work in the SOEs.

Apart from these adjustments to the system, only those in possession of an urban *hukou* were entitled to employment allocated by the state labor administration for the urban economy. Those with an agricultural *hukou* were employed through the collective economy of the People's Communes. This residential status was enforced, for instance, through rationed food supplies, which had to be purchased with coupons, which in turn were allocated according to the residential status shown in the *hukou* document. The rural-urban divide effectively prevented migration. Changes in residential status were only possible if both the original and the targeted "work unit" agreed. Legal migration thus happened with official consent only, and was often of a private nature (for example marriage).

At the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in December 1978, the reformist wing of the CCP around Deng Xiaoping announced the program of "four modernizations." In its original order, industry was put first (heavy industry received priority over light industry), agriculture had second place, science and technology third, and national defense fourth.

By March 1979, the order was changed, with agriculture coming in first place, followed by light and then heavy industry. China also opened the doors to foreign

investment with the policy of reform and opening (*gaige kaifang*). The first Special Economic Zone (SEZ) was set up in Shenzhen in the early 1980s with tax incentives to attract foreign capital and businesses. However, the abandonment of the “iron rice bowl,” the discarding of socialist principles such as egalitarian development, and hence the acceptance of uneven economic development by letting parts of the society and the country get rich earlier than others have produced a widening wealth gap.

The strict control of people’s movements through the household registration system was relaxed in order to ease entrance into small towns, where unemployed rural residents could find employment in the quickly developing township enterprises. Rural enterprises thus employed rural laborers in the nonagricultural sector. In cities, migrants were welcomed because they constituted a cheap workforce for the booming coastal cities.

Moreover the establishment of free markets and a temporary *hukou* system enabled rural residents to survive in cities for some time. Reforms in the registration system, however, were also due to the increasing failure of the state to monitor movements and the necessity to succumb to reality and legalize previously illegal migration.

In 1985, the system of a temporary *hukou* was introduced. Although in recent years more migrants have managed to acquire white-collar jobs, for most of those, who are unskilled and badly educated (or not educated at all) and have no legal residence status in the city or gained only a temporary registration, the informal non-state sector remains the only employment possibility. Migration is partly enforced in order to divert unemployed rural residents to urban areas and ease the dire situation of the countryside, and partly enforced by income pressures, which make it necessary for farmers to work temporarily in towns and cities. Migrants who successfully found a job usually contribute to the income of the family in the countryside by sending money back home.

For agriculture, one decision adopted to help rural people out of poverty was a land division to the peasant household in poor areas. In 1983, this policy finally led to the “household responsibility system for agricultural production,” or in short, the “household responsibility system” (*bao gan dao hu*, literally to contract the work to the household—hence the sometimes heard designation of the system as “contract responsibility system”).

Although the word *contract* implied that the land was not in the ownership of the peasants, it effectively reintroduced the private use of land. Together with the

step-by-step introduction of this “household responsibility system,” which linked the household’s income to its output, the liberalization of agricultural market prices reestablished the markets for agricultural products.

The explosiveness of the unsolved social issues (developmental discrepancies, the discarding of socialist societal principles such as the “iron rice bowl” and the all-round care of the “work unit,” the slow progress of abolishing widespread rural and rising urban poverty, a widening wealth gap, corruption of local cadres, and frequent unrest over working conditions, most prominent in mining areas) has alarmed the government.

The fourth leadership generation with Hu Jintao, who replaced Jiang Zemin as CCP secretary-general in November 2002, president in March 2003, and chairman of both Central Military Commissions (the CMC of the party, which is the influential one, in September 2004, and the CMC of the state in March 2005), and Wen Jiabao, who replaced Zhu Rongji as prime minister in March 2003, has changed the tone of its economic policy.

The Chinese government still finds it difficult to move against corruption.

China is now eager to emphasize its concerns for those losing out in the era of capitalist reform. A prominent phrase of Hu Jintao is *yi ren wei ben*—putting people first. Wen Jiabao also frequently uses the phrase. This policy implies a shift from GDP-centered to people-centered policies, which put the emphasis on a more equal, socially sustainable development. The new tone indicates the nervousness with which the government observes the frequent eruptions against unsolved social questions. According to official pronouncements, of the 48.8 billion yuan transferred to the 592 officially poor counties since 2004, 4.343 billion yuan disappeared for other purposes.

The government, however, still finds it difficult to move against corruption comprehensively and often turns a blind eye to corrupt local officials, who either divert central government funds to their own pockets or exploit the rural population through high and random fines. In imperial China, the latter measures were partly seen as additional income for local officials and can to some extent be regarded as a remnant of traditional China’s policy and an inherent part of the political system.

The sincerity with which the government is regarding the disruptive nature of widespread poverty is shown by a series of articles in the *People's Daily*, the English-language version of the national daily, *Renmin Ribao*. The series mentioned the failure of abolishing poverty by 2000 and the actual rise of it, and also pointed out the problem of corruption, through which a significant amount of state subsidies goes into the pockets of local government officials, who are responsible for channeling the central government's aid to the local population.

The articles appeared especially during an international high-profile conference, Scaling Up Poverty Reduction: A Global Learning Process and Conference, which was held from May 25 to 27, 2004, in Shanghai. In addition, on May 27, 2004, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed by Chinese government agencies and the United Nations Development Program to establish an International Poverty Reduction Center in China. Also, the Poverty Eradication Awards of October 17, 2004, the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty, were publicized, a public relations measure launched in October 2003 to be awarded every two years.

Human Development Index Rank: 85

Human Poverty Index Rank: 27

SEE ALSO: Capitalism; Chinese Definition of Poverty; Communism; Corruption; Economic Liberalization; Family Size and Structure; Rural Antipoverty Programs; Rural Deprivation; Urbanization.

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Chinese Definition of Poverty

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC of China has one of the fastest-growing economies in the world today. With 1.3 billion people, it also has the largest population on earth. China claims it has been very successful in reducing the number of people living in poverty. In 1978 the Chinese government reported that 250 million people lived in poverty. In 2005, the number was reportedly down to 28 million.

However, this is according to the Chinese government's definition of poverty as an income of \$.66 (66 cents) a day or \$240.90 per year. By comparison, an American teenager staffing the drive-up window at a fast-food restaurant and earning \$6.10 an hour makes more than that each week.

In the United States, poverty is defined as \$9,645 or less a year for a single person living alone. For a family of five (for example, a single mother with four children), the U.S. Census Bureau sets the poverty threshold at \$22,199 or less per year.

The causes of poverty in China are many and varied. Chief among them are adverse natural conditions and government corruption. In 1978, China introduced policies ending communist centralized agricultural planning. It returned land used for communal farms to individual families, restoring family farms. Freeing up the productive capacity of hundreds of millions has become the single largest factor in helping China's rural poor escape poverty. In the communal farm system, the emphasis had not been on production, but on advancing politically. The result was cronyism and sagging productivity.

With traditional farms restored, incentives would seem to be back for farmers to profit personally from

hard work, risk-taking, and increased productivity. However, the Chinese government's claims of vast gains are not to be believed, according to a best-selling book published in China in 2003 that was abruptly pulled from bookstore shelves in 2004 after selling more than 150,000 copies in a matter of weeks. The 460-page report, *A Survey of Chinese Peasants*, alleges that after years of celebrated agrarian reforms and impressive claims by the Chinese government, many remote Chinese villages are still farming in primitive conditions and have again fallen into deep poverty.

The authors charge that the benefits that peasants gained from reforms largely disappeared because of corruption. In the past decade, rural tax burdens have increased four to five times, with as many as 360 different fees imposed by all levels of government. A farmer, says the book, has to pay three times more taxes than a city resident even though his annual income is only one-sixth that of an urban dweller. Sometimes the taxes are the result of a corrupt political system that gives far too much authority to a select few.

The authors tell of the death of a young villager named Ding Zuoming. In 1993, Ding uncovered corruption among village communist officials after one-third of his and other villagers' annual income was taken as taxes. When he organized the farmers to request an audit, local police beat him to death. The villagers rebelled when the local authorities tried to cover it up as an accident, and central authorities finally intervened to punish the killers. Even so, justice has not been done. When the authors visited Ding's family, all three of his children had been forced out of school because of poverty. His wife had broken an arm while working, his mother lay paralyzed in bed, and his father was too ill to work.

Meanwhile the small amount of compensation promised by the government for his death never materialized. From such a disturbing picture the authors examine the difficult and complex reform efforts in several provinces. By reconstructing the debates, decision-making process, progress, and setbacks, the report exposes the failures of the entire system.

A long chapter is devoted to how local officials led former president Jiang Zemin, former premier Zhu Rongji, and other leaders to inspect dressed-up "shining spots" where they were impressed by what they saw. They then came up with unattainable policies based on false realities.

Thus, the authors warn, measures for reducing the peasant burden or increasing rural income will not change the social structure that exploits peasants.

Therefore, some experts say encouraging reports by the Chinese government are to be viewed with skepticism.

SEE ALSO: China; Income Inequality; Income Poverty; Indicators of Poverty.

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Christian Antipoverty Campaigns

SEVERAL TIMES IN THE New Testament, offerings for the poor, especially those at Jerusalem, are mentioned. These were in part a response to the First Church Council in Jerusalem, in which Paul's ministry to the Gentiles was affirmed and he was charged to "remember the poor" (Galatians 2:10). These references show that since the beginning of the church, Christians have been aiding the poor. Today a vast number of programs are under way not only to provide relief, but to eliminate poverty altogether.

Christian antipoverty programs occur at the local church, regional, national, and international levels and in recent times at a global level. Some of the antipoverty programs are church-based and some are parachurch in nature.

The ecclesiastical antipoverty programs begin with the local church and the individual Christian. There is hardly a church that does not have some kind of fund to at least provide relief for the poor. The churches in the countries and areas where Christianity has been long established are usually wealthier. Most of these are engaged in numerous local ministries for the poor. Churches, no matter how small, give to a variety of ministries to the poor. Many aid local people who call asking for help with fuel, medicine, food, and all manner of assistance. Local programs can include food

banks and soup kitchens, adult and childcare, Meals on Wheels, Room in the Inn for Abused Women, and numerous other charitable actions.

For churches of over 100 or so members there is usually a food pantry, clothes closet, and numerous offerings for special projects to aid the poor locally or in some foreign mission. Some of these local offerings may be for something like the PATH program in Cherokee Presbytery (northwest Georgia) of the Presbyterian Church (USA). PATH is the Presbyterian Answer to Hunger. Church members save two cents for every meal each year, which is about \$23 per person per year. The change is collected about Thanksgiving time and used to feed the hungry in the region and for food supplement programs in Nicaragua or Ghana. This example could be matched by thousands of unique ways in which local churches unite to aid the poor.

The giving by individual Christians to all manner of charitable causes is rarely recognized as Christian giving because it is hidden by a general appeal. Americans giving over \$1 billion to relief for the victims of Hurricane Katrina in the summer of 2005 included a great many people of no faith, as well as all kinds of faith, including Christians.

In recent years initiatives have begun to deal with poverty beyond relief and development.

All of the mainline Protestant churches give to offerings such as the One Great Hour of Sharing, which is an interdenominational donation for helping the poor. Roman Catholics use Catholic Relief Services and other organizations. Mennonites use the Mennonite Central Committee. Both orthodox churches and Protestants have joined together in organizations such as Church World Service. Many of these programs are linked to a network of antipoverty organizations.

Charitable activities such as these have gone on for generations. These offerings have ministered not only to the local poor, but to those in the poorest countries. Missionaries have long appealed to Christians in established churches for help.

The advent of the internet has allowed information to flow from distant places where relief is needed to people in wealthier areas of the world. Christians working in the poor countries can often gain help for relief by an appeal that is acted upon by advocates in churches in North America or in Europe. For example, an e-mail from Malawi, describing the growing likelihood of star-

vation due to drought, received on a weekday can be shared so that by the next Sunday the whole congregation of a local church will be informed of the need and asked to give. A response of this kind will be much quicker than a request for foreign aid to governments. Rarely, however, is aid from any source enough to provide complete relief, not to mention ending poverty altogether.

Since World War II, ecclesiastical antipoverty programs have been paralleled by parachurch organizations. These are organizations operated by Christians that engage in relief and long-term antipoverty programs. The work that is being done is growing in scope to reach more people. They include organizations such as Bread for the World, Food for the Hungry, the Society of St. Andrew, World Vision, and many more around the world.

In recent years initiatives have begun to deal with poverty beyond relief and development. The ambitious goal of working to completely end poverty is being discussed. One such organization is CAPOR (Christian Antipoverty Online Resource), a website being used to organize and coordinate Christian ministries engaged in fighting poverty.

Another movement is the Micah Challenge, a Christian antipoverty program taking its inspiration from Micah 6:8. It is a response of the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA) to the problem of poverty. There are Micah Challenge organizations in Canada, the United States, and elsewhere, all part of the International Facilitation Group of the Global Call to Action Against Poverty (GCAP), which is a global Christian antipoverty program. These and many other groups are connected with the Developmental Gateway and have issued a Global Call for Action Against Poverty. Loosely associated, these Christian groups are also willing to work with governments and with secular or non-Christian groups in the common cause of relieving poverty.

Occurring at a rapid pace is a vast networking of ministries focused on a common goal. Jim McDonald, who is with Bread for the World, has described, in *Catholics for Faithful Citizenship*, the work of Christian antipoverty programs as a “rising crescendo” around the issue of global poverty. This movement engages vast numbers of Christians in patterns of ministry for the poor that unite them despite denominational or theological differences.

Perhaps the most ambitious vision for ending poverty is the developing service of Rick Warren, the pastor of the Saddleback Church and author of *The*

Purpose-Driven Life (26 million copies sold). Warren's wife, Kay, feeling a call from God to do something about HIV/AIDS, especially in Africa, enlisted Rick's help. Together with Bruce Wilkinson (author of *The Prayer of Jabez*) and others, they made contacts with local pastors in Africa. The antipoverty vision that Warren sees is the uniting of the growing millions of local churches to put down the "global giants." The global giant of poverty is one of these. Warren envisions mobilizing Christians from the grassroots level everywhere, uniting them to deal with disease, poverty and other big issues that afflict the world. His plan is to enlist one billion individuals through local congregations to be purpose-driven about dealing with global poverty.

Christians have also enlisted the entertainment world to conduct fundraisers to meet the needs of the poor. Musical groups have put together Live Aid concerts as part of their Make Poverty History campaign.

Coupled with the delivery of food or other supplies to the poor in the world is a growing association of different Christian leaders and groups for the purpose of lobbying governments to adopt policies and practices that will end poverty. This is viewed as the work of establishing the justice of God's kingdom on earth.

SEE ALSO: Brot für die Welt; CARE; Catholic Church; Charity; Church of England; Church World Service; Faith-Based Antipoverty Programs; Protestant Churches.

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Christian Community Health Fellowship

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY Health Fellowship (CCHF) is a faith-based healthcare organization that was started in rural Mississippi in 1978–79 as a small healthcare ministry for the underprivileged in New Hebron. As a part of the Christian community development in the Jackson area, there was a desire to include a rural healthcare ministry in New Hebron, Mississippi. H.P.

Spees was charged with the task of opening and managing the rural Christian healthcare program in this poor, primarily African-American community in rural Mississippi. Early in its development a newsletter was generated through which Christians wishing to become engaged in healthcare among the poor could share ideas. The newsletter was called *Health & Development* to emphasize that the focus was not narrowly medicine but health in all of its physical, mental, social, and spiritual dimensions. "Development" was a reflection that health was strongly influenced by the social and economic development process.

Currently it has offices in 48 states and its members are spread out all over the United States, Canada, and also 25 foreign countries. CCHF serves as a national network for over 1,600 Christian healthcare professionals and students and others concerned about the healthcare needs of the impoverished communities in the United States.

The goals of the CCHF are to: help provide quality healthcare for the poor through recruiting and empowering Christian healthcare workers for this important task; function as a forum to raise and discuss questions related to this vision; and create opportunities for healthcare professionals and students to meet and share stories for mutual education, support, and fellowship. CCHF seeks to attain these goals by providing publications, planning and supporting conferences, and offering opportunities for students to serve among the poor. The organization also provides technical assistance to healthcare centers interested in starting up, and evaluates existing programs.

Through a grant from the Bureau of Primary Health Care in 2000, the CCHF was able to establish a Best Practices program to identify and document existing best practices among the health ministries affiliated with CCHF; plan, implement, and prospectively evaluate new/young programs; and develop the infrastructure for a faith-based practice research network that will address important questions relevant to the CCHF-affiliated ministries.

Through a Compassion Capital grant from the President's Office of Faith-based and Community Initiatives, CCHF is expanding its provision of technical assistance and awards to new faith-based and community groups that are establishing comprehensive, community-oriented primary healthcare centers in needy communities. CCHF has a student program that aims to let the students enter the healthcare field in a faith-based atmosphere. There are projects targeted specifically for students, such as study materials, conferences,

preceptorship/rotation opportunities, the *Apprentice* (a student publication), and others.

SEE ALSO: Christian Antipoverty Campaigns; Community-Based Antipoverty Programs; Faith-Based Antipoverty Programs; Healthcare.

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Christmas Seals

IN THE 19th and early 20th centuries, tuberculosis was a widespread disease with a high mortality rate, particularly among the poor. Before the use of streptomycin in the 1940s, there was no medical cure for this lung disease, but there were treatments that involved protracted stays at sanatoriums. These institutions were expensive to build and operate, and funding was often insufficient.

In 1903 Einar Holbøll (1865–1927), a future postmaster of Denmark, came up with the idea of using the volume of Christmas mail as a way of raising money for tuberculosis treatment. Holbøll, who was also a member of the precursor to the Danish Lung Association, was familiar with the effects of tuberculosis, particularly in children. Holbøll proposed that the Danish post office sell the Christmas Seals and that the proceeds go toward supporting institutions that would treat tubercular patients.

The first Christmas Seal was sold in Denmark in 1904, and received the support of King Christian IX and his wife Louise, who was featured on the first Christmas Seal. The money generated from the sale of the first Christmas Seal was used to build the Julemærkesanatoriet (Christmas Seal Sanatorium) in Jutland. The original Danish Christmas Seal Foundation continues to own and operate a number of these homes, albeit for children who suffer from diseases related to obesity.

In the United States, Christmas Seals were introduced in 1907 through the work of Emily Bissell (1861–1948), a humanitarian with a broad range of causes, including the Red Cross, which gave permission to use its emblem on the first American seal. As in Denmark, monies raised were used to build fresh-air sanatoria, but the U.S. Post Office was not directly involved in the sale of the seals. Today, Christmas Seals are a registered trademark of the American Lung Association, and the monies raised through their sale are used to fund the fight against lung diseases such as asthma and emphysema.

Since their inception in 1904, Christmas Seals have been sold in over 130 countries worldwide. Generally, in Christian countries, Christmas Seals in support of tuberculosis are recognizable by the double-barred cross of Lorraine, whereas in Muslim countries they are distinguished by a red crescent. In many developing countries, the proceeds from the sale of Christmas Seals or their equivalent continue to be used locally for community-based programs aimed at preventing and treating tuberculosis.

Interestingly, there is an avid community of philatelic societies specializing in the collection of Christmas and tuberculosis charity seals. Established in 1920, the International Union Against Tuberculosis and Lung Disease (the Union) works with 325 other organizations to prevent and treat tuberculosis around the world. At its annual conference on lung health, the union holds a Christmas Seal contest and chooses the best design among the submissions.

Each year over eight million people develop active tuberculosis, and almost two million die from this disease, almost all of them in the developing world. Worldwide, the prevalence of tuberculosis has declined 20 percent since 1990. The exceptions to this are sub-Saharan Africa, where tuberculosis, linked to HIV, is rising at a rate of three to four percent annually, and countries of the former Soviet Union. China and India together account for approximately one-third of global tuberculosis cases.

SEE ALSO: Charity; Disease and Poverty; Easter Seals.

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Church of England

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND (also known as “the Anglican Communion”) is a Protestant offshoot of the Catholic Church that shares most of the latter’s structure, liturgy, and beliefs, though it adds some Protestant beliefs of its own. Christianity had been practiced in Britain since the 2nd century. In the 16th century, however, Pope Clement VII refused to annul King Henry VIII’s marriage to Catherine of Aragon, who had not borne him any heirs.

Henry prevailed upon Parliament to “divorce” the Church of England from the Catholic Church and to make the English king the head of the new church. Other than that—and the annulment of his marriage to Catherine—Henry envisioned no changes in church belief or ritual, though some specifically Protestant reforms were introduced after his reign.

In 2002, the Church of England had approximately three million members in Great Britain. Worldwide, many churches and denominations are affiliated with the Anglican Communion, but membership numbers are not available.

The Church of England’s antipoverty efforts follow the same general outlines as those of the Catholic Church, combining material aid for the poor in this world with a spiritual focus on living to prepare for the next world. Some specific areas of church antipoverty work are the Church Urban Fund, the Children’s Society, the Church Board for Social Responsibility, the Make Poverty History Coalition, and the Trade Justice Movement.

The Church Urban Fund was founded in the 1980s to help direct financial and other aid to the poorest residents of British towns and cities. From its inception until 2005, it distributed £54 million (about \$90–100 million) to more than 4,000 local antipoverty organizations. The fund attempts “to be a Christian organization that makes a significant and lasting difference in the lives of individuals and communities blighted by enduring poverty.” In addition to providing poor relief, the fund attempts to identify the causes of poverty and engage in poverty prevention as a long-term strategy. For example, the fund attempts to help women and children who are abuse victims, not least because they are at great risk for lifelong poverty.

The Children’s Society was founded in London in 1881 as the Church of England Central Home for Waifs and Strays. In 1946, it changed its name to the Church of England Children’s Society, and again in 1982 to simply The Children’s Society. Through this program, the

church focuses specifically on the problems of child poverty in the United Kingdom. It provides food and shelter, education, daycare, nutritional counseling, and other social or family services as needed. In each church diocese, the program works with local groups to help identify the problems faced by poor families and find solutions. It helps runaways, abuse victims, and youthful offenders, and campaigns for legal changes to help poor children.

The Church Board for Social Responsibility is the church’s organization that campaigns for social, political, and legal changes to improve the condition of the poor in Britain. It spotlights problems such as income inequality, low pay for working Britons, and unemployment. It supports solutions such as tax credits, minimum wage legislation, housing benefits, and exemption from tax for the poorest Britons. The board also focuses on the problems facing poor families, such as child poverty, and tries to find solutions.

In the Make Poverty History Coalition, the church tries to raise public and government awareness of the problems of poverty and marshal material support for the poor, and in the Trade Justice Movement, the church urges developed countries to pursue trade policies that help the poorest nations upgrade their economies and increase their productivity. The church also supports debt forgiveness for poor countries.

SEE ALSO: Catholic Church; Christian Antipoverty Campaigns; Protestant Churches; United Kingdom.

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Church World Service

Church World Service (CWS) is the relief, development, and refugee assistance ministry of 36 Protestant, orthodox, and Anglican denominations in the United States. Partnering with indigenous organizations in 80 countries worldwide, CWS works to meet human needs and foster self-reliance. CWS is affiliated with the National Council of Churches and helps U.S. commu-

nities respond to disasters, resettles refugees, promotes fair national and international policies, provides educational resources, and sponsors CROP Walks.

CWS began in 1946 as a partnership of several Christian denominations responding to human needs in the aftermath of World War II. Its mission was biblical: feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick, comfort the aged, and shelter the homeless. In the 1950s and 1960s, CWS expanded its relief work to include Asia, Africa, and Latin America. During the 1960s emergency relief was complemented by social development addressing long-range needs.

CWS expanded its relief work to include Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

CWS's mission today is Christians working together with partners to eradicate hunger and poverty and to promote peace and justice around the world. CWS programs are guided by principles derived from experience: relief packages are not enough; long-term needs must be addressed to avert future crises; true partnering involves giving and taking, learning and teaching, listening and teaching; development priorities should come from grassroots partners rather than from donors; ending hunger requires integration of material assistance with attention to the root causes of hunger—poverty and injustice; women are integral to lasting solutions to poverty and hunger; all people have fundamental human rights; need must be addressed without regard to religious affiliation or creed; and interfaith collaboration is essential.

The CWS budget exceeded \$72 million in 2004, supporting CWS programs for Immigration and Refugees (35.1 percent), Disaster Relief and Recovery (18.7 percent), Social and Economic Development (15.6 percent), Education and Advocacy (4.9 percent), and Mission Relationships and Witness (1.8 percent).

The CWS Immigration and Refugee Program (CWS/IRP) has resettled about 400,000 people and settles approximately 5,000 refugees annually in the United States. CWS/IRP is one of nine voluntary agencies that, through private and government funding, ensure that refugees are properly resettled, adjust to their new homes, and regain self-sufficiency. The agencies help refugees enroll children in school, seek medical attention, apply for work, receive language training, obtain housing and basic necessities, and receive legal services.

The CWS Emergency Response Program works in the United States and throughout the world to help vulnerable persons and communities achieve long-term physical, psychological, and spiritual recovery in the aftermath of natural and human-caused disasters. Globally, CWS responds to disaster through Action by Churches Together. In the United States, CWS coordinates its disaster response work through a network of Professional Disaster Response and Recovery Liaisons. CWS Tools of Hope (blankets, tents, fishing nets, clean water, microloans, garden tools, seeds) and Gift of the Heart Kits (soap, toothpaste, bandages, pencils, diapers, and emergency cleanup buckets) are widely distributed following disasters.

CWS fosters education, innovation, enterprise, and collaboration powered by local ingenuity and nurtured by self-respect. Through facilitation, capacity building, and financial support, CWS helps vulnerable and marginalized groups build just and sustainable communities. Programs addressing health and HIV/AIDS, water management, community-based development, education, women and children, civil society, and indigenous populations are being carried out in Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East.

CWS aspires to raise awareness about poverty, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, human rights, and peace building, bringing the voices of partners into churches, community groups, and government. It educates the public about issues and legislation, and encourages and facilitates contacts by advocates with elected officials and the media.

The first CROP Walk was in World Food Day in 1969 in Bismarck, North Dakota. A thousand walkers raised \$25,000 to help stop hunger. CROP walkers solicit pledges of so much per mile from their backers for antihunger programs. Today, CROP Walks are held annually in about 2,000 U.S. communities and provide major funding for CWS development work throughout the world.

In the past 20 years nearly 5.5 million CROP walkers raised \$264 million for antihunger programs, providing seeds and tools, wells and water systems, technical training, and microenterprise loans—tools of hope for persons worldwide. About 25 percent of funds raised may be allocated to local antihunger programs.

SEE ALSO: Christian Antipoverty Campaigns; Faith-Based Antipoverty Programs; Human Development; Natural Disasters.

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Civil Society

CIVIL SOCIETY IS PLACED between the individual and the state. The term is used in reference to the broad collectivity of voluntary, nonofficial, noncommercial, and more or less formally organized groups that develop in the space between the individual and the state, socializing the former and humanizing the latter.

Civil society refers to autonomous groups and associations that might cooperate but can also compete with each other. Although the associations comprising civil society have widely differing objectives, size, membership, resource levels, institutional forms, organizational cultures, and campaign tactics, they all aim at either reinforcing or altering existing rules, norms, and deeper political, economic, and social structures. Civil society refers to activities by voluntary associations to shape policies, norms, and/or deeper social structures. Civil society is therefore distinct from both official and commercial circles, though the line can become blurred at times.

The term *civil society* went through a revival in the 1990s. In 2005, it was thought of as a counterbalance to the power of the government. John Locke and others used it to separate the government from organized society, since a contract among rational men had been agreed upon in order to escape the state of nature.

Civil society describes the space of collective action and public discourse that exists between government and private citizens, and which is filled typically by citizens' movements, relief organizations, peace activists, human rights advocates, labor unions, charities, social and sports clubs, farmers' groups, environmental groups, ethnic lobbies, criminal syndicates, academia, the media, consumer protection bodies, community-based organizations, women's networks, civic clubs, citizens' initiatives, citizen action groups, nongovernmental organizations, interest groups, cultural and edu-

cational institutions, and private religious and developmental organizations. However, this term does not cover political parties, as their only reason for existence is to work to take political power. Neither is private business part of civil society, as it is private and profit-oriented. Besides the understanding of civil society as "space for action," the concept is also understood to mean the society we all want to live in: trustful, tolerant, and co-operative. In the past this was a society of good manners. *Civil society* can refer to the voluntary sector as well as express an alternative vision of society.

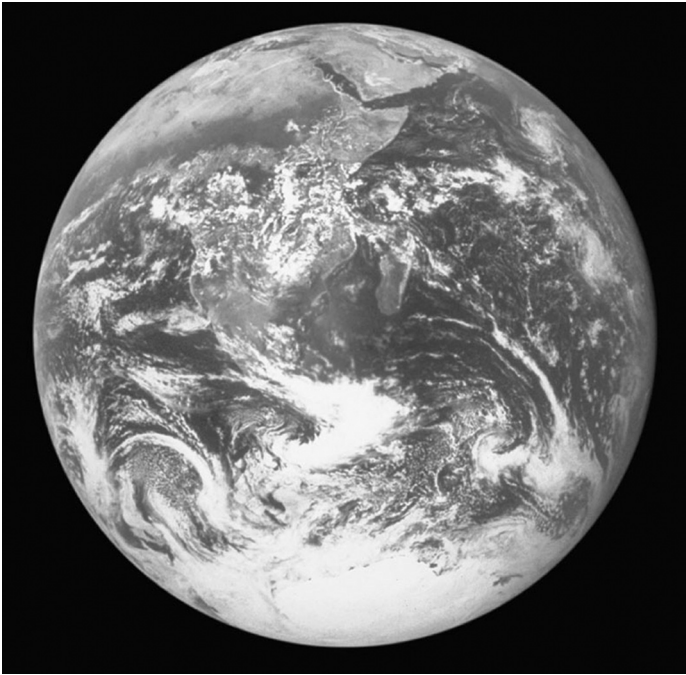
The state should be a minimal or noninterventionist state. This type of state should be limited to looking after law and order and military defense, and it should provide space for civil society, as Adam Smith argued in his *Wealth of Nations* in the 18th century. For Smith, society was separate from the government, and civil society was a counterbalance to repressive government. Smith described the self-regulating economy as civil society. Protestant (Calvinist) individualism had provided the beginnings of civil society.

Smith believed that the market would give one civility, and that civil society was the result of the market, not what the government had wanted to do in the first place. In the 20th century, Antonio Gramsci in Italy emphasized culture and education, which were under threat to be used by the powerful government to impose its perspective on civil society's culture and education. Gramsci, but also before him, G.W.F. Hegel and Karl Marx in the 19th century, understood civil society as a public sphere beyond the control of the government and the family. The market needed individuals who would also play a key role in civil society.

For Hegel, this civil society, or *Buergerliche Gesellschaft*, was the end goal of history; for Marx civil society was merely one step on the way to communism. In central and eastern Europe, at the end of the 20th century, dissidents were successful in building a "parallel society" based on active citizenship, which would lead to democracy, they hoped.

In the West, civil society promised a participatory society, which would be properly democratic to politicize the social and to deepen and radicalize democracy, as civil society does not want more welfare or economic rights. Civil society gives space to environmental, peace, feminist, and gay and lesbian groups, and leads to participation in decision-making.

These new social movements can now cooperate with each other across time and space thanks to modern telecommunications such as the internet, e-mail, and fax. As a result, there is a global opposition, and



On a global level, civil society should exist as part of the liberal state and as part of global governance.

with an increasing “NGOization” of the world, also a global civil society.

However, this global civil society needs a strong liberal state with separation of powers, checks and balances, pluralism, civil rights, and politics not as violent conflict but as an argument, in short the ability to protect this space of civil society. This might even be used to criticize the government, but at least for the time being this space might also be used to strengthen a market economy. Functions of the state in the field of welfare were taken over by civil society, not only saving the government money and leading to the reduction of the tax rate, but also smoothing the path of economic globalization. In addition, the degree of popular participation and consultation on a national and global governance level must not be exaggerated. Only a small proportion of the world’s population has thus far become actively involved in civil and global civil society.

On a global level, civil society should exist as well in the same way as part of a liberal state, but now as part of global governance, sometimes also called transnational civil society or transnational advocacy networks, which have become important since the 1990s with growing interconnectedness. This global governance is part of post-Cold War arrangements—away from bipolarity to multilateralism, despite G.W. Bush’s attempt at unilateralism.

Global governance is the attempt to coordinate policies on global issues, which by their very nature affect the majority of countries in the world through global warming, transnational capital flow, smuggling, and human rights. There is an increase in new centers of authority above, below, and alongside the government. U.S. citizens are today affected by decisions made by the World Trade Organization’s (WTO) Arbitration Committee in Geneva, Switzerland.

Global civil society, which will become stronger, is the domain of world politics, outside the control of the state, where international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) and other social movements pursue their specific socioeconomic and political goals. Global governance differs from world government, which is highly unlikely to exist even in the distant future, and is about establishing global rules, norms, and standards to regulate transborder conflicts such as the global drugs trade. Global governance is about civilizing, democratizing globalization, and enhancing democracy in global relations.

However, not everybody has the same resources, influence, and access to key centers of decision-making. Rupert Murdoch’s News International has a greater capacity to shape the global agenda than does, for example, the Rainforest Action Network.

However, at the moment, this kind of civil society on the global level does not avoid the problems of civil society on the national level, where, after all, only a limited number of people take part in it.

Where does the ability to make decisions lie in the end, if not in the developed countries?

The first problem with global civil society, as with globalization as such, is that global civil society is not really global. Global civil society is uneven globally; it is a developed countries’ (DCs or northern) civil society. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank headquarters are in Washington, D.C.; the World Trade Organization is situated in Geneva, Switzerland; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is headquartered in Brussels, Belgium; and the United Nations is in New York City.

Global civic activity has occurred disproportionately among white, northern, university-educated, computer-literate, propertied persons. On the whole, the world’s underclasses have lacked the funds, language fluency (or translation facilities), and organizational capac-

ities required for effective participation in global civil society.

Another problem is that global civil society is meant to affect multilateralism and to democratize global governance, to diffuse power away from Washington, D.C., but where does the ability to make decisions lie in the end, if not in the developed countries, or north? INGOs, and with them global governance, create norms, standards, and “soft law” with the threat of “naming and shaming.” But in the last analysis, if a government thinks its national interest is more important, and if governments do not implement global standards automatically, what can be done about it? Who/what could arrest, punish, and incarcerate a government? Global governance has no enforcement power. INGOs affect multilateralism, but only if states allow them to do this. In the very end, it is the Group of Eight (G-8) of most industrialized countries, together with transnational companies and northern INGOs, that show the unequal power relations in the world, as (southern) NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) are limited.

Global civil society as the bedrock for global governance needs to be based on structural change; fairness in the world economy and global governance needs to have enforcement power. The way things are now organized, global civil society repeats the interests of strong states. The sovereign state has not come to an end, but state power has simply been reconfigured. Global civil society reproduces national civil society’s hierarchy on a global level.

SEE ALSO: Globalization; International Nongovernmental Organizations; Marx, Karl; Moral Poverty; Nongovernmental Organizations; Smith, Adam.

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Class Analysis of Poverty

MOST SOCIALISTS, especially Marxists, have long maintained that one cannot properly understand, nor can one adequately address, poverty without linking it to deeper issues of class and exploitation underlying capitalist social relations. Class analysis recognizes that within capitalist societies the vast majority of people are separated from the means of producing their basic subsistence, including food, clothing, housing, and other necessities.

This majority, the working class, must survive by selling its capacity to work to those capitalists who own and control productive resources and is therefore in a precarious socioeconomic position. Thus, the material conditions enjoyed by a minority in capitalist societies are directly related to the material exclusion of the majority. Poverty is socially produced rather than resulting from characteristics of the individual.

From the perspective of class analysis, poverty is an inherent and regular feature of capitalist social relations rather than an unfortunate exception or by-product of some specific feature of capitalism, such as the unequal distribution of income or competition.

Instead poverty is understood as an integral, indeed central, feature of class exploitation within capitalist societies. Poverty, rather than an accidental outcome of specific economic policies or periods within trade cycles, is a necessary condition for capitalist productive relations and the accumulation of profit.

While more common in other parts of the world, class analyses of poverty are the least prominent approach taken by social scientists and analysts of poverty in North America. The most prominent perspectives on poverty within social sciences in North America explain poverty as resulting from opportunity structures faced by poor people.

In this view, deindustrialization, the decline of manufacturing and loss of decent-paying unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, generally related to economic globalization, has broadened and deepened experiences of poverty in the industrialized north. Poverty is thus regarded as an outcome of shifts in the economy from Fordism to post-Fordism or from the welfare state to the workfare state through neoliberalism.

For advocates of this approach the solution to poverty is through a return to policies and programs featured within previous welfare state regimes. Emphasis is often placed on training programs geared toward providing people with the skills necessary to compete more successfully in the labor market. Other proposed

solutions include the expansion of public works to provide job opportunities for people with limited skills. In either case, however, these proposals can be complementary with workfare schemes.

The underlying assumption is that poverty can be solved if powerful actors, such as corporations or the state, are convinced of the effectiveness of certain social programs to alleviate poverty, and consent to fund such programs. Nowhere is there a sense that powerful groups in society have a direct interest in the continuation of poverty.

Because of its primary elements, poverty is also produced as a feature of capitalism.

From the perspective of a class analysis of poverty, reducing poverty actually requires confrontation with, and the eventual defeat of, powerful social groups, most notably those who own and control capital. These groups cannot be converted to the cause of real poverty eradication because their social position is based on the ongoing existence of poverty. Indeed, for powerful elites, that is, members of the capitalist class, the eradication of poverty would undermine the social basis for their position as a privileged class within capitalism.

So long as productive property, or what is sometimes referred to as the means of production, is privately controlled in the hands of the few who make decisions about what will be produced, when, and by whom, leaving working people in a condition of having to sell their laboring capacity to these owners of capital, there will be poverty.

The negative features of private ownership and control are exacerbated by capitalist competition, which, in the search by individual capitalists for competitive advantage against their challengers, leads to technological innovations, or laborsaving devices, that contribute to unemployment as well as the movement of production in search of cheaper labor. Because private ownership, competition, and production for profit are primary elements of capitalism, poverty is also produced as a regular feature of capitalism.

A class analysis of poverty leads to the conclusion that social reforms cannot end poverty within the context of a capitalist economy. As a result proponents of class analysis advocate and work toward more radical and thoroughgoing, even revolutionary, transformations of capitalist society, generally in the direction of a society organized on the basis of some form of socialist

or communist social relations. In the most radical versions of class analyses of poverty the only possible way to really reduce or eliminate poverty is to abolish capitalist social relations altogether.

This does not mean, as is sometimes suggested, that proponents of a class analysis of poverty are idealists who do not support reform efforts to alleviate or reduce the impacts of poverty. Social democratic versions of socialism, as represented by some labor parties, maintain that the negative characteristics of capitalism can be moderated through policies that, without infringing upon private ownership, can still make significant gains in reducing poverty or lessen the impact of poverty on people's lives.

Still others view the launching of reforms as part of a transitional program that might meet people's needs in the present while contributing to a transformation of society toward socialism or communism. Regardless of which approach is taken, those who maintain a class analysis of poverty generally agree that addressing poverty requires a political challenge to the social power of capitalists and their government supporters and cannot be arrived at through a process of education and consensus.

SEE ALSO: Capitalism; Class Structure; Communism; Marx, Karl; Socialism.

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Class Structure

ECONOMIC CLASS IS often seen as a function of income and wealth levels. According to this way of thinking, there are lower, middle, and upper classes, or alternatively, the poor, the middle class, and the rich. Members of these economic classes would not necessarily have any functional economic interests in common, but rather would have lifestyles and material interests in common.

The three classes differ first by the annual incomes of their members. In the United States there is an official federal government poverty level that could be used as the line between the poor and the (lower) middle class. In 2005 this level was set at \$19,500 for a family of four (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005). This means that any member of a family of four whose annual income was less than \$19,500 was living in poverty, and thus was a member of the lower class (poor). Demarcating the middle class is not so easy. Certainly, the lower income limit would be \$19,500, but what the upper limit would be is unclear. Some people would put it at \$200,000, some people at \$500,000, some even higher. Given that there is no generally accepted definition of the maximum income for the middle class, the range for the upper limit is quite large. At some income level, however, the upper class (rich) begins. As for the upper boundary for the upper class, the sky is the limit.

The second difference between the classes is net wealth, defined as the value of the total assets held by a household minus its debts. What is interesting to note about wealth is that a significant proportion (18 percent) of U.S. households have no wealth. Those with no wealth would include the poor, as well as the lower end of the middle class. The rest of the middle class would have minimal to fairly high levels of wealth, perhaps up to \$900,000. Wealth really begins to accumulate, however, with the rich (after all, they are considered wealthy). As with income, the upper boundary for wealth is fantastical; for a single family it is in the billions of dollars.

When class is viewed in this tripartite fashion, the middle class is by far the largest of the three in the contemporary United States. Those classified as poor are about 13 percent of the population, while those who are rich constitute about one percent or two percent depending on where the upper income limit for the middle class is set. That leaves about 85 percent of the population who would be considered middle-class. By this standard, the United States is quite homogeneous by class.

The relative size of the middle class varies considerably across countries by this definition. In India, for example, the middle class constitutes about 20 percent of the population, with the rest of the population living in poverty (the percentage who are wealthy is negligible). The Chinese middle class is even smaller, with only three percent to 13 percent of the population considered as such (*China Daily*). As a general rule, the more developed economies have a larger middle class, while the less developed economies have a smaller middle

class and a correspondingly larger proportion of the population living in poverty.

While the above definition of class is useful in describing certain economic characteristics of the population, it is not how economic class is viewed in political economy. Rather than relating to income or wealth, a class is defined by its ownership, or lack thereof, of the means of production. The means of production are defined as the tools, machinery, buildings, and all other nonhuman material with which labor works to produce output.

In a capitalist economic system these means of production are privately owned, that is, they are (primarily) not owned by the government. Those who own the means of production constitute the capitalist class (bourgeoisie). Through their ownership they are able to control production as well as control workers, those who do not own the means of production. This latter group, the working class (proletariat), owning nothing but its ability to work, must labor for capitalists in order to survive. Since they do not own anything with which to produce, workers must sell their ability to work to someone else—the capitalists—and subject themselves to the discipline of capitalists in the production process.

Only a small proportion of the U.S. working class would be considered poor.

There is a connection between this conception of class and our first conception, since there is a correlation between class as now defined and income and wealth levels. Capitalists will, on average, be significantly richer than workers. Certainly there are exceptions to this, with some workers being quite wealthy, and some capitalists not having all that much, but the difference between the average material standards of living of the two classes is large and noticeable.

Poverty is concentrated in the working class and those who are barely part of the economic system. For example, a worker earning the U.S. federal minimum wage of \$5.15 per hour would earn about \$10,300 per year, an income far below the U.S. poverty level. Only a small proportion of the U.S. working class would be considered poor, however, as the vast majority of them earn far more than the minimum wage.

On the other hand, in less developed countries (India, China, and the sub-Saharan African countries) the majority of the working class does live in poverty,

corresponding to their overall lower national standard of living. Another significant segment of those in poverty are people who have only a tenuous connection to the workforce. This so-called lumpenproletariat, or underclass, earns income only sporadically and would fall solidly within the ranks of the poor. The lumpenproletariat, however, does not constitute another class within capitalism, but rather could be thought of as a sort of classless segment of society, an underclass only marginally attached to the economic system living in extreme poverty. The lumpenproletariat barely exists in the developed economies, while it may be quite large in certain less developed economies.

These two classes—the working class and the bourgeoisie—are considered in political economy to be the two major classes within capitalism. Each exists only as a counterpart to the other. By defining class in relation to the ownership of the means of production, it can be seen that the two classes are fundamentally antagonistic. Capitalists will want workers to produce as much as possible as cheaply as possible. Workers, on the other hand, will resist being driven too hard and will want to be paid as much as possible. Thus there is an inherent conflict between the two classes over control of the production process and over distribution of income.

It is usually considered politically desirable when the poor move into the middle class.

In less developed countries, such as Mexico or China, there is a third group to be considered—the peasantry. Peasants, defined as those who work the land and possess their means of production, constitute a precapitalist class existing within a capitalist economic structure. Neither bourgeoisie nor proletariat, these workers tend to be poor, earning little from their agricultural products. While still surviving in large numbers in some countries, there is a historical tendency to push the peasantry into the ranks of the proletariat. Thus, in developed countries, such as the United States or Germany, there is virtually no existing peasantry.

We have identified only two classes in the discussion above. In advanced capitalism (such as the United States), however, there appears to be a large group between capitalists and workers. This group would include, among others, the intelligentsia, managers, teachers, entertainers, and engineers.

Some economists believe that this group constitutes a new class because they are in economic opposition to

both of the other two classes. Since they are waged workers, selling their ability to work to capitalists, this middle class would have economic interests opposed to capitalists, and since they control and manage workers, they would also have a fundamental antagonism to workers. While acknowledging the existence of this middle stratum, other economists would see this group as occupying a contradictory class position, not really a class, but sometimes aligning with workers and sometimes aligning with capitalists. Whether a separate class or not, because of its large size, this middle stratum plays a significant role in the class structure of advanced capitalist economies.

The middle class defined immediately above—according to the position occupied in the workplace—is similar to the middle class first defined by income and wealth levels. While most of the middle class defined above would fit into the income middle class, the latter would also include much of the working class, especially in developed economies. We should also note that the middle class in both definitions is often considered a stabilizing force within a political system. Thus it is usually considered politically desirable when the poor move into the middle class, defusing any revolutionary tendencies they may have.

In addition to the basic division between classes, there also exist divisions within each class. For example, within the capitalist class there may be conflicts that arise between financial institutions, which lend money, and industrial capitalists who use this borrowed money for production: the former would want to receive high interest payments while the latter would want interest payments to be low. Similarly, within the working class, interests may differ between skilled and unskilled workers, or between workers and foremen. Thus, within the overall division of society into two classes, there is a further division of the classes into various parts.

It is the essence of class that society is not seen as a collection of atomized individuals. Their group identification—in this case defined by their ownership relation to the means of production—influences and informs their interactions in society. They will differ as individuals, of course, but they will have important similarities as workers or capitalists, especially with regard to their economic relations in society.

In addition to class, other social groups can be identified. For example, individuals may be members of gender, racial, ethnic, or religious groups that are important to their identity as social beings. While these intersect with class in a complex way and may influence how class is experienced, it is important to note that they are

distinct from, and have a different economic status from, class. All of these social formations combine into a complex social structure in which individuals come together in overlapping groups, acting not as isolated economic agents but as members of various social groups.

Economic class is considered important in political economy because it is thought that economic interests primarily lie with this particular grouping. Because of this shared economic consciousness, strong political-economic bonds should be formed in opposition to the other class: class “distinguish[es] the groups whose antagonisms define the basic historical processes,” according to Leszek Kolakowski.

Political economy sees economic class as one of the most important divisions within society affecting the historical development of the economy. The class structure of capitalism is both simple, consisting of only two (or three) classes, and complex, with numerous divisions within the classes interacting with each other and with the other classes, as well as with all of the other non-class societal divisions. The nature of the class struggle, along with the struggles of the other nonclass groups, will determine in large part the future of capitalist economies.

SEE ALSO: Capitalism; Class Analysis of Poverty; Economic Inequality; Engels, Friedrich; Marx, Karl; Social Stratification; Wealth Inequality.

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Cleveland, Grover (Administration)

NO PRESIDENT HELD TO his convictions more steadfastly than Grover Cleveland. He was born in Caldwell, New Jersey, in 1837. Cleveland practiced law in Buffalo, New York, and later became mayor of that city after some local businessmen encouraged him to



Grover Cleveland's second administration presided over the depression of 1894, which threw many Americans into poverty.

run. He earned a reputation for honesty by exposing corruption in Buffalo. This reputation helped him to become governor of New York, and as governor Cleveland fought the corruption of Tammany Hall. He gained such a reputation as an anticorruption reformer that a run for the presidency became possible.

The Democratic Party nominated Cleveland for president in the election of 1884. The Republican candidate, James G. Blaine, had strong ties with special interests on Wall Street and in the railroad industry. The contrast between the incorruptible Cleveland and Blaine was so great that many Republicans voted against their party's candidate. Cleveland won by a mere 29,000 popular votes and 37 electoral votes. In his inaugural address, he pledged himself to peace, civil service reform, fiscal austerity, and government on constitutionalist principles.

As president, Cleveland resisted special-interest politics, largely by vetoing legislation from Congress. Cleveland vetoed more legislation than any previous president in an effort to watch over the Congress's tendency to favor special interests. This earned him the nickname "the guardian president." He vetoed bills to support farmers in Texas and for false claims to veterans' benefits, and investigated railroad landholdings in the west.

Cleveland believed that paternalism "weakens the sturdiness of our national character." Toward the end of his first term, Cleveland pushed to reduce tariffs despite industrial support for protection. Big business supported Republican Benjamin Harrison and funded his campaign lavishly. He was warned that this would damage his chances for reelection, but insisted that he must stand for his principles. He won the popular vote but lost the electoral vote.

The fact that Cleveland would not bow to special interests may have cost him immediate reelection, but he would return to the White House. Cleveland won the election of 1892 but soon faced a severe depression. The unemployment rate reached 18 percent. Many businesses failed and unemployed workers endured dire economic circumstances. Cleveland's main economic policies were to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and to maintain the treasury's gold reserves.

Cleveland blamed the Sherman Antitrust Act for the depression. He also broke a railroad strike by 150,000 workers in Chicago. This action proved highly controversial. He also pressured the British to accept an agreement over the border of Venezuela, and justified his strong stance with the Monroe Doctrine. He also got involved in a dispute with Germany over Samoa. As before, he suffered a political loss for having taken strong stands. The Democratic Party nominated William Jennings Bryan instead of Cleveland in 1896.

Cleveland retired to Princeton, New Jersey, and died in 1908. Many historians have criticized Cleveland's second administration for its economic policies. Yet the depression of 1894 ended by the time he left office. Cleveland's commitment to principles, resistance to special-interest politics, and strict opposition to corruption separate him from many other politicians. His efforts to overcome corruption and machine politics did not always succeed. Yet the fact that he made such an effort at risk to his own political career is what is most commendable about his presidency.

SEE ALSO: Bryan, William Jennings; Poverty in History; United States.

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Clinton, William (Administration)

IN 1992, GOVERNOR Bill Clinton of Arkansas came to the presidency on the strength of his personal charisma and his strategic vision for a "third way" in American politics that borrowed from both traditionally Republican and Democratic approaches to social and economic problems.

Promising voters that he was a "New Democrat," Clinton spent his two terms distancing himself from the pervasive image of Democrats as poor stewards of the economy and as soft on crime and welfare, an image whose popularization had been the work of the two previous administrations. Despite Clinton's preference for consensus building over ideological confrontation, his personal Horatio Alger story and the dream of recapturing the White House after 12 years of exile gave liberals in his party reason enough to support him.

To conservative Democrats and Republicans, Clinton's open intention to revisit some of the most precious building blocks of the 1960s welfare state, including the welfare program itself, signaled a willingness to compromise that gave them new hope for change in social policy.

BIOGRAPHY AND PHILOSOPHY

The youngest man elected to the presidency since John F. Kennedy, Clinton had achieved the office absent his hero's privileged background. Born to a widow in one of the poorest states in the country, Clinton emphasized his personal experience with deprivation and the avenue for achievement that education had afforded him (he was educated at Georgetown, Oxford, and Yale). As governor of Arkansas for five terms, Clinton made a name for himself as an innovative reformer who sought consensus between the political parties.

Seen by many as a throwback to Kennedy, Clinton's campaign in 1992 was based on a combination of in-

spiring rhetoric, personal likeability, and a coherent message that a cautiously activist government should nurture responsibility, opportunity, and community. Clinton's poverty-fighting philosophy largely reflected these themes throughout his administration.

POVERTY POLICY AND ECONOMIC AGENDA

Clinton governed during the longest period of sustained economic growth in U.S. history. High-technology innovation, falling interest rates, and low inflation all contributed to the economic boom and provided the government with many of the resources necessary to ensure that the rising tide did, indeed, lift all boats. Clinton used essentially the same combination of macroeconomic tools, including tax credits and wage increases, that his predecessor had wielded to fulfill his campaign commitment to reward personal responsibility.

In sharp contrast to the George H.W. Bush administration, however, Clinton's first budget proposed a tax increase on workers earning more than \$250,000 annually to pay for tax relief for working families, without exacerbating the national deficit. Revenue increases and some targeted spending reductions (predominantly in defense spending), coupled with the overall economic growth, combined to eliminate the budget deficit during the Clinton presidency and amass the largest budget surplus since 1951. These conditions made targeting the working poor a more palatable legislative priority.

The poverty rate among all groups fell substantially during the Clinton years.

In his first budget, Clinton requested an expansion of the Earned-Income Tax Credit (EITC). The EITC enjoyed bipartisan support and was expanded significantly in 1993, providing a family with two children a \$.40 tax break for every dollar of income earned up to \$9,500. In 1996, the president and Democratic allies in Congress managed to win an increase in the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15.

Investment in job-training programs helped ensure that workers in low-income communities would have access to some of the prosperity made available by the tightening labor market. Yet none of these proposals demonstrated the kind of commitment to large-scale employment measures that the Democratic Party had historically supported. As proof of Clinton's evolution

toward an even more moderate course than that with which he entered the office, he rejected the suggestions of more liberal advisers like First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Labor Secretary Robert Reich, and Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala to propose a more aggressive long-term public policy approach to the ongoing inequalities in unemployment in poor minority communities. Despite his more moderate approach, the poverty rate among all groups fell substantially during the Clinton years, largely due to the robust economy, from 14.8 percent in 1992 to 11.3 percent in 2000. Child poverty fell from 25.6 percent in 1993 to 16.9 percent in 2000.

HEALTHCARE

After Congress blocked Clinton's ambitious (some would say overambitious) national healthcare program in early 1994, the administration and Democratic allies in Congress undertook a piecemeal approach to healthcare reform. In 1997, Clinton signed the Children's Health Improvement Program into law, providing \$24 billion to cover five million children whose parents made too little money to buy private health insurance, and too much to qualify for Medicaid.

Spotty enforcement in the states made for mixed results, but the program did extend coverage to a greater number of poor children. Ensuring child immunization for all children was another long-term administration goal. By 1998, child immunization rates had hovered at near 90 percent for two years. In addition, Clinton protected and expanded the improvements in Medicaid made during the early 1990s against the onslaught of an aggressively anti-entitlement conservative majority in Congress.

HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS

Though voters did not perceive the issue of homelessness to be as urgent and terrible as they had four years earlier, Clinton did work to continue making progress on sheltering the hundreds of thousands of men and women who still lived on the streets. During his presidency, the Housing and Urban Development Department (HUD) invested almost \$5 billion in programs to help the homeless, three times the investment of the previous administration. Calling its program the Continuum of Care, HUD helped 300,000 homeless people find housing and jobs as part of the larger goal of self-sufficiency. Focusing attention on the long-term challenges to this employment objective, Clinton included



The Bill Clinton administration's most significant effort in dealing with poverty issues was welfare reform.

drug treatment, mental health assistance, domestic violence counseling, and primary care in this program.

In a policy that concurred with Clinton's "New Democrat" approach, HUD did not invest in new public housing units during the president's two terms. Instead, emphasis was placed on rehabilitating the reputation of an agency perceived by many in Congress to be overly bureaucratic and scandal-prone. Credibility and vitality were restored to the agency. Clinton's HUD initiatives included a key program advocated by the department under the Bush administration and actively promoted by Clinton during the campaign: the creation of urban Empowerment Zones.

In 1993 the administration secured \$3.5 billion in federal funding to help low-income communities in select urban and rural zones; \$2.5 billion of the appropriation was earmarked for tax incentives to lure investment into these areas, with an additional \$1 billion provided for block grants to build safe and usable public spaces. In 1999, the Empowerment Zone program was expanded with an additional \$3.8 billion in

funding for 20 more needy regions. Another Bush initiative, the controversial Moving to Opportunity (MTO) pilot program, was resuscitated by Secretary Henry Cisneros and gave vouchers to poor people to move to rental housing in suburban communities. MTO was predicated on the notion of undermining spatial segregation of poor minority people but has achieved mixed results and is still a source of debate among housing advocates.

EDUCATION

While most of the Clinton administration education proposals were geared toward making college education more affordable for middle-class families, there were a few notable efforts to target low-income communities. The two most significant of these were Clinton's increases to Title I funding, providing better educational opportunities to 11 million poor children, and his unwavering support and expansion of the Head Start program, for which funding increased by 90 percent from 1993 to 2000. In 1994, Clinton obtained funds from Congress to establish Early Head Start to improve early childhood development among poor children under three.

Other less tangible efforts to improve educational opportunities for poor children included mentoring and literacy programs that were part of Clinton's overall effort to revive 1960s-style national service programs, providing tuition assistance to young college students in exchange for their commitment to teach in impoverished school districts and provide literacy tutoring in poor schools. These and other elements of Clinton's education policy toward low-income communities echoed earlier proposals by the Bush administration, including some form of school choice. Although an opponent of private school vouchers, Clinton supported the creation of public charter schools that could serve distressed communities. By 1998, more than 1,200 public charter schools were operating in the country.

WELFARE REFORM

In his 1996 book, *Between Hope and History*, Clinton wrote that "for 15 years, going back to my service as governor of Arkansas, I have worked to reform welfare, to make it a second chance and not a way of life." Indeed, welfare reform is the single most significant aspect of Clinton's legacy on poverty issues and reflected his longtime emphasis as a governor on local control of federal funds.

Replacing Aid to Families with Dependent Children with the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program, the Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act of 1996 turned a nationwide entitlement program whose funding was determined by the federal government into a block grant system through which the federal government allocated a portion of funds to states, which had to raise revenue to supplement the cost of local services. De-emphasizing cash benefits, the act included provisions to provide some services that would help recipients move into jobs, including education and job training. The administration also proposed legislation that sought to make the transition for recipients easier, including housing vouchers, food stamps, childcare, and better child support enforcement while also giving tax incentives to companies that hired recipients, working to prevent teenage pregnancy.

Although the welfare reform bill was not as instrumental in this significant drop as the growing economy, clearly the goal of lowering the number of welfare recipients had been achieved. Some 14.1 million people received welfare benefits in 1993, the majority of them children. By 1996, when the welfare reform bill was enacted, that number had dropped to 12.2 million.

In 1999 the number had plunged further, with some 6.6 million people using the program. The legislation represented a clear victory for those who believed that the welfare system itself inculcated dependency in a population of largely undeserving poor people and discouraged family cohesion and self-sufficiency. Ideologically, Clinton's support for the Personal Responsibility Act was the most obvious sign of his divergence with many of his party's historic standard-bearers. Marian Wright Edelman, the president of the Children's Defense Fund and a longtime personal Clinton friend, called the Personal Responsibility Act of 1996 the "moral blot on the Clinton Presidency," and many of the president's supporters questioned the motives of the welfare reform initiative, intimating that the president was bowing to political pressure in an election year instead of making a principled stand. In good economic times, the decision was popular with most voters, however, and Clinton became the first Democratic president elected to a second term since Harry Truman.

MAJOR EVENTS

Although Clinton did spend a significant share of his time focused on foreign affairs, including the growing threat of terrorism, the breakdown of the former Yugoslavia, the ongoing violence in the Middle East, and

brokering a delicate peace in Northern Ireland, his presidency was, true to his word in the 1992 campaign, one largely geared toward domestic issues.

With a vibrant economy and a majority of voters feeling good about the direction the country was going in, there were few major events that distracted the nation from enjoying its prosperity or detracted from the president's generally strong approval ratings among voters. Among these, however, were the dramatic loss of the House and Senate for the Democrats in 1994 after controlling the Congress for 40 years; the sometimes bitter debate over free trade, which Clinton supported; the emerging realities of globalization; and Clinton's impeachment in 1998 over questions about whether he lied under oath about an inappropriate relationship with a woman.

The debates over free trade and globalization were most relevant to the issue of poverty, provoking the final turn by the American political mainstream toward neoliberal economic policies, further diminishing the already lagging manufacturing industry that, through the efforts of organized labor and its Democratic Party, had been largely responsible for providing social mobility to working-class Americans for 50 years. The "third way" Clinton espoused clearly rejected the viability of that model, with lasting repercussions for the poor in the United States and around the world.

CONCLUSION

While pledging to focus on domestic issues and act boldly, Clinton's presidency was characterized more by piecemeal efforts to fight poverty in targeted ways than by any large-scale antipoverty programs. Provoked by a desire to prevent the downward financial pressure many middle- and working-class families were experiencing because of skyrocketing healthcare costs, his effort to create a national healthcare program that would provide coverage to every single American was a notable exception.

The defeat of the Health Security Act in Congress and the retaking of congressional control by conservative Republicans in both houses in the 1994 midterm elections left Clinton with political leverage insufficient to achieve momentous change.

For the remainder of his presidency, Clinton sought to work with members on both sides of the aisle on issues that many in the Republican Party deemed sensible ways to address poverty. However, private scandal and partisan assault on his personal character brought a swift end to any meaningful bipartisan consensus devel-

oping between the president and Congress. Clinton's impeachment and subsequent confession of personal failings overshadowed any policy initiatives his administration proposed during the last two years of his presidency, although his welfare reform initiative has become the standard of government policy toward the desperately poor.

SEE ALSO: Democratic Party; Earned-Income Tax Credit; Head Start; Minimum Wage; Neoliberalism; Temporary Assistance for Needy Families; Welfare; Working Poor.

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Cold War

POVERTY WAS AN important factor in the advance of the Cold War, the ideological conflict that sharply divided the world into two contrasting blocs from the end of World War II to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Western bloc included the United States and its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies, and the Eastern bloc consisted of the Soviet Union and the communist regimes of central and eastern Europe.

The Cold War did not escalate into an armed conflict between the two superpowers, although both the United States and the Soviet Union were directly involved in several conflicts such as Vietnam and Afghanistan, respectively. The two countries also engaged in the largest nuclear arms race in human history. The Cold War, a term coined by American political adviser Bernard Baruch in 1947, was fought through propaganda, intelligence services, diplomatic plots, and economic pressure.

Following the Truman Doctrine, formulated by President Harry Truman, the United States decided to send aid to countries such as Greece, which, at the end of World War II, were facing civil wars that could lead to the establishment of communist regimes. Without this policy of containment, the entire region would suffer from a domino effect, bringing about a generalized acceptance of communism.

As part of this policy, *growth* and *development* became key words in the economic schemes of the Cold War. Countries associated with the United States would be able to display affluence in contrast to the austerity associated with communism. The Marshall Plan (or European Recovery Program) was the first outcome of the new policy of containment, although it was originally devised when World War II alliances were still in place.

At the end of the war, European countries were devastated. Heavy bombings had destroyed entire cities and had damaged industrial production. The agricultural sector too was destroyed, which had led to starvation in several areas of Europe. Food shortage and high unemployment were causing discontent and social unrest. An incredible sum of \$13 billion (the equivalent of today's \$100 billion) was given to those European countries that had joined the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

The Soviet Union and the countries in eastern Europe did not join the project. Postwar poverty was proving one of the major factors in the growth of communist parties in western Europe, especially in Italy and in France, where the PCF (French Communist Party) became the single largest party in postwar elections. Yet the PCF was forced to leave the government in 1947, and a similar fate befell the Italian Communist and Socialist Parties.

The United States had also hoped that the Marshall Plan would help to break the Eastern bloc, and in July 1947, all European nations except Spain were invited to a meeting in Paris to discuss the plan. Poland and Czechoslovakia agreed to attend at first, but were prevented from doing so directly by Moscow. The Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, obviously feared that the plan would have caused the integration of eastern European countries within the American sphere of influence. The plan initially met with strong opposition from the Republican Party in the U.S. Congress; however, it was finally passed with a strong bipartisan majority when it became apparent that the Soviet Union was trying to extend its sphere of influence over Europe.

The plan officially began in July 1948, although substantial funds had been given to anticommunist factions in Greece and Turkey as early as 1947. In 1951, the plan ended and could not be renewed because of the expenses of U.S. rearmament for the Korean War. Although most historians agree that the Marshall Plan alone cannot be credited for European recovery, American aid contributed to revive the European economies and to defeat poverty and famine. Industrial production

grew by 35 percent in the four years of the plan and the agricultural sector exceeded prewar levels. Politically, the plan reduced the influence of the Soviet Union on western Europe and encouraged the formation of NATO, the military alliance that would strongly tie western Europe and the United States during the Cold War.

In the mid-1950s, developing countries became the next frontier of the Cold War. In the second postwar period, the rise of movements for independence of colonies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America from their respective colonial powers led to the creation of independent states. These were obviously new states where American or Soviet influence could be established. The egalitarian message of communism was a source of inspiration for many anticolonial movements that saw in the doctrine an effective response to centuries of imperial rule and oppression.

The two superpowers, in effect, created very little economic or political redistribution.

So-called Third World internationalism, the ideology that emerged from these anticolonial movements, was in its original formulation a rejection of the world's division into spheres of influence and an attempt to build peace and stability. These new emerging countries were unwilling to align themselves with one bloc or the other, as they proudly confirmed at the Bandung Conference in 1955. The states emerging from the decolonization process did not want to fall prey again to a different colonizer and thus tried to establish a "creative confrontation" by playing the two superpowers against each other to their benefit.

Yet in the context of the Cold War and of the competition between the socialist and capitalist camps to gain new allies, the leaders of these movements for decolonization soon came to be seen by Western eyes as dangerous communist revolutionaries. To counter the thrust toward social revolution that was shaking many former colonies, the United States adopted a rhetoric siding with former colonies against colonial powers and emphasizing the potential these countries had for development.

In a 1961 television debate with the Indian leader Jawaharlal Nehru, U.S. Senator Adlai Stevenson stated that the United States was firm in its opposition to colonialism and supported the people's rights to self-determination, which should be "the objective of all

peoples everywhere." The development of Third World countries, of course, could only be fully attained under a capitalist economy.

As Bangladeshi scholar Anisur Rahman pointed out, "It was the threat of Bolshevik revolution inspiring social revolutions in the Third World that was countered by a promise of 'development' to help the underdeveloped societies to catch up with the 'developed.' Development was defined exclusively as economic development, reducing the degree of progress and maturity in a society to be measured by the level of its production."

Western countries stressed that their capitalist model had functioned to create wealth and, at the same time, had ensured democratic forms of government. Yet the very concept of development adopted by the West shows a clear descent from a colonial model, since the underdeveloped new countries were dependent on developed nations just as they once were on their mother countries. In addition, when Secretary of State John Foster Dulles stated in 1951 that Russians looked "upon anybody who is not for them as against them," he was also commenting on his future foreign policy. Faced with the reluctance of many Third World nations to side with either the capitalist or the socialist bloc, Dulles declared three years later that neutrality was an "obsolete conception and, except under very exceptional circumstances, it is an immoral and short-sighted conception."

The swift change in Dulles's position was brought about by the increasing popularity of socialism in developing countries and especially by the personal success of the Chinese leaders Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai at the Bandung Conference. The Russian leader Nikita Khrushchev had also started a campaign of financial and military aid to nations in Asia and the Middle East. As containment was replaced by *détente* in the 1970s, the Soviet Union and America continued to compete for Third World allies.

Socialism promised a redistribution of economic resources in favor of the dispossessed, while capitalism and political liberalism encouraged a wider distribution of political power in favor of marginalized groups. Yet this international split in two contrasting blocs did little to relieve Third World countries from poverty. The two superpowers, in effect, created very little economic or political redistribution. Third World countries such as Vietnam and Afghanistan were often the battlegrounds where the Cold War became a military confrontation between the blocs, although not between the two superpowers. These conflicts and the totalitarian govern-

ments that often followed augmented poverty and caused cruel massacres.

In spite of the West's image as the champion of democracy, American administrations supported totalitarian governments such as the regime in Indonesia and the dictatorship in Zaire. Through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the United States also organized coups to overthrow democratically elected governments, as was the case with the military putsch that killed the Chilean socialist leader Salvador Allende. Several African countries are still suffering from the civil wars between Marxist-oriented factions and those subsidized by NATO. In Angola, for example, factions intermittently fought from the late 1970s to 2002. Ravaged by the civil war, since the cease-fire the country has not had free elections, which were scheduled for 2006.

Paradoxically, the focus on international relations and on how to win poorer countries to their respective blocs led the two superpowers to neglect poverty at home. Suddenly, at the end of the Cold War, Russia and America discovered their own poor. The dissolution of communist regimes and the transition to a free-market economy was traumatic for the Soviet Union and for many eastern European states. A large percentage of people of former communist countries now battle with poverty, and their living conditions and life expectancy have declined.

Schemes to reduce poverty in America were implemented during the Cold War, including Lyndon Johnson's ambitious War on Poverty in the 1960s. Yet these met with mixed success. Johnson's War on Poverty, for example, had a limited impact on rural areas and did not discourage migration to the already overcrowded northern cities. The large military spending of the Cold War led to the neglect of domestic social problems, particularly during the presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

At the end of the 1980s, historian Paul Kennedy diagnosed the United States with the same "imperial overstretch" that had afflicted the United Kingdom and Spain in earlier centuries. The nation's productivity and competitiveness had to be restored and its federal debt drastically reduced if America was to avoid decline. President George H.W. Bush dismissed these gloomy forecasts, yet his neglect of domestic poverty, unemployment, and homelessness contributed to his defeat by Bill Clinton in 1992.

SEE ALSO: Angola; Johnson, Lyndon (Administration); Poverty in History; Russia; United States; War and Poverty; World War II.

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Colombia

AFTER SEVERAL YEARS of battling with the Spanish, troops led by Simón Bolívar won independence for a large area of South America in 1824. Bolívar united Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, and Ecuador into Gran Colombia. The union collapsed in 1830, and Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela emerged as separate nations.

For several decades, Colombia has faced an insurgent struggle to overthrow the government, financed in large part by funds from the drug trade. In response, a large paramilitary army has surfaced that is challenging the insurgents over territory and for control of the drug trade. While neither group has been entirely successful in its efforts to take control of the country, they do interfere with the government's ability to function in rural areas and with the right of Colombians to enjoy a basic standard of living free from violence. The political instability has also had a negative impact on the Colombian economy and on relations with neighboring countries.

While the Colombian economy has become more diversified in recent years, the agricultural sector still makes up almost a third of the labor force. Colombia is subject to occasional earthquakes, droughts, hurricanes, floods, landslides, and volcanic eruptions that can devastate crops. Some 46 percent of the labor force are involved in services, and 24 percent are engaged in industry. Officially, unemployment stands at 13.6 per-

cent; but it may be as high as 20 percent by unofficial accounts.

With a per capita income of \$6,600, Colombia is an upper-middle-income nation with the potential for economic success. Natural resources include petroleum, natural gas, coal, iron ore, nickel, gold, copper, emeralds, and hydropower. While petroleum production has declined, coffee production has increased, along with the possibility of expanding into new markets. Since 2003, Colombia has made definite steps toward economic recovery. The government has instituted a program of austerity and is determined to reduce public debts and to develop export-oriented growth.

The internal strife in Colombia has resulted in the forced displacement of around three million people since 1985. In 2002, some 320,000 people moved to other parts of Colombia to avoid open warfare. Since 2003, an additional 90,000 people have been displaced. Between 2000 and 2003, approximately 100,000 Colombians fled to surrounding countries for safety.

The vast displacement in Colombia has contributed to the poverty that plagues the country. Estimates of the poverty level vary from 55 to 64 percent. It is estimated that 80 percent of all rural residents are poor and that one-fourth of the population lives in abject poverty. Almost 23 percent of Colombians live on less than \$2 a day, and 8.2 percent subsist on less than \$1 a day. While the poor are struggling to survive, the wealthiest portion of Colombia's population is supported in part through the drug-trafficking rings run by the paramilitary groups. The richest 20 percent of Colombians claim 46.5 percent of resources while the poorest 20 percent share 2.7 percent. Colombia is ranked 57.6 on the Gini Index of Human Inequality.

There are only 94 doctors for every 100,000 patients in Colombia, and six to 20 percent of the people have no access to affordable essential drugs. Nine percent of the population lack access to safe drinking water, and 14 percent lacks access to improved sanitation. Around 48 percent of Colombians have no healthcare, and Colombians face vectorborne diseases such as malaria and dengue fever as well as from communicable diseases and respiratory ailments.

In the past, Colombians have also been susceptible to river blindness, a disease spread by bites from black flies. This disease is now under control through the efforts of the Carter Center of Emory University. The Carter Center has teamed with local officials to teach prevention and to dispense necessary medications. HIV/AIDS has also become a growing threat in Colombia, with a prevalence rate of 0.7 percent. Approxi-

mately 190,000 people are living with this disease, which has already killed 3,600 people.

Life expectancy in Colombia is 71.72 years. With a projected life span of 75.7 years, females outlive males (67.88 years) by an average of seven years. Among the population of 43,954,279, the median age is 26.04 years. Around 31 percent of the population are under the age of 14, and 5.1 percent have reached the age of 65.

Between 1970 and 2005, infant mortality in Colombia dropped significantly from 69 to 20.97 deaths per 1,000 live births. Among children under the age of 5, the mortality rate fell drastically from 108 in 1970 to 21 in 2005. Seven percent of all children under the age of 5 are malnourished, but the number of children who are malnourished has fallen steadily since 1980, when 17 percent of under-5s were malnourished. About 14 percent of under-5s suffer from moderate to severe stunting. Nine percent of all infants are underweight at birth. Immunization rates for children from birth to 23 months range from 81 to 91 percent. Immunization rates have risen in recent years in response to the efforts of international organizations.

Since 2003, Colombia has made definite steps toward economic recovery.

Between 1980 and 2005, the fertility rate of Colombian women dropped from 3.9 children per woman to 2.56 children per woman. The adolescent fertility rate is 70 per 1,000 births. Sexual activity among teenagers has increased, and adolescent fertility has risen by 19 percent in urban areas and by 47 percent in rural areas. In 1980, barely half of Colombian women practiced birth control, but that number increased to 77 percent by 2005.

Trained medical staff attend 86.4 percent of births in Colombia, but attended births generally take place in urban areas. Elsewhere, access to prenatal and antenatal care is poor. Based on modeled estimates for 2000, maternal mortality occurs at the rate of 130 per 100,000 live births. Rates of illiteracy in Colombia have been reduced over the past decades. In 1980, 15.1 percent of males and 16.8 percent of females over the age of 15 could not read and write. Within 10 years, illiteracy rates had declined to 9.7 percent for males and 10 percent for females. By 2005, 92.5 percent of the relevant population were able to read and write, and differences according to gender were negligible.

Officially, most Colombian students attend school for 11 years, but it has been estimated that as many as 1,800,800 children are outside the school system in Colombia. Among those who are counted, basic education rates have improved, and the grade completion rate has risen for both boys and girls.

By 2003, 88 percent of males and 92 percent of females were completing primary school. Over one million Colombian children between the ages of 5 and 17 are working. Large numbers of children are either commercially or sexually exploited, and a number of children have been forced to take up arms against the government or rival groups.

Human Development Index Rank: 69

Human Poverty Index Rank: 8

SEE ALSO: Child Mortality; Foreign Aid; North American Free Trade Agreement; Venezuela.

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Colonialism

COLONIALISM IS A FORM of imperialism based on the maintenance of complete control over an occupied entity by a ruling state. In a colonial situation the ruling party, usually represented by occupiers from a stronger state, will exercise all executive, judicial, and legislative power over the inhabitants of the occupied territory. Power is invariably extended to control over the economic activities taking place in the colony and the acquisition of resources and processed goods found and produced within the colony.

The colonial master strictly orchestrates the movements and activities of the colonial inhabitants, and their efforts are directed to benefiting the occupying

state. Implicit within the concept of colonialism is the inequality of human rights.

Two major periods of global colonialism have occurred. The first period followed the European discovery and occupation of unknown lands in the western hemisphere, beginning with the voyages of Christopher Columbus in 1492. At that time in human history, Spain and Portugal were the leading maritime nations and leading contenders to reap the spoils of new territories. Protracted competition between these two countries was avoided when the Treaty of Tordesillas was signed in 1494. The treaty divided the newly found lands between Spain and Portugal. A line of longitude was drawn 1,800 kilometers west of the Cape Verde Islands. The treaty stated that Spain would receive all lands to the west of the line and Portugal all lands to the east. The great benefactor in this treaty was, of course, Spain. It received all of North America and the majority of the territory in South America. Portugal acquired only the eastern portion of South America that extends into the Atlantic Ocean. Modern-day Brazil, with its Portuguese language, is evidence of the original territorial grant in 1494.

The second wave of colonialism occurred in the last quarter of the 19th century. The activity was efficiently planned and prosecuted. The Berlin Conference was held in 1884 to decide which European country would occupy what regions of Africa. The eventual occupation and control of most of the continent of Africa brought extensive and irreversible changes to the region.

The impacts of the occupation are felt even today, decades after the eventual relinquishing of control and the end of colonialism. Enormous expanses of territory were claimed and occupied during both periods of colonialism. By the beginning of the 20th century, 90 percent of the land area on the African continent came under colonial control. In Polynesia, 99 percent of the land was colonized and in Asia, 56 percent. All of Australia was colonized and 27 percent of the Americas were under colonization at that time. In Africa, France and Britain together colonized over 70 percent of the land. Other major colonizers during the 19th century were Belgium and the Netherlands. Germany began colonizing activities in Africa in 1914.

The primary incentive during both major periods of colonialism was economic gain for the occupying state. In Latin America, and to a lesser extent in North America, extensive landholdings were taken in the name of the occupying state and presented to individuals settling in the new lands. In addition, vast amounts

of precious metals were extracted and sent back to Europe. In the second period of colonialism, a system was established to extract raw materials and food products from the colonies and ship them to processing centers in Europe. These items were then used in the manufacturing process to create products of greater value, which were sold within the European countries and shipped back to the colonies for purchase there.

The major economic gain in this series of exchanges was realized by the occupying state while the colony derived very little if any monetary gain. This economic system came to be known as mercantilism, a process that greatly enhanced the socioeconomic status of the occupying state but added little to the wealth of the colony.

The colonial era issued in a global system of uneven economic development. The core-periphery concept of economic development developed to its fullest during this time. In this development model, the core represents the developed world and the periphery is composed of those countries, many of which were colonies, on the lowest rungs of the development ladder.

In many cases, the economic status of former colonies has not appreciably changed following independence. The continuation of the colonial status has been identified as neocolonialism, a situation in which both dependency on a developed country and inequality of economic gain persist. This model was articulated most effectively by Immanuel Wallerstein in his work on "world-system" analysis.

Wallerstein expands on the core-periphery relationship and identifies three basic features: 1) a single integrated world market operates in a capitalistic mode; 2) a multistate system exists in which no single country can dominate the system; and 3) a capitalist world system exists in which there are three regional components: the core, the periphery, and the semiperiphery.

The core is the generator of the world system and the greatest accumulator of wealth. The periphery is composed of countries in the developing world. The semiperiphery includes countries that are on the verge of breaking into the core.

The most compelling conclusion by Wallerstein is that there will always be a core and a periphery and that gains in the economic level of the periphery will always be exceeded in the core. In short, the development gap between the core and periphery not only will be maintained but will expand as time goes on. This is a dire prediction; however, in the time since Wallerstein published his world-system thesis, the development gap has increased.

By the middle of the 20th century, most of the colonial entities had received their independence. Yet their development situation was still fraught with difficulty. During the colonial period, full regional development of colonial territory was not furthered. On the contrary, the infrastructure of the colony was developed only to the degree that would ensure the production and transfer of raw materials to the occupying state. As such, the task of completing surface transportation systems, the building of suitable housing and sanitation systems, the opening of a new agricultural sector, and the development of profit-making industries were left to the newly independent former colonies, which, in most cases, did not have the capital to proceed.

*May it be concluded that colonialism
is directly responsible for poverty?*

It is not surprising that nearly all of the former colonies have high levels of poverty. One of the frequently used indicators of poverty is the percentage of the population in a region or country living with an income below \$2 per day. World estimates for 2005 suggest that over 50 percent of world population are living in this precarious situation. It will come as no surprise to note that the measure is essentially zero for the developed world and 56 percent for the developing countries. The figure for Africa, where 90 percent of the land area was under colonialism, is 66 percent. For Africa south of the Sahara it is 75 percent.

The Latin American countries, the region subjected to colonization during the early period, do not have measures as low as those of Africa. For all of Latin America, the figure is 26 percent. May it be concluded, therefore, that colonialism is directly responsible for poverty? Certainly it was a factor, and in some cases under the regime of neocolonialism, continues to be an influence. But colonialism is not the only contributor, and in fact some previous colonies have attained developed country status (the United States, Canada, and Australia).

To the extent that colonialism and neocolonialism prohibit a newly independent country from developing its economic structure to the fullest, the answer is yes; colonialism contributes to poverty. However, when deterrents to economic development come from within the country (corruption in government, use of valuable resources that do not address the common good, and

the inability (or reluctance) to work toward the full regional development of the country), the answer is no.

The United Nations instituted a program to eradicate poverty and hunger in the developing world. One set of goals includes cutting in half, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day; cutting in half, in that same time frame, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger; and ensuring that, by 2015, all children everywhere will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.

SEE ALSO: Brazil; Income Inequality; Mercantilism; Missionaries; Poverty in History; Power and Poverty; Spain; Third World; United Kingdom.

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NEW MEXICO PUBLIC EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Comic Relief

COMIC RELIEF IS a United Kingdom-based charity that aims to end poverty and social injustice at home and in some of the poorest areas in the world. It was launched in 1985 from a refugee camp in Sudan in response to the African famine. Since then, Comic Relief has maintained a special focus on Africa. Comic Relief has a unique identity through its famous Red Nose Day. Every two years, Britons are encouraged to raise money while doing something silly at work, school, or home, wearing a red nose. Many places of employment and education take part. The day culminates in a live television broadcast where television, music, and sports celebrities join in the fundraising antics. The charity aims to mix comedy with serious issues.

Money raised by Comic Relief is distributed to programs through a grant scheme. Work conducted in Africa takes a variety of forms. Civilians in Africa are gravely affected by war and conflict. Communities are often completely destroyed, leaving the poor without access to housing, education, and basic health services,

as well as the means to continue their livelihood. In more arid areas of northeastern and southern Africa, pastoralists and hunter-gatherer societies have recently been forced out of the environments upon which they traditionally survived. Governments prefer to use land for more lucrative gain, such as tourism. Comic Relief helps such people to gain land rights as well as support small business and trading opportunities for those who need to supplement their income.

On the other hand, Africa also faces widespread migration from rural areas into towns and cities. Slum areas are created as a consequence. These areas can be especially hard on children, as a lack of employment within families can force children to work or live on the streets. Adults and children who are disabled also face poverty through widespread discrimination in Africa. Children can be hidden away, preventing them from receiving an education. Adults also need support to work independently or play a more active family role. One of the largest issues affecting the poor in Africa is the spread of HIV/AIDS. Over 70 percent of the world's HIV sufferers live in Africa. This disease has had a profound effect on families.

The majority of those living with HIV/AIDS are young adults. Millions of children have lost their parents. Thousands of others face trying to look after them. Women also face further economic responsibilities through the loss of male providers. Furthermore, because of abject poverty, these families are unable to afford the drugs that can stem the progress of AIDS. Comic Relief provides workers, counseling, and drugs to Africans as well as raises awareness about the often-fatal disease.

To reach those suffering from poverty or injustice in the United Kingdom, funds are aimed at different kinds of work. Programs cover local communities to combat social and economic degeneration; refugees and asylum seekers, as those fleeing war and persecution are often forced to leave all they own in their home country; domestic abuse, as this is the largest form of violent crime committed against women in the United Kingdom; fighting for justice, as individuals can face poverty and disadvantage because of the attitudes and discrimination of others—prejudices against the old, for example, can categorize them as unworthy of certain services; and supporting young people as they can be particularly vulnerable to alcohol and drug misuse, homelessness, and mental health problems. As well as fundraising, Comic Relief aims to promote social change through education and raising awareness of subjects such as fair trade and Third World debt.

SEE ALSO: Antipoverty Organizations; Charity; International Nongovernmental Organizations; United Kingdom.

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Communism

ESSENTIALLY COMMUNISM is a system of social organization in which property, and in particular productive assets, are held in common, that is, owned by the group or community instead of by individuals. In the broadest sense it comprises communistic anarchism, socialism, and communism in the strict sense. Anarchism calls for the abolishment of private property and any form of government. Socialism, on the other hand, implies the collective ownership and management primarily of the vital economic resources, or means of production. As such, socialism would be the first stage of communism, when the necessity for private property would cease and all the goods would be commonly owned. However, the modern use of the term *socialism* implies the abandonment of violence and revolutionary means to achieve an egalitarian society.

The rise of capitalism, reinforced by the Industrial Revolution, which began in the 18th century, created conditions that gave rise to modern communism. The working environment, wages, hours, and overall factory conditions for the new industrial laborers were appalling. The first comprehensive criticism came from French intellectuals. Gabriel de Mably (*Doutes proposés aux philosophes économiques*, 1768) and Morelly (*Code de la nature*, 1755), both apostate priests, relying on Plato's and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas, advocated the equality and state ownership of property and industry. It was Morelly's ideas on state ownership that were embraced by the French Revolutionists. The revolution, however, fell short of fulfilling demands for economic egalitarianism.

IDEOLOGISTS

François Babeuf was chief ideologist and leader of a group of disillusioned revolutionaries who strenuously

advocated economic equality—the right of all men to work and to share in the products of the economy. The form of communism desired by the conspirators referred mainly to the distribution of goods rather than to the means of production. He founded a political journal, the *Journal de la liberté de la presse* (later the *Tribun du peuple*), and formed a secret society known as the Conspiracy of the Equals that plotted to overthrow the government.

His plans included compulsory labor and public distribution of the product according to individual needs. The plot was betrayed to the government and Babeuf was guillotined. His doctrines, however, known as Babouvism, were kept alive by secret revolutionary societies and by his coconspirators.

Count Henri de Saint-Simon did not demand common ownership of all property. In that regard his ideas, as exposed in his *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825), are socialist rather than communist. A founder of utopian socialism, he was the first to emphasize the division of modern society into employers and workingmen. His writings contain ideas of positivism (Auguste Comte was his pupil at the time), socialism, federation of the nations of Europe, and many other modern trends. Saint Simon envisioned the role of state as the manager of industry, assuring that particular tasks are assigned according to capacity and rewards are accrued in proportion to work. In his model, the state and central government, rather than local authorities and/or voluntary associations, played the pivotal role in arranging the economic life of the society.

Charles Fourier, Saint-Simon's contemporary and author of *Traité de l'association domestique-agricole* (1822), advocated a different approach. According to Fourier the organization of economic life was carried out by local communities called phalanxes. The members were to live a common life and dwell in one large building called the phalansterie. Individual preferences played an important role in determining working assignments, although frequent changes of occupation were envisioned. A minimum wage that ensured a comfortable livelihood was guaranteed to every worker. The surplus product would be divided among labor and capital, but the least desirable work would obtain the highest compensation.

The practical experiments of Robert Owen inspired another utopian socialist, Etienne Cabet. Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* (1840), modeled upon the work of Thomas More, described an ideal society in which an elected government controlled all economic activity and supervised social affairs. Goods were to be produced and dis-

tributed by the community as a whole, and there was to be complete equality among all its members. The book was extremely popular, and Cabet gained many followers. In 1848 he immigrated to America, and established the community of Icaria in Texas. In 1849, Cabet and his followers moved to the abandoned Mormon settlement of Nauvoo, Illinois, and established a temporary colony. After a bitter internal dissension arose in 1856, he left the settlement and moved to St. Louis, Missouri, where he soon died. The last Icarian settlement survived until 1898.

Louis Blanc, French socialist and historian outlined his ideal of a new social order based on the principle “from each according to his aptitudes ... to each according to his need.” In his *Organization du travail* (1840) he advocated a system of national workshops (*ateliers sociaux*) controlled by workers with the support of the state. After the Revolution of 1848 the French government did introduce several national workshops, which did not last long because of the lack of genuine state support.

MARX AND ENGELS

The appearance of *The Communist Manifesto* of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848 marked the radical departure from the utopian socialism to the doctrine called scientific communism, popularly known as Marxism. The Marxian theory of communism rested on the constructs of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Dialectical materialism explained the class division of the society and ever-present forces that struggle to eliminate this dichotomy (class struggle). Historical materialism postulated the inevitability of a communist society that will emerge as a result of a class struggle. The history of our civilization, according to Marx, is a history of class struggle: a struggle between slaves and slave owners, serfs and gentry, and industrial proletariat and capitalists. The root of a class division in society is the presence of private ownership of the means of production and appropriation of economic surplus by owners of capital and land rather than by surplus creators, that is, laborers. The abolishment of private property over the means of production, and the establishment of the classless society are the ultimate destination in the Marxian concept.

According to Marx communism would emerge in the most economically developed societies and countries. In these countries, Marx contended, private property and ownership of the means of production, and the ensuing distribution of economic surplus, will be-

come an obstacle for further socioeconomic development. The establishment of the social ownership of the factors of production would eliminate the economic base of the class division in society and eventually lead to communism. Communism, as envisioned in the original works of Marx, is an affluent society in which division of labor and distribution of goods and services are done according to the principle “from everyone according to his ability, to everyone according to his needs.”

Marxian theories and programs became an impetus to formation of political organizations and parties known as socialist parties. While all of the socialist parties advocated and fought for the betterment of the working class, the dividing issue was whether that should be achieved through cooperation with capitalist governments and gradual reforms or through inevitable, proletarian revolution.

VLADIMIR LENIN

This division became obvious during World War I when the Second International, an umbrella organization of socialist parties, dissolved as the separate national parties that comprised it supported a war effort of their respective nations, rather than being faithful to the ideals of a class war.

The leading revolutionary organization was the Russian Social-Democratic Party, which under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin successfully instigated a coup d'état in Russia, overthrowing the provisional government in November 1917 and establishing the first state of “working peoples” in the world. The establishment of a working socialist state in Russia substantially changed the political and theoretical landscape on which socialist parties operated.

Leninism represented a radical departure from original Marxian analysis. Unlike Marx, who believed that communism will emerge in the most developed countries where the working class is the strongest, Lenin advanced the thesis that communism is possible to achieve in the rural economies, where capitalism is still weak. Thus, according to Lenin, the strong working class, or proletariat, is a sufficient but not necessary condition for the revolution—it is the weak capitalist infrastructure that makes revolution possible (the “weakest link” thesis).

The success of the Russian Revolution led to the complete breakup of the Second International and formation of the Third International, or Comintern, in 1919. The central policy of the Comintern was that communist parties should be established across the

world to aid the international proletarian revolution. The Comintern initially called for the uniting of all the workers of the world for the coming world revolution, which would be followed by the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat and state socialism. As a result a classless society would emerge and the state would wither away.

NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

The bloody defeats of communist revolutions in Germany and Hungary and the advent of Joseph Stalin as undisputed leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the largest and strongest communist organization in the world, led to departure from the concept of a world revolution and the adoption of a new paradigm known as “socialism in one country.” Leon Trotsky, another popular leader of the Russian Revolution, challenged Stalin’s model by advocating a concept of “permanent revolution,” and after being expelled from the Soviet Union in 1929, he founded a Fourth International in 1938 to rival Comintern. The Trotskyist International, however, split into many fractions and was unable to establish itself as a viable alternative to Comintern.

The victory of communists in Russia and the subsequent formation of the Soviet Union brought about profound changes in the political and economic sphere. Immediately after seizing power, Russian communists, known as Bolsheviks, implemented sweeping reforms. Private ownership was suspended and all the economic surpluses were quickly expropriated for the purpose of defending the revolution from “internal and foreign enemies.”

Despite the success in mustering the resources necessary to win the civil war and repel the foreign intervention, the harsh methods of war communism led to growing dissatisfaction among the population, a sharp drop in industrial and agricultural production, and widespread hunger.

Disillusioned with the results of a primitive communism, Lenin launched the New Economic Policy (NEP), an economic policy that marked a radical departure from orthodox communism. The NEP reintroduced the market economy, and private ownership, and encouraged small businesses and entrepreneurship. The state remained in control of a few strategic sectors, such as heavy industry, known as commanding heights. In a very short period of time, the NEP resulted in a revival of the Soviet economy and substantial growth, especially in agricultural production.

The death of Lenin, and Stalin’s victory in the ensuing power struggle, led to the abandonment of the NEP, nationalization and expropriation of privately owned businesses, and collectivization in agriculture. In a matter of years, the private ownership virtually disappeared in the Soviet Union and was replaced by state ownership of resources. In addition, the Communist Party and a few of its satellites (unions and various youth associations) became the only political organization allowed to operate in the Soviet society.

STALIN’S STATE CONTROL

Stalin’s methods of tight state control over every aspect of Soviet society became a trademark of communism in the first part of the 20th century. The remarkable economic growth, industrialization of the country, elimination of illiteracy in the essentially backward peasant-dominated society, and improvement in the overall standard of living were overshadowed by Stalin’s political repression, suppression of individual freedoms, coercion, and isolation. Socialism in the Soviet Union as a “first stage on the road to communism” had very little in common with brotherly society as envisioned by early communists, utopian socialists, and/or Marx.

The totalitarian tendencies in the Soviet Union and the tight control of other nations’ communist parties by Moscow drove the wedge between socialists and communists. While the policy of total hostility of communists toward socialists was changed in the mid-1930s, it already facilitated the proliferation of radical right-wing political organizations, such as the Fascist Party in Italy, Nazi Party in Germany, and their various clones throughout Europe.

The Soviet Union’s alliance with western democracies during World War II prompted the dissolution of Comintern in 1943. The cooperation between the Soviet Union and the west, however, deteriorated quickly following the war. The victorious march of the Soviet Red Army liberated much of eastern Europe from Nazi occupation. Stalin seized the moment and used the fight against Nazism to promulgate Soviet-style communism in a number of countries that came under Soviet influence—Albania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, and Yugoslavia.

The communist governments in these countries closely followed the Soviet path of political and economic development. Political life became dominated by the Communist Party, private ownership was decidedly

limited, and central planning was introduced throughout the economy.

Despite the visible totalitarian tendencies, Soviet resilience to the Western boycott and animosity following the revolution, heroic resistance in repelling the Nazi invasion, and undisputed economic growth and industrialization of the once-peasant-dominated Russian Empire became a desirable option to the colonial regime still prevalent after World War II.

Numerous countries that embarked on the process of anticolonial struggle and national liberation found in the Soviet Union a natural ally for their cause. However, Stalin's rigidity and tight controls, which he not only implemented inside the Soviet Union but expected to be mirrored in every other socialist country, prevented a number of newly liberated countries from joining the communist bloc.

CHINA

The most important deviation from the Soviet model occurred in China. The Communist Party emerged victorious in the civil war in China and by 1950 the communists came to control the most populous nation in the world.

The issues of personal rivalry between Chinese communist leadership under Mao Zedong and Stalin, who was more interested in exerting Soviet primacy than in building socialism in China, led to a split between the Soviet Union and China. Ideological differences between China and the Soviet Union became increasingly apparent in the 1960s and culminated in several border skirmishes in 1969 that brought both countries close to war.

In the early 1960s, Chinese socialism exhibited even harsher totalitarian features than the Soviet system. Mao's radical rhetoric against the West, the experiments with the Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution led to the China's isolation and serious economic challenges. Despite the successes in industrialization, the Chinese economy greatly suffered during the period of Cultural Revolution, when terrible losses occurred because of the ill-devised ideological paradigm according to which human resources were interchangeable across various economic sectors.

The death of Stalin in 1953 led to the relaxation of the Soviet model, and at the 20th party congress in 1956, Premier Nikita Khrushchev denounced the methods of Stalin and called for a return to the principles of Lenin. Khrushchev's erratic economic policies were followed by the period of Great Stagnation under Leonid

Brezhnev, who was the leader of the Soviet Union for almost two decades. Brezhnev's economic policies were characterized by slow-paced reforms aimed at improving the cumbersome central planning and the efficiency of state-owned enterprises. Despite the partial reforms, the Soviet political system was unable to address issues coming from the growing demand in the consumer sector or the notorious inefficiency of the agricultural sector.

The death of Brezhnev and the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev as leader of the Soviet Union led to the introduction of deep and sweeping reform policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring). Reforms were aimed at democratizing both the political and economic sphere of Soviet society. As control steadily dissipated, centrifugal tendencies prevailed both within the multinational Soviet state and within the communist bloc.

One by one the countries of the Warsaw bloc, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany, and Romania, abandoned communist rule by 1990. In 1991, driven by nationalistic fervor in many of the republics and a collapsing economy, the Soviet Union dissolved and Gorbachev resigned as president. Democratization of political life led to the dissolution of another socialist country—Yugoslavia, which slid in to bloody civil war in 1991. The disintegration of Yugoslavia marked an end to a self-managed socialist economy.

By the beginning of the 21st century, the traditional communist parties held power only in China, Cuba, Laos, North Korea, and Vietnam. However, with the exception of North Korea, all of these countries have reduced state control of the economy. The Chinese experience with the introduction of the market economy under the auspices of the Communist Party is particularly intriguing given the rapid economic growth and emergence of China as a world economic powerhouse.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the communist bloc, and Chinese reforms brought about a radical departure from central planning and elimination of the state control over economic life. The introduction of market a economy and the severe reduction in state services, however, increased the poverty level in the majority of formerly communist countries. The poverty level was exceptionally high in some countries that emerged as successors of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The disappearance of the Soviet Union and the radical changes in the economic sector of the remaining

countries that nominally adhere to the communist ideal marked the beginning of a new stage in the history of communism.

The Soviet experiment, which hinged so heavily on central planning, state ownership of economic resources, exclusivity of the Communist Party as the only political organization, and tight control over almost all aspects of society, was unable to compete with the continuous democratization of Western countries. The internal contradictions present in the Soviet model of communism intensified with the elimination of poverty, the rising standard of living, and the economic emancipation of the population. The plurality of political views and forms of ownership and the continuous striving for personal freedom proved to be an insurmountable challenge for the rigid, command-driven societal structure of the Soviet model.

While Soviet economic achievements were hard to dispute, especially in eliminating urban poverty and raising the overall standard of living of the population, the initial economic successes were associated with great sacrifices, famines, forced labor, and often waste of resources.

SEE ALSO: Capitalism; China; Engels, Friedrich; Marx, Karl; Russia; Socialism.

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Community-Based Antipoverty Programs

COMMUNITY-BASED antipoverty programs in the U.S. were created in the 1960s to address the growing problems of urban decay and concentrated poverty. Most programs were initiated during President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty. Johnson's War on Poverty programs included a wide variety of initiatives across several federal agencies. The programs lacked a coherent

policy that linked them together or an empirical base that guided their activities. One of the key innovations of the antipoverty programs of this era was the emphasis on community-based approaches to addressing poverty problems. Among the most important place-based programs were the Community Action Program (CAP), Model Cities, and the Special Impact Program (SIP).

CAP was one of the more innovative approaches to poverty alleviation. Through this program, federal funds were administered to local organizations that coordinated social services, including housing, employment, and educational programs. A critical component of CAP was that it required the "maximum feasible participation" of residents in the community in the implementation of the program. Local politicians were threatened by this program because it established a political process, and power, that went around local governments. Daniel Moynihan criticized the program for raising expectations among the poor that were unrealistic. He attributed the urban riots of the 1960s to these programs that failed to address the needs of the poor.

Model Cities was established through the Demonstration and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. In response to criticism by local officials, the Model Cities program made grants directly to city agencies to improve housing and provide services to low-income neighborhoods. It also provided funds for building projects and gave local officials control over the planning process. In many ways it resembled the New Deal programs with its emphasis on slum clearance and redevelopment on a massive scale. Demonstration cities submitted proposals but were given the ability to control local projects. The key shift, however, was moving the control over the programs to city officials rather than nonprofit organizations.

The third program was SIP, which provided financial support to community development corporations (CDCs) for urban revitalization, especially housing. Over the years, this program has become the primary mechanism for the federal government to fund affordable housing. From the 1960s to the 1990s, CDCs and other nonprofits produced about three-quarters of a million units of federally assisted housing.

The War on Poverty stressed the participation of poor people in designing policies to provide services to their neighborhoods. Prior to the 1960s, New Deal programs emphasized federal intervention rather than local control. In addition, revitalization was considered largely a process of constructing new buildings and clearing out slums. The shift was not only from federal

to local, but also from people- to place-based programs. Rather than direct programs to individuals there was recognition that community context played a role in generating and reproducing poverty.

Many social scientists have been critical of these efforts to promote participation among the poor to implement these programs. Some have questioned the capacity of the poor to be involved in these programs. Others have criticized place-based antipoverty programs because they have moved away from organizing the poor to a focus on development. As CDCs have matured they rely increasingly on financial resources from institutions and place a higher priority on technical assistance than on mobilizing the poor. Some scholars make a more fundamental critique of the Great Society programs by suggesting that they were used to regulate the poor rather than to empower them. Welfare programs reduced the potential for social unrest.

Antipoverty programs took a different approach during the Clinton administration.

Although there is considerable criticism of the Great Society programs, they do represent important innovations in public participation. The idea that the poor should be engaged in the redevelopment of their neighborhoods is an idea that has survived the 1960s. Although this component has been de-emphasized over time, public participation is now considered a key component of community-based antipoverty programs.

EVOLUTION OF PLACE-BASED PROGRAMS

Since the 1960s there has been a partial retrenchment in community-based antipoverty programs. Although many Great Society programs were dismantled during the Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan administrations, some were restructured into the Community Development Block Grants (CDBG). The CDBG program de-emphasized public participation, but it still gave localities control over these resources to serve low- and moderate-income residents. The CDBG program is now one of the largest federal grant programs. Communities receive grants to promote economic development and to provide affordable housing opportunities.

Antipoverty programs took a different approach during the Bill Clinton administration. The primary vehicle for funneling resources to localities with high poverty rates was the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise

Community (EZ/EC) initiative. The EZ/EC initiative established tax credits and financial assistance for employers locating in the identified distressed communities. Only communities with high rates of poverty are eligible to participate in this program. Initially, Empowerment Zones received \$100 million in block grants. The effectiveness of this program remains in question. Critics charge that many of these firms would have located in these communities anyway and it simply amounts to subsidies to businesses.

Community-based approaches to poverty alleviation have evolved over the years. Many of the programs began in the 1960s with a strong emphasis on public participation of the poor. Participation plays a much smaller role in these programs today. Current programs emphasize incentives to businesses rather than organizing the poor to provide services.

Critics of community-based antipoverty programs have raised several concerns with this approach to poverty alleviation. Most nonprofit or locally based organizations do not have sufficient resources to address the problems in neighborhoods with high concentrations of poverty. Even during the War on Poverty, the U.S. federal government could not marshal enough financial resources because of its commitment to the Vietnam War. Since that time, the financial commitment to poverty programs has waned and welfare reform in the 1990s represented a significantly different approach to fighting poverty.

Another line of criticism of community-based programs is that they cannot address the root causes of concentrated poverty, but tend to focus on the symptoms. Community-based programs have a limited ability in addressing issues such as racial segregation, employer discrimination, or the changing skill demands in the workforce. Similarly, the forces that have contributed to urban sprawl and the movement of the middle class to the suburbs in metropolitan areas are unaffected by these local programs. Middle-class subsidies for housing, the decline of mass transit and support for highways all have contributed to the changing urban spatial patterns over the past 50 years.

A more fundamental critique, however, concerns the ability of localities to promote economic development. It has been argued that community-based programs have been effective in providing affordable housing in poor neighborhoods, although they have not come close to satisfying the real demand for housing in these areas.

The contention is that there is little evidence that these efforts have been successful in generating jobs and

investments in poor neighborhoods. Employers have moved out of the inner city for decades to areas with lower taxes, less crime, and cheaper labor. Similarly, middle-class residents have fled the inner city to avoid many of the problems in urban areas. Author Nicholas Lemann views these processes as natural and asserts that they are beyond the influence of local neighborhoods.

ASSET-BASED DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY

Critics of community-based antipoverty programs raise some difficult issues. Many of the root causes of poverty reside outside poor neighborhoods. Federal programs, global economic changes, and regional land-use decisions shape the fate of the poor in these neighborhoods. Promoting community-based approaches to alleviate poverty is a bit like engaging in “blaming the victims.” Yet, by stressing the role of these structural forces in poor neighborhoods, we ignore the assets that these neighborhoods possess, according to John Kretzman and John McKnight.

Asset-based development focuses attention on the resources that are available within the community, including individuals, organizations, and institutions. Individuals have experiences, training and education, and financial assets that are frequently overlooked. Organizations provide networks and social resources that can be mobilized for community action. Local institutions offer a variety of resources, including physical space, purchasing power, jobs, and expertise. The key to mobilizing these resources is mapping these assets and identifying strategies and programs that build on these assets rather than the problems of the community.

A few examples may help illustrate the asset-based development approach. In Boston, a neighborhood that suffered employment and population loss for decades started a planning process for the community, but was constrained by the large number of vacant properties in the region.

The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative considered these vacant properties as an asset that could be used to benefit the community. The community was able to persuade the city of Boston to grant it the power of eminent domain and it used the land to develop affordable housing projects in the neighborhood.

Other communities have focused on financial assets. Many poor neighborhoods suffer from disinvestment as financial institutions reinvest local assets in outside investments. The problem is not that the communities do not have financial resources but that these

resources are used for investments outside the area that may yield a higher return for investors. Community development credit institutions, however, invest local assets in opportunities in the area. Many of these institutions, such as microenterprise loan funds, focus on the financial needs of the poor. This model was adopted from programs in the Third World that have been used to allocate small amounts of credit to the poor. Rather than focusing exclusively on profits as the criterion for making investments, community development credit institutions inject a social element as well. These institutions attempt to decommoditize credit and ensure that local resources are used to benefit local residents.

Community-based antipoverty approaches will never be able to overcome all of the structural forces that are affecting poor communities. In this regard, Lemann is correct in pointing to the limits of community-driven efforts to ameliorate poverty. Yet there are meaningful things that can be done at the local level to address the needs of the poor. The asset-based development approach does not deny the importance of structural forces in generating concentrated poverty. It does point to resources available within the community that are underutilized and can be mobilized, along with structural changes outside the community, to address the conditions that generate persistent poverty.

SEE ALSO: Asset-Based Antipoverty Programs; Empowerment of the Poor; Great Society Programs; Johnson, Lyndon (Administration); Microcredit; War on Poverty.

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Comoros

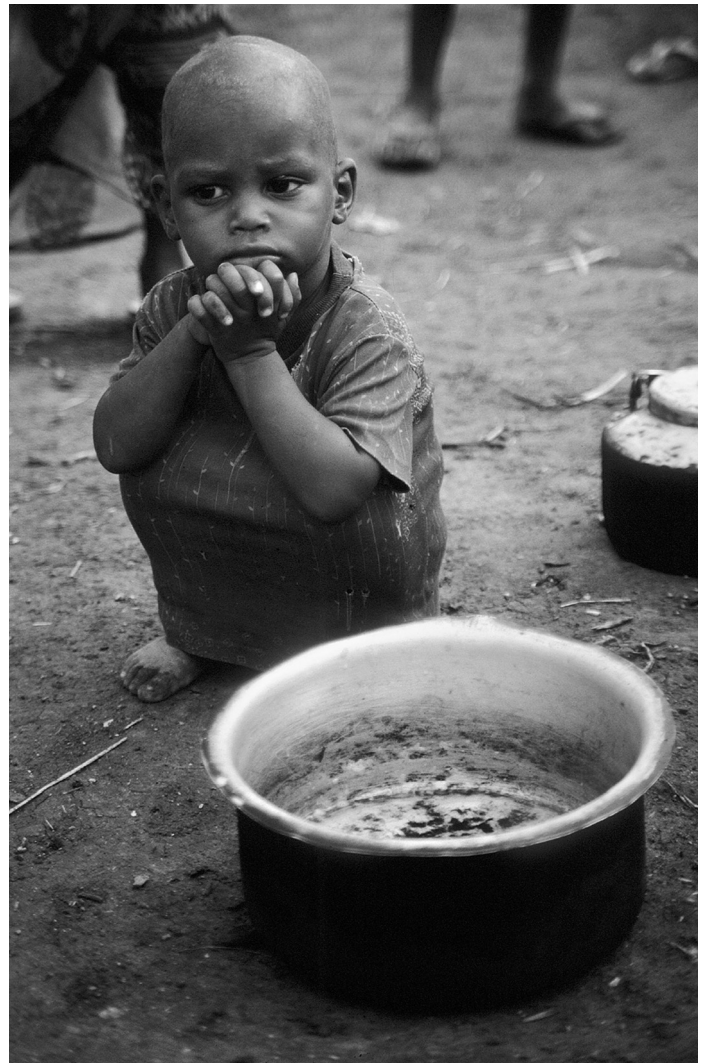
ONE OF THE POOREST nations in the world, Comoros is composed of three islands located at the northern end of the Mozambique Channel in sub-Saharan Africa. This small nation of 671,247 people has few resources to support its growing population. Many Comorans lack the education and training necessary for better-paying jobs, leaving 80 percent of the people dependent on subsistence agriculture and forcing others into the ranks of the unemployed. The Comoran economy depends on regular remittances from the 150,000 Comorans who work abroad.

Owing to a lack of arable land, Comoros is not able to produce its own food supply, including the rice that makes up the staple of the Comoran diet. This lack has created an environment in which 42 percent of all children under 5 are malnourished and in which 60 percent of the population live below the poverty line. In 2002, the Comoran government initiated community-based programs aimed at improving nutrition levels for children under 5 and pregnant and lactating women. However, most social programs tend to be of poor quality, and the poor look to their families for aid more often than to the government. Lack of data hampers a total assessment of Comoran poverty.

Much of the poverty in Comoros is derived from the instability of the government and insufficient social programs and institutions. Since the mid-1970s, 19 attempts have been made to overthrow existing governments. A military coup in 1999 paved the way for the establishment of a confederal government under a new constitution. The government pledged to upgrade education, stem population growth, and improve health-care even as it struggles to deal with staggering debt and attempts to diversify the economy and attract foreign aid and investment.

The median age in Comoros is 18.61 years, with a life expectancy of 61.96 years. Almost 43 percent of the population are under the age of 14, and three percent are over 65. Comorans face an 18.1 percent probability of not surviving to the age of 40. General health conditions have improved somewhat, and 98 percent of the population have access to sanitation and 96 percent have access to improved water sources.

Children suffer greatly from the poverty that plagues Comoros. One-fourth of all children under 5 are moderately to severely underweight. Some 12 percent suffer from moderate to severe wasting, and 42 percent suffer from moderate to severe stunting. However, some important gains have been made in the last two



Children suffer greatly from the poverty that affects many African countries. Gains in health have been made in Comoros.

decades. Between 1990 and 2001, the infant mortality rate dropped from 88 deaths per 1,000 live births to 59 deaths per 1,000 live births. The mortality rate for children under 5 dropped during that same period. However, between 1990 and 2002, the number of infants receiving measles vaccinations decreased by 16 percent, and the number of DPT vaccinations decreased by five percent. In 2003, 63 percent of children ages 12 to 23 months received measles vaccinations and three-fourths of all children received DPT3 vaccinations. Only 22 percent of Comoran children receive oral rehydration therapy when necessary. On the positive side, the immunization rate for 1-year-olds is 90 percent for tuberculosis and 98 percent for polio.

Estimated fertility reports for Comoran women range from 4.0 to 5.09 children per woman. Estimates

place the adolescent fertility rate at 68 births out of every 1,000 women aged 15 to 19. Barely one-fourth of all Comoran women use any sort of contraception. The maternal mortality in Comoros is 480 deaths per 100,000 live births. Trained medical staff now attend 61.8 percent of all births, an increase of roughly 10 percent since 1990. The country has only seven physicians for every 1,000 people and 2.8 hospital beds for every 1,000 people. About 80 to 94 percent of Comorans have no sustainable access to affordable lifesaving drugs.

The male literacy rate is 63.6, but less than half of Comoran females over 15 possess this ability. Government emphasis on education has begun to show some success. Between 1995 and 2000, significant gains were made in the percentages of children who completed primary school. Male completion rose from 32 to 58 percent and female completion rose from 34 to 50 percent.

Human Development Index Rank: 132

Human Poverty Index Rank: 57

SEE ALSO: Child Malnutrition; Maternal Mortality and Morbidity; Poverty Politics; Subsistence.

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Comparative Research Program on Poverty

THE COMPARATIVE Research Program on Poverty (CROP) is a nonprofit international nongovernmental Organization (INGO), founded in 1992 by the International Social Science Council (ISSC) in collaboration with the United Nations' UNESCO. It is based in Norway. CROP is composed of a Secretariat and a Scientific Committee.

The Scientific Committee is the main guiding force behind CROP; its members are distinguished scholars in the field of poverty research. The funds come from

multiple sources, including higher-education institutions, charitable foundations, and various United Nations agencies.

CROP is organized around an extensive international and multidisciplinary research network, which is open to all poverty researchers and others interested in a scientific approach to poverty. The General Assembly of ISSC appoints the CROP Scientific Committee to advise the program. The members of the Scientific Committee are outstanding poverty researchers representing different geographical regions and scientific disciplines worldwide.

The self-proclaimed objectives of CROP are to consider how the social sciences can better contribute to the understanding of poverty in a global context, compare the different theoretical approaches so as to understand better their links and relationships, consider how scholars working within different paradigms can develop a joint arena for multiparadigmatic poverty research, establish an international scientific network that will give impetus to a long-term research program, generate and secure high quality-data of importance for different social science approaches to the comparative study of poverty, and create a body of scientific knowledge that can be used for poverty reduction.

CROP aims to fulfill the objectives by organizing regional workshops, international conferences, and projects that serve for discussions of ideas and projects for researchers. Special emphasis is placed on projects concerning "contextual poverty," those focusing on poverty in relation to a society's cultural, economic, and political patterns; that is, those projects that focus not only on the world of the poor, the effects of poverty, and solutions to it, but also on the causes and the role of the nonpoor in creating, sustaining, and reducing poverty.

The organization publishes books, annual reports, papers, reviews, and newsletters, which are distributed globally to the CROP researchers, academic institutions, nongovernmental organizations, and governments. Topics include poverty and indigenous people, demography of poverty, social costs of poverty, law and poverty, politics and poverty reduction, poverty and water, best practices in poverty reduction, and elite perceptions of poverty and the poor. The *CROP Newsletter* is published and distributed four times a year, free of charge, to all members of the CROPnet. It contains articles about poverty research, reports from workshops and conferences, information about new publications, ongoing projects, future CROP workshops, as well as book announcements.

SEE ALSO: Contextual Poverty; International Nongovernmental Organizations; Poverty Research; Scientific Definitions of Poverty.

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Concern

CONCERN IS THE REGISTERED name of Concern Worldwide, an Irish nonprofit company incorporated under the Irish Companies Act of 1963. It is headquartered in Dublin, Ireland. It also has offices in Belfast, London, and Glasgow and an affiliate fundraiser in New York. Concern is controlled by its members, who form the general body, maintain the Articles of Association, elect the council, appoint independent auditors, and approve annual financial statements.

The council of Concern is elected from among the membership at each annual general meeting of Concern. The council usually numbers around 35, who are rotated out of office after three years, but may be re-elected later. The council meets at least quarterly. Concern is financed by donations, fundraisers, legacies, and its retail sales through Concern Charity Trading Limited, which operates in Ireland. It also provides logical and support for fundraising activities.

Concern began when people in Ireland became alarmed over the famine in Biafra in 1968, brought on by the Nigerian civil war. Starvation was affecting great numbers of people; however, thousands of Irish missionaries of the Catholic Church had served in Biafra.

A group of people in Ireland began to organize to minister to the situation. Calling themselves Africa Concern, they rallied support for relief. On June 28, 1968, Roman Catholic Bishops J.B. Whelan and G.E.C. Cockin along with Nigerian Anglican bishops of Owerri and Biafra, launched a program called the Send One Ship Appeal, or the SOS Appeal. The immediate goal of the drive was to fill one ship with relief supplies

for the people of Biafra. The people of Ireland responded with money and in-kind donations. Within three months £250,000 had been donated. The money was used to purchase the SS *Columalle*. It was loaded with relief supplies and sailed on September 6, 1968, for Africa. The ship was unloaded at the small west African island of São Tomé. From there the supplies were smuggled into Nigeria each night. Soon other ships were loaded with supplies and sent to São Tomé for distribution in Nigeria.

With the end of the fighting and the normalization of life the board of Africa Concern struggled with its mission. Instead of accepting congratulations for a job well done and closing its doors, the board, after much discussion, decided to set a new mission for the organization that had developed. The new mission was to work on small projects in various places, but especially in Africa. In addition it would seek to provide financial and skilled human assistance to organizations already operating on relief and development projects in the poor nations of the world.

The new mission adopted by Concern was soon re-defined by events. In November 1970, a devastating cyclone struck what was then East Pakistan. The natural disaster was soon followed by a civil war between East and West Pakistan. Millions of people fled into India as refugees. In response, Concern sent a medical team to Salt Lake Camp at Calcutta. In June 1971, Concern organized the East Pakistani Famine Appeal to provide relief for the refugees.

The work in what was to become Bangladesh forced Africa Concern to change its name to simply Concern. Its mission was also changed to seek to enable the absolutely poor to achieve major changes in their material conditions and in their lifestyles in ways that are sustainable without further help from Concern. To achieve its mission, Concern works with the poor and with both local and international partners who are also working to end poverty.

The vision of Concern is the creation of just and peaceful societies where the poor can exercise their fundamental rights. In order to achieve its mission, Concern has organized itself to work with people in a caring and personal way, to deal with even the most difficult of circumstances, to work with other organizations and with governments, to use innovation to solve poverty problems, to engage in long-term development work as well as emergency relief projects, to engage in both global and civic education about poverty, and to boldly speak as advocates for the poor in situations that require either a national or a global response.

SEE ALSO: Bangladesh; Catholic Church; Charity; International Nongovernmental Organizations.

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Conflict

IT IS WELL ESTABLISHED that conflict, including war, civil war, and occupation, is linked with poverty in a number of direct and indirect ways. The primary form of conflict in the present period occurs within, rather than between, states. Thus conflict is largely over access to or control of resources and opportunities by groups within the same society. In 2003, 30 of the 53 countries in Africa were experiencing some form of intrastate conflict.

Many would argue that the strongest common denominator, indeed the root cause, of civil conflict is poverty. A study by Paul Collier of the World Bank, which examines civil wars since 1960, has found that the best predictors of conflict are low average incomes, low growth, and a high dependence on exports of primary products such as oil or diamonds. The same study found that when income per person doubles, the risk of civil war drops by one-half.

Poverty, then, not only holds negative impacts for the lives of individuals but also threatens the stability and peaceful development of entire societies. Poverty and conflict have a two-way relationship, in that poverty is both a cause and an outcome of conflict. The poverty includes not only absolute poverty but also the unequal distribution of wealth in countries that are rich in natural resources, which are controlled by governments and withheld from populations.

Countries with plentiful natural resources face additional risks, including rebellions caused by outrage when governments deny people what is deemed to be a fair share of revenues from resources such as oil or diamonds that may be located beneath a community's ancestral lands. Such has been the case in Angola, to name only one example.

Marxist theorists have long linked the instance and experiences of poverty within specific groups as being important determinants of social revolution. In classic

Marxist theory, revolutionary movements are strongly linked with social processes of impoverishment among broad sections of the population.

A quick illustration of the link between poverty and conflict comes if one looks at conditions in some of the world's lowest-income countries over the last decade. In 2002, of 63 countries identified as low income, 38 are situated in sub-Saharan Africa. Of these countries, 30 had experienced some form of conflict, ranging from political violence short of war, as in the case of Mauritania, which experienced a series of coups, to large-scale international conflicts, such as the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Thus there is a clear correlation between poverty and conflict in a variety of national contexts. At the same time, some analysts debate the strength of this association and have questions about the causal link between poverty and conflict. In the view of some skeptics, economic factors play a part, but not necessarily the predominant part, in the emergence of conflict.

It is sometimes argued that the link between economic concerns and ethnic conflict, for example, is quite variable and is shaped in large part by numerous noneconomic factors. Elsewhere skeptics argue that in some cases, such as Quebec and Malaysia, to cite quite different examples, economic expansion or accelerated growth failed to reduce ethnic conflicts and even showed some growth in conflict.

Some suggest that while the link between poverty and conflict is clear, there is less certainty over the conditions by which economic growth will lessen conflict or by which economic crisis will worsen conflict. According to those who question the link between poverty and conflict, poverty may lead to conflict but only in combination with other factors. For some, poverty is a necessary but not sufficient factor explaining outbreaks of conflict.

In response, those whose work draws connections between poverty and conflict reject arguments that tend to blame such factors as tribalism and social underdevelopment (meaning generally the absence of electoral democracy), which in fact have little to do with most of the world's civil wars and conflicts. The tribalism response (rather than explanation) is nothing more than an excuse for indifference and inaction from outsiders.

Any discussion of links between poverty and conflict must address broader structural issues, including the impacts of global networks and neoliberal structural adjustment programs. War-torn areas like the Congo reflect not only local issues but the internationalization of African conflicts, not only in terms of inter-

state relations but also through global business networks. Some commentators prefer to look at poverty and conflict as interlinked and intentional outcomes. A. Ismi suggests, “an unstable, war-wracked and poverty-stricken Africa amounts to a stable and prosperous West.” In part, this relates to the wealthier countries’ constant need for raw materials at low prices. War conditions also benefit the wealthier nations and multinational corporations by keeping supplies of minerals off the market and thereby increasing the prices gained for minerals controlled by the multinational mining firms.

The pressing need to finance the war put the Congo government in the desperate position of offering quick, undervalued deals to mining companies for exploration rights. This made resources available much more cheaply than they would have been during peacetime conditions. The structural context that has nurtured the particular regional processes in the Congo has been conditioned by neoliberal globalization, notably through the imposition of structural adjustment programs in Africa. Neoliberal globalization has encouraged the formation of often illicit, cross-border networks with multinational corporate linkages.

A couple of key points have been identified in the relationship of neoliberal approaches in Africa and the extension of Western imperialism. First among these is the extent to which “rulers of weak states who face severe internal threats and intense external pressures are the most consistent and thorough in destroying any remaining formal institutions of state,” according to I. Taylor. The internal and external pressures instigated by situations like the war in Congo have the further effect of driving the privatization regimes preferred by Western corporations and governments.

Under the pressures of neoliberal structural adjustment programs and imperialist invasion and occupation, the state gives primary attention to developing and maintaining loyalty with security services. This then fuels the militarization of society as it “elevates the role and power of those with weapons and prioritises their needs over the wider needs of society, cultivating warlordism either in service to the incumbent who wears the thin mantle of sovereignty, or to his challengers,” explains Taylor. This further exacerbates conditions of poverty.

SEE ALSO: Angola; Congo, Democratic Republic; Globalization; War and Poverty.

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Congo

LOCATED ALONG THE south Atlantic Ocean, the sub-Saharan low-income nation of the Republic of the Congo (Congo) was formerly known as Middle Congo. In 1990, the Congolese chose to transform their Marxist economy, and democratic elections were held in 1992. When former Marxists returned to power five years later, civil war broke out. A tenuous peace was negotiated in 2003, but the Congo is still suffering a humanitarian crisis because of the many refugees.

The Congo has great potential for further development of its large petroleum reserves. However, government resources are strained by excess mortality rates, low life expectancy, and low population and growth rates. At present, the Congo’s economy combines small farming and handicrafts with a growing industrial sector. Nearly one-third of all Congolese suffer from malnutrition.

The Congolese median age is 20.7 years, and life expectancy is 48.97 years. About 37 percent of the population are under 14 years of age, and 3.7 percent are over 65. The Congolese have a 39.3 chance of not surviving until their 40th birthday.

The HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is 4.9 percent in the Congo. In 2003, it was estimated that 90,000 Congolese were living with the disease, and 9,700 deaths have resulted from the disease and its complications. The people are also at very high risk of developing food- and waterborne diseases such as bacterial diarrhea, hepatitis A, and typhoid fever, and vectorborne diseases such as malaria. In the spring of 2005, Congolese officials reported an outbreak of acute hemorrhagic fever. Approximately 49 percent of the population have no sustained access to improved water sources, and access to sanitation is sorely inadequate. General health is further threatened by limited access to physicians, hospitals, and lifesaving drugs. On the positive side, the number of undernourished Congolese dropped from 37 percent in 1990 to 32 percent in 2000.

Infant mortality is unacceptably high at 81 deaths per 1000 live births, as is the under-five mortality rate of 108. Immunization rates have declined since the 1990s. Between 1990 and 2002, infant DPT immunizations decreased from 77 to 41 percent; polio immunizations dropped from 79 to 41 percent; measles immunizations decreased from 77 to 37 percent; and tuberculosis immunizations dropped from 94 to 51 percent. In 2003, half of all children ages 12 to 23 months received measles and DPT3 immunizations. Most Congolese children who die do so from preventable diseases. About 14 percent of all children under 5 have moderate to severe malnutrition; three percent suffer from severe malnutrition; four percent have moderate to severe wasting; and 19 percent suffer from moderate to severe stunting.

The Congo's estimated fertility rate of 3.54 children per female in 2005 was a definite drop from the 6.3 children per female only two years earlier. The adolescent fertility rate, which is estimated at 143 births per 1,000 women aged 15 to 19, remains high. The Congolese maternal mortality ratio is also high at 510 deaths per 100,000 live births.

The Congo provides free and compulsory education up to age 16. After 1990, when a 90.1 percent primary school attendance was reported, a decline began that was associated with the ongoing conflict. By 2003, males were completing primary school at a rate of 59 percent and females at a rate of 56 percent. Literacy rates are relatively high for sub-Saharan Africa, and 83 percent of the population are literate, although at 78.4 percent, female literacy lags behind males at 89.6.

The Congo has established the National Plan of Action for the Advancement of Women in response to international pressure to deal with the issues of poverty and women's rights. The plan has targeted areas of concern that include violence against women, conflict resolution and peace restoration, health and environmental issues, HIV/AIDS, literacy training, human rights, and infant and maternal health.

Human Development Index Rank: 142

Human Poverty Index Rank: 54

SEE ALSO: Child Malnutrition; Congo, Democratic Republic; Disease; Extreme Poverty.

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IN THE LOW-INCOME sub-Saharan African nation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC or DROC), formerly known as Zaire, it is estimated that 75 percent of the people live in absolute poverty and 41 percent live in inhumane poverty. Even though data are often unavailable in significant areas, the extreme poverty is evident. In the late 1990s, the DRC became a hot spot for African political unrest. Three and one-half million people died in the DRC from the war and from famine and disease. Resources were severely strained by an influx of refugees from nearby Rwanda and Burundi and by the bloody civil war and ethnic strife that followed. In July 1999, under the guidance of the Carter Center and the international community, the DRC government, along with the governments of Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Rwanda, and the Republic of the Congo, signed a cease-fire.

With relative stability restored after the removal of most foreign troops in 2002, the government turned its attention to improving the economic outlook for the 60,085,804 people who live within its borders. Officials faced the daunting task of coping with extreme poverty, low life expectancy, high mortality, and low growth rates. The poverty within the Democratic Republic of the Congo is somewhat remarkable because of the country's vast potential for wealth. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have begun working with Congolese officials to tap into these resources and to initiate much-needed economic and social reform. Reforms include diversifying the economy, which is now dominated by agriculture; improving the infrastructure; and alleviating the staggering foreign debt.

Life expectancy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is 49.35 years. The median age is 15.8 years, with 48.1 percent of the population falling in the under-14 category and only 2.5 percent of the Congolese population living to the age of 65. The Congolese have a 47.2 percent chance of not surviving to the age of 40.

Health officials in the DRC are understandably concerned with the 4.2 percent prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS.

An estimated 1.3 million residents now live with the disease, and an estimated 100,000 deaths have occurred from the disease and its complications. Officials are also concerned about the very high risk of food- and water-borne diseases such as bacterial and protozoal diarrhea, hepatitis A, and typhoid fever, and the water-contact disease schistosomiasis. Some locations have witnessed outbreaks of malaria, plague, and sleeping sickness. Even treatable diseases pose problems for the Congolese because of the lack of physicians and hospital care and limited access to affordable lifesaving drugs. Health problems are further complicated by the fact that 55 percent of the population have no sustainable access to improved water sources and 79 percent have no sustainable access to improved sanitation.

*The bloody battles have orphaned
large numbers of children.*

The United Nations' UNICEF estimates that hundreds of thousands of Congolese children have died from malnutrition and preventable diseases. The bloody battles have orphaned large numbers of children. Some children have been forced by rebels to engage in fighting. Infant mortality is unacceptably high in the DRC, particularly for male Congolese, and the rate has changed little from the 1980 rate of 128 per 1,000 live births. In 2000, the infant mortality rate was estimated at 129 deaths per 1,000 live births.

Out of every 1,000 live births, 101.25 male infant and 84.23 female infant deaths occur. The under-5 mortality rate is 205 per 1,000. About 31 percent of Congolese children under the age of 5 suffer from malnutrition. Nine percent of this group are severely underweight; 13 percent suffer from moderate to severe wasting; and 38 percent suffer from moderate to severe stunting. Immunization rates lag behind much of Africa.

In 2003, 54 percent of children aged 12 to 23 months were immunized against measles, and 49 percent received DPT3 immunizations. Among infants, immunization rates were 55 percent for tuberculosis and 45 percent for measles. Only 11 percent of Congolese children receive lifesaving oral rehydration therapy when necessary.

Despite the low Congolese population and growth rates, fertility is high at 6.7 children per female. That number increased from 6.5 in 1970, even though enormous advances in birth control were made during that

period. The adolescent fertility rate is 222 births out of every 1,000 women aged 15 to 19. Less than one-third of all Congolese women use any form of contraception. Maternal mortality continues to be high at an estimated 990 deaths out of 100,000 live births, an increase from the 1995 estimate of 940. Many women lack access to adequate healthcare, and trained healthcare staff are present at less than 61 percent of all births.

Attendance at primary schools is extremely low in the DRC, and the percentage of those attending school decreased during the years that political unrest was at its height. Between 1995 and 2000, male attendance at primary schools decreased from 72 to 35 percent and female attendance declined from 50 to 34 percent.

In response to international and domestic pressure to address the issue of poverty and women's rights, the DRC set up the Commission on the National Strategy for the Fight Against Poverty. The commission is made up of four female and 24 male ministers. The commission's antipoverty goals include slashing the number of the Congolese population surviving on less than \$1 a day, dealing with persistent hunger, providing free and compulsory basic education, cutting rates of illiteracy, improving HIV/AIDS education, enhancing employment and credit for women, facilitating access to healthcare, and improving reproductive health.

Human Development Index Rank: 167

Human Poverty Index Rank: 82

SEE ALSO: Conflict; Congo; Definitions of Poverty; Disease; Extreme Poverty; War and Poverty.

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Congressional Hunger Center

THE CONGRESSIONAL Hunger Center (CHC) is a bipartisan, nonprofit, antihunger leadership training organization located in Washington, D.C. Republicans

and Democrats founded the CHC in 1993 in response to a 22-day fast by Democratic Representative Tony Hall from Ohio, protesting the abolition of the House Select Committee on Hunger.

The CHC follows three major strategies to fulfill its mission of fighting hunger by developing leaders. It trains leaders at the community, national, and international levels about the causes of and solutions to hunger, poverty, and humanitarian needs. It facilitates collaboration between organizations that design policy and those that develop and implement programs intended to end hunger in the United States and abroad. It increases awareness and develops strategies for the general public as well as for antihunger activists by providing skills and issues training that bridges the gap between service and public policy.

The CHC is a 501(c)(3) organization funded by grants from foundations, corporate and individual contributions, and an appropriation from Congress honoring former members of Congress Mickey Leland and Bill Emerson.

HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER

The House Select Committee on Hunger, founded in 1983 by Representatives Benjamin Gilman, Mickey Leland, and Tony Hall, sought viable solutions to domestic and global hunger and poverty. Leland, a Democrat from Texas, was a strong advocate for ending hunger and chaired the committee until his death during a 1989 humanitarian mission to the Horn of Africa. Hall then chaired the committee until the House of Representatives voted to eliminate all such select committees in 1993.

Hall's fast in protest of the House action galvanized bipartisan support for the establishment of the CHC. He and Republican Representative Bill Emerson from Missouri served as the CHC's first cochairs of a diverse board of directors representing the food industry, hunger policy experts, entertainment industry activists, and members of Congress. In 2005 U.S. Representatives Jo Ann Emerson, a Republican from Missouri, and James P. McGovern, a Democrat from Massachusetts, chaired the bipartisan CHC Board of Directors.

LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS

In 1994 CHC established a national antihunger leadership program under the auspices of Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). In 1996 and 1997 the CHC's Beyond Food program placed 100 hunger activists in

four states. Second-year Fellows were placed with policy/advocacy organizations such as Food Research and Action Center, Bread for the World, and Share Our Strength. CHC cosponsored the first National Summit on Food Recovery and Gleaning. In 1999 Congress provided funds to establish the Mickey Leland International and Bill Emerson National Hunger Fellowships. In 2004 CHC partnered with the UPS Foundation to convene the first National Hunger Forum, in Washington, D.C. By 2005 over 500 antihunger leaders had been trained in CHC programs. Program and advocacy efforts were being expanded to include close collaboration with the newly formed Senate and House Hunger Caucuses.

The Bill Emerson National Hunger Fellows Program places Fellows for six months in urban and rural community-based organizations involved in fighting hunger at the local level, followed by six months of work in national advocacy organizations, think tanks, and federal agencies.

The two-year Mickey Leland International Hunger Fellows Program provides opportunities for service while Fellows develop and refine skills useful in the global fight against hunger. The first-year field placement in a developing country allows the Fellow to research, implement, or evaluate programs or initiatives addressing issues surrounding hunger and poverty, including gender, health and nutrition, agriculture, sustainable development, and emergency relief.

SEE ALSO: Brot für die Welt; Community-Based Antipoverty Programs; Food Research and Action Center; Share Our Strength.

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Consumption-Based Measures of Poverty

CONSUMPTION-BASED measures of poverty are a class of poverty indicators that use consumption as a measure of individual welfare. A poverty measurer can

be described in terms of three main characteristics: a measure of individual welfare; a poverty line, that is, a threshold for the welfare measure below which an individual is classified as poor; and a summary statistic, for instance the proportion of the population below the poverty line (headcount ratio). Consumption and income are the most common measures of individual well-being that have been used to obtain poverty indicators.

Household surveys typically contain information on household expenditure for several product categories. However, household expenditure is a satisfactory measure of living standards only if everyone faces the same prices and everyone lives in households with the same size and composition. In most cases we observe households of different sizes living across regions or neighborhoods with different prices. Therefore, we have to make some adjustments to obtain a proper consumption-based welfare measure.

Two measures are the most commonly used to adjust for differences in prices: the money metric utility, proposed by P.A. Samuelson, and the welfare ratio, based on C. Blackorby and D. Donaldson. A. Deaton and S. Zaidi provide a discussion of the theoretical foundations and the practical implementation of these two measures.

Adjustments are necessary to get a consumption-based measure of standard of living. For instance, it is very common that rural households should invest part of their income into agricultural production inputs such as fertilizer, water, or seed. These expenditures should not be considered as household consumption but as investments. Otherwise we would overstate the actual welfare levels achieved by households. Deaton and Zaidi describe other types of adjustments for durable goods, rationing, public goods, and leisure.

CONSUMPTION VERSUS INCOME

There is a good deal of consensus on the value of using consumption as a summary measure of living standards. In recent years, researchers at the World Bank have used consumption-based measures constructed from survey data to measure poverty, to analyze changes in living standards, and to assess the distributional impacts of antipoverty policies. There are several reasons why consumption can be a better measure of welfare than income.

Consumption can provide a better picture of actual standards of living when income fluctuates significantly. In particular, consumption takes into account whether

households can access credit markets or household savings at times when current income is low because of, for instance, seasonal variations. Furthermore, consumption may be better measured than income in poor economies with large informal sectors where households consume their own production or exchange it for some other goods.

SEE ALSO: Absolute-Income-Based Measures of Poverty; Cost-of-Living-Based Measures of Poverty; Household Consumption; Household Income.

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Contextual Poverty

TO THE CASUAL OBSERVER, it probably seems that poverty is the simple lack of material goods, and that poverty is everywhere the same. In fact poverty varies with the context in which people live. Poverty varies across communities, towns, cities, across geographic regions, and among countries.

Contextual poverty describes the differing rates of poverty that exists across communities, between communities, and between regions of the world. The differing rates of poverty can be seen between rural and urban poverty. They can also be seen between individuals who are below the poverty line and families who are impoverished.

The differing demographic factors describe differing poverty rates. Children are often poor because they are dependent upon adults. Single mothers in most cultures are poor because their husbands are not providing

support, whether through death, divorce, or inability. The aged can also be poor because they have earned income that was insufficient to provide the savings needed to support them in their less productive late years of life. Or it may be that their pension plans have been taken from them by some means (such as a company's bankruptcy). They can also be poor because they did not have children to support them. All of these and many more factors contribute to variations in poverty between individuals and groups.

Contextual studies can produce reliable research that gives a focused look at poverty.

Social scientists have conducted studies to explain the varying rates of poverty across communities. Community studies are useful for understanding community characteristics as well as community-level policies and practices. Community studies also can be used to show how policies and practices affect poverty rates.

Community studies can aid contextual studies because they take into account the variables that have been demonstrated to affect how poverty varies as a function of community demographic and economic structure. This holds true whether the community studied is urban or rural.

In rural communities the area studied in the United States or in some other Anglo-Saxon country is usually the county. The county is a basic unit of rural government that has existed for a thousand years. The other unit that has been used for measuring poverty in rural areas has been the labor market for the area.

Community studies and contextual studies of poverty differ in several ways. Typically community studies use county-level data to estimate poverty. The typical contextual study in contrast uses individual-level data on the probability that a particular household is impoverished. It does this by examining location and other factors. Usually constructing a poverty profile is much easier with a contextual study than with a community study. Some organizations working to eliminate poverty have found that contextual studies give them the basis upon which to develop poverty reduction programs. Contextual studies can produce sound and reliable research that gives a focused look at poverty in relationship to the cultural, economic, and political patterns of a society.

Another advantage of contextual studies is that they are more readily used for predicting future poverty

cases. Instead of just identifying where poverty is currently located, the contextual study enables researchers to examine current social circumstances and trends that can lead to poverty-producing behaviors. Some kinds of behavior are more likely to contribute to poverty in the future.

Contextual studies of youths in certain areas have found that some may engage in behaviors that are risky for escaping poverty. Youths failing in school, skipping school, gambling, abusing alcohol or drugs, practicing unprotected sex, or doing unlawful economic activities such as smuggling are among a few of the risky behaviors that can contribute to a worsening of the conditions of poverty in the future.

SEE ALSO: Community-Based Antipoverty Programs; Comparative Research Program on Poverty; Cost-of-Living-Based Measures of Poverty.

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Coolidge, Calvin (Administration)

CALVIN COOLIDGE WAS one of the most unusual and misunderstood of all American presidents. Contrary to what one would expect from a successful politician, he spoke relatively little, earning the nickname "Silent Cal." Most historians depict his administration as passive and accepting of the status quo. This is not quite the case. He came from a modest background. Coolidge was born in Plymouth, Vermont, on July 4, 1872, and went into law and politics. By 1919 he was the governor of Massachusetts.

He attracted national attention by using the state militia to suppress a police strike. In 1920 Coolidge became vice president under Warren G. Harding. Harding died on August 2, 1923. At this time Coolidge was back in Plymouth. In order to transfer power, Coolidge took the oath of office immediately. His father, who was a



Calvin Coolidge presided over a time of prosperity in the American economy, which was followed by the Great Depression.

notary public, administered the oath late that evening. Coolidge gained popularity rapidly. The economic boom of the 1920s surely helped his public image. The policies of the Coolidge administration were similar to those of his predecessor.

During this time Coolidge signed two major tax cuts into law. The 1924 Revenue Act reduced the top tax rate from 46 percent to 25 percent and the bottom rate from 1.5 percent to 1.125 percent. The 1926 Revenue Act reduced income taxes further and reduced inheritance and excise taxes. Federal revenue grew during this period, and the national debt fell. Also the percentage share of the total tax burden borne by low-income Americans fell while this burden rose for high-income Americans.

Data on ownership of what were then new modern conveniences indicate that consumers did quite well during the Coolidge years. During the period of 1920–30, auto ownership went from 26 percent to 60 percent, washing machines from eight percent to 24 percent, vacuum cleaners from nine percent to 30 percent, electric lighting from 35 percent to 68 percent, radios from zero to 46 percent, and flush toilets from 20 per-

cent to 51 percent. Perhaps the strongest evidence of prosperity during the Coolidge years comes from unemployment statistics. In 1923 unemployment was 3.2 percent. It went up to 5.5 percent in 1924, and then fell to four percent in 1925. Unemployment in 1926 was only 1.9 percent. At the end of his second term it was back up to 4.1 percent.

Of course this prosperity was not universal. Many farmers endured hard times during his presidency. Coolidge vetoed two farm relief acts, as he was opposed to federal intervention in such matters. Contrary to his reputation as an ardent supporter of free markets, Coolidge signed the Radio Act of 1927, which created the Federal Radio Commission (now known as the FCC). He also supported various labor-oriented policies as governor of Massachusetts. He endorsed protective tariffs and restricted immigration as a means toward the end of keeping wages and incomes high.

Some characterize Coolidge as an isolationist. While he favored “detachment from old world interests,” Coolidge thought it proper for the United States to help settle contentious issues in Europe and Asia. Two examples of this principle in action were the Dawes Plan and the Pact of Paris. The Dawes Plan sought to relieve the crisis that developed out of the impossible burden that the Treaty of Versailles placed on Germany. The Pact of Paris renounced war as an instrument of national policy.

Coolidge died in January 1933. Historians have tended to denigrate his presidency. This is largely due to the dismal record of his successor. Some historians fault Coolidge for not preventing of the Great Depression. Yet the Depression began months after Coolidge left office and did not become severe until 1931. Most Americans became more prosperous during his administration. It is hard to say exactly how much of this prosperity was due to Coolidge’s policies. Yet he surely deserves some credit for the prosperity that reigned during his presidency.

SEE ALSO: Depression, Great; Fiscal Policy; Harding, Warren (Administration); United States.

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Corruption

CORRUPTION IS THE misuse of public power for private benefit. The process of corruption involves private and public interests or services. Corruption affects public responsibility and the private domain and usually takes place at the interface of the public and private sectors. However, the World Bank has defined the corruption as “the abuse of public office for private gain.” That definition is not quite complete from a scientific point of view, as a definition of corruption depends on a country’s economic and political system, development level, and traditions and customs.

Corruption’s negative impact is not in doubt. It diverts resources from their planned usage, destroys economic systems, and makes a country inefficient when competing with other countries. Corruption exerts an especially hard toll on the lives of the poor by decreasing employment possibilities, causing higher prices, and demanding additional fees for government-financed public services.

Especially in developing countries, corruption makes it harder for people to meet fundamental needs such as food, health, and education. At the same time, it creates discrimination among the different groups of society. Corruption, by itself, doesn’t create poverty. However, it has direct outcomes on economic and governance characteristics, intermediaries that in turn produce poverty. Finally, it can be recognized that corruption is only one form of bad governance.

The first classification of corruption is based on its distinct forms, namely bribery, embezzlement, fraud, and extortion. Bribery is usually described as obtaining money or favors by politicians or bureaucrats in return for preferential decisions or government services. Bribery acts involve two sides, mainly a representative of state and a civilian. In this transaction the representative of state misuses his or her power.

Embezzlement is associated with theft of resources by disloyal employees from their employers. There usually is no client involved during the embezzlement act. Embezzlement can derive from the impression that “everyone is doing it.” Fraud is an economic crime that involves some kind of trickery, swindle, deceit, manipulation, or distortion of information, facts, or expertise. Quite often we observe that bribery directly involves fraud. On the other hand, fraud also arises when public servants take a role in organized crime like smuggling, or when contracts are given to a company whose public administrators have a conflict of interest with their responsibilities. These public servants’ be-

havior is sometimes described as lawless behavior because state officials act as if there were no existing rules or regulations. Extortion means that resources are extracted by the use of coercion, violence, or threats to use force.

There are two types of corruption: petty and grand. Petty corruption involves small payments paid to low-level public servants. Usually, public servants charge a fee in addition to the amount required by law. They may threaten harassment or delay services until this payment is made. This type of corruption has a negative influence on the quality of life and the economic opportunities of poor people. The additional costs of petty corruption can be vast and severely limiting for the economic activity of the poor, as costs of bribes can reach nearly seven times the regular costs incurred.

Corruption exerts an especially hard toll on the lives of poor.

Grand corruption involves the making of large payments to people in positions of power in order to secure a right or obtain an advantage that could not be secured or obtained legitimately. This diverts substantial national resources from the public sector into the pockets of a corrupt few, and channels funds into inefficient uses by awarding contracts based on graft rather than on efficiency and social desirability. Grand corruption imposes social costs (in term of lost efficiency) in the domestic industry that focus more on relationships and side payments than on the competition in terms of efficiency and quality. Grand corruption can erode export opportunities and associated additional employment opportunities. The cost incurred by business because of bribery and lost economic opportunity can add to costs in excess of 11 percent of total gross incomes, as in the case of companies in the country of Georgia.

There are major ways corruption can impact economic growth: corruption affects decisions about foreign and direct investments; corruption curtails or stops entrepreneurship with required licenses or permits that must be paid with bribes; corruption decreases the quality of public infrastructure; corruption reduces tax revenues; and corruption distorts the composition of the public expenditure.

The above statements were confirmed by World Bank corruption investigations. For example, in Bulgaria results state that one in four businesses was

planned to expand, but corruption was an important indicator why the plan failed. In the case of influencing investment decisions, both types of corruption (petty and grand) have an indirect economic impact that constrains economic growth by increasing the uncertainty and unpredictability of costs to prospective investors. This point is debatable, as there are researchers who state that corruption may attract foreign direct investments (FDI) once investors belong to the inner circle of those profiting from bribery. Likely, this impact is not strong enough, as investors consider differences between petty and grand corruption.

Corruption distorts the investment climate in a country because it increases the risk of “rescuing” invested funds. Citizens of corrupt countries already recognize this risk and often send their savings out of the country. They avoid leaving their earnings near regulators, who can use funds illegitimately. So the wealthy send their investments to foreign countries, making them richer and the poor poorer.

The outcomes of corruption, which reduce tax revenue, can have a double effect.

Corruption for licenses and permissions was observed in several studies, where there are indications that small businesses tend to pay most of the bribes as a percentage of total revenue (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ghana, Slovak Republic). Meanwhile, Polish businessmen are working in an environment that requires additional licenses, making them more prone to extortion. Payments for public administrators are made to avoid delays in services. In Russia, private investors negotiate with various public agencies (fire, police, banks, etc.), each of them requesting a bribe in exchange for speedy approval of a business license.

The outcomes of corruption, which reduce tax revenue, can have a double effect. From the state’s point of view, the budget can lose funds when a household engages in corruption in an effort to ameliorate its own poverty. For example, in the case of Bangladesh, more than 30 percent of the household respondents reduced electric and/or water bills by bribing the utility meter reader.

Recognizing the problem of corruption, research respondents from Indonesia and Romania were so worried about the problem that they indicated a strong willingness to pay more taxes if corruption could be controlled.

Corruption can create weak and vulnerable national government institutions, such as a parliament, the judiciary, the civil service, and police; it can impose a limited democratic culture, decrease citizen participation in policy implementation, and have impacts on the delivery and/or quality of public services as well as on infrastructure. All these impact the poor.

CORRUPTION AND ECONOMICS

Corruption may create permanent distortions from which some groups or individuals can benefit more than others. Economists confirmed this in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) linked to corruption as they found that there is a strong correlation between GDP per capita and corruption. In corrupt environments, corruption increases income inequality. At the same time, it reduces growth and thereby exacerbates poverty. For example, the children of poor parents go to publicly financed schools because their parents can’t afford the bribes necessary to go to privately financed schools.

In the former Soviet Union, the change to the market system was associated with a sharp initial drop in output and significantly higher levels of poverty. Privatization of the public sector was one of the variables that created trauma for people as they became unemployed. A process that was not transparent and was usually corrupt influenced the income of the state and, in the end, the welfare of citizens. On the other hand, in other environments, corruption has not had as severe an impact. The so-called Asian tigers miracle was a perfect example of rapid economic growth (during the 1980s and 1990s) despite some corruption, where figures of people living below poverty line of \$1.25 per day decreased significantly.

Corruption impacts the delivery and quality of public services as well as infrastructure and has a direct connection with public expenditures. Different authors have confirmed that corruption lowers the quality of public infrastructure. The corrupt governments may display predatory behavior in deciding how to distribute public expenditures, for example for road construction and irrigation systems. Not surprisingly, in such situations corruption may lead to higher spending on the military. Different surveys from 1985 to 1998 confirm that corruption is highly correlated with higher military spending.

Public administration institutions with a high level of corruption tend to deliver lower-quality services in general, and corruption can be connected with the de-

livery of public services in such sectors as education and public health. However, some exceptions exist, as those services are directly dependent on client impressions rather than reality.

Obviously, investigations on corruption in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Indonesia, and Latvia confirm that public-sector institutions where corruption was high delivered low-quality and inefficient services. Conversely, countries with efficient public-sector institutions had lower corruption levels.

Another important fact is that corruption can lead to reduction of social spending on health and education. The starting point is that changes in costs due to corruption reduce tax incomes, increase government operating costs, and increase government spending for wages. These opposing forces create a policy dilemma, as there is no doubt about the importance of human capital investments. It may mean that in developing countries the bureaucracy tries to maximize its power by maximizing its budget. Finally, a monopoly situation comes into being, which isn't useful for the fundamental needs of citizens.

In surveys on good governance, investigators conclude that there is an association between good governance and poverty alleviation. In other recent studies on the control of corruption as one component of good governance, the analysis illustrates a strong positive causal relationship between improved governance and better development outcomes as measured by per capita incomes.

An important issue is the relationship between corruption and lack of environmental regulation of polluting the air and water. This, of course, implies both a direct effect of corruption (decreasing the effectiveness of environmental regulation) and an indirect impact through which corruption affects income.

The implications of corruption can lead to citizens' mistrust of their government. In practice, corruption destroys people's trust in government institutions. Some surveys illustrate that people with the lowest incomes don't trust some public institutions, such as healthcare providers, police, and customs, and see them as corrupt and evil. This conclusion is not without merit, as it is the poor people who cannot afford to pay bribes to unresponsive civil servants.

INITIATIVES AGAINST CORRUPTION

Global initiatives against corruption are number one on the agenda of many countries. The most well-known nongovernmental organization (NGO) that puts forth

huge efforts in this matter is Transparency International, based in Berlin, Germany. This organization was established to fight corruption throughout the world and has branches in many countries. During the last 10 years Transparency International has published the Corruption Perception Index (CPI). The methodology of the CPI is improving each year and the number of the countries included is growing (the 2004 edition had 146 countries).

Additionally, there are 18 sources from 12 different institutions that report on corruption, for example Freedom House Nations, Gallup International, and the World Economic Forum. By studying the CPI between 1995 and 2004, a significant downward trend was reported in Argentina, the Czech Republic, Ecuador, Poland, and Zimbabwe. A significant upward trend was found in Bulgaria, Colombia, Estonia, Hong Kong, Mexico, and Spain.

The main reason why we must measure corruption is that many areas of human interaction and economic planning require the existence of hard, objective, and undistorted data. These data also help to set priorities for future reform and mobilize citizens to be actively involved in different processes that can help relieve poor people of the burdens of corruption.

SEE ALSO: Argentina; Colombia; Culture of Poverty; Non-governmental Organizations; Poland; Zimbabwe.

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Cost of Living

COST OF LIVING refers to the income required to maintain a certain standard of living. Many poverty statistics, such as the headcount index, rely on per capita or household income as a primary measure of well-being. Owing to differences in price levels, however, a certain income level will provide a different standard of living in various time periods or across differing geographical regions. Most countries have experienced inflation, that is, increasing price levels, over the past century, meaning that the income required to maintain a fixed standard of living has increased over time, resulting in a higher cost of living. Deflation, that is, decreasing price levels, is rare but has also occurred in some countries during specific time periods. Countries that are undergoing deflation experience a lower cost of living as time goes by.

The cost of living is generally measured using a price index. The most widely used price index is known as the Consumer Price Index (CPI). The CPI tracks the cost of purchasing a specific fixed basket of commonly purchased goods over time. For convenience, the CPI is scaled such that in the first year of the measurement, known as the base year, the value of the CPI is set as equal to 100.

Other ways to measure changes in the cost of living also exist. In the United States, consumer price indexes that track more specific baskets of goods such as healthcare or food are widely available. The core CPI measures changes in the overall price level, excluding two highly volatile sectors: food and energy. The Producer Price Index (PPI) estimates the cost of purchasing a fixed basket of goods commonly purchased by businesses. The PPI is known as a leading indicator for the cost of living as it is considered a good predictor of future changes in the CPI. Finally, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) deflator tracks price levels for goods and services produced economy-wide, and is also calculated in a slightly different manner from normal price indexes. The GDP deflator and CPI generally correlate very closely with one another, and in practice they can be used interchangeably.

While measuring changes in the cost of living using the CPI is straightforward, it is not without several difficulties. First, the basket of goods used to measure the CPI represents the goods and services typically purchased by an average urban consumer. The prices of goods and services tend to be lower, particularly for housing, in rural areas. Furthermore, the cost of living for some groups may rise faster or more slowly than the

overall CPI depending on that particular group's consumption patterns. For example, the elderly spend a disproportionately high fraction of their income on healthcare, a sector that has experienced above-average inflation over the past several decades. Therefore, a cost-of-living adjustment for the elderly based upon price increases for a basket of goods purchased by an average consumer will undercompensate this group.

In addition, the Consumer Price Index suffers from three theoretical deficiencies. First, since the CPI measures a fixed basket of goods, it does not account for the ability of consumers to switch away from goods whose prices are rapidly increasing to cheaper substitutes. Second, the CPI often fails to account for increases in the quality of goods.

For example, as previously noted, while healthcare costs have been increasing rapidly in the United States, a large portion of these price increases are due to the introduction of expensive new technologies that allow for longer life expectancies and improvements in people's quality of life rather than simply higher prices for the same goods.

Third, the nature of the CPI makes it difficult to include newly introduced goods and services. A basket of goods created in the 1970s would not include goods such as personal computers, mobile phones, and MP3 or DVD players, items that are part of many persons' consumption bundles today. New items often rapidly fall in price shortly after their introduction. For these reasons, economists believe that inflation as measured by the CPI overstates the true increase in the cost of living by one percent to two percent per year.

A final challenge in measuring the cost of living is the difficulty in comparing incomes across countries. While it is appealing to simply convert incomes using prevailing exchange rates, differences in the cost of living are generally not fully reflected in this manner. Instead economists advocate comparing incomes across countries using the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) method, which incorporates international differences in the cost of living into income measurements. The most complete group of PPP measures is the Penn World Tables.

Generally, the cost of living is lower in developing countries with lower incomes than in rich industrialized nations. For example, in 2002, by the exchange rate method, the per capita income of Japan was \$31,407 compared to just \$989 in China. Adjusted for PPP, however, Japan's annual per capita income falls to \$26,940 and China's rises to \$4,580, suggesting that the cost of living in Japan is over five times that of China.

SEE ALSO: Headcount Index; Inflation; International Poverty Rates; Living-Standards Measurement Study; Relative-Income-Based Measures of Poverty.

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Cost-of-Living-Based Measures of Poverty

COST-OF-LIVING MEASURES exist for two fundamental reasons. First, they are a means of comparing the relative purchasing power of income across geographical regions. For example, the amount of income it would take to maintain a certain standard of living in New York City would be different from the amount required to maintain a similar standard of living in Dallas, Texas. Second, in order for certain public policies to be consistent across states or regions, it is often necessary to use cost-of-living measures to develop equality across these areas. For example, when developing policies aimed at creating income parity among states on salaries, it is important to determine the true difference in income in order for the policy to be consistent for every state.

Because cost of living is based on the purchasing power of income, it is closely tied to rates of inflation and deflation. The U.S. government uses a cost-of-living measure prepared by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics known as the Consumer Price Index (CPI) to calculate the rise and fall of prices in the economy. The CPI measures the average change in prices paid for a fixed market basket of consumer goods and services over a specified period of time.

The market basket is composed of such goods and services as food, housing, transportation, medical care, recreation, and education. The CPI is expressed as a percentage of change in the cost of a market basket from one year to another. For example, consider that the market basket price for 1980 was \$100. A market

basket price of \$160 in 2000 would suggest a 60 percent increase in the cost of living from 1980 to 2000. This percentage of change in the CPI is referred to as the inflation rate.

Disparity exists over whether the CPI is an accurate measure of cost of living.

The CPI is calculated for different geographical areas and income levels. The Consumer Price Index for All Urban Consumers (CPI-U) is based on residents of urban and metropolitan areas and represents 87 percent of the U.S. population. The Consumer Price Index for Urban Wage Earners and Clerical Workers (CPI-W) is a subset of the CPI-U and represents households where more than one-half of the income is from clerical or wage occupations and one household member has worked at least 37 weeks in the previous 12 months. The CPI-W accounts for approximately 32 percent of the population.

The CPI is closely monitored by policymakers and employees whose wages vary with the economy. The practice of indexing wages to the CPI, known as Cost of Living Adjustment (COLA), was designed to offset changes in purchasing power as measured by the CPI and is built into many employee contracts.

Disparity exists over whether the CPI is an accurate measure of cost of living. Some authors suggest that because it does not measure factors that affect consumer well-being, such as crime, and that it is based on averages that do not reflect the experience of any one family, it is not an accurate measure of cost of living. These authors favor other measures, such as the social-cost-of-living index, which estimates economic demand based on the underlying welfare functions of consumers.

SEE ALSO: Absolute-Income-Based Measures of Poverty; Consumption-Based Measures of Poverty.

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Costa Rica

THE REPUBLIC OF Costa Rica, which is located in Central America along the coast of the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, is one of the most democratic countries in the region. Land is much more evenly divided than in most countries in Latin America. However, income and social inequalities have begun to increase in recent years.

The richest 20 percent of the population claim 51.5 percent of available resources while the poorest 20 percent share 4.2 percent. Costa Rica is ranked 46.5 on the Gini Index of Human Inequality. Most Costa Ricans enjoy a comfortable standard of living, and in Latin America, Costa Rica, with no military, has become a force for peace.

Originally, Costa Rica was home to some 25,000 natives who were virtually killed off by their Spanish conquerors. After achieving independence in 1821, Costa Rica was taken over for two years by the Mexican Empire. By 1848, Costa Rica had become a republic and has remained democratic from that point on except for 12 years under a military dictatorship in the late 19th century.

While agriculture, particularly coffee, banana, and beef exports, is still integral to the Costa Rican economy, the system has become more diverse in recent years. Services now employ 58 percent of the labor force, and industry engages another 22 percent. Technology and tourism have proved to be major sources of revenue for Costa Rica. The country's only natural resource is hydropower. Foreign investors are attracted to Costa Rica because of stable conditions and an educated population. With a per capita income of \$9,600, Costa Rica is an upper-middle-income nation. Despite the positive economic outlook, the Costa Rican government continues to deal with a large deficit, a substantial internal debt, and an unemployment rate of 6.6 percent.

For over a decade, Costa Rica has been steadily reducing the overall poverty rate, which is currently estimated at 22 percent, through economic growth and a strong social safety net. The sectors of the Costa Rican population that are most vulnerable to poverty are immigrants, the indigenous population, females with young children, those who live in rural areas, and elderly women. Poverty has continued to rise among certain groups. From 2001 to 2002, the number of female-headed families rose in both urban and rural areas of Costa Rica. At the same time, the number of such families living in poverty was 34.5 percent. By

2003, that number had risen to 36.2 percent. Government data also indicate that the number of households that lack basic needs increased from 28.1 percent in 2002 to 31.1 in 2003. Some 30 percent of Costa Rican children live in poverty. Six percent of the population are undernourished. Around 10 percent of the population live on less than \$2 a day, and two percent live on less than \$1 a day. The extensive social net provides financial benefits, housing assistance, healthcare, training, and education. The government is in the process of revising the Child Welfare Institute and has appointed a Minister for Children and Adolescents.

Life expectancy in Costa Rica is 76.84 years. Generally, females (79.55 years) outlive men (74.26) by more than five years. Among the population of 4,016,173, the median age is 26.03 years. Nearly 29 percent of Costa Ricans are under the age of 14, and 5.6 percent have lived to the age of 65. Generally, healthcare is readily available in Costa Rica, and there are 160 physicians for every 100,000 residents. Only five percent of the population lack access to affordable essential drugs. Five percent of Costa Ricans lack access to safe drinking water, and seven percent lack access to improved sanitation.

HEALTH STATISTICS

Between 1970 and 2005, infant mortality in Costa Rica fell from 62 to nine deaths per 1,000 live births. Among all children under the age of 5, the mortality rate during that same period plunged from 83 to 10 deaths per 1,000. Five percent of all children under the age of 5 are malnourished, and seven percent of infants are underweight at birth. Six percent of under-5s suffer from moderate to severe stunting, and two percent suffer from moderate to severe wasting. Childhood immunization rates for children from birth to 23 months have increased in recent years. Currently infant immunization rates are at 94 percent against measles, DPT, and polio and at 91 percent against tuberculosis. About 89 percent of children from 12 to 23 months have been vaccinated against measles, and 88 percent have been vaccinated against DPT3.

Between 1970 and 2005, the fertility rate in Costa Rica decreased from 4.3 children per woman to 2.28 children per woman. The adolescent fertility rate is 62 per 1,000 births. The rates of teenage pregnancies have increased steadily in recent years because teenagers have become more sexually active. Costa Rica recently passed the Responsible Paternity Law, a landmark piece of legislation that could serve as a model internation-

ally. However, there has been institutional and cultural opposition to implementing the law. Three-fourths of Costa Rican women use some method of birth control, an increase from 66 percent in 1980. Only two percent of all births in Costa Rica occur outside the presence of trained medical staff. Based on modeled estimates for 2000, maternal mortality occurs at the rate of 43 deaths per 100,000 live births.

Among the population over the age of 15, 96 percent can read and write. With a literacy rate of 96.1 percent, females are slightly more literate than males (95.9 percent). From 1999 to 2003, total primary school completion rates increased from 84 to 94 percent. During that period, female completion rates rose from 86 to 95 percent. By 2002, secondary enrollment had increased to 49.9 percent. Grade repetition and high dropout rates continue to be a problem. Out of every 10 children, three will fail to complete basic education requirements. Around 40 percent of all adolescents in Costa Rica are no longer in the school system.

Human Development Index Rank: 47

Human Poverty Index Rank: 3

SEE ALSO: Education; Income Inequality; Paternalism and Welfare; Poverty Rate.

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Côte d'Ivoire

THE OUTBREAK OF CIVIL war in 2002 following the succession of unstable governments since 1999 has made poverty a poignant problem in Côte d'Ivoire. In 2003, an estimated 37 percent of households were living below the poverty line and in 2004, the United Na-

tions Development Program ranked Côte d'Ivoire among the lowest countries in terms of human development.

The low standard of living evidenced in Côte d'Ivoire has its origins in a gripping recession coupled with a large population increase experienced in the 1980s and 1990s, which indirectly resulted in the 1999 coup. The dust had barely settled on the new government when in 2002, a military mutiny in Abidjan led to a wave of violence throughout the nation.

Today, in the midst of a stalled peace process, many regions of the country are without access to basic social services such as education and healthcare. The transitional government that has guided Côte d'Ivoire through the peace accords has been powerless to work positively in the social sector as a result of a deadlock with dissident political parties. Moreover, the division of the country into northern and southern territories prevents any countrywide initiatives from moving forward. The persistent threat of violence in Côte d'Ivoire has also displaced a large portion of the population, especially in the western region of the country where the civil conflict has been particularly fierce. The refugee population constitutes a significant contingency of impoverished people whose itinerancy stifles their self-sustainability.

Côte d'Ivoire's poor health and education systems have at best stagnated since the conflict began. In 2002, adult literacy was below 50 percent; primary school enrollment was a mere 63 percent, and secondary school enrollment less than 25 percent. While the fertile, tropical climate of Côte d'Ivoire does not make nutritional deficiency a pervasive problem, the ravages and spoils of war have seriously upset the agricultural sector and not caused a scarcity of food but dealt a debilitating blow to the national economy.

Côte d'Ivoire is also faced with a significant lack of healthcare resources and a daunting HIV/AIDS crisis. Since the 1990s, Côte d'Ivoire has had only nine physicians per 100,000 people and 0.8 hospital bed per 1,000 people. In 2003, Côte d'Ivoire reported 570,000 cases of HIV/AIDS and lost 47,000 people to the virus. The life expectancy in Côte d'Ivoire is currently just over 40 years of age.

The instability and unaccountability of Côte d'Ivoire's recent governments have discouraged international aid and finance to Côte d'Ivoire over the last five years, with considerable dropoffs expected in 2006. These revenue sources constitute a significant proportion of the funding that subsidizes programs for public health and education, which are rapidly deteriorating if

they have not already ceased to exist. Demanding to see positive action taken in the restoration of civil governance to Côte d'Ivoire, the international community has put a moratorium on funding until that time. Elections were scheduled for October 2005, but were unlikely to take place as a result of insufficient planning. The prolongation of the peace process entails ever increasing impoverishment in Côte d'Ivoire, but the pressure of the United Nations Security Council and the international community will most likely deter a renewed outbreak of violence in 2006.

Human Development Index Rank: 163

Human Poverty Index Rank: 84

SEE ALSO: Conflict; Economic Insecurity; HIV/AIDS; Human Development.

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Coughlin, Charles (1891–1979)

FATHER CHARLES E. Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest and popular radio personality, significantly influenced American opinion during the Great Depression. A priest of the Diocese of Detroit and pastor of the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak, Michigan, Coughlin began broadcasting his sermons on the radio in 1926. His program, *The Golden Hour of the Little Flower*, on CBS radio, quickly gained a national audience.

However, Coughlin's harsh denunciations of President Herbert Hoover caused the station to discontinue his program. Not to be dissuaded, Coughlin formed his own network, which grew to more than 30 stations. Coughlin's *Golden Hour* was heard by as many as 40 million listeners throughout the 1930s and early 1940s. In addition to religious matters, Coughlin spoke frequently on economic and political issues, focusing on the Depression and the evils of modern capitalism. His

theory of economic populism consisted of a radical reform of the monetary system in America, challenging Wall Street, the gold standard, and the international banking system. He advocated a return to currency based at least partially on silver and the creation of a Bank of the United States of America to ensure democratic fairness by replacing the Federal Reserve system, which Coughlin considered dominated by bankers. He frequently ridiculed wealthy industrialists and financiers who he believed were more connected to the economic problems of the Great Depression than to their solution.

At first, Coughlin supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt's plan of reforms known as the New Deal, and Coughlin himself had been considered for a post as one of Roosevelt's economic advisors. Coughlin, however, became disenchanted with the slow pace of reforms and beginning in 1934 denounced the president's program as a grand deception. Coughlin formed his own organization, the National Union for Social Justice, in 1934 and launched an affiliated publication, *Social Justice*, in 1936, eventually amassing a readership of one million. In 1936 Coughlin opposed Roosevelt's reelection as president, instead helping to organize a rival political faction. The Coughlin-supported Union Party selected William Lemke as their candidate but Lemke received fewer than one million votes, hardly enough to counter Roosevelt's 27 million supporters.

Coughlin's message appealed to a broad cross section of America, including Protestants and Catholics, laborers, and small business owners in cities and farms in the American heartland. His message of reform was particularly attractive to those with little hope of material prosperity, discontented and poor first- and second-generation Americans, ethnic minorities, and the unemployed, as well as an emerging middle class that had lost its sense of economic security during the Depression.

At the high point of his influence, his listeners numbered one-third of Americans. His reforms were not as controversial as his assessment of blame for the Great Depression. Anti-Semitism tainted his message and by 1938 he routinely targeted Jews as the cause of economic hardship in America. He leveled frequent verbal attacks against Jews, Freemasons, Nazis, fascists, communists, and atheists as part of "Satan's organization" aimed at overthrowing America and Christianity.

Despite his criticism of Nazis and fascists, as his message became extreme, he spoke of his sympathy for Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. His influence launched the Christian Front, a group of anarchists cen-

tered in Brooklyn, New York, and Boston, Massachusetts. Because of mounting pressure from his religious superiors and lack of financial support from listeners, Coughlin abandoned the airwaves in 1940. He ceased all public political and economic activism in 1942, the same year the U.S. Postal Service refused delivery of his publication, *Social Justice*, under the government's Espionage Act (1918). Coughlin continued his work as a parish priest in Detroit until retiring in 1966.

SEE ALSO: Capitalism; Depression, Great; Judaism and Poverty; Roosevelt, Franklin (Administration).

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Credit

CREDIT AS A TERM refers to the granting of goods, services, or money in return for a promise of future payment. The future payment includes an interest or charge for the use of credit or money. Interest is usually determined as a percentage of the principal and computed annually, which makes the future payments greater than an immediate payment would have been. Credit and its opposite, debt, are operations that involve lending. Taking credit is an equivalent to going into debt.

In commercial trade, credit is used as the approval for delayed payments for goods purchased. Credit enables producers to close the gap between production and sales of goods and services, and it allows consumers to purchase goods and services at the present time and pay for those services from their future income. Companies regularly offer credit to their customers as part of the terms of a purchase agreement.

Credit extension and debt creation can be traced back to ancient times. The volume and complexity of

credit transactions have grown substantially with the emergence of capitalism. Credit transaction emerges whenever capital is used and savings are required. Any movement of financial capital is dependent on credit, which in turn is founded upon the lender's confidence in the borrower and borrower's reputation or credit risk. The credit risk or default risk generally refers to the probability that the borrower will default on future payments. Data as to credit risk are supplied by agencies organized for that purpose. The chief agency in the United States is Dun and Bradstreet, formed by a merger (1933) of R.G. Dun & Company (1841) and the Bradstreet Company (1849). Often the borrower is required to provide collateral, that is, a financial instrument, as security for payment of a loan.

The most commonly used instruments of credit are the acceptance, bill of exchange, letter of credit, and promissory note. The instruments are often negotiable and traded in money markets. The purest form is the credit default swap. This is a specific type of counterparty agreement which allows the transfer of third-party credit risk from one party to the other. One party in the swap is a lender and faces credit risk from a third party, and the counterparty in the credit default swap agrees to insure this risk in exchange for regular periodic payments. If the third party defaults, the party providing insurance will have to purchase from the insured party the defaulted asset. In turn, the insurer pays the insured the remaining interest on the debt, as well as the principal.

There is a distinction between business credit and consumer credit. The principal function of business credit is the transfer of capital from those who own it to those who intend to use it. The main objective of business credit is an enlargement of capital. Consumer credit, on the other hand, allows the purchase of retail commodities without the use of cash or with the use of relatively little cash.

The principal economic function of consumer credit is to move consumers' consumption of goods and services forward in time. The main types of consumer credit are noninstallment credit and installment credit. Noninstallment credit is to be repaid in a lump sum. Installment credit, which is a prevalent form, represents all consumer credit that is scheduled to be repaid in two or more installments. It is estimated that some 90 percent of all wholesalers' and manufacturers' sales, and more than 30 percent of all retail sales, are made on a credit basis.

Another type of credit is bank credit. This type involves lending by the banking institution through bank



Consumer debt can build up to such a point that a bankruptcy must be declared, possibly pushing the consumer into poverty.

advances, overdrafts, discounting bills, or purchasing securities.

Recently a new form of credit called microcredit gained prominence. The working definition adopted at the Microcredit Summit in February 1997 characterizes microcredit as small loans extended to very poor people for self-employment projects that generate income, allowing them to care for themselves and their families. Microcredit is the extension of small loans to entrepreneurs unable to qualify for traditional bank loans. The principal aim of microcredit is poverty alleviation, enabling those without access to lending institutions to borrow at bank rates and start small businesses in their communities.

Credit plays an important role in macroeconomics, especially in money supply theory. In the aggregate models of the financial sector of an economy, credit markets and credit creation are analyzed via their relation to money markets, money creation, and price level. These models clarify the role of central bank policies in controlling money supply and price level. If more credit is granted than the community can liquidate, there is inflation; if too little is granted, there is deflation. A lack of business confidence may cause credit to dissolve,

thereby contributing to economic crises, panics, and depressions.

While credit made a contribution in the effort to alleviate poverty, especially in developing countries, credit on its own should not be viewed as a universal remedy to poverty eradication.

SEE ALSO: Debt; Economic Growth; Microcredit; World Bank.

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Crime

THE LATE 19th and 20th centuries have been characterized by the tendency to study crime as well as its causes and effects. Cesare Lombroso's *Criminal Man* (1876), which introduced the atavistic idea of the born criminal; Enrico Ferri's *Criminal Sociology* (1884); and Raffaele Garofalo's *Criminology* (1885) are some of the most popular early works on crime. In different time periods, a series of works have focused on crime, although not always with the same analytic tools and purposes. For instance, psychology and psychiatry focus mainly on the individual characteristics of deviants or criminals and examine the eventually problematic relationship between the criminal and the society, while sociology and criminology focus more on the social aspects of crime and on crime politics.

Edward Sutherland carried out the first important study of the relationship between crime and economic status in 1939. Sutherland described forms of nonviolent business crime that were committed by businessmen and members of the middle class in the course of their economic activity, or white-collar crime. The study

managed to show how special forms of economic criminality of the middle class (fraud, embezzlement, bribery, forgery, tax evasion) remained—contrary to blue-collar crime—unpunished. Because business-class members had the means to hide their activity and avoid arrest, they were able to minimize the chances of being punished. This study also provoked the mainstream view that criminals were usually poor or economically marginal individuals.

The increasing interest in crime and its etiology has led since 1960 to the emergence of a series of subfields, like the sociology of deviance, sociology of social control, sociology of social exclusion, and criminology. These subfields addressed a number of important issues and problems related to the analysis of crime and crime politics as well as to the understanding of the political economy of crime and its interrelation with the economic structure. A heterogeneous ensemble of critical, radical, Marxist, deconstructionist, and feminist criminologies studied the mechanisms of marginalization, stigmatization, demonization, and social exclusion of deviants.

Contrary to the biological and psychological causations of crime, researchers were interested in the social processes with which individuals were being labeled, such as deviants, delinquents, and criminals. Crime was understood as a social and legal construction using the labeling approach. Critical criminologists in Europe and the United States in the 1960s and 1970s underlined that the term *criminal* was the act that violated the penal law and considered penal law as an instrument of state power that defines which behavior is criminal or not, and decides whether and how this act will be punished.

For those criminological schools, crime, both as a human behavior and as a legal category, does not exist before penal law. At the same time, the concept of social control became very influential and increasingly important for the understanding of crime, social reaction to crime, and the official and organized responses to it, for instance through the mechanisms of penal law.

Social control was initially introduced by Edward Ross, who described it as “the moulding of the individual’s feelings to suit the needs of the group.” Also, for the sociological approach of social consensus by Emile Durkheim and for the structural functionalism of Talcott Parsons, social control was a social phenomenon that they considered *a priori* positive for the maintenance of social order.

According to these approaches, criminal acts violate the moral rules of an organized society, which punishes



New studies suggest that poverty is being architecturally, politically, and socially criminalized.

them in order to avoid social conflict and disorganization. The problem is not the social structures or the existing social and political norms of a society that eventually produce deviance, but the deviants who disobey the moral and penal laws of the society.

With the influence of Marxism in social sciences, social control ended up having a different meaning and representing the means of imposing power and punishing individuals and groups that it defined as deviant, dangerous, and criminal. Radical and critical criminologists defined social control as the organized ways in which the punishing power maintains order and discriminates particular social groups in the name of social cohesion. The author of *Visions of Social Control*, the sociologist Stanley Cohen, has noted that “Social control is the organized ways in which society responds to behavior and people it regards as deviant, problematic, worrying, threatening or undesirable one way or another.”

In the frame of this criticism, the relationship between poverty and crime became an important topic on the criminological agenda. Especially influential was the work of Michel Foucault, especially his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975). By examining

the history of prisons in modernity, Foucault studied the mechanisms of discipline and classification of individuals as well as the social processes with which individuals were categorized as healthy or ill, as normal or abnormal, and as criminal or conform.

In the same spirit and influenced by Foucault, Dario Melossi and Massimo Pavarini attempted with their book, *The Prison and the Factory: Origins of the Penitentiary System* (1977), to study the relationship between crime and the economic system. Radical and critical criminologists and sociologists considered crime politics as the politics that produced social exclusion. The official punishing mechanisms of the state were seen as processes of representation and reproduction of class inequality, social divisions, and political pressure. The mechanisms of the penal system were considered to be responsible for a variety of strategies of discipline, coercion, retribution, and punishment.

It would be unthinkable for society to change its perceptions about the offender.

The basic argument of deconstructive sociology was that the state possessed the legal means to enforce control, in order to serve the needs of its dominance and exercise “the monopoly of violence.” In this frame the abolishment of prisons was proposed by sociologists like Thomas Mathiesen. For Marxist criminologists like Richard Quinney and Alessandro Barratta, the penal law system was not ideologically neutral. It reflected rather the interests of the ruling classes. Poor and economically unprivileged social groups and individuals possessed, therefore, no means to influence political power.

Crime politics in the period of the Keynesian welfare state gave the discussion about poverty and crime new arguments and directions. Social control was practiced by a series of social institutions. Social workers, psychiatrists, therapists of every kind, “professionals of the soul,” and multifarious specialists were all aiming at the rehabilitation and the resocialization of the offender.

On the social level, the offender was thought to be ill, abnormal, or dangerous. Society could not accept him or her and for this reason he or she had to change (it would be unthinkable for society to change its perceptions about the offender). Both models—punishment and rehabilitation—became objects of criticism during the 1960s and 1970s.

As far as state control was concerned, the criticism focused on recidivism, on the social stereotypes, social discrimination, and repression that the state produced by creating a criminogenic surrounding that was in turn reproducing the criminal population. This population was in one way or another considered as a dangerous class, the class that was at the same time economically weaker.

With regard to rehabilitation, the criticism focused on the rehabilitator’s motivation: even when it was philanthropic or well intended, it was functioning under the notion that the deviant should be cured and changed. The social reaction to the criminal was not the main problem; the main issue was the deviant’s problematic personality. Through rehabilitation, stigmatization, marginalization and the labeling process, the social exclusion of the deviant was administrated in a professionalized, scientific way.

The demise of the Keynesian welfare state in the late 1970s led to the abandonment of the model of rehabilitation and resocialization. The state could no longer afford the costs of rehabilitating institutions and the various experts on the criminal’s treatment. The criminological theories that reduced criminal actions to the social environment and proposed that effective resocialization measurements would help to decrease crime rates gave place to a series of new theoretical approaches. Referring to and focusing on state control, the state of the 1980s seemed to play an increasingly administrative and managerial role.

Within contemporary theories in criminology, such as the routine activities theory, the opportunity theory, theories about community policing or community control, and certain victim theories, the center of analysis transferred from the state to the citizen. Citizens are now responsible for protection from crime. According to such theories, the state has no effectiveness in confronting the high rates of crime, so citizens must be self-protected. Crime, just like poverty, is considered inevitable. Social and economic inequality are uncritically seen as normal factors of neoliberal capitalism.

The deviant is still stigmatized, but there is no need to explain causally and sociologically his or her behavior. Contrary to the premises of radical and critical criminology, social and economic structures are for postmodern criminology unproblematic. Problematic are the ways of dealing with crime. Solutions like digital surveillance in public spaces and increase of private security through alarm systems are proposed.

Together with an increase in fear of crime and the need for more surveillance and security, what David

Garland calls “responsibilisation strategies” have emerged. Self-protection from crime is becoming a new social need and an ethical value. The responsibility of citizens becomes a new duty. Citizens must have a special consciousness for preparing a surrounding that will hinder the efforts of other citizens to commit illegal acts. Crime is the taken opportunity to commit crime. The reduction of crime is equal to the reduction of opportunities to commit crime. The criminal, the crime, and the rehabilitative visions are of little or no interest to either criminology or the consequential policies. The interest is transferred to the damage caused by crime. Thus, what must be protected is property and what must be punished is poverty.

At the economic level, these trends reflect the demise of the welfare state and the efforts of the managerial state to reduce the costs of policies on crime prevention. The following abstract, by Brandon C. Welsh, David P. Farrington, and Lawrence W. Sherman (2001), shows the shift in research interests of modern criminology and its economization: “What are the cost savings from preventing a typical burglary, robbery, assault, or even a criminal career? Who benefits from these savings? How often do the benefits from preventing crime or criminal behavior exceed the resources spent on preventing or controlling crime? Is it more cost effective to invest in early childhood programs or juvenile boot camps to reduce criminal offending? It is important to provide answers in order to ensure that the dollars devoted to crime reduction are spent as efficiently as possible.”

Following the neoliberal trend, the interests of criminology have shifted.

The emphasis lies on achieving results rather than on administrating processes. The ultimate principle is the “triple ‘e’: economy, efficiency and effectiveness.” To this extent, cost-effective strategies in order to ensure value for money are mobilized. The interest is being transformed from inputs to outcomes. The setting of explicit targets and programs is thought to employ the new managerial aim of efficiency and effectiveness. The organizations and institutions of crime prevention ought to copy the strategies and ways with which the private sector develops.

For these purposes, models of statistical prediction of crime, comparative research, and microprogramming become more and more influential. Both the pro-

grammatic goals of the institutions of crime prevention and their results in everyday life should now be evidence-based. Effective crime prevention is now understood in terms of actuarial management. It is not being questioned in the long run, but it is related to micropolitical, technical, and managerial targets that are supposed to be nonideological and serving a common interest, the interest of safety, which again is supposed to be a nonideological and intraclass concept.

Following the neoliberal trend, the interests of criminology have shifted to more managerial and technical questions. New definitions of crime arise, for instance the one of Philip Cook, who argues that “crime is a tax on our standard living, imposing both tangible and intangible costs.” The focus now is on situational crime prevention, environmental criminology, and the monetary dimensions of crime prevention policy.

At the social level, these trends reflect the transformation of social control to self-control. According to David Garland, the consolidation of the idea that citizens are potential victims if they do not manage to protect themselves or if they do not become consumers of the products of the new security markets serves very fundamental functions of the state, without the direct involvement of the state.

In this frame, a great degree of fear of crime is necessary; fear of crime is the presupposition and at the same time the result of these techniques of individualization of control.

The architecture of social and urban environments is also subjected to the new class divisions. The privatization of security is not taking place on behalf of the whole society, but on behalf of those parts that are economically and socially able to take advantage of such a privilege. A new class society emerges, a society that is constituted of those who can and those who cannot afford to pay for the new idea of security or the new security itself.

This new polarized society can be observed also in the architecture of urban surroundings and cities. Shopping centers, banks, and luxury zones are well protected from dangerous, poor, or foreigner social groups, those who cannot afford security and on whom fault and blame are concentrated. Poverty is being architecturally, politically, and socially criminalized.

SEE ALSO: Corruption; Fraud; Poverty Trap; Public Policy; Social Inequality; Social Insecurity; Vagrancy.

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Croatia

CROATIA IS THE FORMER constituent republic of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which gained independence and international recognition in 1992. Croatia borders Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, Serbia and Montenegro (north); Serbia and Montenegro (south); and Slovenia. Croatia is composed of the historic provinces Istria, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, with a population of 4,495,904 (2005). The ethnic composition of Croatia is 89.6 percent Croatian (77.9 percent before the end of the civil war in 1995), 4.5 percent Serbian (12.2 percent, respectively), and 5.9 percent other, including Bosniak/Muslims, Hungarians, Italians, Czech, and Roma. Croats speak the Croatian language, and the majority is Roman Catholic (87.8 percent).

With the exception of Slovenia, Croatia was the most prosperous and industrialized area among Yugoslav republics. After a recession, the Croatian economy revived in 2000, with tourism, banking, and public investments leading the way. The rate of growth was 3.7 percent in 2004, while Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita was 11,200 (purchasing power parity). Unemployment, however, remains high, at 13.8 percent. While absolute poverty is low in Croatia, significant poverty exists in the rural areas and certain ethnic groups (Serbs, Albanians, and Roma).

Croats, along with other South Slavs, moved into the valley of the Sava and Drava Rivers in the course of the 6th and 7th centuries. Prosperous during the reign

of King Tomislav, medieval Croatia lost its independence to Hungary in 1102. Following the collapse of the Serbian empire, a large number of fleeing Serbs found a refuge in bordering regions of Croatia. The territory known as the Military Border enjoyed a considerable autonomy in the Austrian empire and became bitterly contested between Croats and Serbs. Following World War I and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Croatian lands became a part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. During World War II, Croatian nationalists, who opposed the common state, formed a Nazi puppet Independent State of Croatia. After World War II, Croatia became a part of Yugoslavia.

Dissatisfied with the status of Croatia within the Yugoslav Federation, Croatian nationalists continued to pursue a drive toward independence, which culminated in the proclamation of independence in June 1991. This led to the outbreak of hostilities among the Serbs who lived in Croatia, the Croats, and the Yugoslav People's Army. In 1995, with tacit approval of international community, the Croatian army launched a major offensive, which resulted in expulsion of more than 200,000 Serbs from Croatia.

Today Croatia is a parliamentary democracy. The head of state is the president, who is commander in chief of the armed forces and also formally appoints the prime minister based on the parliament's recommendation.

Human Development Index Rank: 45

Human Poverty Index Rank: Not included.

SEE ALSO: Bosnia and Herzegovina; Czech Republic; Serbia and Montenegro; Slovenia; World War II.

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Cuba

THE ISLAND OF CUBA, which is located south of Key West, Florida, between the Caribbean Sea and the north Atlantic Ocean, was released from the brutal con-

trol of Spain by the intervention of the United States in 1898 in the Spanish-American War. Since 1959, Cuba has been under the communist dictatorship of Fidel Castro. The economic relationship with the United States has been difficult since President John F. Kennedy placed a trade embargo on the communist neighbor in 1961. In order to escape Castro's repressive regime, many residents of the island willingly place their lives in jeopardy by sailing for the United States in boats ill-equipped for the voyage. Others attempt to enter the United States illegally with the help of smugglers or by coming into the country by airplane or along mainland routes into southwestern states.

After the dissolution of the Soviet bloc in the 1990s and the withdrawal of several billions of dollars in annual subsidies, Cuba experienced a recession from which it has yet to recover. The island has a diversified economy, with over half of the labor force involved in services. One-fourth of all workers are employed in the manufacturing sector, and 24 percent are involved in agriculture. Cuba has a per capita income of \$3,000, and unemployment is currently at 2.5 percent. The island has been faced with severe shortages of food, consumer goods, and services. As a result, the standard of living has declined. Some 11 percent of the population suffer from malnutrition. Nevertheless, Cuba has almost halved its poverty level in recent years. Unofficial reports place the current poverty level at 5.1 percent.

Cubans experience a life expectancy of 77.23 years, with women outliving men an average of five years. The median age is 35.36 years. Almost 20 percent of the population are under the age of 14, and 10.4 percent have reached the age of 65. Healthcare is free and universal in this socialist country, covering 99.2 percent of the population. HIV/AIDS prevention is a major priority in Cuba, and the country has a prevalence rate of only 0.1 percent. However, most reported incidents in Cuba are spread through sexual contact, so the country faces an ongoing threat from tourists. Approximately 91 percent of the population have access to safe drinking water, and 98 percent have access to proper sanitation. There are 596 physicians per 100,000 residents, and virtually everyone has access to essential drugs.

Infant mortality rates have declined in Cuba in response to easy access to healthcare. Between 1970 and 2005, the mortality rate dropped from 34 deaths per 1,000 live births to 6.33 per 1,000. During that same period, the mortality rate of all children under the age of 5 declined from 43 to eight per 1,000. Approximately six percent of infants are underweight at birth, and four percent of all children under the age of 5 are malnour-

ished. Five percent of under-5s suffer from moderate to severe stunting, and two percent suffer from moderate to severe wasting. Infant immunizations are almost universal, with one percent who have not been immunized against tuberculosis and DPT and two percent who have not been immunized against measles and polio. Only one percent of children between the ages of 12 and 23 months have not been immunized against measles. However, 29 percent in this group have not been immunized against DPT3.

Literacy is nearly universal in Cuba. Only 2.8 percent of males and 3.1 percent of females over the age of 15 cannot read and write. While most children attend school regularly in Cuba, the number of children completing primary school declined between 1999 and 2004. The decrease was from 104 to 94 percent for males and from 102 to 94 percent for females.

Family planning is promoted under the National Sex Education Program, and abortions are legal and free. Cuban fertility dropped from 3.5 children per woman in the 1970s to the current rate of 1.66 children per woman. The fertility of females between the ages of 15 and 19 is 67 per 1,000. Some 73 percent of all Cuban women use contraceptives of some sort. Since medical care is free in Cuba, 99.9 percent of all births take place in health centers. As a result, maternal mortality is low. Modeled estimates for 2000 place maternal mortality at 33 deaths per 100,000 live births.

In response to international pressure, the Cuban government has taken steps to improve the status of women, in part by implementing programs that fight poverty. Through the National Employment Program, the government has reduced unemployment among women to four percent. Single mothers receive economic assistance from the government along with education and skills training. Cuba has also strengthened protections for the elderly.

Human Development Index Rank: 52

Human Poverty Index Rank: 5

SEE ALSO: Communism; Education; Healthcare; Kennedy, John (Administration).

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Cuernavaca Center

THE CUERNAVACA Center for Intercultural Dialogue on Development (CCIDD) is a school for training people to be change agents in the Liberation Theology perspective. CCIDD is at a retreat center located near Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico, which is about 40 miles south of Mexico City. The city of Cuernavaca lies at an elevation of about 5,000 feet where it enjoys a springlike climate year-round. In pre-Columbian times it was the resort used by the Aztec rulers. During colonial times the explorer Hernando Cortés and many other elites went to Cuernavaca to enjoy the especially restful climate.

CCIDD is an ecumenical Christian center and bases its operations on theology that is inclusive and liberational. Its mission is to give churches, groups, and individuals from Canada and the United States opportunities to encounter the presence of God in the struggle for justice in the Americas so that they will be equipped and empowered for the work of social transformation. It also has a program that is secular and appropriate for colleges and graduate programs. The CCIDD experience usually lasts from 10 to 15 days. It is presented as either a faith-based experience or a secular experience.

Either program seeks to aid the specific interests and needs of those who attend. CCIDD seeks to give to its faith-based visitors an encounter with the spirit of God as a part of the struggle for social justice in Latin America. The encounter takes place by meeting the spirit of God in direct encounters with the people of Mexico, who have experienced social, political, economic, religious, and cultural realities that deny them their divinely ordained full dignity as human beings. The Liberation Theology that CCIDD uses as part of its curriculum stresses that God has a "preferential option for the poor" and that their voices enable others to encounter prophetic dimensions of diversity in local communities of faith and hope.

CCIDD's training enables participants to be able to name and challenge practices that may be cultural, polit-

ical, spiritual, or economic that support structures of inequality. The structures or systems of inequality support discrimination against people because of their gender, race, class, sexuality, or economic status, or even against the environment and the ecology of earth. Another part of CCIDD's curriculum analyzes the relationships between the northern and southern hemispheres whereby wealth abounds in the north and poverty in the south.

This disparity in wealth and the negative impact of American and Canadian foreign policies and business activities are examined as the sources of injustice between the regions. To eliminate these injustices the curriculum seeks to move beyond individualism and to promote the values of community. Those who study at CCIDD should leave empowered to work for social transformation at both the individual and collective level.

SEE ALSO: Christian Antipoverty Campaigns; Inequality; Liberation Theology; Mexico.

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Culture of Poverty

THE SO-CALLED CULTURE of poverty refers to both a theoretical perspective and a U.S. government policy suggesting that living within the conditions of poverty leads to a series of behaviors and attitudes, a "culture" so to speak, adapted to poverty or want. The phrase was coined by the American anthropologist Oscar Lewis and developed in his book *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty*.

Lewis argued that individuals growing up in an impoverished environment would share such ideas and behaviors, that parents would pass these characteristics on to their children, and that poor communities would share them. This "culture" might seem maladaptive to outsiders of higher economic status, but it would permit the poor to survive under conditions of unpredictability and want.

Focusing on individuals who acquired a worldview or culture based on their lives in poverty, Lewis argued that those who lived in a culture of poverty shared a set of values including a present-time orientation and inability to defer gratification, a seeming disinterest in planning for the future, and a kind of resignation or fatalism about their situation. Such values overlapped: one who remained focused on the immediate situation would be unlikely or unwilling to plan for the future; a desire to gratify oneself (in some way) immediately also seemed to indicate a disinterest in the future.

Values associated with poverty tended to manifest themselves in specific behaviors.

Lewis also noted that his poor subjects had little or no interest beyond their own immediate concerns, that they were often unaware of events in other parts of their city or nation and might spend their lives in a fairly small limited area, perhaps circulating among family and friends a few blocks apart. Values associated with poverty tended to manifest themselves in specific behaviors, often violence, alcoholism, child abandonment, and other socially disruptive activities, while their limited awareness of the larger world often reduced people's strategies in fighting or escaping poverty.

The ethnographic work culminating in this concept was conducted among Puerto Ricans who lived in San Juan and in the slums of New York City, but Lewis had also examined the effects of poverty in several earlier studies in rural and urban Mexico (1959, 1961). This earlier work also explored his interest in culture as a set of shared values or kind of group personality, a perspective widely popular in American anthropology at that time.

At the same time, Lewis thought that a culture of poverty represented a reasonable set of adaptive cultural strategies that arose when individuals were poor; as a set of values, families then handed these down to their children in a kind of cultural evolution. Lewis's work was influential, suggesting that poor people were not somehow cultureless but had a kind of subculture that might be understood. His focus on motivation—that is, one's values—and the role of the family appealed to U.S. policymakers who were uninterested in or hostile to structural explanations for poverty. The culture of poverty initially prompted scholars and policymakers to explore ways of aiding poor families, rather than examining the larger social and economic

factors that prompted poverty. Edward Banfield elaborated upon Lewis's work in his examination of urban deterioration, *The Unheavenly City*. Eager to explore the reasons behind urban violence in the poorest parts of urban America, Banfield drew upon his own earlier work and that of others like Lewis to suggest that urban poverty, particularly that of African Americans, was deeply ingrained, the result of psychological attitudes and beliefs, a culture if you will, of lower-class behavior that would persist in spite of opportunities to improve oneself.

Banfield's outlook was bleak and he suspected that the degree to which the poor were embedded in their impoverished values would render them essentially ungovernable and unimprovable. The poor, he argued, preferred living in their impoverished surroundings and would likely destroy the trappings of the middle class, for example libraries or parks. They would require extreme measures and Banfield was willing to suggest some, for instance the removal of poor children from their families so they could be appropriately trained in the ways of the middle class, and surveillance of poor young men in the hope that they could be drawn away from a life of crime and violence.

Banfield's perspective, focused as it was on the role of individual responsibility—in this instance, its absence among the poor—and the certain failure of government aid, made him popular in conservative circles, a popularity that persists today, some 35 years after *The Unheavenly City's* publication.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

The academy was not unanimous in its endorsement of the cultural poverty concept, however. Anthropologists in particular were quick to criticize parts of the culture of poverty. Leacock noted that Lewis was unable to sort out the sources of the culture of poverty he saw in his subjects. Was it poverty, or could it be the specific history of the people he was interviewing, for example?

Indeed, Eleanor Burke Leacock noted that the culture-of-poverty model was ahistorical, seemingly arising entirely from the family and its shared values. Charles Valentine argued that an analysis based upon a culture of poverty tended to focus policy decisions on eliminating the culture rather than poverty itself. Its most extreme interpretations argued against any sort of intervention, and perhaps the elimination of programs that might assist the poor, suggesting that they were futile given the poor family's inability to respond with the appropriate middle-class values.

Other scholars turned to field research, producing ethnographic studies that demonstrated the strength and resilience of the urban poor. In one typical example, Carol Stack found that poor African-American women used a range of kin networks to provide each other with various kinds of resources: money, child-care or other work, places to live. Stack intended her work to provide a kind of critique of culture-of-poverty arguments. For example, she drew explicit attention to poor women's interdependence and reliance upon each other, rather than pursuing individual strategies more typical of the middle class.

SOCIAL POLICY

The academic debates regarding the culture of poverty occurred during a time when policy experts hoped to eliminate American poverty. President Lyndon Johnson made the elimination of poverty the centerpiece of his administration, calling for a War on Poverty, in which a range of programs and policies would be devised with the goal of eliminating poverty from the United States. Numerous programs, including Head Start, Job Corps, and Medicaid were launched as part of the War on Poverty, and some of these have been quite successful since their inception.

However, some policy officials developed arguments about the poor that paralleled those of Lewis and Banfield. The best known and most influential of these was Daniel Patrick Moynihan's policy paper, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," often referred to as the Moynihan Report.

Moynihan argued that the African-American family was at risk of crumbling because of its deviant social structure, and that this in turn jeopardized young African Americans who might otherwise rise out of poverty to the middle class. Moynihan marshaled a range of studies from the social sciences and history to suggest that the black family fit what he called a "matriarchal" pattern in which women had a dominant role and men a lesser one.

Such a family structure could lead to increased bitterness and hatred by men, who felt their appropriate superior role had been usurped. This might cause men to become depressed or angry, to display violence toward their families, or even to adopt a criminal lifestyle. Moynihan further noted the negative effect on children with absent fathers, including poorer school performance, delinquent behavior, and truancy. Indeed, Moynihan titled his discussion of black family structure "The Tangle of Pathology."

The Moynihan Report made no policy recommendations beyond calling for a general effort to aid the African-American family, and many scholars and policy experts were explicitly hostile to his arguments. In the 40 years since the report's publication, research has disproved some of its arguments. Family structure is known to be more flexible than Moynihan assumed, and certainly the way that women's roles are viewed is quite different. At the same time, conservative thinkers remain influenced by Moynihan's and related arguments, using updated variants to suggest the elimination of poverty programs. However, a wider range of explanations for the persistence of American poverty is accepted to some degree, and policy experts recognize that culture is only a partial explanation for understanding poverty.

SEE ALSO: African Americans and Poverty; CDF Black Community Crusade for Children; Moynihan Report; United States; War on Poverty.

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Cyclical Poverty

CYCLICAL POVERTY DESCRIBES poverty that is intermittent as opposed to poverty that is long-term. Actual poverty in the United States is determined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget and is based on the number of adults and children in the household. Some individuals spend their lives in actual poverty, while others fluctuate in and out of poverty. It is the latter who are referred to as the cyclical poor. The cyclical poor often work at jobs that are highly affected by

changes in the environment or the economy. In industrialized societies the cyclical poor are regularly referred to as the working poor. Because of their marginal poverty status, this population tends to cycle on and off public assistance, often in congruence with economic highs and lows. In contrast, the structural poor are represented by the long-term, often generational poor, and are less affected by the economy.

It is assumed that cyclical poverty exists as a result of fluctuations in the economy from periods of economic prosperity to lows that are associated with recessions and depressions. These fluctuations, referred to collectively as the business cycle, affect unemployment rates and employee wages. In prosperous economies jobs are readily available, leading to low unemployment rates. Prosperous economies also bring about increases in wages for those who are employed. Alternatively, as the economy declines, unemployment rates increase, employees are laid off, and wages are reduced. The most notable economic low in the history of the United States is the Great Depression, which lasted from 1929 until the recovery of the 1940s. At the worst point of the Depression, one in four Americans was unemployed.

The regular ups and downs of the economy can have widespread implications, especially for the marginal working poor. Because increases in unemployment are associated with increases in poverty, recessions or depressions within the business cycle result in increased poverty rates. The individuals most affected by this cycle are the millions of working poor families who earn incomes near the poverty line. During the economic downturns that occur every four to 10 years, the working poor are laid off or suffer pay cuts. Because of their precarious proximity to poverty, these economic lows can be the catalyst that plunges the marginally poor into actual poverty.

Cyclical poverty in nonindustrialized societies is often due to food shortages caused by poor agricultural planning or by natural phenomena. In nonindustrialized countries, farming is often an attempt to achieve a level of food security. Because of a lack of knowledge or lack of capital, these farmlands are often not used efficiently. With proper planning, several different crops can be grown in a season on one parcel of land without destruction of soil. However, insufficient knowledge of effective farming methods and planning and decreased income can lead to erosion of the land. Thus, farming in these areas is often unproductive.

Natural phenomena that affect crop production can also destroy the sustenance of these countries. Floods as well as droughts can wipe out vast amounts of crops,

and freezes that come too late or too early can significantly impact crop production. Fluctuations of crop production in these nonindustrialized societies cause prices to rise and fall, resulting in a cyclical pattern of poverty.

Seasonal farmworkers are especially impacted by natural conditions. For many of these workers, the income they receive during the farming season is what sustains them for the entire year. A season that does not produce a profitable harvest can result in a year of poverty.

Cyclical poverty continues to be a way of life for many of the marginally poor.

In the United States, cyclical fluctuations of poverty have decreased since the mid-1980s. During the recession of the 1980s, many U.S. cities experienced economic and geographic changes that contributed to the segregation of poverty in the inner city. While the country recovered from the recession, poverty rates did not decrease as much as was expected. Unemployment rates were similar to unemployment rates experienced during the recession and were considerably higher in urban areas, despite employment availability.

During the recession the impoverished became geographically isolated in the inner cities, and researchers speculated that this isolation could have resulted from the increase in relocation of manufacturing jobs to the suburbs during this period. As jobs relocated to the suburbs, those who could afford to followed. This led to the out-migration of the middle class from the inner city, a shortage of males in the inner city who were employed and able to support a family, and a basic alteration of the family structure of the urban poor.

The result was predominantly female-headed households living in the inner city, high rates of welfare dependency, and high risk for unemployment. Furthermore, economic fluctuations did not have the same impact as prior to the recession. It appeared these people had become trapped in poverty and were unaffected by improvements in the economy.

Cyclical poverty continues to be a way of life for many of the marginally poor. These individuals experience waves of highs and lows in income based on the economy or natural conditions. Living on the edge of poverty and working a job that is affected by fluctuations in the economy or the environment increase the chance that one will experience cyclical poverty.

SEE ALSO: Agriculture; Depression, Great; Poverty Trap; Structuralist School; Unemployment; Working Poor.

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Cyprus

LOCATED IN THE Mediterranean Sea, the island of Cyprus attained its long-sought independence from Great Britain in 1960. Three years later, tensions between the Greek Cypriot majority and the Turkish Cypriot minority exploded into violence. A United Nations peacekeeping force was subsequently deployed but was unable to negotiate a lasting peace. Turkey controls the northern third of the island, which it has named the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Other governments do not recognize this area as a separate country. Repeated efforts to reunite Cyprus have been unsuccessful.

The republic of Cyprus is a high-income nation, with a per capita income of \$20,300. Over three-fourths of the labor force is engaged in services, mostly in tourism and finances. Approximately 10 percent of the labor force are involved in agriculture. The unemployment rate is 3.2 percent. Cyprus joined the European Union in 2004, and all Cypriot citizens have the rights granted to members of the Union. In Turkish Cyprus, economic indicators are less positive. The per capita income is \$7,135. Half of the labor force is involved in services, and 15.1 percent are engaged in agriculture. Agriculture is made more difficult in Cyprus because prolonged droughts may go on for several years, creating water shortages.

Data on some social indicators for Cyprus are missing, and there is no official poverty line. The govern-

ment believes it has eradicated hunger by providing a social net for those in need. Nevertheless, when compared to other Cypriots, single mothers and rural and retired women are likely to make up the poorest segment of the population. Single mothers are the only group of Cypriots who are in danger of becoming victims of long-term poverty. Benefits granted to needy individuals include pensions, public assistance, and monthly child benefit payments. Government programs offer training, employment, and social services.

Life expectancy in Cyprus is 77.65 years, with females outliving males by an average of five years. The median age is 34.68 years. Nearly 21 percent of the population are under the age of 14, and 11.4 percent have lived to see a 65th birthday. Even though water shortages are a problem, all of Cyprus has access to safe drinking water. Proper sanitation is also available to 100 percent of the population. A national health plan has been considered but has failed to garner sufficient support for passage. While healthcare is not free, it is widely available. There are 269 physicians for every 100,000 people on Cyprus. Some 95 to 100 percent of Cypriots are able to afford essential drugs.

Cypriot infant mortality is low at four deaths per 1,000 live births. This rate has drastically decreased since the 1970s when the rate was 29 deaths per 1,000 live births. Between 1970 and 2005, the mortality rate for all children under the age of 5 was slashed from 33 to five deaths per 1,000. Nine percent of all infants are underweight at birth. Immunization rates for children from birth to 23 months range from a percentage in the mid-80s to the high 90s.

Cyprus has made a concentrated effort to promote family planning. Between 1970 and 2005, the fertility rate fell from 2.5 children per woman to 1.83 children per woman. Teenage pregnancy is relatively rare at 16 per 1,000 births. Professional medical staff attend 100 percent of all births. Based on modeled estimates for 2000, maternal mortality in Cyprus occurs at a rate of 47 deaths per 100,000 live births.

Approximately 98 percent of Cypriots over the age of 15 can read and write. The increase in female literacy since 1980 is striking because the rate jumped from 84.7 to 96 percent. Male literacy increased from 96 to 97.6 percent. Most children attend school for at least 13 years. Primary school enrollment rates have dropped in recent years. Between 1990 and 2000, for instance, total enrollment dropped from 100 to 94.9 percent.

Human Development Index Rank: 29
Human Poverty Index Rank: Not included.

SEE ALSO: Drought; European Relative-Income Standard of Poverty; European Union Definition of Poverty.

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Czech Republic

THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN nation of Czechoslovakia was formed after World War I when the Czechs and the Slovaks, both of whom had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, united as one nation. After losing territory in the aftermath of World War II, Czechoslovakia became a satellite of the Soviet Union. Subsequently, an attempt to liberalize communism within the country failed. Czechoslovakia achieved independence through the Velvet Revolution after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 1993, the Czechs and Slovaks agreed to a "velvet divorce" that resulted in the formation of the Czech and Slovak Republics as separate entities. Subsequent reforms led to Czech membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1999 and the European Union in 2004.

The posttransition economy of the Czech Republic is one of the most stable and most prosperous of all former communist countries in Europe. Despite vast improvements and a diversified economy, the Czech Republic is facing an unemployment rate of 10.6 percent. The decline in employment has forced a number of families to turn to the government for social benefits. This is particularly true in families with several children and in those headed by single parents. Some people feel that most so-called poverty in the Czech Republic is more a matter of comparative lifestyles than an absence of basic necessities.

When asked to classify themselves, 25 to 35 percent of all Czechs feel they are poor even though their incomes are above subsistence level. These views are partially a result of the fact that the poorest 20 percent of

Czechs live on 10.3 percent of available resources while the richest 20 percent claim 35.9 percent. The Czech Republic is ranked 22.4 percent on the Gini Index of Human Inequality.

The projected life span in the Czech Republic has been steadily increasing since the 1980s. The current population of 10,241,138 enjoys a life expectancy of 76.02 years. Generally, females outlive males by six or seven years. The median age is 38.97 years. Less than 15 percent of the population are under the age of 14, and over 14 percent have seen a 65th birthday. All Czechs have access to safe drinking water and improved sanitation. There are 342 physicians for every 100,000 residents, and 80 to 94 percent have access to affordable essential drugs.

Childhood mortality is extremely low in the Czech Republic, with 3.93 deaths occurring out of every 1,000 live births. Among children under the age of 5, the mortality rate is five deaths per 1,000. In the 1970s, the mortality rate of infants was 21 per 1,000 live births, and the mortality rate of under-5s was 24 deaths per 1,000. Overall, Czech children are healthy, and only one percent of children under the age of 5 are underweight. Seven percent of infants are underweight at birth. Two percent of all under-5s suffer from moderate to severe stunting and two percent suffer from moderate to severe wasting. Nearly all children in the appropriate age groups are immunized in the Czech Republic, with immunization rates in the high 90s.

Approximately 72 percent of all Czech women use contraceptives. As a result, fertility rates are low. In 2005, the estimated fertility rate was 1.2 children per woman. This rate declined from 2.2 in the 1970s. Adolescents give birth at a rate of 23 births per 1,000. Only one percent of Czech births take place outside the presence of trained medical staff. Consequently, the maternal mortality rate is low at nine deaths per 100,000 live births.

Literacy is virtually universal in the Czech Republic at 99.9 percent, and most Czech students attend school for 15 years. In 1990, 92 percent of males and 86 percent of females completed primary school. Within five years, all Czech children were completing primary school. About 34 percent of all students in colleges and universities are studying math, science, or engineering.

Human Development Index Rank: 31

Human Poverty Index Rank: Not included.

SEE ALSO: Communism; Economic Liberalization; European Union Definition of Poverty; Unemployment.

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