

# Zero by 2030

*An Evaluation of USAID's Role in Ending Extreme Poverty*



Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies  
University of Washington

*Task Force 2014*



# *Zero by 2030: An Evaluation of USAID's Role in Ending Extreme Poverty*

HENRY M. JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Task Force Report 2014

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

By Annah Mwendar

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More than 1 billion people, a sixth of the world, currently lives within the constraints of extreme poverty, defined as living on less than \$1.25 USD a day per capita. Extreme poverty entails even more than a low average income— it creates the most deplorable conditions in health, education, food security, social mobility, and economic development. In today’s modern world of tools and technology, conditions of extreme poverty simply should not exist. International development agencies such as the United Nations, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund, national governments of developing countries, NGOs, and private actors all agree that the elimination of extreme poverty by 2030 is a feasible goal. On January 17<sup>th</sup> of 2014, The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) published a re-envisioned mission of *Ending Extreme Poverty by 2030*.

This Task Force report will tackle the immense, but clearly attainable goal of eliminating extreme poverty by 2030, addressing the ways in which USAID is working to end extreme poverty around the world. Through research and analyses, it offers policy options and recommendations to strengthen current programs. This report will delve into the sectors of Health, Food Security, Agriculture, Climate Change, Education, Gender, Disaster Management, and Economic Development and Innovation to assess ways in which extreme poverty can best be eliminated.

**Goal:** To offer effective evaluation, assessment, and policy recommendations of USAID activities, programs, and projects working to eradicate extreme poverty by 2030

## Objectives

1. Assess current *background* and *interests* of USAID involvement in issues surrounding the eradication of extreme poverty
2. Offer *policy options* and *recommendations* to make USAID’s poverty elimination activities, programs, and projects more effective

## Expected Outcomes

- *Better Health policies will allow the 1.2 billion people living in extreme poverty an opportunity to pursue secure lives in which basic needs are met and they are able to innovate, learn, and build a better future*

- *Better Agricultural and Climate Change policies will enable food security and future environmental stability for those living in extreme poverty to further develop their lives*
- *Better Education policies will allow for the direct development of human capital and production of a more skilled, educated, and self-managed development for those living in extreme poverty*
- *Better Gender policies will create gender equity and women empowerment, allowing societies afflicted by extreme poverty to reap the full potential benefits of political, economic, and social equity*
- *Better Disaster Management policies will work to lessen the impact of natural and man-made disasters allowing for progressive and sustainable development of those living in extreme poverty*
- *Better Economic Development policies will directly enable people living in extreme poverty to sustain and develop their own communities, by increasing individual incomes and connecting people to the global market*

Overall, the elimination of extreme poverty is vital to the economic, political, and social stability and development of the world. The continual assessment and evaluation of development efforts, which this Task Force report seeks to do, are crucial for the attainment of this goal.

# List of Acronyms

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AAPI	Accelerating Agriculture Productivity Improvement
ACR	All Children Reading
ACT	Artemisinin-Based Combination Therapy
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
ANC	Antenatal Care
ART	Antiretroviral Therapy
ARV	Antiretroviral Drug
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASGP	Ambassadors Small Grants Program
BHN	Basic Human Needs
CAR	Central African Republic
CCA	Climate Change Adaptation
CCGD	Collaborative Center for Gender
CDC	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
CIDA	Council for Interior Design Accreditation
CM	Child Marriage
COMPETE	Competitiveness and Trade Expansion Program
COR	Contracting Officer's Representative
CSIS	Center for Strategic and International Studies
DALY	Disability Adjusted Life Years
DART	Disaster Assistance Response Team
DCA	Development Credit Authority
DCHA	Bureau of Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance
DEC	Diethylcarbamazine Citrate
DIV	Development Innovation Venture
DOTS	Directly Observed Treatment, Short-Course
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EA	East African Trade Hub
EAP	East Asia and the Pacific
EC-LEDS	Enhancing Capacity for Low Emission Development Strategies
EmONC	Emergency Obstetric and Newborn Care
ESF	Economic Support Fund
Ex-Im	U.S. Export-Import Bank
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FDP/UDP	Fertilizer Deep Placement/Urea Deep Placement
FFP	Food for Peace Program
FID	Frontiers in Development
FTF	Feed the Future
FY	Fiscal Year

GAO	Government Accountability Office
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GE/WE	Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment
GEE	Gender Equity through Education
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GGI	Gender Gap Index
GHG	Greenhouse Gases
GHI	Global Health Initiative
GII	Gender Inequality Index
Global Fund	Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria
GR	Green Revolution
GREAT	Gender Roles, Equality, and Transformations
HCR	Headcount Ratio
HDI	Human Development Index
HFA	Hyogo Framework for Action
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HTC	HIV testing and counseling
IBRD	International Bank of Reconstruction and Development
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
ICT	Information and Commutation Technologies
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IEA	International Energy Association
IFAD	International Fund of Agriculture Development
IFDC	International Fertilizer Development Center
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IHDI	Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index
IIAG	Ibrahim Index of African Governance
IMPACCT	Impact on Marriage: Program Assessment of Conditional Cash Transfers
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPT	Intermittent Preventive Treatment
IQPEP	Improving Quality of Primary Education Program
IRS	Indoor Residual Spraying
ITN	Insecticide-Treated Net
KDHS	Kenya Demographic and Health Survey
JMP	Joint Monitoring Committee on Water and Sanitation
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
LDC	Less Developed Country
LEDS	Low Emission Development Strategies
LMI	Lower Mekong Initiative
LRP	Local & Regional Food Aid Procurement
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MCH	Maternal Child Health
MDA	Mass Drug Administration
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MDR-TB	Multidrug-Resistant Tuberculosis

MENFP	Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training
MEP	Malaria Eradication Programme
MMR	Maternal Mortality ratio
MPE	Mekong Partnership for the Environment Project
MSM	Men who have Sex with Men
NMCP	National Malaria Control Program
NTD	Neglected Tropical Diseases
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
ODR	Owner-Driven Reconstruction
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFDA	Office of US Foreign Disaster Assistance
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Countries
OPHI	Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative
OPIC	Overseas Private Investment Corporation
PADF	Pan American Development Foundation
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PFG	Partnership for Growth
PIK	Peace Initiative Kenya
PMCT	Prevention of Mother-to-Child Transmission
PMI	President's Malaria Initiative
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PRSSP	Policy Research and Strategy Support Program
PTLA	Power to Lead Alliance
PWD	Person with Disabilities
QDDR	Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review
RATE	Regional Agricultural Trade Environment
RBM	Roll Back Malaria
RDMA	Regional Development Mission for Asia
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAFTA	South Asian Free Trade Agreement
SATH	Southern Africa Trade Hub
SEA	Southeast Asia
SIM	Sustainable Infrastructure for the Mekong
SMAG	Safe Motherhood Action Group
SMGL	Saving Mothers Giving Life
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SUN	Scaling Up Nutrition
TB	Tuberculosis
TIP	Trafficking in Persons
TTI	Teacher Training Institute
TVPA	Trafficking Victims Protection Act
U5MR	Under-five Mortality Rate
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
US	United States
USADF	U.S. African Development Foundation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
USDTA	U.S. Trade and Development Agency
USG	United States Government
VCA	Vulnerability Capacity Assessment
VHT	Village Health Team
VMMC	Voluntary Medical Male Circumcision
VSLA	Village Saving Loan Associations
WASH	Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene
WATH	Western African Trade Hub
WEAI	Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index
WHO	World Health Organization
WID	Women in Development
WPS	Women, Peace, and Security
WTO	World Trade Organization





# GLOBAL HEALTH

## CHAPTERS:

- 1 – HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis
- 2 – Malaria
- 3 – NTDs and Water Sanitation
- 4 – Maternal and Child Health





# Chapter 1 HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis

*By Lea Hamp*

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## ISSUE

Despite unprecedented progress in global health in recent decades, tuberculosis (TB) and HIV remain the top two causes of death from a single infectious agent worldwide.<sup>1</sup> TB and HIV/AIDS take an especially heavy toll on populations living in extreme poverty, cutting millions of lives short. These diseases exacerbate poverty, deepen social and economic inequality, reduce opportunities for economic and social advancement, decrease international stability, and cause profound human hardship and suffering. Extreme poverty also worsens conditions favoring the spread of disease and prevents adequate access to prevention and treatment services. Significant advances in science and their successful implementation have brought the world to a tipping point in the fight against HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis. An AIDS-free generation is closer than ever before and the TB mortality rate is at an all-time low. In addition to scientific advances, however, continuous action must be taken to prevent losing recent gains in HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis and put a stop to the deaths of millions of people each year. As a world leader in global development, it falls upon the shoulders of USAID to demonstrate progressive action and commitment to reducing the impact of HIV/AIDS and TB in areas of extreme poverty. This chapter examines recent successes and failures in reducing the impact of HIV/AIDS and TB and recommends improvements and strategic steps available to USAID for increasing sustainability, integrating the service delivery system, expanding high-impact global partnerships, and improving availability and affordability of medication.

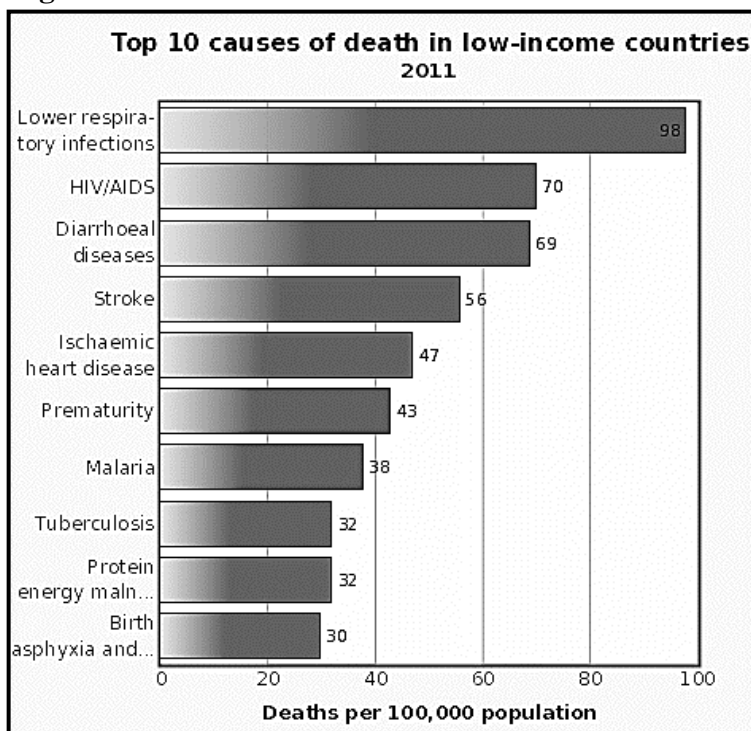
## BACKGROUND

Millions of people living in extreme poverty are dying of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis, causing a vicious cycle of poverty and disease from which, for many people, there is no escape. HIV/AIDS and TB

are infectious diseases of poverty, disproportionately affecting poor and marginalized populations. Their impact is not only felt in massive loss of life, but also in high-levels of morbidity and the accompanying impact on families, communities, and under-resourced health systems in countries with high rates of extreme poverty.<sup>2</sup> Both diseases remain in the top 10 causes of death in low-income countries (Figure 1.1). As HIV/AIDS and TB are significant agents in the appalling poverty afflicting so much of the world, serious steps to reverse the effects of HIV/AIDS and TB are essential in ending extreme poverty by 2030.

Globally, the number of people newly infected with HIV continues to fall, dropping from 3.4 million in 2001 to 2.3 million in 2012.<sup>3</sup> The number of AIDS deaths is also declining, down from 2.3 million in 2005 to 1.6 million deaths in 2012. This decline is due in part to a record 9.7 million people with HIV/AIDS receiving antiretroviral therapy (ARV) in 2012.<sup>4</sup> Despite the enormous gains made in the prevention, care, and treatment of HIV, challenges remain especially in areas of extreme poverty. Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is most affected, with nearly 1 in every 20 adults living with HIV. Sixty nine

**Figure 1.1: Causes of Death in Low-Income Countries**



Source: WHO, "The Top 10 Causes of Death."  
<http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs310/en/index1.html>

percent of all people living with HIV reside in this region.<sup>5</sup> HIV/AIDS, therefore, stands as an immense challenge in overcoming extreme poverty.

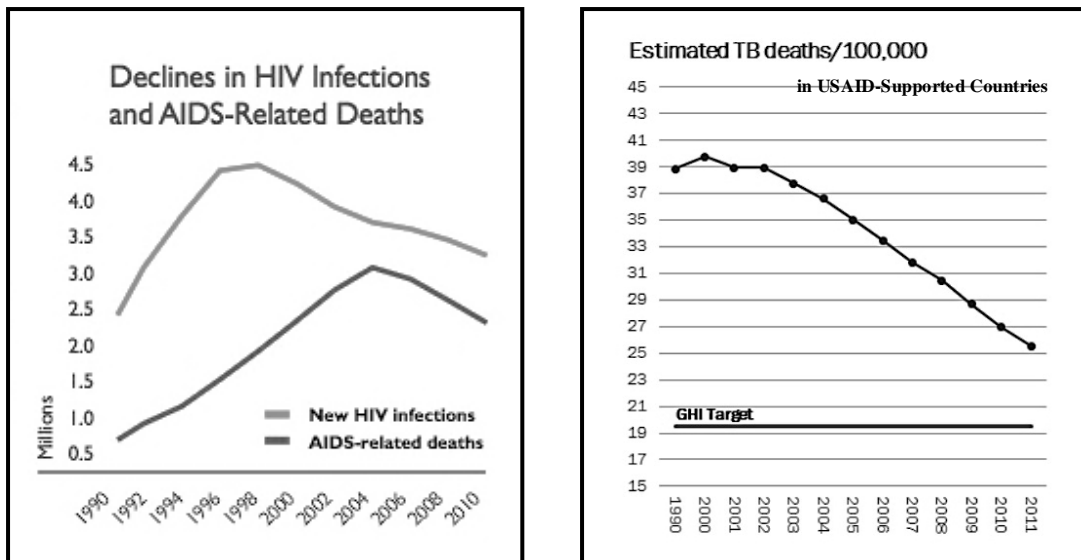
The burden of tuberculosis on populations of extreme poverty is also substantial, with 8.6 million people falling ill with TB in 2012.<sup>6</sup> There has been a decrease of 45% in the TB mortality rate since 1990, but 1.3 million cases of mortality

still occurred in 2012.<sup>7</sup> Multidrug-resistant TB (MDR-TB) puts significant stress on individuals living in extreme poverty, where TB control programs are weakest. Progress has been made in detecting TB cases, but the number of affected people accessing treatment remains low. Between 1995 and 2012, 56 million treatments were delivered, saving 22 million lives, but the need for treatment remains for many people with TB. The risk of contracting TB is significantly higher for those with compromised immune systems, as is the case with HIV positive individuals, making TB the leading cause of death for those infected with HIV. These diseases go hand in hand, with the risk of developing TB estimated to be 12-20 times greater for those living with HIV.<sup>8</sup> Recent global trends in HIV/AIDS and TB reduction illustrate progress, but also exemplify substantial work that lies ahead (Figure 1.2).

HIV/AIDS

HIV is one of the deadliest infectious diseases in the world. Since the beginning of the epidemic, almost 70 million people have been infected with HIV and approximately 35 million people have died.<sup>9</sup> HIV is a slowly replicating retrovirus attacking the CD4 cells, also known as T cells, of the immune system.

**Figure 1.2: Recent Trends in HIV and Tuberculosis**



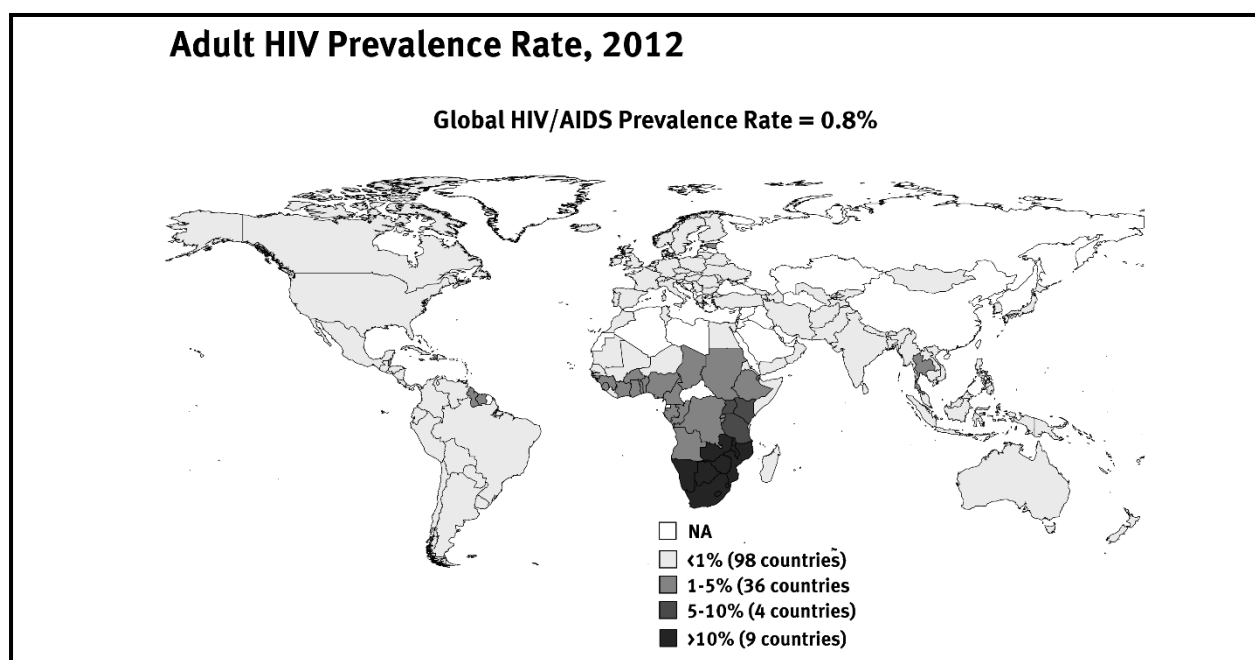
Sources: USAID, <http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1864/CSH-finalwebready.pdf>

USAID, [http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1864/tb\\_report2013.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1864/tb_report2013.pdf)

Unlike for some viruses, the human body cannot rid itself of HIV, which over time decimates the immune system to the point that the body can no longer fight other diseases. Without treatment, HIV infection progresses in approximately eight years to AIDS, which is characterized by progressive failure of the immune system, making simple infections life-threatening and allowing cancers to thrive.<sup>10</sup> Once AIDS is diagnosed, median life expectancy becomes less than two years.<sup>11</sup> HIV lives in the blood and other bodily fluids and is commonly spread by transfer of these fluids through sexual contact, mother-to-child transmission, injection drug use, occupational exposure, and blood transfusion.<sup>12</sup>

Populations disproportionately infected with HIV include hypodermic drug users, men who have sex with men (MSM), transgender persons, and sex workers.<sup>13</sup> Although no cure exists for HIV, antiretroviral therapy (ART) stops the replication of the HIV virus, giving the immune system time to recover and rebuild. Additionally, by lowering the amount of HIV virus in the body, antiretroviral drugs

**Figure 1.3: Adult HIV Prevalence Rate (Ages 15-49 years)**



**Source:** Kaiser Family Foundation, based on UNAIDS, *Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*; 2013

<http://kff.org/global-health-policy/fact-sheet/the-global-hiv-aids-epidemic/>

(ARVs) help reduce the transmission of HIV, thus acting as a form of prevention as well as treatment. Other methods of treatment and prevention include voluntary medical male circumcision (VMMC), HIV testing and counseling (HTC), consistent condom use, and reducing high-risk behaviors and situations. Research is currently underway to develop an ARV-based vaginal microbicide to effectively reduce the risk of heterosexual transmission of HIV from men to vulnerable women.<sup>14</sup>

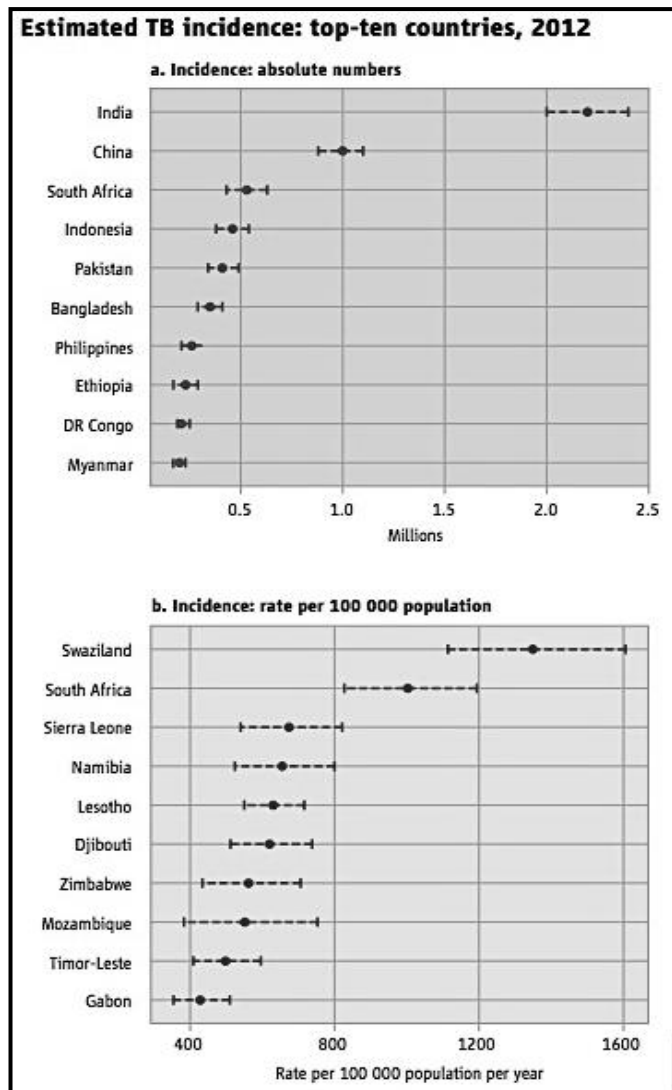
A devastating 95% of new HIV infections occur in populations living in low- and middle-income countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>15</sup> Sub-Saharan Africa carries not only the highest burden of HIV related mortality and infection, but also the highest rates of extreme poverty, placing unbearable strain on this region. In 2010, approximately 413.7 million Sub-Saharan Africans were living extreme poverty, meaning that 48.5% of SSA's population was surviving on less than US \$1.25 a day.<sup>16</sup> The HIV prevalence rate exceeded 10% in nine countries as of 2012, all of which were located in SSA (Figure 1.3). Sub-Saharan Africa is also the only world region in which women are disproportionately affected by the HIV epidemic in comparison with men, with the ratio hovering around 60% over the last five years.<sup>17</sup> The HIV epidemic in Africa fuels a vicious cycle of poverty and disease perpetuating persistent chronic food insecurity, economic instability, gender inequality, and gender-based violence.

Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis remains a major global health concern, causing ill health and death for millions of people each year. Of the 8.6 million cases of TB in 2012, 1.3 million resulted in death. The number of TB deaths is unacceptably large given that most deaths are preventable if proper diagnosis and treatment are provided. TB is an infectious disease caused by small rod-shaped bacteria that typically attack the lungs (pulmonary TB) but can also affect additional sites (extrapulmonary TB). TB is an airborne pathogen spread by coughing, sneezing, etc. Most people infected with TB do not become ill, but the risk of illness

is much higher for those infected with HIV.<sup>18</sup>

Figure 1.4: TB Incidence by Country



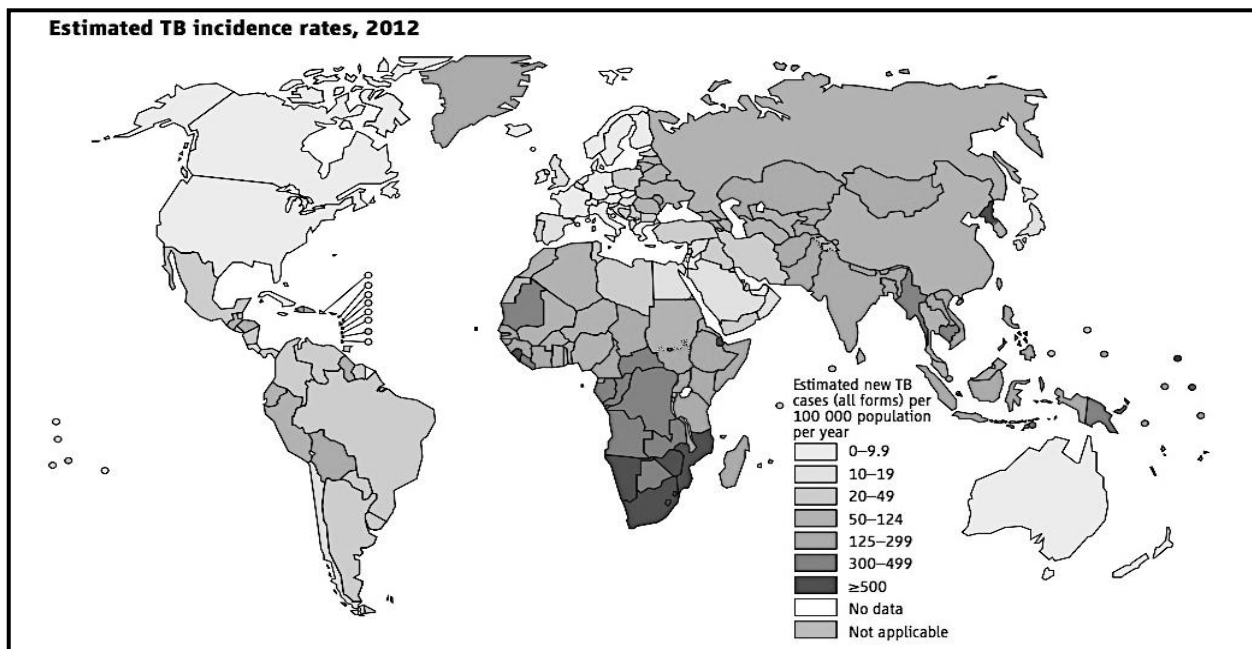
Source: WHO Global TB Report 2013

The most common method of TB diagnosis is a sputum smear microscopy, in which bacteria are examined using a microscope. Antibiotics are then prescribed to treat the disease - although this must be done carefully, as multidrug resistant TB (MDR-TB) can develop from incorrect antibiotic use.<sup>19</sup> Treatment for MDR-TB, which is resistant to isoniazid and rifampicin, the most potent of anti-TB drugs, is longer, requiring more expensive drugs and resulting in lower success rates.<sup>20</sup> New TB diagnostics and drugs are being developed and applied, such as the new Xpert MTB/RIF rapid

molecular TB diagnostic test, which diagnoses TB cases in just two hours rather than the usual four to six weeks.<sup>21</sup>

In 2012, the majority of TB cases (58%) occurred in South-East Asia and the Western Pacific,<sup>22</sup> with India and China accounting for the largest number of cases in 2012. One quarter of the world's TB cases were in Africa, where the highest rate of cases and deaths per capita occur. TB places a considerable burden on South Africa and Swaziland, where incidence rates exceeded 1000 new cases per 100,000 people in 2012 (Figure 1.4). TB disproportionately impacts developing countries, where 94% of TB cases

*Figure 1.4: Worldwide TB Incidence Rates, 2012*



**Source:** WHO, [http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/91355/1/9789241564656\\_eng.pdf?ua=1](http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/91355/1/9789241564656_eng.pdf?ua=1)

and 98% of TB deaths occur (Figure 1.5).<sup>23</sup> People living in poverty are more vulnerable to both TB infection and disease, given their crowded living and working conditions and often precarious health status. TB has, therefore, catastrophic impact on populations of extreme poverty, not simply due to the loss of income and productivity of families, but also because family members often leave work or school to provide care.<sup>24</sup> Compounding this is the fact that TB affects adults in their most economically

productive years, with 75% of cases occurring between the ages of 15 and 54.<sup>25</sup> The TB epidemic deeply impacts populations of extreme poverty where health systems are weakest.

### *Global Development and Aid Programs*

The global community has made remarkable achievements in addressing the devastation of HIV/AIDS and TB. The United Nations Millennium Declaration in 2000 established a path for progress, creating global partnerships for meeting eight goals of reducing extreme poverty. These goals, known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are useful for monitoring the state of global health, as they all have frequently assessed guidelines and standards. The sixth MDG specifically addresses TB and HIV/AIDS, focusing on halting and reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS, providing universal access to treatment for HIV/AIDS for all those who need it, and halting and reversing the incidence of malaria and other major diseases.<sup>26</sup> In response to calls for increased donor coordination, country ownership, and transparency and accountability in global health programming, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria was created in 2002.<sup>27</sup> While the U.S. provides almost two-thirds of all HIV/AIDS international assistance, the next largest donor is the Global Fund, which finances one fifth of all assistance.<sup>28</sup>

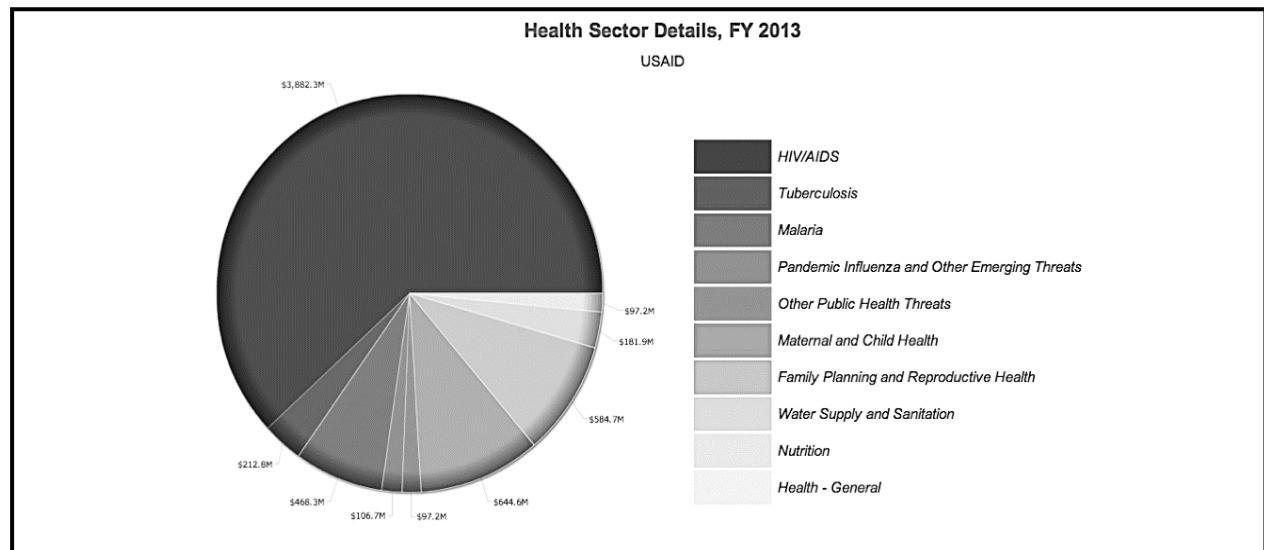
Proposed by President Bush in 2003, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) addresses HIV/AIDS in developing countries. PEPFAR focuses significant bilateral aid to a number of countries and helps finance the Global Fund. Originally authorized for only five years (FY 2004 to FY 2008) PEPFAR was reauthorized in 2008 for an additional five years (FY 2009 to FY 2013) marking a historic increase in funding and publicity for the AIDS epidemic.<sup>29</sup> In May 2009, the Obama Administration launched the Global Health Initiative (GHI), a six year program (FY 2009 to FY 2014) for developing a comprehensive U.S. government strategy on global health.<sup>30</sup> The GHI uses the combined strengths of U.S. agencies to overcome global health challenges, threatening lives both in the

U.S. and internationally.<sup>31</sup> In 2012, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton released a blueprint for achieving an AIDS-free generation, continuing the U.S. pledge to eliminate AIDS.

**USAID: Contributions**

USAID plays a crucial role in HIV/AIDS and TB reduction. With nearly 1,000 staff working on HIV/AIDS issues, including 80 percent in the field, USAID has made significant contributions to combating HIV/AIDS, including the provision of lifesaving AIDS treatment to more than 5.1 million people and HIV counseling and testing to more than 49 million people in the past 25 years.<sup>32</sup> In FY 2012, USAID implemented nearly 53 percent of PEPFAR’s programs, managing almost \$3.3 billion in

**Figure 1.5: USAID Global Health Foreign Assistance, FY 2013**



Source: *ForeignAssistance.gov*, [www.foreignassistance.gov/web/Agency\\_USAID.aspx?FY=2013](http://www.foreignassistance.gov/web/Agency_USAID.aspx?FY=2013)

HIV/AIDS resources.<sup>33</sup> USAID works in nearly 100 countries to provide HIV services and works in 28 countries to improve TB services. HIV/AIDS is consistently one of USAID’s most highly funded programs. In FY 2013 USAID spent nearly \$4 billion, or 62% of its funding for global health, on preventing and treating the spread of HIV/AIDS. Also in FY 2013, USAID spent over \$200 million addressing global issues within TB (Figure 1.5).<sup>34</sup> This substantial amount of financing demonstrates USAID’s commitment to reducing the impact of HIV/AIDS and TB on populations most vulnerable to



### **Figure 1.7: WHO Stop TB Strategy**

1. Pursue high quality DOTS expansion and enhancement
2. Address TB-HIV, MDR-TB and the needs of poor and vulnerable populations
3. Contribute to health system strengthening based on primary health care
4. Engage all care providers
5. Empower people with TB and communities through partnerships
6. Enable and promote research

**Source:** WHO, <http://www.who.int/tb/strategy/en/>

WHO developed the Stop TB Strategy in 2006 as a six-point strategy building on the previous success of the TB control strategy DOTS (directly observed treatment, short-course). The Stop TB Strategy strives to dramatically reduce the global burden of TB by 2015 in line with the MDG's and the Stop TB Partnership targets.<sup>36</sup> USAID's strategy for addressing TB aligns itself with both the Stop TB Strategy and the four key TB intervention areas identified in the U.S. Government (USG) TB Strategy, launched in 2010:<sup>37</sup>

1. Accelerated detection and treatment of TB.
2. Scaled-up prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of drug-resistant TB.
3. Expanded coverage of interventions for TB-HIV co-infection.
4. Overall health systems strengthening.

USAID supports full coverage of DOTS services, effective TB monitoring and surveillance, rapid diagnostic tools, improved access to quality drugs, enhanced supply chain management systems, and better implementation of the "Five I's" for TB/HIV co-infection programs (intensified case management, isoniazid preventive treatment, HIV infection control, integrated TB/HIV approach, and intensified treatment).<sup>38</sup> USAID promotes research for improving disease detection and treatment outcomes, in addition to shorter MDR-TB treatment regimens. Lastly, USAID helps in piloting mobile phone applications to improve case detection and in developing web-based training tools and new technologies to support dual screening for TB and diabetes.<sup>39</sup>

## US INTERESTS

Providing basic care to those living in extreme poverty and suffering from HIV/AIDS and TB remains both a strategic interest of the U.S. government as well as a moral obligation to the world. Health is essential to unlocking human potential and directly contributes to elevating human development. Eliminating HIV/AIDS, TB, and other life-threatening infectious diseases will give those people living extreme poverty the chance to pursue secure lives in which basic needs are met, allowing them the opportunity to create, innovate, learn, and build a better future for their families, communities, and nations.<sup>40</sup> The 1.2 billion people living in extreme poverty today experience the greatest devastation of HIV/AIDS and TB. Africa is losing its teachers and doctors, its civil servants and farmers, its mothers and fathers the AIDS epidemic. Over ten million children are now orphans because of HIV/AIDS.<sup>41</sup> The key to ending extreme poverty by 2030 is breaking the vicious cycle of perpetuating poverty and disease, helping the poorest of the poor to get their foot on the ladder of development and create a better future for themselves and the world.<sup>42</sup>

Development expert Jeffrey Sachs argues that once countries suffering from extreme poverty get their foot on the ladder of development they will be able to continue building on that progress. The extreme poor are caught in a poverty trap, unable to escape extreme material deprivation. Reducing the impact of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis allows countries of extreme poverty to pursue advances in higher capital stock, greater specialization, more advanced technology, and lower fertility rates. Communities blighted by conflict, failed governance, and disease cannot be strong partners to the U.S. government in our global effort to address worldwide challenges and may, in fact, exacerbate these challenges. International development cooperation, specifically through addressing the HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis epidemics, is thus a key component of American power, along with diplomacy and defense. Eliminating HIV/AIDS and TB remain effective and powerful tools, enabling the United States to safeguard our security and prosperity while expressing and spreading our fundamental values of freedom and opportunity.<sup>43</sup>

Investment in preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS and TB will positively impact global social and economic development. As infectious diseases of poverty, TB and HIV/AIDS trap impoverished nations within a vicious cycle of sickness, death, and economic strain. With the help of the U.S. government, people in extreme poverty can be freed from the constraints of HIV/AIDS and TB, allowing them the opportunity to contribute to global productivity and build successful local communities and governments. As long as HIV/AIDS and TB remain the top two leading causes of death by infectious agents worldwide, the 1.2 billion people in extreme poverty will remain at risk of perpetual poverty and disease, incapable of contributing to an economically successful, socially equitable, and politically stable world. By supporting and collaborating with the 1.2 billion in extreme poverty, the U.S. government will improve the overall stability and prosperity of the entire world. Economic development is not a zero-sum game in which the winnings of some are inevitably mirrored by the losses of others.<sup>44</sup> Eliminating extreme poverty by 2030 would be an achievement resulting not in the prosperity of just one nation, but rather the whole world.

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Supporting high-impact global partnerships and interagency coordination.*

Successful partnerships increase efficiency and effectiveness, and collaboration is critical for USAID ability to address the global impact of HIV/AIDS and TB. The number of development actors has expanded considerably since USAID's creation in 1961, increasing challenges in coordination and collaboration. Fifty years ago, only a handful of bilateral donors existed, of whom USAID was by far the largest. Today, official development assistance flows through 263 multilateral agencies, 197 bilateral agencies, and 42 donor countries.<sup>45</sup> This increase in actors means more resources, greater innovation, greater diversity in aid delivery and aid models, and most importantly, opportunities for partnership, division of labor, and specialization in the field.

**Option 2: Increasing sustainability and long-term success by promoting local programs and country ownership.**

Sustainability efforts focus on building skills, knowledge, institutions, and incentives to make development processes self-sustaining. Taking into account the wants and needs of aid recipient countries and using this information in creating joint goals and strategies promotes country ownership and sustainable, country-appropriate responses to the HIV/AIDS and TB epidemics.<sup>46</sup> To increase sustainability and long-term success, USAID programs and projects must only be launched in locations where there is demonstrable local demand and ownership, and where broad segments of the community have stakes in ensuring program continuation after USAID transitions ownership to the recipient country. A crucial component of the sustainability and long-term success of programs is the direct need of partner, aid-receiving countries - with USAID responding to and planning projects according to these specific needs.<sup>47</sup> Too often, aid is guided less by the needs of the recipient countries than by the donor country's domestic and international interests.<sup>48</sup>

**Option 3: Integrating service delivery systems and providing holistic care for patients.**

Some of the most successful global health initiatives, those responsible for the greatest increases in life expectancy worldwide, have been vertical health programs run from above by an agency targeting specific areas in health.<sup>49</sup> Although vertical health systems addressing HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis have been and continue to be incredibly effective and successful, expanding these programs and integrating them with local, horizontal health-care systems would create more sustainable systems of care. This would correct for healthcare systems organized around diseases rather than patients. Horizontal health systems include not only the physicians, clinics, and hospitals that provide routine health care, but also public health measures, such as safe water and sanitation, essential drugs, nutrition adequate for health, and the control of local endemic diseases.<sup>50</sup> Routine health-care systems are complex to set up and maintain, regardless of a country's finances, requiring

degrees of state capacity that are in short supply in some extremely poor nations. By integrating the service delivery system, USAID will cut costs, free up resources, and save more lives.

**Option 4: Provide free access to treatment and prevention in areas of extreme poverty.**

In areas where poverty is very extreme, people are utterly destitute and with no margin of income above survival that can be invested for the future.<sup>51</sup> Paying even for massively discounted medications is not possible for the poorest of the poor. For this reason, it is essential that diagnosis and treatment for TB and HIV/AIDS be provided free of charge in regions of extreme poverty. Once treatment and care for these diseases is available for free to those living in extreme poverty, the effects of these diseases will be far less debilitating and the vicious cycle of poverty and infectious disease will be broken.

## **POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Support more high impact global partnerships and interagency coordination:**

- Lobby the U.S. Government for a high profile coordinator to streamline U.S. efforts in combatting TB, with a similar role to that of the U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator.
- Encourage higher resource and political commitments from partner governments.
- Increase private sector mobilization and public-private partnerships (PPPs). Expand collaboration with multilateral and bilateral partners.

### **Increase sustainability and country ownership:**

- Strengthen health systems, educate more domestic health workers, improve laboratory capacity, and empower developing countries to address their own needs
- Partner with countries in a joint move to country-led, managed, and implemented responses.

## **Integrate the service delivery system:**

- Advance USAID response to the TB-HIV co-epidemic.
- Expand and create primary services, with particular focus on poor people and geographically isolated communities.

## **Ensure access for all to free, high-quality care**

- **Expand** diagnosis and treatment for TB and HIV/AIDS free of charge.

## **Maintain Funding:**

- Sustain USAID current funding levels
- Continue to support innovative research to develop new technologies for prevention (microbicides, vaccines, molecular-based TB tests) and care (new treatments or treatment regimens).

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## **Resources:**

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>8</sup> "WHO | Tuberculosis and HIV." *WHO*. Accessed February 4, 2014. <http://www.who.int/hiv/topics/tb/en/index.html>.

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<sup>18</sup> WHO. *Global Tuberculosis Report 2014*, n.d. [http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/91355/1/9789241564656\\_eng.pdf?ua=1](http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/91355/1/9789241564656_eng.pdf?ua=1).

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# Chapter 2 Malaria

By Cole Bazemore

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*“The fact that so many people are dying from mosquito bites is one of the greatest tragedies of the 21st century.” – Dr. Margret Chan, WHO Director General, 2013<sup>1</sup>*

## ISSUE

Malaria is one of the most important vector-transmitted diseases in the world<sup>2</sup>, as it continues to cause enormous loss of life among those living in extreme poverty. Infecting over 200 million people annually<sup>3</sup>, malaria is one of the most prevalent vector-transmitted diseases worldwide. Malaria is a disease that relies on human hosts living in certain regions and conditions that support the transmission of the disease. The continent of Africa is especially vulnerable due to the presence of human-biting anthropophagic mosquito species and high rates of extreme poverty, while Asia and Latin America face rising rates of drug resistance, which represents one of the single most serious challenges to malaria control. Populations living in extreme poverty are unevenly vulnerable to malaria due to several factors such as poor infrastructure and limited resources.<sup>4</sup>

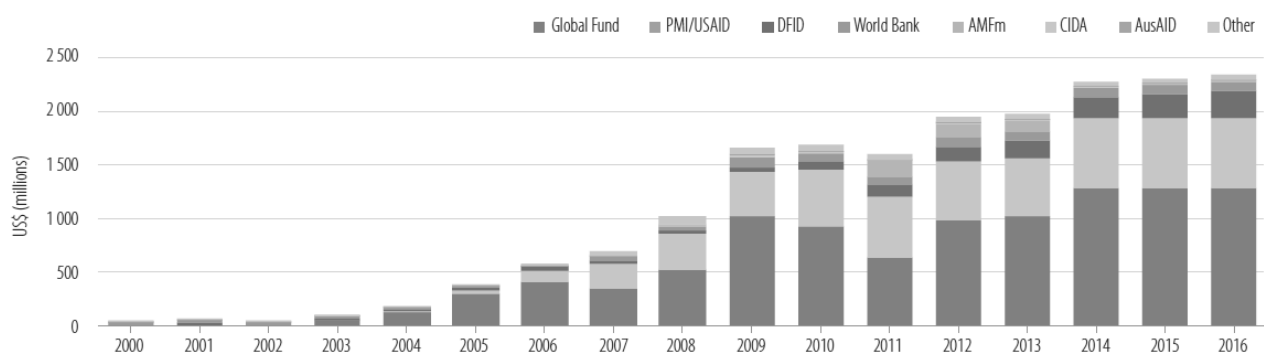
The President’s Malaria Initiative (PMI), a program overseen by the United States Agency of International Development (USAID), is one of the foremost leaders in combatting malaria around the globe, and as such will require an effective and concerted effort in the coming years in order to continue reducing the levels of morbidity and mortality caused by this disease. This chapter discusses the current global prevalence of malaria, disease transmission and methods of treatment, and international strategies in order to recommend a set of comprehensive options to USAID for the goal of eliminating malaria and ending extreme poverty by 2030.

## BACKGROUND

The estimated number of global malaria deaths has fallen from 881,000 in 2000, to 627,000 in 2012.<sup>5</sup> This is the result of enormous advances in the prevention of malaria transmission in the most

endemic regions. During the same period, global incidence rates have dropped from 226 million, to 207 million cases, with the greatest decline occurring in the years since 2005, during which there were an estimated 244 million cases. This marked reduction since 2005 in malaria cases and malaria-attributable deaths is the result of the global programs carried out by PMI, The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (Global Fund), and the World Health Organization (WHO). (See figure 2.1)

**Figure 2.1 Past and projected international funding for malaria control, 2000-2016**



AMFm, Affordable Medicines Facility – malaria; AusAID, Australian Agency for International Development; CIDA, Canadian International Development Agency; DFID, Department for International Development; GF, Global Fund; PMI, President’s Malaria Initiative; USAID, United States Agency for International Development; WB, World Bank  
 For the GF and PMI/USAID, funds from the last quarter of 2013 onwards are projected; for other agencies, funds from 2012 onwards are projected.

**Source:** WHO World Malaria Report 2013

Malaria is transmitted to humans via the female *Anopheles* mosquito, a genus common in many regions of the world, but especially prevalent in the tropics. The *Anopheles* mosquito plays a crucial role in the life cycle of malaria, as it provides a host in which the protozoa can develop and pass to humans. Upon full infection, the symptoms of malaria may include fever, ache and fatigue, and in extreme cases comas and death.<sup>6</sup>

Malaria continues to be an important public health issue in many countries because of its high adaptability, ease of transmission, as well as enormous potency for disrupting the economic and social conditions in regions suffering from high rates of infection. This combination of factors can be detrimental to human lives and society and is why malaria has remained such a scourge to humanity. Malaria is estimated to have emerged 1.5 billion years ago, making it one of the oldest plasmodium

parasites on earth. The estimated number of total deaths due to malaria varies, but estimates are as high as 27 billion.<sup>7</sup>

Before the large eradication programs of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, deaths attributable to malaria were well into the millions. Efforts to combat the disease were largely motivated by the imposition of high morbidity, reduced productivity, and poor economic development in colonial states.<sup>8</sup> The severity of malaria was so high in regions of Africa that in 1955, during the Eighth World Health Assembly in Mexico City, any effort to combat the disease on the continent was entirely excluded from the proposed eradication strategies. The refusal to address malaria in Africa during the Eighth World Health Assembly, and ultimate exclusion from the eradication programs of the 1950s and 1960s, only served to further exacerbate the problems of malaria throughout the region.<sup>9</sup>

### *Global Prevalence of Malaria*

Currently, 90 percent of malaria-attributable deaths occur within highly undeveloped regions of Africa where poor housing and infrastructure, as well as low access to insecticide-treated mosquito nets (ITNs) and indoor residual spraying (IRS) allow for the disease to prosper with relatively fewer obstructions to transmission.<sup>10</sup> In areas of extreme poverty, where families may live in temporary shelters or unenclosed buildings, mosquitos are readily able to transmit the disease to humans, placing an unevenly heavy burden on poor families.<sup>11</sup>

Malaria continues to be a public health concern in parts of Southeast Asia (SEA), and Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). Estimated rates of infection in these two regions in 2012 are 131 million, and 115 million respectively.<sup>12</sup> During the WHO's Malaria Eradication Programme (MEP) which began in 1955, deaths attributed to malaria were drastically reduced in large portions of both of these regions, however due to program setbacks and the many biological, political, and social challenges to eradication, MEP ultimately stagnated and failed to produce lasting results. The short timeframe, ambitious goals, and limited funding could only begin to reduce the morbidity and mortality caused by

malaria, ultimately leading to a massive resurgence of malaria transmission upon termination of the MEP campaign.

The spread and intensification of antimalarial drug resistance in these two regions represents one of the single most serious challenges to malaria control. In the Mekong Region of SEA, strains of the highly deadly *Plasmodium falciparum* malaria strain have already developed resistance to chloroquine, SP, and mefloquine, and the recent reports of resistance to artemisinin are particularly alarming. In the Amazon Basin, high-level resistance to both chloroquine and SP is already present, and there is evidence of early mefloquine resistance, although with artemisinin-based combination therapies (ACTs) remain effective.<sup>13</sup>

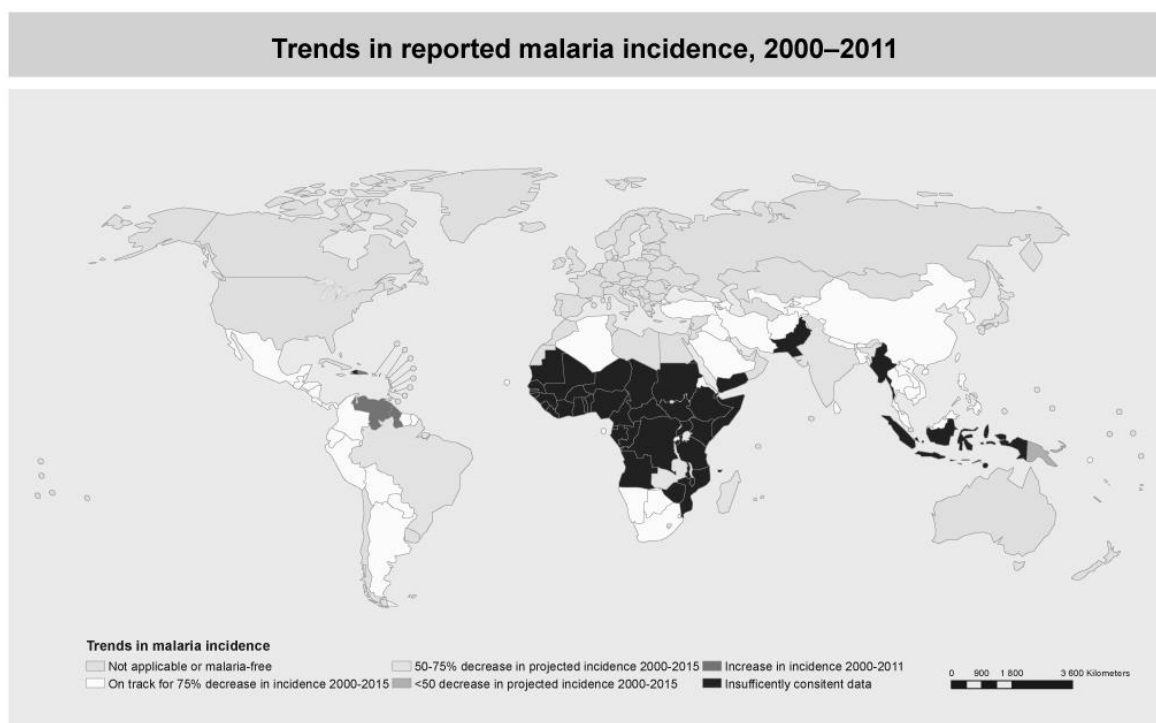
### **Global Trends in Malaria Reduction**

Historically, malaria has been present in many regions throughout the world, including those that are currently malaria-free, such as the United States (US) and Europe. Today, malaria is almost exclusively found in the tropical regions located along the equatorial belt. The concentration of malaria in tropical climates is not due to a preference by mosquitos for warmer temperatures, but is instead largely the result of urbanization, as well as country sponsored eradication programs in many developed countries, and improved social conditions that took place around the globe throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>14</sup> As people began to move into cities and away from rural areas where malaria was most prevalent, rates of infection dropped significantly.<sup>15</sup> This transition of people into cities, as well as increased movement around the globe and through colonized countries in Africa and LAC increased the prevalence of malaria throughout the tropics.<sup>16</sup> (See figure 2.2)

The current efforts to reduce the prevalence of malaria are occurring alongside efforts to reduce extreme poverty around the world. Poverty itself can be the biggest challenge in development for a country or community. In what Jeffrey Sachs calls a “Poverty Trap”, communities that are absolutely destitute cannot overcome poverty because they lack the necessary resources to save for the future. Limited resources prevent those living in extreme poverty from accessing preventative technologies or

medicine that may directly reduce detriment from malaria. Without being able to save capital, a community will not be able to invest in the future, which is necessary for that community to lift itself out of extreme poverty.<sup>17</sup> This is an unfortunate scenario that plagues populations around the world, especially in regards to malaria prevention, and is one which necessitates the assistance of outside parties, such as USAID and PMI in order to achieve lower rates of transmission.

**Figure 2.2 Trends in Reported Malaria Incidence, 2000-2011**



Source: WHO World Malaria Report 2012

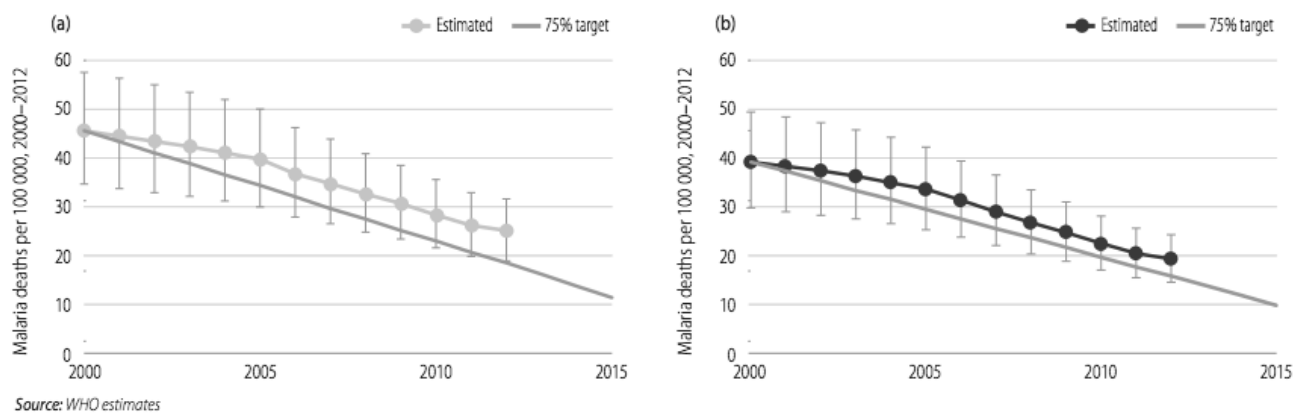
### Impact of Malaria on Vulnerable Populations

The toll of malaria is especially apparent in vulnerable populations, such as children and pregnant women. Children five years and younger are highly vulnerable to malaria, and are one of the most afflicted populations by malaria. (See figure 2.3) The WHO estimates that in 2012 there were 482,000 malaria-related deaths among children 5 years and younger. 462,000 or 96 percent of these deaths

occurred in children 5 years and younger in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA).<sup>18</sup> According to United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), malaria kills a child under the age of five every minute.<sup>19</sup> In many countries in SSA, 30 percent or more of outpatient visits and hospital admissions of children under 5 are attributable to malaria. Despite these numbers, significant reductions have been achieved in malaria-related morbidity and all-cause childhood deaths in six PMI focus countries: Ghana, Kenya, Rwanda, Senegal, Tanzania, and Zambia.<sup>20</sup> These reductions notwithstanding, malaria deaths among children under 5 are still a major problem in certain regions, and are cause for major concern.

Pregnant women living in regions of high malaria prevalence are another population that suffers

**Figure 2.3: Malaria mortality rates, 2000–2012 in (a) all age groups and (b) children <5 years of age**



**Source:** WHO World Malaria Report 2013

greatly from this disease. Pregnant women that become infected with malaria face the risk of severe symptoms and outcomes, such as markedly higher rates of miscarriage, intrauterine demise, premature delivery, low-birth-weight neonates, and neonatal death. Pregnant women are also at higher risk of severe anemia and maternal death.<sup>21</sup> Maternal death is incredibly detrimental for families, as well as the prosperity and economic growth of a country. Maternal death impacts the opportunity for women and mothers to maintain the health of their children, and assist in educating their communities and families about the dangers of malaria. Intermittent preventive treatment (IPT) is increasingly used for the prevention of malaria among pregnant women, and consists of the administration of a single curative dose

of an efficacious anti-malarial drug during pregnancy, regardless as to whether or not the woman is infected with malaria. The drug is typically administered under supervision during antenatal care visits.<sup>22</sup>

### Reducing Malaria in Areas of Extreme Poverty

Reducing the prevalence of malaria depends on the proper provision of preventative technologies, such as ITNs, treated clothing, and repellents.<sup>23</sup> ITNs, IRS, and anti-malarial drugs are proven technologies that are receiving the highest investments around the globe.<sup>24</sup> Effective educational outreach programs have also been successful in informing men and women about the danger malaria poses to their health, and the health of their children.

While global development organizations and national health ministries such as PMI have made enormous progress in reducing the prevalence malaria over the last decade, this disease continues to affect millions around the world, and the fight to reduce morbidity and mortality continues. A renewed global push will be required in order to eliminate, and one day eradicate malaria globally. This will need to include broad multisectoral efforts to improve the lives of the millions still living in poverty, improved strategies for reducing malaria transmission, and the development of key technologies for treating and preventing malaria infections.<sup>25</sup>

### US INTERESTS

*“We partner to end extreme poverty and promote resilient, democratic societies while advancing our security and prosperity.” – USAID Mission Statement, 2014<sup>26</sup>*

USAID’s renewed mission statement for 2014 calls to action their effort to combat extreme poverty and address the challenges to development that affect more than 1 billion people around to the world.<sup>27</sup> Combatting extreme poverty will require action to reduce the morbidity and mortality caused by malaria, especially in SSA. The 2014 Fiscal Year Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations requested \$670 million for USAID to continue PMI’s global malaria programs.<sup>28</sup> This funding is dedicated to the distribution of ITNs, increased IRS, IPT for pregnant women, and the diagnosis and

treatment of malaria with ACTs. PMI currently implements these strategies in 19 focus countries in SSA to directly target the morbidity and mortality caused by malaria in a region so heavily afflicted by this disease.

PMI has set goals in response to the designation of global health as an issue of national interest and one of the US' top priorities.<sup>29</sup> The programs for combatting malaria implemented by PMI assist in improving the health of foreign countries, build strong partnerships, and enhance economies abroad, all of which contribute to a more prosperous and secure world. The investment by the US allows for stability to flourish, families to prosper, and communities to grow in the US and around the world. The instability caused by disease, famine, and poor governance leaves peoples and nations vulnerable to exploitation, including fear generated about the US' role in their world.<sup>30</sup>

By combatting malaria around the globe, the US directly assists in reducing the threat of infectious disease for Americans. Addressing malaria in the most endemic regions allows the US to better protect Americans at home, and those traveling abroad from infectious diseases, including malaria. Similarly, investing in malaria programs may assist in improving economies abroad through greater productivity from reduced morbidity and mortality. Stronger foreign economies assist in creating trade partners with the US and have the potential to produce more economic opportunities for US companies exporting to these nations. Many current US trade partners, such as Poland and South Korea, have previously benefitted enormously from US assistance.<sup>31</sup>

As well as aligning with US interests, USAID's malaria programs are a direct response to the international goals and targets set out by the Abuja Summit, the Millennium Development Project, and the Global Malaria Action Plan. The US has promised to address malaria, a promise that has been continuously reaffirmed through the efforts of USAID and their continued investment in PMI.

USAID works primarily in SSA, specifically in countries that are highly afflicted by malaria.<sup>32</sup> PMI focus countries that are receiving significant levels of aid from USAID include the Democratic

Republic of the Congo (DRC), Angola, Nigeria, and Uganda. The high disease burden in SSA contributes to an annual loss of \$12 billion GDP in lost productivity in SSA.<sup>33</sup> USAID is also providing greater administrative support to malaria program oversight in the Mekong region and Amazon region of South America. This is done in an effort to prevent resurgence in malaria transmission and to reduce the potential for increased resistance to ACT treatments in these regions.

In accordance with its membership in the Roll Back Malaria Partnership, PMI measures progress toward achieving national and international goals by analyzing the combined efforts of host country governments and other partners involved in malaria control. Looking at PMI-supported efforts does not provide an accurate analysis of the correlation between the increases in the coverage of malaria interventions and the reductions in malaria morbidity and mortality.<sup>34</sup>

Heavy investment by USAID and PMI in establishing strategic partnerships has assisted in establishing their programs in SSA. Strategic partnerships with health ministries, local governments, and corporations in PMI focus countries assist with producing a malaria control strategy and establishing a sustainable model of prevention, while also continuing to leverage support from other partners.<sup>35</sup> PMI's corporate partnerships assist by leveraging their capabilities and resources to allow for more cooperation between their efforts and malaria eradication programs. Contributions to PMI programs have previously been received from manufacturing and sugar production companies in SSA, and more recently by petroleum company Exxon Mobile, and steel company Arcelor Mittal. Contributions from these organizations allowed PMI to provide training courses on insecticide spraying in Liberia, and increase the distribution of ACTs and IPTs for pregnant women in Angola.<sup>36</sup>

The US' placement of Peace Corp volunteers overseen by PMI throughout SSA also contributes significantly in maximizing health sector investments. In 2011, PMI and the Peace Corps launched a partnership to recruit experienced Peace Corps volunteers to support national malaria control programs (NMCPs) in 14 PMI focus countries. These include Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique,

Rwanda, and Uganda among others. Volunteers are an important resource for PMI in-country teams, as they provide critical assistance in developing NMCPs.<sup>37</sup>

## POLICY OPTIONS

It is important that USAID continue to focus PMI's malaria reduction programs through 2015, and well into the coming decade in furtherance of the US government's (USG's) objective of eliminating malaria in SSA, LAC, and SEA by 2040. This object is also in accordance with USAID's mission of ending extreme poverty around the globe and supporting progressive elimination of malaria in additional countries from 2015 through 2030.<sup>38</sup>

PMI has outlined four specific strategies for addressing malaria, each of which will be crucial to achieve zero malaria prevalence. These include promoting comprehensive preventative and treatment interventions, strengthening health systems and country ownership, coordinating closely with partners, and directly supporting research. These options will allow USAID and PMI to achieve 70 percent reduction in malaria burden in the original 15 PMI focus countries in SSA by 2015. Levels of malaria transmission in SEA and LAC are much lower than in SSA. Even while malaria is responsible for considerable illnesses in SEA and LAC, deaths occurring as a result of malaria are much less common. Due to the lower levels of transmission and infection, immunity that may be gained during childhood or early adolescence is less prevalent, increasing the risk of disease among all age groups, and among both men and women.<sup>39</sup> This will require further monitoring and evaluation in SEA and LAC on the prevalence of malaria and transmission rates.

In accordance with the USG's goals for addressing global health, USAID's long-term strategies for eliminating malaria, and the recommendations of the Global Health Technical Assistance Project evaluation of PMI's operations, this Task Force has identified a set of options from our own findings, as well as other institutions that best align with the goal of eliminating malaria and ending extreme poverty around the globe by 2030.

### Option 1: Expand and Invest in PMI's Global Programs

The success of PMI's global programs necessitates an expansion of malaria control efforts in countries such as the DRC and Nigeria, and up to seven additional high burden countries. Nigeria and DRC are the two highest burden countries in Africa and account for half of all malaria cases on the continent. The selection of the seven additional countries will be based on population, malaria burden, health infrastructure, and availability of other donor funding.<sup>40</sup> Based on PMI performance, the deepening constraints upon other actors in the global malaria response, and the reality that reducing control efforts may lead to a global resurgence in the burden of malaria, PMI programs would benefit enormously by receiving additional financial resources and the responsibility to refocus its programmatic agenda on low-income, high malaria burden countries.<sup>41</sup> Appropriate allocation from Congress in future US Foreign Operations budgets should consider the ramifications of reduced funding for PMI programs currently in place around the world.

### Option 2: Address Resistance to Antimalarial Drugs

In Southeast Asia and the Americas, where antimalarial multidrug-resistance is one of the greatest threats to global malaria control, PMI should continue work with NMCPs and partners to strengthen efforts to contain the spread of multidrug resistant *P. falciparum* malaria. This can be achieved by supporting well-functioning antimalarial drug resistance surveillance networks, establishing national systems to monitor the quality of antimalarial drugs as a means of preventing the introduction and dissemination of sub-standard or counterfeit drugs, and contributing to a further reduction in the level of transmission of *P. falciparum* malaria in the Greater Mekong Region and the Amazon Basin.<sup>42</sup> Improving resistance monitoring for both insecticides and antimalarial artemisinin drugs are important for avoiding future threats to the progress made thus far in eliminating malaria. Existing efforts in this area should be expanded and improved to ensure that high-quality, population-based, timely monitoring systems for insecticide resistance are developed on a priority basis. Tracking the global emergence of malaria and spread of artemisinin resistance requires routine surveillance across a much broader area of the PMI focus countries in Africa and will require increasing attention and resources.<sup>43</sup>

### Option 3: Expand PMI Programs to Combat Extreme Poverty

In addressing global rates of extreme poverty, PMI can assist by continuing to integrate malaria prevention and treatment activities with maternal and child health efforts, and other major health programs, including HIV/AIDS, neglected tropical diseases, and tuberculosis. Progress will require PMI assistance in building the capacity of host-country health systems and workforces, especially related to critical health systems bottlenecks which afflict many health systems. These may include supply chain management, disease surveillance and reporting, monitoring and evaluation, and laboratory diagnostic services. Revising and updating national malaria control strategies and plans, as appropriate, to reflect the declining burden of malaria is also very important, as well as ensuring a women-centered approach to malaria prevention and treatment activities at both the community and health facility levels, since women are the major caretakers of young children who, along with pregnant women, are most vulnerable to the effects of malaria infections.<sup>44</sup>

## POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

### **Advocate for increased funding from Congress for FY 2015 to expand PMI's financial resources and geographic reach.**

- Continual funding for USAID and PMI is vital for continuing the work with NMCPs and partners to reduce the burden of malaria in areas most afflicted by high rates of extreme poverty.

### **Continue resistance monitoring of antimalarial drugs to detect early any loss in efficacy of the first- and second-line drugs.**

- Appropriate monitoring of antimalarial drug resistance in SEA and LAC should be expanded and improved to ensure that high-quality, population-based, timely monitoring systems for insecticide resistance are developed on a priority basis.

### **Expand PMI's research component and push for a more developed global malaria research agenda.**

- Emphasize the importance of program-based, policy-relevant research, and expand research activities across different countries to improve program efficiency and effectiveness, while using PMI's experiences and technical insights to inform and advocate for an expansion of global malaria research programs.<sup>45</sup>

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## Resources:

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- <sup>2</sup> Anne-Emanuelle Birn et al., *Textbook of International Health: Global Health in a Dynamic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 272.
- <sup>3</sup> World Health Organization and Global Malaria Programme, *World Malaria Report 2013*, 49.
- <sup>4</sup> Meredith P Fort, Mary Anne Mercer, and Oscar Gish, *Sickness and Wealth: The Corporate Assault on Global Health* (Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, 2004), 140.
- <sup>5</sup> World Health Organization and Global Malaria Programme, *World Malaria Report 2013*, 61–62.
- <sup>6</sup> CDC-Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, “About Malaria - Disease,” accessed February 25, 2014, <http://www.cdc.gov/malaria/about/disease.html>.
- <sup>7</sup> Birn et al., *Textbook of International Health*, 244.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 272.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.
- <sup>10</sup> Fort, Mercer, and Gish, *Sickness and Wealth*, 131.
- <sup>11</sup> *Housing Conditions and Plasmodium Falciparum Infection: Protective Effect of Iron-Sheet Roofed Houses* (BioMed Central), <http://www.pubmedcentral.nih.gov/articlerender.fcgi?artid=1373640>.
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- <sup>13</sup> USAID, *Lantos-Hyde United States Government Malaria Strategy, 2009-2014*, 2010, 8, <http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?&verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA519599>.
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- <sup>15</sup> Andrew J. Tatem et al., “Urbanization and the Global Malaria Recession,” *Malaria Journal* 12, no. 1 (April 17, 2013): 133, doi:10.1186/1475-2875-12-133.
- <sup>16</sup> Stepan, *Eradication*, 144.
- <sup>17</sup> Jeffrey Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), 19.
- <sup>18</sup> World Health Organization and Global Malaria Programme, *World Malaria Report 2013*, 61.
- <sup>19</sup> “Health - Malaria,” *UNICEF*, accessed February 4, 2014, [http://www.unicef.org/health/index\\_malaria.html](http://www.unicef.org/health/index_malaria.html).
- <sup>20</sup> USAID, *Lantos-Hyde United States Government Malaria Strategy, 2009-2014*, 4.
- <sup>21</sup> Julianna Schantz-Dunn and Nawal M Nour, “Malaria and Pregnancy: A Global Health Perspective,” *Reviews in Obstetrics and Gynecology* 2, no. 3 (2009): 186–192.
- <sup>22</sup> “WHO | A Strategic Framework for Malaria Prevention and Control during Pregnancy in the African Region,” *WHO*, accessed February 27, 2014, [http://www.who.int/malaria/publications/atoz/afr\\_mal\\_04\\_01/en/](http://www.who.int/malaria/publications/atoz/afr_mal_04_01/en/).
- <sup>23</sup> Birn et al., *Textbook of International Health*, 273–274.
- <sup>24</sup> World Health Organization and Global Malaria Programme, *World Malaria Report 2013*.
- <sup>25</sup> Fort, Mercer, and Gish, *Sickness and Wealth*, 140.
- <sup>26</sup> USAID, “Mission, Vision and Values,” *Who We Are*, January 29, 2014, <http://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/mission-vision-values>.
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- <sup>28</sup> Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance, *FY2014 Congressional Budget Justification Executive Summary*, 72, accessed February 18, 2014, <http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1868/207305.pdf>.
- <sup>29</sup> U.S. Global Health Initiative, "National Interest," *U.S. Global Health Initiative*, accessed February 20, 2014, <http://www.ghi.gov/about/whyGH/nationalInterest/index.html#.UwWkoEJdVAi>.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>32</sup> United States, Agency for International Development, and President's Malaria Initiative (U.S.) Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (U.S.), *The President's Malaria Initiative Seventh Annual Report to Congress*. (Washington, DC: United States Agency for International Development, 2013), 8, [http://www.pmi.gov/resources/reports/pmi\\_annual\\_report13.pdf](http://www.pmi.gov/resources/reports/pmi_annual_report13.pdf).
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- <sup>34</sup> USAID, *Lantos-Hyde United States Government Malaria Strategy, 2009-2014*, 4.
- <sup>35</sup> United States, Agency for International Development, and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (U.S.), *The President's Malaria Initiative Seventh Annual Report to Congress*, 5.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.
- <sup>38</sup> USAID, *Lantos-Hyde United States Government Malaria Strategy, 2009-2014*, 10.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.
- <sup>41</sup> Global Health Technical Assistance Project, *External Evaluation of the President's Malaria Initiative*, 2012, 67, [http://www.pmi.gov/news/pressreleases/pmi\\_audit.html](http://www.pmi.gov/news/pressreleases/pmi_audit.html).
- <sup>42</sup> USAID, *Lantos-Hyde United States Government Malaria Strategy, 2009-2014*, 6.
- <sup>43</sup> Global Health Technical Assistance Project, *External Evaluation of the President's Malaria Initiative*, 69.
- <sup>44</sup> USAID, *Lantos-Hyde United States Government Malaria Strategy, 2009-2014*, 6.
- <sup>45</sup> Global Health Technical Assistance Project, *External Evaluation of the President's Malaria Initiative*; USAID, *PMI Management Response to External Evaluation of the President's Malaria Initiative*, February 15, 2012, [http://www.pmi.gov/news/pressreleases/pmi\\_audit.html](http://www.pmi.gov/news/pressreleases/pmi_audit.html).

# Chapter 3 Neglected Tropical Diseases & Water Sanitation

By Elli Novatcheva

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## ISSUE

Improving the health of people is necessary for making headway in eliminating extreme poverty. Recognizing this, USAID spends 36% of its FY2013 budget on health aid. Neglected Tropical Diseases (NTDs) are inherently diseases of poverty. More than 1.4 billion people living on \$1.25 or less a day are affected by one or more NTDs<sup>1</sup>, and an additional 3 billion are at risk of new infections.<sup>2</sup> These diseases are responsible for huge losses of Disability Adjusted Life Years (DALYs) and income by the world's poorest people.<sup>3</sup> Causing huge amounts of human suffering and increasing susceptibility to disease in general, NTDs perpetuate poverty and disease. Those affected are often infected with more than one NTD, increasing their susceptibility to infection with HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria and the likelihood that treatment for these diseases will not be as effective as expected. In addition, NTDs cause "anemia and blindness, stunt children's growth, lead to cognitive impairments, and complicate pregnancies."<sup>4</sup> NTDs thrive in areas with poor water sanitation, which allows insects and other disease vectors to thrive. In contrast, however, to the expensive drug regimens necessary for treating other diseases, NTD treatment and prevention only costs 50¢ per person per year. With the goal of eliminating extreme poverty in mind, USAID is faced with the opportunity of reallocating funds to and improving focus on NTDs and water sanitation is to be prioritized.

## BACKGROUND

This chapter examines the diseases and water infrastructure which play such a vital role in eliminating extreme poverty, but which have been overshadowed by HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria. While treatment and prevention programs for the 'big three' diseases are inarguably vital to development, it is

important to recognize their existence within a wider context of poverty and health. This context includes widespread infection with NTDs, often more than one, which render the world's poorest people more susceptible to infection with HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria. NTD infections often increase the severity of disease for those co-infected with HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria, making the likelihood that treatment for these diseases will not be as effective as expected. USAID's health aid budget focuses, however, almost entirely on HIV/AIDS, Maternal and Child Health, and Family Planning and Reproductive Health. Tuberculosis and malaria only receive 3.4% and 7.5% of the budget, respectively. Other public health threats – including NTDs – and water supply and sanitation receive only 4.4%. This is problematic for USAID's mission to eliminate extreme poverty, however, in that these 'other' public health threats contribute majorly to the perpetuation of poverty in the world's most vulnerable populations.

### *History of Health and Development*

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) annually measures the success of different countries according to three elements of human development: a long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living.<sup>5</sup> Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) routinely ranks at the bottom of this classification. Whereas the number of people living under \$1 a day has decreased in the majority of the world, it increased by 100 million in Sub-Saharan Africa between 1990 and 2001.<sup>6</sup> Some headway towards alleviating the burden of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa has, admittedly, been made. Twelve African countries, including at least six USAID aid recipients, have seen significant reductions in childhood mortality. Recently, Senegal, Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda, and Ghana have seen drops of more than six percent per year, which is significantly over the 4.4 percent per year between 1990 and 2015 required to meet MDG 4.<sup>7</sup> USAID thus has a demonstrated ability to succeed in its global health initiatives in SSA.

USAID's Bureau of Global Health has in recent years focused on the 'big-three' diseases: HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. These diseases account for 61.9%, 3.4%, and 7.5% of USAID's health spending in 2013 respectively. Other public health threats – including NTDs – and water supply and sanitation receive only 4.4%. Not to downplay their importance for the eradication of extreme

poverty, it must be acknowledged that HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria disproportionately burden developing countries. Yet the narrow focus on the ‘big three’ diseases results in USAID overlooking the important role of other infectious and waterborne ailments holding the world’s poorest people back from development.

Many of these ‘other’ infectious diseases are neglected tropical diseases, or NTDs. These affect more than one billion people worldwide, almost all of whom live in extreme poverty, yet receive only 0.6% of overseas development assistance for health.<sup>8</sup> NTDs are often endemic with the ‘big three’ diseases, increasing their severity and impact on the world’s poorest people. For example, coinfection with malaria and one (or more) NTDs greatly increases the severity of anemia to which so much of malaria’s morbidity and mortality is attributed. Moreover, NTDs also interfere with vaccine immunogenicity. This makes research into new NTD drugs and vaccines alongside malaria research,<sup>9</sup> and the adequate funding of NTD control programs alongside HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria initiatives a priority for development agencies.

In addition to NTDs, most of the other ailments in the infectious disease category are waterborne diseases. These include the major diarrhea-causing and helminth infections, but unclean water is also associated with upper respiratory tract infections, trachoma, and undernutrition. As part of the seventh Millennium Development Goal (MDG), the international community has set the goal of halving the number of people with inadequate access to water supply, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) by 2015.<sup>10</sup> Although the UN announced in March 2012 that this goal had been reached, it later clarified that many of the ‘improved’ water sources did not conform to WHO guidelines. In addition, the WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Committee on Water and Sanitation (JMP) has made clear the shortcomings of relying on a binary improved/unimproved categorization.<sup>11</sup> Beyond the fact that ‘improved’ water sources are still often contaminated and unsafe for consumption, the availability of clean water and fetching distance also play an important role in the prevention of waterborne disease. The proximity of clean water available has also been shown to correlate with the frequency of household hygiene behaviors.<sup>12</sup> These factors were not

included in the UN's evaluation of progress on clean water and its optimistic pronouncement that MDG 7 had been reached in 2012.

While NTDs are present in both Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), Asia, and Latin America, nearly all NTD infections are most prevalent in SSA. Moreover, NTD prevention and treatment is less influenced by cultural differences than that of HIV/AIDS or TB, meaning that similar solutions to NTDs can be applied in different. For this reason, NTDs will mostly be addressed as an African problem and Asian NTDs will be examined much more briefly. Latin American NTDs are not examined, because USAID's NTD program does not work in this region. It is important to note, however, that this does not mean Latin America's NTD burden is negligible. Water sanitation must also be examined as part of the HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria context. Water sanitation problems and options for solving them are quite similar in Asia and Africa, and this is (again) why the problem will be examined with a primarily sub-Saharan African focus.

### *Diseases of Poverty – Neglected Tropical Diseases*

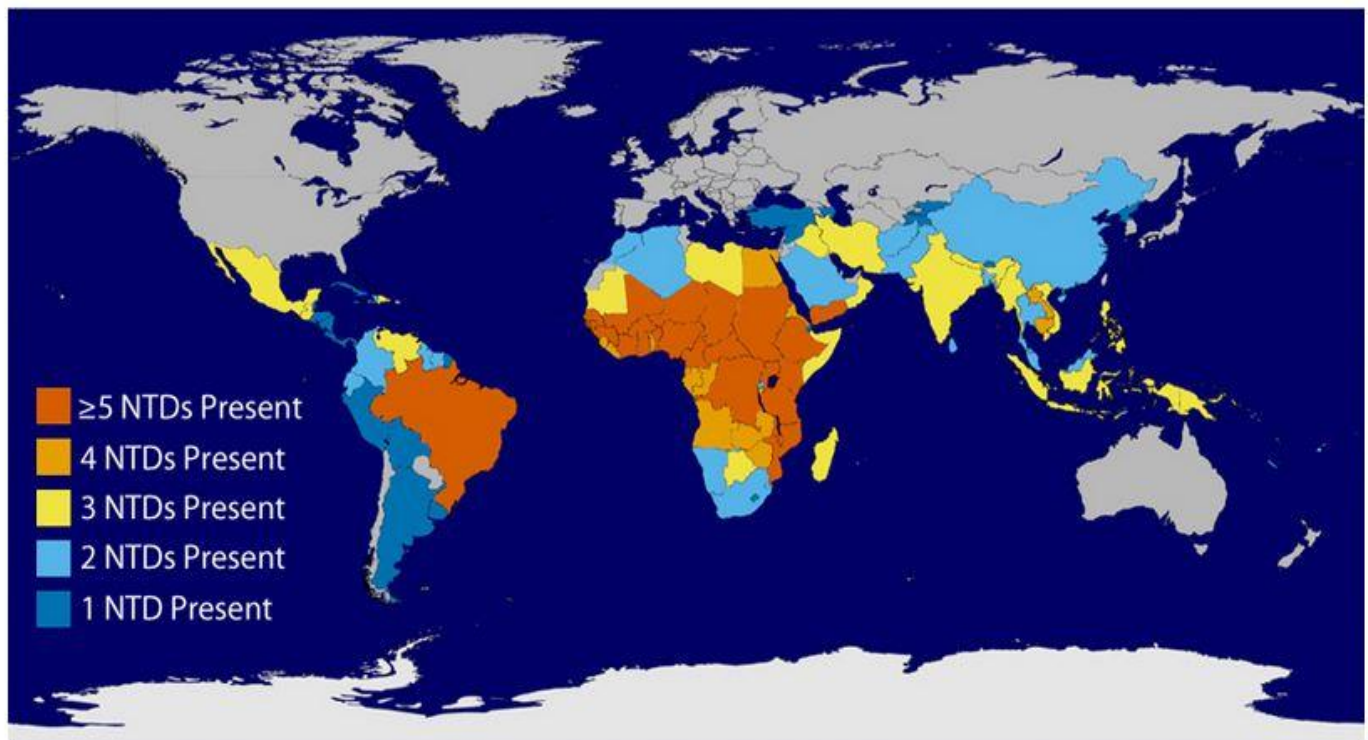
The Neglected Tropical Diseases (NTDs) – the helminthic infections, filarial infections, blinding diseases, mycobacterial infections, kinetoplastid infections, urban diseases, and schistosomiasis – have in the past been overshadowed by diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS. NTDs are, however, no less important than malaria or HIV. Responsible for huge amounts of human suffering, economic losses, and increased susceptibility to disease in general, NTDs perpetuate poverty and disease. Every country classified by the US government as low-income is affected by at least five NTDs simultaneously.<sup>13</sup> Allowing NTDs to remain subordinate to more 'popular' diseases results, therefore, in disastrous consequences for low-income populations.

NTDs cause horrible suffering for millions of people worldwide. Lymphatic Filariasis causes disfigurement of its victims so disturbing that they become socially excluded and shunned by their communities.<sup>14</sup> Dracunculiasis, also known as guinea worm infection, is characterized by worms exiting the victim's skin, causing excruciating pain.<sup>15</sup> Onchocerciasis (river blindness) and trachoma make their

victims to go blind<sup>16</sup>. Buruli Ulcer causes disfiguring and extremely painful sores all over an individual's body. When these sores eventually heal, their thick scars often cause permanent disability and disfigurement of the limbs.<sup>17</sup> Dengue fever is so painful that its nickname is "Break Bone Fever".<sup>18</sup>

Though NTDs cause human suffering on a large scale, the economic impact of these diseases is even larger. NTDs are the sixth leading cause for the loss of Disability-Adjusted Life Years (DALYs) worldwide,<sup>19</sup> with an estimated 56.6 million DALYs lost each year.<sup>20</sup> This estimate is, however, conservative – recent research suggests that the design of the DALY contains inherent flaws resulting in the "systematic undervaluation of the importance of chronic diseases, such as many of the NTDs, in world

**Figure 1.1** Global Overlap of Six Common NTDs



\*Global Overlap of six of the common NTDs. Specifically guinea worm disease, lymphatic filariasis, onchocerciasis, schistosomiasis, soil-transmitted helminths, trachoma.

\*\*Soil-transmitted helminth infections can be caused by three different worms, all treated the same way.

Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, <http://tinyurl.com/l5b7ybk>

health.”<sup>21</sup> Specifically, the DALY calculation system excludes local context as a factor of disease impact, overlooks many common chronic complications of NTD infections, and does not address the reality of comorbidities and concurrent infections.<sup>22</sup>

Undervaluation in DALYs is important from a developmental perspective, as they correlate directly to the number of healthy life years during which each person can work and support their family. Thus, they are an indicator of poverty. They also indicate economic stagnation – countries with a large number of lost DALYs in the population are less likely to develop their economies, due to a depleted workforce. In fact, NTDs perpetuate poverty in just this way. Helminthic infections, for example, result in iron deficiency and anemia, lowering children’s school performance and attendance. This leads to a “reduced future wage earning capacity, possibly as much as 43%”.<sup>23</sup> NTDs result from poor living conditions and poverty, and then exacerbate living conditions and deepen poverty. DALY estimates are especially important, therefore, because they are often used by policy-makers in deciding how to fund research or treatment programs. The potential underestimation of DALYs lost to NTDs may be one reason this group of diseases has not been prioritized by USAID in the past.

NTDs also increase infected individuals’ likelihoods of becoming infected with a variety of other diseases, including malaria and HIV/AIDS. The clinical manifestations of NTDs include malnutrition, anemia, and pediatric growth retardation. These adverse effects can be worsened by greater disease burdens – malnutrition, for example, worsens with increasing worm burdens.<sup>24</sup> These manifestations result in a weakening of the immune system. The primary immune defenses, including the skin and mucus membranes, become less effective at preventing new infections. The secondary immune defenses of NTD infected individuals are also significantly weakened, as malnutrition results in low numbers of lymphocytes.<sup>25</sup> NTDs in this way contribute to high rates of malaria, HIV/AIDS, and other diseases in the poorest nations of the world.

USAID’s Neglected Tropical Diseases program began in 2006 with an allocation of \$15 million per year.<sup>26</sup> Following President Obama’s creation of the Global Health Initiative (GHI) in 2009, NTDs

received increased attention from USAID. As part of the GHI, several goals have been set by USAID.

These include:

- Reducing the prevalence of 7 NTDs by 50% among 70% of affected populations in USAID target countries.
- Eliminating:
  - Eliminating lymphatic filariasis globally by 2020.
  - Eliminating blinding trachoma globally by 2020.
- Eliminating or controlling:
  - Onchocerciasis.
  - Leprosy.
  - Schistosomiasis
  - Soil transmitted helminthes<sup>27</sup>

By 2012, a cumulative total of \$301 million of USAID's annual budgets had been earmarked for its NTD initiatives. This demonstrates US commitment to combating diseases, especially those relating to extreme poverty, with the purpose of improving lives for people around the world. There is, however, room for an increase in funding for NTDs. In FY2012, USAID allocated \$89 million, or 1%, of its \$8.7 billion global health budget to fighting NTDs worldwide.<sup>28</sup> Increases in funding need not be large. USAID has, for example, already leveraged the cumulative donation of \$3.1 billion in drugs to date.<sup>29</sup> Rather, funding increases can be directed to where the need is still demonstrably high. Needs vary by regions, with different priorities existing in SSA and Asia.

Sub-Saharan Africa is as disproportionately burdened with NTDs as it is with extreme poverty. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), "up to 90% of the total disease burden is believed to occur in Africa."<sup>30</sup> There are currently 14 NTDs of particular importance in SSA, of which USAID focuses on 7: lymphatic filariasis, onchocerciasis, schistosomiasis, STHs, and Trachoma.<sup>31</sup> USAID works in 15 countries in SSA, including Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Tanzania, Togo, and Uganda.<sup>32</sup> Despite significant progress as a result of USAID's efforts, NTD prevention and control in SSA remains of great priority. For example, even with USAID contributing majorly to the international resolution to eliminate lymphatic filariasis (adopted in 1997), only 17% of SSA's population at risk

is currently covered by mass drug administration (MDA). This remains far below the minimum effective coverage target of 65%. Similarly in the case of schistosomiasis and STH control, fewer than 10% of school-age children receive appropriate drugs, below the target of 75% in endemic areas.<sup>33</sup> USAID has the potential of meeting this need without removing large amounts of funding from other global health initiatives. MDA for the treatment and prevention of NTDs in SSA is estimated to cost just 50¢ per person, per year. In many cases, costs are even lower. The deworming of school-age children is estimated to cost just 7¢ per MDA with little variation between countries.<sup>34</sup> The cost of treatment for lymphatic filariasis is also lower than the average cost of MDA treatment, at just 5-10¢ per treatment using donated drugs. In comparison, the economic gain per treatment, \$5.90 per person treated, is huge.<sup>35</sup> A small increase of money allocated to NTDs would, therefore, go a long way.

NTDs also place substantial, though smaller, burden on populations in extreme poverty in Asia. This region, which includes India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and the Western Pacific, is home to approximately a quarter of the world population. Nearly 15 NTDs are endemic in Asia, causing an estimated loss of 5.6-14.8 million DALYs per year.<sup>36</sup> The most common NTDs are the STHs, which stunt child growth and development, and can be treated with annual or biannual MDAs. One major drug required for STH treatment, albendazole, can be combined with diethylcarbamazine citrate (DEC) to simultaneously treat lymphatic filariasis – the second most predominant NTD in Asia.<sup>37</sup> Despite affecting less people, however, lymphatic filariasis is endemic in more Asian countries than are the STHs.<sup>38</sup> The ability to treat STHs and lymphatic filariasis concurrently using MDAs make these two diseases ideal targets for development related health aid. USAID recognizes this, and works in seven Asian countries to control STHs and lymphatic filariasis, in addition to schistosomiasis and trachoma.<sup>39</sup>

USAID has leveraged cumulative donations of approximately \$3.1 billion in drug donations from the pharmaceutical industry to date.<sup>40</sup> Major donors include GlaxoSmithKline, Pfizer, Merck & Co, Johnson & Johnson, and Bayer. Many of these donations are in the form of pledges of providing

**Table 3.1** The 13 major NTDs ranked by Global Prevalence

<b>Disease</b>	<b>Global Prevalence</b>	<b>Population at risk</b>	<b>Region(s) of highest prevalence</b>
<i>Ascariasis</i>	807 million	4.2 billion	South and Southeast Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America
<i>Trichuriasis</i>	604 million	3.2 billion	South and Southeast Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America
<i>Hookworm infection</i>	576 million	3.2 billion	South and Southeast Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America
<i>Schistosomiasis</i>	207 million	779 million	Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America
<i>LF</i>	120 million	1.3 billion	South and Southeast Asia, sub-Saharan Africa
<i>Trachoma</i>	84 million	590 million	Sub-Saharan Africa, South and Southeast Asia
<i>Onchocerciasis</i>	37 million	90 million	Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America
<i>Leishmaniasis</i>	12 million	350 million	South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America
<i>Chagas' disease</i>	8-9 million	25 million	Latin America
<i>Leprosy</i>	0.4 million	Not determined	Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America
<i>Human African trypanosomiasis</i>	0.3 million	60 million	Sub-Saharan Africa
<i>Buruli ulcer</i>	0.05 million	Not determined	Sub-Saharan Africa
<i>Dracunculiasis</i>	0.01 million	Not determined	Sub-Saharan Africa

**Source:** Peter J. Hotez, *Forgotten People, Forgotten Diseases* <sup>41</sup>

unlimited supplies for specific drugs and diseases. GlaxoSmithKline, for example, pledged an unlimited supply of albendazole for as long as necessary for the treatment of lymphatic filariasis. Donations for other essential drugs, however, still do not meet required quantities. Praziquantel is essential for the treatment of schistosomiasis – but only 200 million doses have been donated for 2008-2017, an insufficient amount for global health and development purposes. Similarly, only two of the three drugs necessary for the treatment of lymphatic filariasis are supplied through donations. The third, DEC, must still be purchased by patients.<sup>42</sup> USAID, with its demonstrated success of procuring drug donations from the industry, thus has the golden opportunity to fill the gap remaining in drug availability for NTDs.

Research and development of NTD drugs, followed by clinical trials for, are also essential to tackling their burden on the world's most vulnerable populations. Of the 850 new drugs and vaccines approved for all diseases in 2000-2011, only 4% were for neglected diseases – defined broadly to include malaria, tuberculosis, diarrheal diseases, and other diseases of poverty (excluding HIV/AIDS) in addition to NTDs.<sup>43</sup> Of the 850 drugs and vaccines developed, 336 were brand-new chemical entities – but only four of which were for neglected diseases. Three of these drugs were for malaria, the fourth for diarrheal disease. None of the brand-new drugs created were for NTDs.<sup>44</sup> The Global Funding of Innovation for Neglected Diseases (G-FIDER) survey demonstrated a similar discrepancy in funding – with almost 80% of donations going towards HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria, most diseases did not receive enough funding for the creation of even one new product.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, public and philanthropic donors provided nearly 90% of funding for neglected disease research and development, with the pharmaceutical industry donating just 9%.<sup>46</sup>

Creating new drugs and diagnostic tests would enable global health authorities to adapt to evolving treatment needs and address those NTDs for which no options are available.<sup>47</sup> Increasing research and development for NTDs may require innovating financing mechanisms, such as “prize funds or state guarantees for investment in discovery and translation of discoveries into usable and accessible new tools,”<sup>48</sup> or building up the local capacity of pharmaceutical companies in disease-endemic

countries.<sup>49</sup> Given its success in leveraging donations of existing NTD drugs from pharmaceutical companies, USAID is uniquely well placed for addressing the research and development gap.

Clinical trials for NTD-targeting drugs are lacking in prevalence and funds. Of approximately 150,000 registered clinical trials for drugs in development from December 2011 to October 2013, only 1% were for (broadly defined) neglected diseases.<sup>50</sup> Trials for NTDs, as for other poverty-related diseases, must be conducted with “highly vulnerable patients in resource- and infrastructure-poor countries”<sup>51</sup> where disease burdens exist. There is not, however, enough funding for the costs of and regulatory oversight required by clinical trials in developing countries. Clinical trials can require as much as 70% of the cost and time of the research and development of new drugs, making them comparatively expensive. In developing countries, costs are often high due to the lack of precedent of studies there in the past.<sup>52</sup> With more funding for clinical trials unlikely in the current economic environment, decreasing costs is one possible solution to the lack of NTD-related clinical trials. In addition, increasing the simplicity of trials can minimize the costs associated with lack of precedent in developing countries.<sup>53</sup> A third solution maybe securing pledges from pharmaceutical companies to expand NTD-related clinical trials in relation with research and development.

As global health agencies begin to realize the human, economic, and health tolls of NTDs, more attention is being paid to these diseases. Of particular importance to global health agencies are the economic burdens of NTDs and their contribution to high rates of HIV/AIDS and malaria in Sub-Saharan Africa. Recognizing that malnutrition and poverty are of more significance in the HIV/AIDS and malaria crises than bed-nets and condoms is especially prompting global health agencies to focus more on NTDs. Furthermore, no matter how much foreign aid is given to the failing economies of the world’s poorest nations, it will not cause a significant betterment in peoples’ lives unless the factors perpetuating poverty – including NTDs – are addressed. NTDs are both easily treated *and* prevented<sup>54</sup>, thus presenting a more practical approach to dealing with HIV/AIDS, malaria, and economic instability.

### *Preventing Diseases of Poverty – Water Sanitation*

Globally, 1.8 million people<sup>55</sup>, including nearly 1.3 million children under the age of five<sup>56</sup>, die each year as a result of diarrheal diseases caused by poor water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH). In addition, diarrheal diseases alone cause an annual loss of “4.1% of the total DALY global burden of disease.”<sup>57</sup> Of this burden, which disproportionately affects children in developing countries, an estimated 88% can be attributed to poor WASH.<sup>58</sup> Hundreds of millions of people remain without access to reliable safe WASH, and population growth, urbanization, land use, industrialization, and climate change threaten to further increase this statistic.<sup>59</sup> Inadequate WASH is not only associated with diarrheal diseases, but also with schistosomiasis, STHs, and other poverty related diseases.<sup>60</sup> Water and sanitation related diseases are generally divided into four categories: fecal-oral diseases such as diarrhea and poliomyelitis, water-washed diseases such as trachoma, water-based diseases such as schistosomiasis, and water-related vector diseases such as malaria, lymphatic filariasis, dengue, and intestinal nematode infections.

The importance of sustainable access to safe WASH for poverty reduction strategies is acknowledged by the United Nations MDG7, which set the goal of halving the number of people without sustainable access to improved water supplies by 2015.<sup>61</sup> Achieving MDG7 is especially relevant for eliminating extreme poverty, not simply because it improves the health of the world’s poorest people, but also because achieving just this one WASH target is predicted to bring huge economic benefits. Reaching MDG7 is estimated to bring \$84 billion per year in economic benefits, with each dollar invested in water supply and sanitation giving between \$3-\$34 of return, depending on the region.<sup>62</sup> Improving access to water and sanitation for all would give an annual economic gain of \$263 billion. Adding to this a minimum water disinfection at point of use would give \$344 billion, and providing access to regulated piped water and sewage into homes would bring \$556 billion.<sup>63</sup>

Improvements in access to and quality of WASH are especially important for development strategies in Sub-Saharan Africa. The lack of sustainable, good quality WASH contributes 6% of the region's annual loss of DALYs. In 2011, three-hundred and thirty million people in the region did not have access to clean water and 565 million were without proper sanitation.<sup>64</sup> The result is a huge disease and economic burden on the region and its people. The disease burden attributable to subpar access to WASH results in more disease outbreaks than does contaminated food, with *Vibrio cholerae* being the most reported pathogen in 71-86% of outbreak reports.<sup>65</sup> In addition, lack of access to WASH in SSA contributes to the prevalence of schistosomiasis, STHs, and general gastroenteritis in the region.<sup>66</sup> Water

**Table 1.2** Total Economic Benefits of Improved Water and Sanitation

Region/Country	Population (millions)	Total economic benefits of interventions (US dollars; millions), by intervention (descriptions of levels on page 4-5)				
		1	2	3	4	5
Africa Region with very high adult and high child mortality	481	3,084	13,475	25,153	34,631	58,993
Region of the Americas with high adult and child mortality	93	382	1,607	3,334	5,074	9,007
European Region with high adult and child mortality	223	46	242	934	1,551	5,337
South East Asian Region with high adult and child mortality	1689	2,201	11,457	57,155	72,478	101,643
Western Pacific Region with low adult and child mortality	1488	2,436	11,013	43,487	54,885	54,426
<b>World</b>	<b>7183</b>	<b>18,142</b>	<b>84,400</b>	<b>262,879</b>	<b>344,106</b>	<b>555,901</b>

**Total Economic Benefits of Improved Water and Sanitation;**

[http://www.who.int/water\\_sanitation\\_health/wsh0404.pdf](http://www.who.int/water_sanitation_health/wsh0404.pdf)

(1) Improvements required to meet the millennium development goals (MDG) for water supply, by halving by 2015 the proportion of those without access to safe drinking water (2) Meet the water MDG plus halving by 2015 the proportion of those without access to adequate sanitation (3) increasing access to improved water and sanitation for everyone (4) Providing disinfection at point-of-use over and above increasing access to improved water supply and sanitation (5) Providing regulated piped water supply in house and sewage

**Source:** Safe Drinking Water Foundation, *Cost-Benefit Analysis: Treat the Illness or Treat the Water?*

related disease outbreaks in SSA more likely than in other regions, with mortalities reported in 70% of outbreaks.<sup>67</sup> The economic burden of inadequate WASH is also significant. Access to quality WASH “is significantly associated with maternal education, household overcrowding, and residence.”<sup>68</sup>

In Asia, waterborne diseases have a smaller, though still significant, impact on health and development. Diarrheal diseases affect a smaller percentage of people in Asia than in SSA, but due to the population density of Asian countries, this translates into greater absolute numbers of diarrheal disease. Currently, South East Asia and the Western Pacific report 1491 and 1193 million cases of diarrhea per year.<sup>69</sup> Combined, these regions stand to gain between \$4.6 and \$156 billion per year, depending on the type of water and sanitation interventions used.<sup>70</sup>

In March 2012, MDG7 – reducing by one half the number of people without access to safe WASH – was announced as having been reached. This may, however, have been overly optimistic, especially in regards to sustainable access to safe drinking water. The WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Committee on Water and Sanitation (JMP), organized to monitor the progress on international goals for WASH, collects data using national household-level surveys. Using this method does not allow the JMP to “measure water quality directly, or [use] clear methods for assessing quantity and access.”<sup>71</sup> The result is that piped water, public taps, boreholes, protected wells, protected springs, and rainwater were all counted by global health authorities as improved. The JMP itself has acknowledged that “except for some centrally managed piped water supplies, the[se] so-called ‘improved sources’ [are] often microbiologically and chemically contaminated, and that the level of faecal contamination [is] significantly worse at the household level.”<sup>72</sup>

Perhaps more importantly, the JMP data collection does not include information on time spent collecting water in its classification of water sources as improved or unimproved. Only 25% of households surveyed had water piped on premises, with the remaining 75%, mostly located in SSA and southern Asia,<sup>73</sup> needing to spend an average of 30 minutes each day collecting water.<sup>74</sup> This failure by global health authorities to account for time spent fetching water is likely to have led to large overestimates in the number of people with access to safe WASH. In SSA, for example, households

located more than 30 minutes from water sources are less likely to collect as much water as needed for their WASH needs. In addition, the frequency of hygiene behavior has been shown to decrease with greater distance between water sources and homes. This may be one reason why a 15 minute decrease in one-way walk time to water sources “is associated with a 41% average relative reduction in diarrhea

**Table 1.3** Household Survey Observations (n=199,067) from 26 Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa<sup>a</sup>

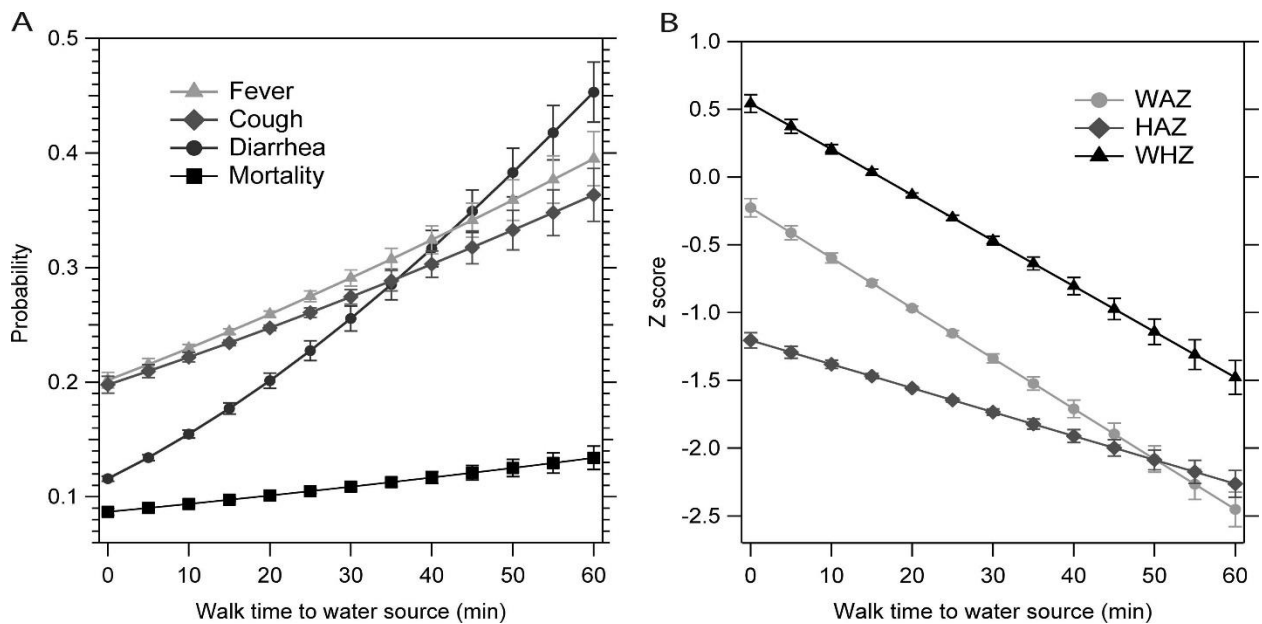
country	N	year	walk time (min)			% on plot
			mean	SD	med	
Burkina Faso	10 645	2003	20	26	10	21
Benin	5349	2001	16	22	10	37
Congo	8992	2007	31	33	20	9
Central African Rep.	2816	1994–1995	21	24	12	7
Cote d'Ivoire	1992	1998–1999	13	22	5	22
Cameroon	8125	2004	20	29	10	14
Ethiopia	9861	2005	46	60	30	7
Ghana	2992	2007	18	25	10	12
Guinea	6366	2005	15	19	10	12
Kenya	6079	2008	28	43	15	27
Liberia	5799	2007	11	12	7	8
Lesotho	3697	2004	26	30	15	10
Madagascar	12 448	2009	17	41	10	11
Mali	13 097	2001	12	19	6	29
Malawi	10 929	2004	32	33	20	1
Nigeria	28 647	2008	19	29	10	24
Niger	4798	2006	26	37	15	3
Namibia	5168	2006–2007	14	28	2	46
Rwanda	8649	2005	33	31	25	3
Sierra Leone	5631	2008	20	25	10	12
Senegal	10 944	2005	19	45	7	40
Swaziland	2812	2007	21	34	10	35
Tanzania	3215	1999	34	57	15	18
Uganda	8369	2006	63	62	45	4
Zambia	6401	2007	18	21	10	17
Zimbabwe	5246	2005–2006	23	35	10	37
total	199 067		24	37	10	18

<sup>a</sup>Number of observations are shown from each country, as well as year(s) of survey, mean one-way walk time to water source in minutes (min), standard deviation of mean walk time (SD), median walk time (med), and percent of households with water source located on the premises (% on plot).

**Source:** Pickering and Davis, “Freshwater Availability and Water Fetching Distance Affect Child Health in Sub-Saharan Africa.”

prevalence... and a 11% relative reduction in under-five child mortality.”<sup>75</sup> The National Center for Biotechnology Information (NCBI) states that interventions focusing on water quantity instead of quality have broader impact, because they affect not only faecal-oral diseases, but also water-washed, water-based, and water-related vector diseases.<sup>76</sup> These findings indicate the UN pronouncement of MDG7 as met may have been premature, making the reevaluation of WASH adequacy in developing communities a priority for agencies looking to eliminate extreme poverty.

**Figure 1.2** Predicted probability of child health outcomes versus one-way walk time to water source.



(A) Predicted probability of acute illness (2-week period prevalence of diarrhea, fever, and cough) and mortality versus one-way walk time to water source (reported in minutes). Error bars display the standard error of the predicted probability. (B) Predicted anthropometric Z-scores versus one-way walk time to water source. WAZ is weight-for-age, HAZ is height-for-age, and WHZ is weight-for-height. Standard errors of the predicted Z-scores are displayed as error bars.

**Source:** Pickering and Davis, "Freshwater Availability and Water Fetching Distance Affect Child Health in Sub-Saharan Africa."

### US Trade Agreements and Global Health

The World Trade Organization (WTO) ratified its agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) in 1994-1995. This agreement covered a large range of intellectual property rights, requiring member nations to provide a minimum level of protection and establishing twenty years as the minimum for patents on new products or processes. This agreement *de facto* globalized patents, as it gave inventors the right to file for the same patent in any country for the same length of time. Many developing nations expressed serious concerns that the TRIPs Agreement would infringe on their rights to make public health decisions in favor of their people. To this end, developing countries (DCs) were allowed five years to implement TRIPs-compliant intellectual property laws, while

the world's least developed countries (LDCs) were allowed to delay for ten years. Additionally, in cases of national emergencies, the TRIPs Agreement would allow the governments concerned to issue limited-time compulsory licenses to parties other than the rights holder, for the production of those resources necessary to meet the emergency situation.

Despite the allowed extended timeframe for implementing the agreement, many African and Asian countries became TRIPs-compliant before their deadlines. The issue of patents of medicines did not enter the into consideration until sometime after TRIPs-compliant laws were established, when increased funding for AIDS treatment became a priority concern for many African governments. The HIV/AIDS pandemic proved demonstrated that the compulsory license safeguard written into the TRIPs agreement was less powerful than expected. First, the definition of national emergency was open to interpretation, with many pharmaceutical companies arguing that since HIV had been known since the 1980s, it was less an emergency than a failure of African governments to prevent its escalation. Second, very few African countries had sufficiently developed domestic pharmaceutical industries to be able to produce anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs) on their own. Only nations with strong pharmaceutical industries and large populations – such as Thailand, Brazil, and India – were places to make good use of the compulsory license provision. Finally, many African countries were hesitant to issue compulsory licenses out of fears that doing so could negatively affect their relations with those wealthy nations on whom they were dependent for development aid and market access.<sup>77</sup> These fears were realized in March 2001, when 39 transnational pharmaceutical companies initiated a case against South Africa under the WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanism, for the overruling of its national patents on ARVs.

As the TRIPs agreement's implications for public health became more apparent, African countries began pressing for clarification and change. This initiated new WTO negotiations and ultimately led to the Doha Declaration on the TRIPs agreement and Public Health, adopted officially on August 30, 2003. This declaration explicitly stated the right of member states to grant compulsory licenses, to define what constitutes a national emergency, and the aim of the TRIPs agreement to promote access to

medicines for all. According to the new amendment, Canada, India, and Norway allowed the production of generic versions of patented medicines for export to countries in need.<sup>78</sup>

## US INTERESTS

The US holds a commitment on behalf of the American people to “save lives, prevent suffering, promote human rights, and create a brighter future”<sup>79</sup> for the poorest people in the world. Promoting improved health for the citizens of developing nations directly affects all aspects of their lives. Economic growth, education, participation in government, and labor productivity are all improved with better health. Health also indirectly affects other factors contributing to economic growth and development, such as household income and life expectancy. Improving the health of the poorest citizens of the world is therefore essential to promoting the overall development of entire populations. Promoting well-being and good health is shown to be an effective way of lessening the social grievances which often lead to conflict and unrest. Once conflicts do break out, they often reverse progress made in improving health systems, thereby setting the state for more potential unrest in the future. This cycle of poor health and conflict is one reason that promoting global health amongst the world’s developing nations is central to USAID’s work.

USAID’s work in global health is not, however, simply in interest of promoting its main agenda of eliminating extreme poverty and promoting development worldwide. It is also in the direct interest of the American tax payers who fund such initiatives, for the economic and security benefits they bring.

As identified in the GHI, “keeping the United States secure at home requires strong, healthy societies and economies abroad for effective trade and diplomatic relations.”<sup>80</sup> Investing in health makes developing countries stronger and increasingly self-sufficient – benefitting the US economy by relieving the need for further aid and creating the economic opportunity for US exports and jobs at home. Former aid recipients, including Poland and South Korea, are today home to some of the fastest growing US export markets.<sup>81</sup> The potential economic benefit to the US of international health aid is possibly quite large, especially because as people’s incomes increase, so too does their spending.

Investing in global health is also in the US's national security interests. Healthy and productive people are essential to the economic growth of developing nations. The US recognizes that “democracy and good governance cannot flourish in nations that are incapacitated by ill-functioning systems – including those for health care.”<sup>82</sup> Nations with strong healthcare systems are more likely to address new emerging health threats, and be economically and politically stable. Stable populations lessen the burden on local and global economies, the environment, and help to reduce the risk of humanitarian crises. As shown above, when people are of better health, conflicts are less likely to arise.<sup>83</sup> This is of particular importance to US national security interest, as current day conflicts and crises have recently shown the propensity to spread quickly throughout regions. Examples include the Arab Spring uprisings and the spread of various civil wars in sub-Saharan Africa. This means that USAID's efforts directly enhance American and global security and prosperity.

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Reallocate funds to cover NTDs*

USAID has the potential of meeting the funding need for NTDs without compromising the effectiveness and funding of its other global health initiatives. In SSA, MDA for the treatment and prevention of NTDs is estimated to cost just 50¢ per person, per year. For specific NTDs, these costs are even lower. The deworming of school-age children is estimated to cost just 7¢ per MDA with little variation between countries.<sup>84</sup> The cost of treatment for lymphatic filariasis is even lower, at just 5-10¢ per treatment using donated drugs. In comparison, the average economic gain per treatment, \$5.90 per person treated, is huge.<sup>85</sup> In addition to this direct economic benefit for the world's poorest people, NTD treatment and prevention will save an estimated 56.6 DALYs per year.<sup>86</sup> Reallocating funds to NTD treatment and prevention programs is, therefore, a highly efficient way for USAID to advance its efforts in eliminating extreme poverty. This option has almost no downsides, as given the low cost of NTD treatment and prevention, the funds of USAID's other global health initiatives would barely decrease.

### Option 2: Secure donations to fill NTD drug needs

USAID is one of the world's most successful agencies in leveraging donations for NTD drugs, having secured approximately \$3.1 billion to date.<sup>87</sup> Donations for certain essential drugs remain, however, below the necessary quantities. Drugs for which increased donations are needed include Praziquantel, essential for the treatment of schistosomiasis, and DEC, for treatment of lymphatic filariasis. USAID, with its demonstrated success of procuring drug donations from the industry, thus has the golden opportunity to fill the gap remaining in drug availability for NTDs. This option does not require USAID to remove any existing resources from its other global health programs. Rather, it involves USAID utilizing its demonstrated negotiating power to secure donations from the pharmaceutical industry.

### Option 3: Promote Research, Development, and Clinical Trials for NTD Drugs

Research, development, and clinical trials for NTD drugs are severely lacking, both in number and funds. Promoting the creation of new drugs and diagnostic tests would enable USAID to adapt to evolving treatment needs and address those NTDs for which no options are available.<sup>88</sup> Of the 850 new drugs and vaccines approved for all diseases in 2000-2011, none were for NTDs.<sup>89</sup> A similar discrepancy exists in funding – with almost 80% of donations going towards HIV/AIDS, TB, and malaria research and development.<sup>90</sup> Of money donated for NTD research, public and philanthropic donors provided nearly 90% of funding for neglected disease research and development, with the pharmaceutical industry donating just 9%.<sup>91</sup> There is also a lack of funding for the costs of and regulatory oversight required by clinical trials in developing countries, which can require as much as 70% of the cost and time of drug research and development.<sup>92</sup>

Realizing this option may require innovating financing mechanisms, such as “prize funds or state guarantees for investment in discovery and translation of discoveries into usable and accessible new tools,”<sup>93</sup> or building up the local capacity of pharmaceutical companies in disease-endemic countries.<sup>94</sup> With more funding unlikely in the current economic environment, decreasing the costs of clinical trials is the best solution. To this end, trials may be simplified to minimize the costs associated with lack of

precedent in developing countries.<sup>95</sup> Another solution to this unmet need is securing pledges from pharmaceutical companies to expand NTD-related clinical trials. The majority of resources needed under this option would come from the pharmaceutical industry, and not from USAID's other global health initiatives. Given its success in leveraging donations of existing NTD drugs from pharmaceutical companies, USAID is uniquely well placed for addressing the research and development gap.

**Option 4: Reevaluate WASH Infrastructure and Determine Actual Progress on MDG7**

The UN's announcement in March 2012 that MDG7 had been reached may have been premature due to data collected by the Joint Monitoring Committee on Water and Sanitation's inability to "measure water quality directly, or [use] clear methods for assessing quantity and access."<sup>96</sup> Piped water, public taps, boreholes, protected wells, protected springs, and rainwater were counted as improved, but the JMP itself acknowledges that many of these improved sources are unsafe for WASH.<sup>97</sup> In addition, the JMP's data does not include information on time spent collecting water, which is shown to impact WASH practices.<sup>98</sup> Reevaluation of WASH adequacy in developing communities is therefore a priority for USAID's goal of eliminating extreme poverty. This option would require on the ground work by USAID and partners. In countries in conflicts or crises, however, this option could hold significant costs.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### **Reallocate funds to cover NTDs**

- MDA for the treatment and prevention of NTDs is estimated to cost just 50¢ per person, per year.
- The average economic gain per treatment, \$5.90 per person treated, is huge. In addition to this direct economic benefit for the world's poorest people,
- NTD treatment and prevention will save an estimated 56.6 DALYs per year.

### **Secure donations to fill NTD drug needs**

- Drugs for which increased donations are needed include Praziquantel, and DEC.
- USAID has proven successful in procuring drug donations from the industry.

### **Promote Research, Development, and Clinical Trials for NTD Drugs**

- Research, development, and clinical trials for NTD drugs are severely lacking in number and funds.
- Promoting the creation of new drugs and diagnostic tests would enable USAID to adapt to evolving treatment needs and address those NTDs for which no options are available.
- Create innovating financing mechanisms, such as prize funds or state guarantees for investment in NTD research.
- Promote building up the local capacity of pharmaceutical companies in disease-endemic countries.
- Simplify clinical trials may be simplified to minimize the costs associated with lack of precedent in developing countries.
- Secure pledges from pharmaceutical companies to expand NTD-related clinical trials.

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## Resources:

- <sup>1</sup> “Neglected Tropical Diseases,” *Health Poverty Action*, accessed February 22, 2014, <http://www.healthpovertyaction.org/policy-and-resources/the-cycle-of-poverty-and-poor-health/neglected-tropical-diseases/>.
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# Chapter 4 Maternal and Child Health

By Carly Backman

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## ISSUES

High levels of maternal and child deaths persist despite two decades of significant progress in reducing worldwide maternal and child mortality. Most of these deaths are due to preventable causes for which cost-effective interventions exist. The challenge is no longer identifying the causes and preventions of mortality, but rather determining how to best implement the known preventions for the highest impact in diverse contexts. Tremendous disparities in mortality exist between and within regions, and increasingly it is the poorest of the poor who lack access to life-saving resources and suffer the highest rates of child and maternal mortality. Increases in use of bed nets in malaria-endemic countries and antiretroviral therapy coverage for HIV have aided progress, but this progress is fraught with inequalities. Those who live in extreme poverty, on \$1.25 or less a day, are the most vulnerable to inequitable access to and availability of proper treatments and preventions for child and maternal mortality.

The interconnections between economic poverty and ill health are well established. Impoverished people often fall ill due to exposure in work or living conditions and cannot afford the care needed to regain good health. Impoverished families are adversely affected by the loss of income when a family member becomes incapacitated by illness. In addition, medical costs and the costs associated with seeking care can further impoverish already poor families. Health's central role in development and poverty reduction is reflected by its inclusion in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 2000. MDG4 aims to reduce child mortality and MDG5 aims to improve maternal health. Low rates of maternal and child mortality indicate strong healthcare systems that are accessible to women of reproductive age and their children. Moreover, improving the health and survival

of mothers and children has intrinsic value as well as instrumental value, because it positively affects overall health and prosperity of a population.<sup>1</sup>

The MDGs are set to expire in 2015, and as this deadline approaches individual countries and international organizations are reevaluating strategies, setting new post-2015 agendas by identifying what has worked well and what areas still require improvement. The possibility of major improvements in maternal and child health (MCH) in the near future is attainable. The Lancet Commission Report *Global Health 2035: A World Converging Within A Generation* concludes that well-placed investments could eliminate “the stark differences in infectious, maternal, and child death rates between countries of differing income levels...within our lifetimes.”<sup>2</sup> Investments in women’s and children’s health produce both economic and social returns, and therefore improvement in Maternal, Child, and Reproductive Health will be a crucial aspect to achieving USAID’s goal of eliminating extreme poverty by 2030. As a bilateral donor, USAID has the potential to make substantial contributions to sustainable improvements in these three key areas of health and development in the countries in which it operates.

## **BACKGROUND**

### **Maternal Health**

Over the course of the past two decades, major strides have been made in maternal health, as evidenced by declining rates of mortality. The fifth MDG outlines two targets for improving maternal health worldwide: 5a) Reduce by three quarters the maternal mortality ratio (MMR), and 5b) Achieve universal access to reproductive health.<sup>3</sup> Since the MDGs were set, sustained efforts to help countries improve maternal health have been made at the global and regional levels.<sup>4</sup> From 1990-2010, maternal mortality worldwide fell by 47%, declining at a rate of 3.1% per year.<sup>5</sup> Yet the current rate of maternal mortality reduction still falls short of the 5.5% rate of annual decline necessary for achieving MDG5 by 2015, and maternal health continues to be a prominent and complex global health issue.

In 2010, 11% of deaths in women aged 15-34 years were attributed to maternal causes.<sup>6</sup> Approximately 800 women die each day due to preventable causes related to pregnancy and childbirth, and the World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that 99% of these deaths occur in low-income countries.<sup>7</sup> Of the estimated 287,000 maternal deaths that occurred in 2010, 284,000 occurred in low-income regions; 162,000 in sub-Saharan Africa and 83,000 in Southern Asia.<sup>8</sup> Higher numbers of maternal deaths in these regions are accompanied by higher maternal mortality ratios (MMRs), which measure the number of maternal deaths per 100,000 live births. In 2010, the MMR in high-income regions was just 16, while in low-income regions it reached a staggering 240.<sup>9</sup> Sub-Saharan Africa held the highest regional MMR at 500, and Southern Asia (excluding India) followed at 240 (220 with India included).<sup>10</sup> It is no coincidence that the highest overall numbers and highest rates of maternal deaths are geographically concentrated in the poorest regions of the world. The regional distribution of maternal mortality reflects the disparities in access to health services between high-income and low-income countries, in addition to the inequities between urban and rural, and high and low income populations within each country.<sup>11</sup>

According to a 2006 study by the UNDP/UNFPA/WHO/World Bank Special Programme of Research, Development and Research Training in Human Reproduction (HRP), there are four leading causes of maternal mortality: 1) obstetric hemorrhage, 2) hypertensive disorders of pregnancy, 3) sepsis, and 4) unsafe abortion.<sup>12</sup> These causes are not evenly distributed worldwide. Hemorrhage is the leading cause of maternal death in sub-Saharan Africa, accounting for 33.9%, as well as in Asia, where it accounts for 30.8% of all maternal deaths. In Latin America, hemorrhage is the second-leading cause of maternal deaths, at 20.8%, while hypertensive disorders cause the majority of maternal deaths at 25.7%.<sup>13</sup> Maternal deaths occur as a result of the immediate risks related to pregnancy and childbirth, however other factors such as poor quality and availability of health services exacerbate these risks.<sup>14</sup>

The majority of maternal deaths are preventable by well-equipped health facilities, skilled birth attendants, a functioning referral system, and a reliable supply of the necessary commodities.<sup>15</sup> In high-

burden countries, access to key preventative interventions such as contraception, antenatal and postnatal care, and skilled birth attendance remains low.<sup>16</sup> Only 46% of childbirths in low-income countries are attended to by a skilled healthcare worker such as a midwife, doctor, or trained nurse.<sup>17</sup> Even when appropriate maternal health services and personnel are available, any delay in reaching health facilities to receive proper care can be fatal. Among resource-poor women, there are three primary delays in health seeking behavior: 1) delay in the decision to seek care, 2) delay in arrival to the health facility, and 3) delay in the provision of adequate care.<sup>18</sup>

**Table 4.1 Estimates of maternal mortality ration (MMR, maternal deaths per 100,000 live births), number of maternal deaths, and lifetime risk by United Nations Millennium Development Goal region, 2010**

Region	MMR <sup>a</sup>	Range of MMR uncertainty		Number of maternal deaths <sup>a</sup>	Lifetime risk of maternal death, <sup>a</sup> 1 in:
		Lower estimate	Upper estimate		
World	210	170	300	287 000	180
Developed regions <sup>b</sup>	16	14	18	2200	3800
Developing regions	240	190	330	284 000	150
Northern Africa <sup>c</sup>	78	52	120	2800	470
Sub-Saharan Africa <sup>d</sup>	500	400	750	162 000	39
Eastern Asia <sup>e</sup>	37	24	58	6400	1700
Eastern Asia excluding China	45	27	85	400	1500
Southern Asia <sup>f</sup>	220	150	310	83 000	160
Southern Asia excluding India	240	160	380	28 000	140
South-eastern Asia <sup>g</sup>	150	100	220	17 000	290
Western Asia <sup>h</sup>	71	48	110	3500	430
Caucasus and Central Asia <sup>i</sup>	46	37	62	750	850
Latin America and the Caribbean	80	68	99	8800	520
Latin America <sup>j</sup>	72	61	88	7400	580
Caribbean <sup>k</sup>	190	140	290	1400	220
Oceania	200	98	430	510	130

**Source:** World Health Organization, *Trends in Maternal Mortality: 1990 to 2010*. WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA and The World Bank Estimates.

Other factors such as distance, cultural practices, and lack of information can also prevent women from seeking or receiving the care they need.<sup>19</sup> An additional vital factor and crosscutting issue in maternal health is education of women. Maternal education “is consistently and strongly associated with all types of health behavior,” ranging from access to financial resources and health insurance to more decision-making power, and more egalitarian relationships husbands—all factors that allow women to demand adequate health services, both for themselves and their children.<sup>20</sup> The health of mothers and their children are inextricably linked, and progress in maternal health will directly contribute to reductions in child mortality.

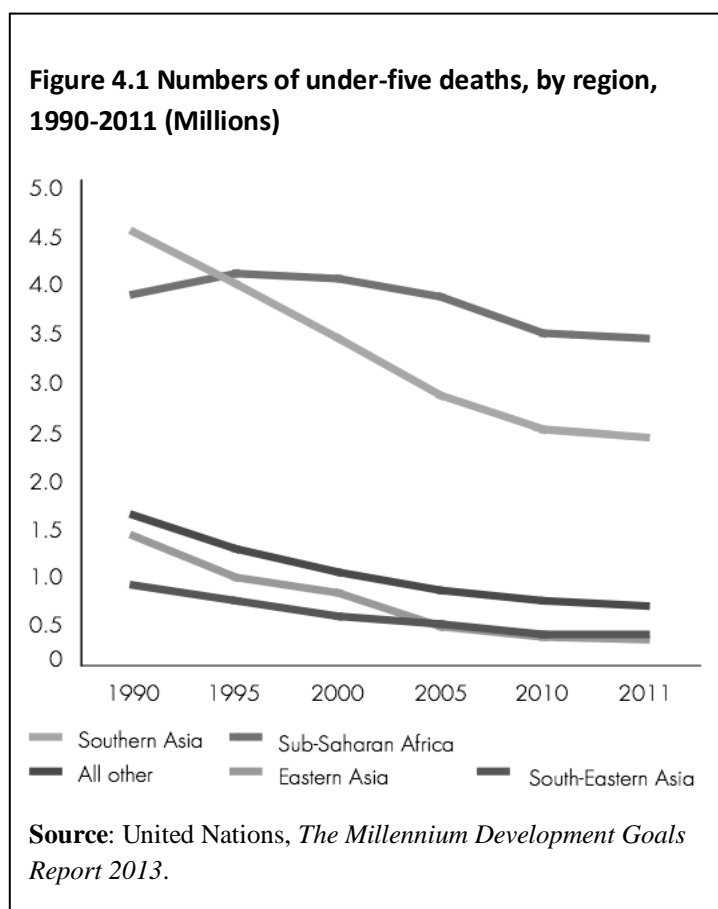
### Child Health

Socioeconomic development and implementation of child survival interventions have contributed to a 47% reduction in the global under-5 mortality rate from 1990-2012.<sup>21</sup> Reductions have been achieved in all regions as well as on the global scale. Sub-Saharan Africa, the region with the highest child mortality rate in the world, doubled its average rate of reduction from 1.5% a year in 1990-2000 to 3.1% a year in 2000-2011.<sup>22</sup> Despite significant progress, child mortality remains a major problem, especially in certain regions. In 2012, 6.6 million children under age five died, mostly from preventable causes for which treatment and interventions are available.<sup>23</sup> For example, WHO estimates that 17% of deaths in children under five years of age are due to diseases that can be prevented by routine, cost-effective vaccination.<sup>24</sup> However, in impoverished and remote areas with “severe human resources shortages, minimal infrastructure, and inadequate health service quality” children die because of lack of access to basic preventions.<sup>25</sup>

Pneumonia is the leading cause of under-five deaths at 17%, followed closely by preterm birth complications at 15%, intrapartum-related complications at 10%, diarrhea at 9%, and malaria at 7%.<sup>26</sup> Underlying all of these causes is a problem of undernutrition; unmet nutritional needs are considered to be a factor in about 45% of under-five deaths.<sup>27</sup> In a 2013 assessment of Africa’s progress towards achieving the MDGs, the African Development Bank identified the “interlocking dynamic between food

security and health indicators” as a reason to consider addressing nutrition as a means of accelerating progress on the MDGs.<sup>28</sup> In addition to nutrition, a mother’s level of education is also a major determinant of the health of her child. In fact, studies have found that a mother’s education has a greater positive effect on infant survival than household wealth.<sup>29</sup> Specific causal mechanisms between maternal education and child survival are still debated, but most theories posit maternal education working through a variety of pathways including, though not limited to: increasing economic resources, delaying age of first birth, facilitating access to reproductive health services, and increasing knowledge that allows mothers to make healthier decisions with respect to her child’s nutrition and hygiene.<sup>30</sup>

As global child deaths have decreased overall, they have become more geographically concentrated in the poorest regions. Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia accounted for 69% of the global total for under-five child deaths in 1990, by 2011 this share had increased to 83% and the two regions



accounted for 5.7 million of the 6.9 million under-five deaths.<sup>31</sup> Sub-Saharan Africa is also the region with the highest rates of child mortality—the regional rate is 98 deaths per 1,000 live births, which is over 15 times the average for high-income regions.<sup>32</sup> In 2011, 23 of the 24 countries with an under-five mortality rate exceeding 100 deaths per 1,000 live births were in sub-Saharan Africa, the other was in South Asia.<sup>33</sup> While South Asia has reduced its number of under-five deaths since 1990, it still accounts for nearly one third of deaths among

children under age five.<sup>34</sup>

The past two decades have seen an emerging trend of increased neonatal deaths in proportion to overall under-five deaths. The rate of neonatal mortality reduction lags significantly behind under-five mortality reduction. During the past twenty years, under-five mortality has decreased by 2.5% per year, while mortality during the first month of life has decreased more slowly by a rate of 1.8% per year.<sup>35</sup> The outcome has been an increase in the share of neonatal deaths among under-five mortality from 36% in 1990 to 43% in 2011.<sup>36</sup> In order to address this issue, the most vulnerable children must have access to known preventions.

### **Reproductive Health**

A sub-goal of MDG5, MDG5a aims to achieve universal access to reproductive health services by 2015. Yet the current state of access to family planning is far from universal; WHO estimates that 222 million women in low-income countries do not use contraception, but would like to delay or avoid childbearing.<sup>37</sup> Countries with relatively high levels of maternal mortality also tend to have lower levels of contraceptive use.<sup>38</sup> Sub-Saharan Africa, the region with the world's highest maternal mortality ratio, has a contraceptive prevalence of 25%.<sup>39</sup>

After decades of debate in the maternal health field, family planning has emerged as one of the most effective means of reducing maternal mortalities.<sup>40</sup> Family planning contributes to maternal mortality reduction by reducing both the number of women who become pregnant (fertility) and the risk associated with each birth.<sup>41</sup> The fewer pregnancies a woman has, the less likely she is to die as a result of pregnancy or childbirth.<sup>42</sup> A 2007 study in Mexico followed by a 2010 study in India found that a package of maternal health services that placed family planning and emergency obstetric care at its core could achieve a 75% reduction in maternal mortality as well as millions of dollars in savings.<sup>43 44</sup>

Between 2008 and 2012, progress in increasing contraceptive prevalence slowed or stagnated in low-income regions. During those four years, the proportion of women aged 15-49 reporting use of a

modern contraceptive increase from 23% to just 24% in sub-Saharan Africa, remained at 62% in Asia, and rose from 64% to 67% in Latin America and the Caribbean.<sup>45</sup> While contraceptive prevalence plateaus, levels of unmet need in low-income countries remain high. WHO reports that 53% of women in Africa, 21% of women in Asia, and 22% of women in Latin America and the Caribbean have an unmet need for modern contraception.<sup>46</sup>

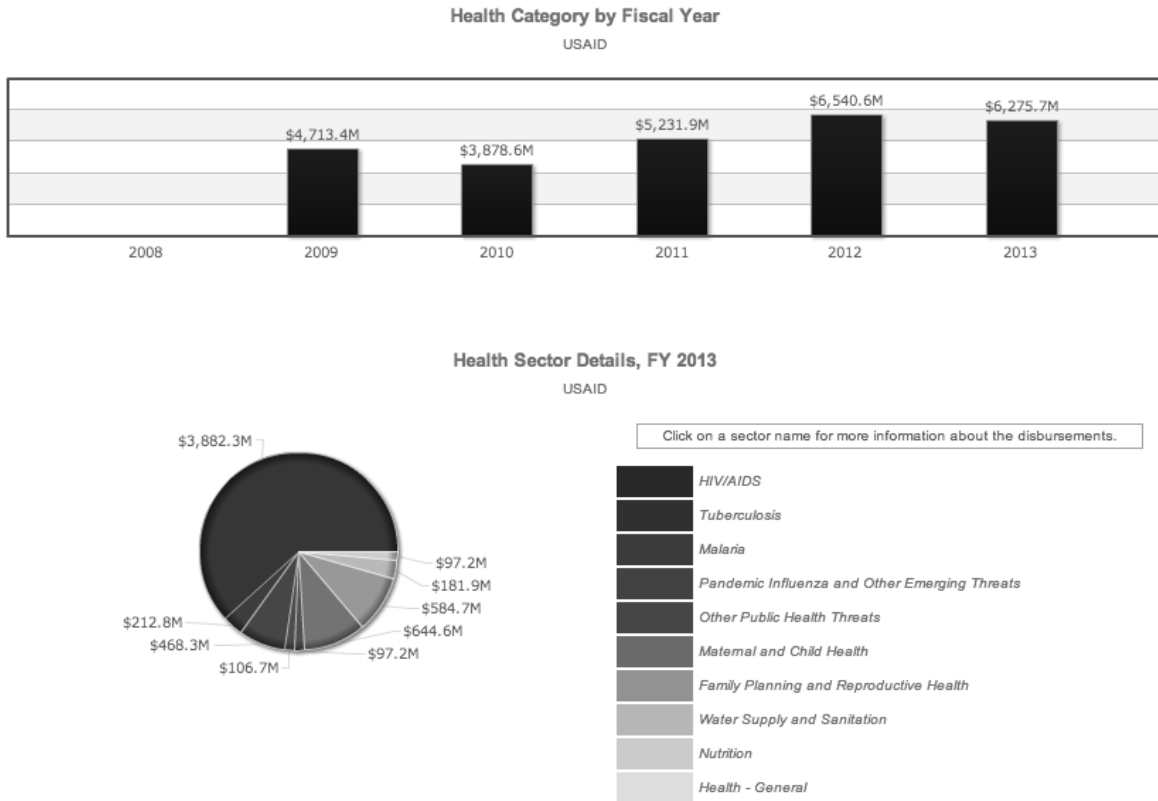
### USAID Goals and Expenditures

USAID has identified Maternal Health, Child Health, and Family Planning and Reproductive Health as three major health components of its Global Health Strategic Framework for fiscal years 2012-2016.<sup>47</sup> Under this framework, USAID focuses on the 24 low-income countries that account for over 77 percent of global maternal deaths. USAID works with partners at the global, regional and country levels, specifically targeting those complications from pregnancy and delivery resulting in the highest mortality. Most maternal health programs focus on interventions that address the proximate causes of maternal mortality like hemorrhage and sepsis, and maternal and newborn health programs are implemented concurrently.

For fiscal year 2013, USAID's \$644.6 million expenditure on Maternal and Child Health accounted for just over 10% of total health expenditure, and Family Planning and Reproductive Health expenditure accounted for just over 9%, with \$584.7M spent. The top 5 recipients of Maternal and Child Health aid were Afghanistan (\$66.1M), Pakistan (\$35.0M), Nigeria (\$25.2M), Bangladesh (\$19.0M), and Democratic Republic of Congo (\$16.9M). In the Family Planning and Reproductive Health sector, the top recipients were Pakistan (\$30.3M), Uganda (\$27.8M), Kenya (\$25.4M), Jordan (\$21.6M), and the Philippines (\$20.5M).<sup>48</sup> Family Planning is an area in which USAID has made significant and consistent progress since it began working on the issue over 40 years ago. The family planning strategy focuses mostly on the provision and availability of modern contraceptive methods to couples who wish to delay or avoid having children.<sup>49</sup>

## Figure 4.1 USAID Health Expenditures

**Health:** To contribute to improvements in the health of people, especially women, children, and other vulnerable populations in countries of the developing world, through expansion of basic health services, including family planning; strengthening national health systems, and addressing global issues and special concerns such as HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases.



**Source:** [www.foreignassistance.gov](http://www.foreignassistance.gov)

Given that USAID “cannot do everything, everywhere and expect to do it well,” USAID Maternal and Child Health Programs vary in type and scale throughout the world.<sup>50</sup> In 2010, as a response to President Obama and former Secretary of State Clinton’s recognition of development as a key part of U.S. national security and foreign policy, USAID undertook a reform agenda known as USAID Forward.<sup>51</sup> USAID Forward outlines a results-oriented approach to development with an emphasis on high-impact partnerships and innovation.<sup>52</sup> Consistent with this agenda, the most recent USAID initiatives and programs in global health have included partnerships that employ high impact interventions at each stage of the continuum of care. One such program is Saving Mothers, Giving Life (SMGL), a global public-

private partnership created under the GHI to rapidly reduce maternal and newborn mortality through synchronized investments in community-level demand creation and improvements in health facilities.<sup>53</sup>

### *Saving Mothers, Giving Life*

Led by USAID and the U.S. Government, the SMGL partnership includes the Government of Norway, Merck for Mothers, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, Every Mother Counts, and Project C.U.R.E.<sup>54</sup> SMGL interventions aim to address the three major delays preventing mothers from accessing health services by implementing evidence-based interventions during labor, delivery, and the first 48 hours after delivery. These interventions include training skilled birth attendants, equipping health facilities to provide quality emergency obstetric and newborn care (EmONC), improving supply systems for commodities and drugs, mobilizing communities to create demand for antenatal care and family planning service use, and improving data collection systems.<sup>55</sup>

In 2012, SMGL launched eight pilot projects in eight districts, four in Zambia and four in Uganda. Both Zambia and Uganda fall mid-range in terms of MMRs in Africa—WHO estimates MMRs of 310 for Uganda and 440 for Zambia in 2010.<sup>56</sup> To place these rates in context, Mauritius has the lowest MMR in Africa at 60 deaths per 100,000 live births, and Chad has the highest at 1,100.<sup>57</sup> SMGL activities aim to achieve four main goals: generate demand, improve access, improve quality, and strengthen health systems.<sup>58</sup> SMGL projects use the District Health Model Approach, integrating care and emphasizing health systems strengthening while building on the existing decentralized service delivery platforms already established through PEPFAR and Maternal and Child Health programs. This approach has produced promising results and valuable lessons in both Uganda and Zambia, two countries with strong commitments to maternal mortality reduction.<sup>59</sup>

During the yearlong pilot phase of SMGL, the MMR of the four SMGL districts in Uganda decreased by 30%, from 452 to 316.<sup>60</sup> In SMGL districts in Zambia population-based maternal mortality rates could not be calculated, but maternal mortality in health facilities that implemented SMGL

interventions declined by 35%.<sup>61</sup> In the SMGL districts of both countries, the proportion of deliveries occurring at health facilities increased—from 46% to 74% in Uganda and from 63% to 84% in Zambia.<sup>62</sup> Maternal deaths from direct obstetric causes fell by 39% in Uganda, and by 36% in health facilities in Zambia.<sup>63</sup> Additionally, the met need for EmONC services rose in both countries, from 26% to 32% in Zambia and from 39% to 49% in Zambia, demonstrating progress in adequately equipping facilities.<sup>64</sup>

A Health Facility Assessment was conducted at the outset of SMGL so that programs could be tailored to the specific needs and unique gaps in each country, thus variations in investments exist across the districts.<sup>65</sup> SMGL targeted the issue of demand generation at the community level by training and mobilizing over 4,000 Village Health Team (VHT) members in Uganda and over 1,500 Safe Motherhood Action Group (SMAG) members in Zambia. In addition, SMGL introduced mass media campaigns in both countries that included broadcasting radio spots on maternal health with the goal of increasing awareness. Renovations of health facilities in order to improve EmONC, purchases vehicles and ambulances, and provision of transportation vouchers for mothers addressed issues of supply, and access to health facilities.

In Uganda, the number of women giving birth in facilities increased by 60% in SMGL districts.<sup>66</sup> This increase in demand can be attributed both to the efforts of VHTs, who visited households and educated them on maternal health issues, and to a number of voucher schemes for both transportation to health facilities and private care.<sup>67</sup> Voucher schemes proved to be very successful in the three districts of Uganda in which they were implemented. Under one such program, low-income women were able to purchase vouchers providing transportation at a fraction of the cost of a motorcycle taxi so that they could quickly arrive to a health facility when they went into labor. Within three months, women had purchased the entire supply of vouchers for the yearlong implementation period.<sup>68</sup> During Phase 1, the percentage of institutional deliveries supported by transport vouchers rose from 6% at baseline to 39%.<sup>69</sup>

The global partnership model employed by SMGL has been beneficial in many ways, it allows partners to contribute their own unique and complementary expertise and experience, and the result is a whole greater than the sum of its parts.<sup>70</sup> The size and scope of the partnership structure allows the program to simultaneously address supply and demand aspects of MCH, and such interventions have been shown to yield better results than stand-alone strategies.<sup>71</sup> While SMGL brings together a wide variety of actors and facilitates a space for generating new and innovative ideas, it lacks clarity in its operational structure, which creates confusion among partners with regards to future planning and financing. In Zambia, a delegation from the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) reported a need for better coordination among partners in order to avoid duplication when fulfilling financial, technical, and in-kind commitments.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, an external evaluation of SMGL by Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health found that implementers and health providers at the country level did not feel that the program had laid out clear next steps, nor did it give them a true sense of ownership or control of the program.<sup>73</sup> A lack of national ownership is especially problematic if the goal is eventually passing off successfully implemented MCH programs to country governments. Furthermore, national governments are the "natural owners" of essential components of the SMGL strategy, such as adequate staffing at Ministries of Health, and such responsibilities should always lie primarily with them.<sup>74</sup>

### *Afghanistan*

US foreign assistance to Afghanistan has been highly debated as of late, and although Afghanistan is not included in USAID's most recent large-scale partnerships, it warrants discussion due to both the enormous amount of US financial resources have been invested there over the past decade, and the major role the US has played in reconstructing the Afghan state and health system. In FY2013, Afghanistan received \$66.1M in Maternal and Child Health aid from USAID, more than any other country in the world.<sup>75</sup> After decades of conflict and misrule, Afghanistan was left with very poor infrastructure, an essentially non-existent public health system, and a weak economy. In 2008, World Bank reported that 36% of the population lived beneath the national poverty line.<sup>76</sup>

USAID reconstruction efforts have functioned with the primary goal of sustainable economic growth, though investments over multiple sectors have been made in order to achieve this goal. In terms of health, USAID's strategy has followed a pattern of grants to NGOs to cover specific and specialized aspects of health care in different regions, the end result being a patchwork of organizations that create a relatively consistent national health care system run by the Afghan Ministry of Public Health, though with heavy dependence on USAID and other foreign development organizations.<sup>77</sup> The presence of so many NGOs in the public health sector can be seen as problematic because of an issue known as "brain drain" that many low-income countries face. The brain drain phenomenon occurs both internally and externally, when countries lose capable health workers to NGOs in-country that are able to pay higher wages than the public sector, or in some cases, to foreign countries that can offer better pay as well as better living and working conditions.<sup>78</sup>

Potential issues of brain drain notwithstanding, the 2010 Afghanistan Mortality Survey found that in the six years between 2004 and 2010 life expectancy rose from 42 years to 62 years.<sup>79</sup> This finding was especially stunning considering that 2004 life expectancy was the second lowest in the world.<sup>80</sup> A sharp drop in child mortality contributed substantially to this increase in life expectancy—from 1990 to 2011 the Under-5 mortality rate (U5MR) fell from 192 to 101.<sup>81</sup>

## US INTERESTS

Investments in global health contribute to strong, healthy societies and economies abroad that can better engage in trade and diplomacy with the US. Illness and death can decimate the work force, destabilizing the economy, and creating conditions under which violent groups can exploit weaknesses and recruit the vulnerable. In addition to national security preservation, investing in global health reflects an American commitment to helping the poorest and most vulnerable throughout the world.<sup>82</sup>

The Global Health Initiative (GHI) unifies the US government's global health programming under a set of coordinated goals and strategies so that investments can be maximized to protect the American people, advance core American values, and save more lives.<sup>83</sup> USAID's focus on the health of

mothers and children falls in line with the principles and goals of the GHI. Under the GHI vision of integrated health programming, three areas of health are prioritized: Creating an AIDS-Free Generation, Investing in Women and Saving Mothers, and Ending Preventable Child Deaths.<sup>84</sup> Maternal and child health lies at the core of the vision of integrated, strong, and functional health systems across the globe.

Not only does investing in the health of mothers positively affect child health outcomes, but it also bolsters USAID's efforts to empower women and promote gender equality. Health is vital to a woman's wellbeing and essential to her ability to rise to her full social and economic potential. Improving the health of women can simultaneously support USAID goals of maternal mortality reduction and women's empowerment. Moreover, investing in women's and children's health positively impacts GDP—healthy mothers and children are a sign of a bright future, of a healthy workforce and productive future society—making MCH an important component of USAID's promotion of inclusive and sustainable economic growth in low-income regions.

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Scaling-up of SMGL*

There are major constraints and limitations identified during SMGL's pilot stage that need to be addressed before USAID and other SMGL partners consider how best to scale up SMGL activities. At the end of Phase 1, managers and implementers indicated that remaining barriers to expanding maternal care included persistent transportation difficulties and human resource shortages.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, the structure of the partnership itself produced confusion about responsibilities among partners, putting programs at risk for duplication and redundancy and compromising the value of each partner's commitment.<sup>86</sup> Though it does have its shortcomings, Saving Mothers Giving Lives provides USAID with an encouraging model for reducing maternal mortality in the future, and its results warrant an effort to scale up activities to other districts and countries.

### *Option 2: Opportunities for Building-On and Integration*

An aspect of SMGL that has proven to be successful and cost-effective is the build-on structure it employs. Programs in Zambia and Uganda were implemented via PEPFAR's existing platforms for health service delivery. By using this approach, SMGL eliminated the need to fund and create and entirely new infrastructure for delivery systems. Building on to PEPFAR platforms was doubly advantageous due to the interrelated nature of HIV/AIDS and MCH. Mothers receiving antenatal care for preventions of HIV transmission could then also receive benefits of maternal health services provided by SMGL programs. The future scale-up of SMGL could continue this build-on pattern, expanding to other platforms established by existing USAID initiatives. In this way, SMGL programs could benefit from lessons learned by those existing initiatives and better adapt to local context, responding to specific country and community needs.

### *Option 3: Addressing remaining barriers to access*

Expanding voucher programs and increasing the number of facilities available in rural areas so that all women can reach proper maternal care within the crucial first two hours after birth can address transportation difficulties. Given the promising results achieved by demand creation activities like voucher schemes and community health worker mobilization, both would be an important aspect of any effort to scale-up SMGL. Additionally, both of these efforts target poor women in rural areas, who are some of the most disadvantaged when it comes to accessing maternal health services because of their lack of economic resources and remote location.

Human resource shortages are a more complex issue, because country budgets for hiring health providers are often limited. Thus, in order to build the capacity of Ministries of Health and concomitantly increase health workforce, partners could channel resources into government budgets to subsidize wages of doctors and nurses or hire more health workers. One possible strategy is implementing contract programs through which USAID funds contracts for health workers through Ministries of Health in-country. Once such programs have demonstrated efficacy, they can begin scaling up. Eventually, as the

country's income and tax base increases, Ministries of Health could begin to take ownership of the programs and fund the contracting on their own.

#### **Option 4: Partnership Models**

An important aspect of the SMGL initiative that needs to be considered if it is to be scaled up is the partnership model. SMGL's organizational issues could be addressed by a structural reorientation that lays out a clear plan for the future, including financial and implementation obligations specific to each partner. A clearer structure would increase coordination and effectiveness of investments. As the External Evaluation by Columbia University recommends, the role of national governments and district authorities needs to be included in future framework so as to avoid the current anxiety and confusion expressed by managers at the country level. Lessons learned from the pilot phase of the SMGL partnership can be applied to other current projects with similar structures, as well as future partnerships.

#### **Option 5: Addressing governmental roles**

Additionally, national governments need to play more than just a bystander role, and should be more directly involved in oversight and implementation of programs so that they can more easily take up the responsibility later on, and can make their own investments in the core functions of programs like SMGL as government budgets increase. In the case of Afghanistan, future country ownership and governmental capacity is crucial for sustainability of its health programs. Increased country ownership will require capacity building so that countries can take on a larger coordinating role. In order to facilitate capacity building, SMGL might offer technical assistance to country governments through provision of CDC personnel to temporarily fill high-level Ministry of Health positions and train or mentor future administrators from the country.

## POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

### **Health Systems Strengthening**

- Continue to support programs like SMGL that promote the health of women and children while simultaneously encouraging health systems strengthening.
- Provide receiving countries with technical assistance and interim personnel.
  - *When Ministries of Health lack human resources or capacity to fulfill obligations, provide personnel with technical expertise to fill temporary positions and train future employees in the receiving country.*

### **Begin careful expansion of SMGL**

- Secure five year commitments for partners that delineate clear transition plans for future scale-up efforts
- Clarify governance structure
  - *Assign specific roles to each partner, making clear obligations and commitments so that efforts can be coordinated and redundancy avoided.*
- Expand voucher programs and community health worker mobilization as part of scale-up efforts
  - *Continue to target poor mothers in rural areas with these programs*
- Continue to build upon existing service delivery platforms
  - *When scaling up, identify USAID initiatives and programs that have already established means to deliver care*
  - *Seek to build on programs that can be mutually-reinforcing, i.e. PEPFAR's antenatal HIV care and SMGL*

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 4–5.

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<sup>65</sup> Janet Fleischman and Alisha Kramer, *Strengthening U.S. Investments in Women’s Global Health. A Trip Report of the CSIS Delegation to Zambia, March 2013* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 2013), 7,

[https://csis.org/files/publication/130521\\_Fleischman\\_ZambiaDelegation\\_Web.pdf](https://csis.org/files/publication/130521_Fleischman_ZambiaDelegation_Web.pdf).

<sup>66</sup> Saving Mothers Giving Life, *Making Pregnancy & Childbirth Safer in Uganda & Zambia*, 11.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>68</sup> Waldron and Adesina, “Investments to Accelerate Reductions in Maternal Mortality.”

<sup>69</sup> Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, *Saving Mothers, Giving Life Monitoring and Evaluation Report: Executive Summary*, 18.

<sup>70</sup> Margaret E Kruk and Sandro Galea, *External Evaluation of Saving Mothers, Giving Life Final Report* (Columbia University, October 2013), 3,

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<http://www.savingmothersgivinglife.org/doc/SMGL%20Columbia%20final%20report%20Oct%202013.pdf>.

<sup>71</sup> Independent Evaluation Group, *Delivering the Millennium Development Goals to Reduce Maternal and Child Mortality. A Systematic Review of Impact Evaluation Evidence*, 45–46.

<sup>72</sup> Janet Fleischman and Alisha Kramer, *Strengthening U.S. Investments in Women’s Global Health. A Trip Report of the CSIS Delegation to Zambia, March 2013* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 2013), [https://csis.org/files/publication/130521\\_Fleischman\\_ZambiaDelegation\\_Web.pdf](https://csis.org/files/publication/130521_Fleischman_ZambiaDelegation_Web.pdf).

<sup>73</sup> Kruk and Galea, *External Evaluation of Saving Mothers, Giving Life Final Report*, 4.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> USAID, “U.S. Agency for International Development Fiscal Year 2013.”

<sup>76</sup> World Bank, “Afghanistan | Data,” *World Bank*, accessed February 17, 2014, [http://data.worldbank.org/country/afghanistan#cp\\_wdi](http://data.worldbank.org/country/afghanistan#cp_wdi).

<sup>77</sup> Justin Sandefur, “Here’s the Best Thing the United States Has Done in Afghanistan” (Center for Global Development, October 15, 2013), <http://www.cgdev.org/publication/here-best-thing-united-states-has-done-afghanistan>.

<sup>78</sup> Laurie Garrett, “The Challenge of Global Health,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 2007, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/62268/laurie-garrett/the-challenge-of-global-health>.

<sup>79</sup> Sandefur, “Here’s the Best Thing the United States Has Done in Afghanistan.”

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> UNICEF, “Afghanistan - Statistics,” *UNICEF*, accessed February 18, 2014, [http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/afghanistan\\_statistics.html](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/afghanistan_statistics.html).

<sup>82</sup> “U.S. Global Health Initiative: National Interest,” *U.S. Global Health Initiative*, September 9, 2013, <http://www.ghi.gov/about/whyGH/nationalInterest/index.html#.UxEBGV7PZvK>.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> “U.S. Global Health Initiative: Whole-of-Government Priorities,” *U.S. Global Health Initiative*, September 9, 2013, <http://www.ghi.gov/about/whyGH/wholeGov/#.UxEBqI7PZvJ>.

<sup>85</sup> Kruk and Galea, *External Evaluation of Saving Mothers, Giving Life Final Report*.

<sup>86</sup> Fleischman and Kramer, *Strengthening U.S. Investments in Women’s Global Health. A Trip Report of the CSIS Delegation to Zambia, March 2013*, 7.





# AGRICULTURE, FOOD SECURITY, & CLIMATE CHANGE

## CHAPTERS:

5 – Sub-Saharan Africa

6 – South & South-east Asia

7 – Latin America & the Caribbean



# Chapter 5 Agriculture-Related Issues in sub-Saharan Africa

By Yolanda Altamirano

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## ISSUE

In sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) 48.5% of the population lives in extreme poverty, that is, less than US \$1.25 a day per person.<sup>1</sup> USAID, aligning with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is working towards ending extreme poverty by 2030. Food security is a crucial factor in achieving this goal. Doubts exist that this goal can be reached in sub-Saharan Africa there because of its failures so far, making a reevaluation of food security programs crucial to aligning USAID's goals with the MDG timeline. 65% of SSA's labor force is devoted to agricultural production, yet only 32% of SSA's GDP comes from the agricultural sector.<sup>2</sup> Agriculture in this region has been growing slowly compared to other developing regions, with critical changes needed for increasing agricultural productivity and overall food security. Nutrition also plays a significant role in addressing food security and agriculture, with vast amounts of malnourished people in SSA as a result of unhealthy foods, or lack of food. A rising issue is climate change adaptability, in which is important for increasing agricultural production and providing food security. This section is devoted to proposing modifications to USAID food security programs in SSA, with emphasis on sustainable agriculture practices, nutrition, and climate change resilience through irrigation. Combining these different components creates a multifaceted approach for increasing development

## BACKGROUND

Sub-Saharan Africa receives the second highest amount of money from USAID, yet only a handful of those countries receiving aid are also significantly affected by extreme poverty. USAID invests \$1.06 billion dollars towards sustainable agriculture improvement. Out of the top 20 countries that receive aid from USAID, nine countries are in SSA.<sup>3</sup> Nearly all of these nine countries are in East Africa, with one in West Africa. To address the problems in West Africa, USAID created the Resilience in the Sahel-

Enhanced (RISE) Initiative was recently created in February 2014, committing more than 130 million over the first two years of a five year plan. Increasing programs and aid to countries with higher rates of extreme poverty would actually improve the chances of ending extreme poverty by 2030. With regards to USAID programs, Environment and Climate Change and Food Security and Agriculture, funding is relatively low in relation to extreme poverty in the regions USAID serves. Some countries not receiving much aid given the proportion of their populations living in extreme poverty are Nigeria, Zambia, Angola, Mali, Sierra Leone, and Senegal.

Agriculture dependence is high throughout SSA and considerable areas of land are challenging for agricultural production, because of environmental and social factors such as irregular rain fall, previous cultivation practices, and droughts. While emphasis on cash crops, crops made for profit, such as coffee, cocoa, and tea, was once customary for agricultural aid in SSA, today's focus is on sustainability. New seeds, technology, and small-scale irrigation are all important for increasing food productions in the area.

While efforts are being made to increase economic growth in the region there has been a lack of knowledge sharing, discussion with locals of the region, and technology innovation that could impact regional transformation. The remainder of this section further examines agriculture and food history of SSA, followed by current USAID programs of agriculture, nutrition, and climate change resilience.

### History

The effects of globalization have contributed to the harsh situation in sub-Saharan Africa. Throughout the Golden Age of the 1960s and 70s, the region relied on foreign financing that did not promote growth or investment but rather exposed countries to external shocks.<sup>4</sup> The Green Revolution that ignited in the 60s and 70s failed in Africa due to external limitations to the techniques and regional costs.<sup>5</sup> During the 1980s many sub-Saharan countries relied on exporting commodities like cocoa and coffee, whose markets crashed in the early 1980s recession. The “lost decade” in the 80s was also rooted in corruption, costly subsidies to keep food prices low in volatile areas, and declining food production. Rates of extreme poverty in the region peaked in the 80s and have decreased by only 10% since.<sup>6</sup> Despite

these historical fallbacks, the African Union (AU) was created in 2001 and in 2002 they committed themselves to private and public investments in agriculture and agricultural growth at a rate of 6% a year by 2015.<sup>7</sup> The AU created a Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program in 2004, which continuously helps African countries create plans for reducing hunger and poverty through agriculture.<sup>8</sup> USAID and AU have been in partnership since 2004.<sup>9</sup>

USAID increasingly donates billions of dollars towards ending extreme poverty. At the 2009 G8 Summit in Italy, the US committed \$3.5 billion over three years towards global food security. In 2012, the US established the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition (New Alliance) to be supported through private funding.<sup>10</sup> The New Alliance tackles environmental issues inhibiting production and growth with the involvement and commitment of African countries, support from G8 members, and private sector partner investments.<sup>11</sup> Feed the Future (FTF) was created at the 2009 G8 summit to focus on agriculture and improve under-nutrition, poverty, and hunger.<sup>12</sup>

FTF is led by USAID, though nine other development agencies are involved, to increase food security by supporting country-led programs<sup>13</sup>. The Rome Principles are one of the methods that FTF and the New Alliance use to choose countries to support. The Rome Principles are based off of country involvement and support, strategy approaches, and projected effectiveness of strategies. These determine which countries are supported by FTF and the New Alliance<sup>14</sup>. Nutrition and climate-smart development are included in the six focus areas of FTF (inclusive agriculture sector growth, gender integration, improved nutrition, private sector engagement, research and capacity building, and climate-smart development) but depending on the region there may be more focus on certain areas and deficient focus in another area completely. While the Omnibus Appropriations Act of 2009 focused funds towards West and East Africa, countries within these regions received varying forms of support even though they face similar agricultural problems.<sup>15</sup> Nearly all of SSA deals with droughts, soil deficiencies, and irregular rain fall; yet the East and West regions in particular are also plagued by high amounts of extreme poverty.<sup>16,17</sup> In West Africa, the goal has been to raise production of staple foods such as maize, rice, cassava, etc. in addition to modernizing agricultural systems.<sup>18</sup> Inputs such as seeds, fertilizers, and technology for land

and water resource efficiency are also needed in the region.<sup>19</sup> In East Africa, focus is placed on smallholder agriculture and participation in food markets.<sup>20</sup> Despite the focus on East and West Africa, Zambia, Burkina Faso, and Malawi are countries with more than 40% of their population living on less than \$1.25, USAID does not provide any aid towards agriculture.<sup>21</sup> Throughout the long term, agriculture research and extension, improved water management and progress on irrigation areas, agricultural management practices, new technology, and emphasis on gender can help impact the goal of ending of extreme poverty when combined.<sup>22</sup>

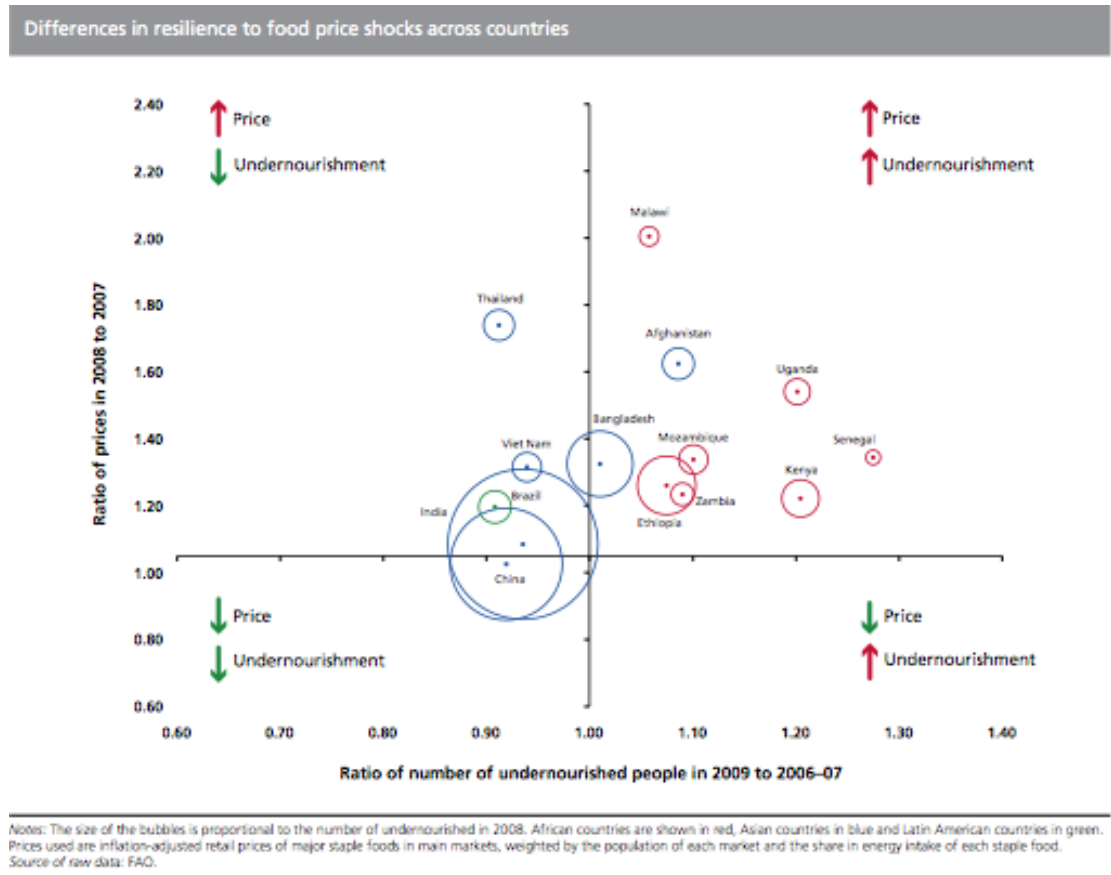
### Food Prices

The 2007-2008 food crisis created food and nutrition deficits, deterring food security in SSA. Some issues perpetuating high food prices are projected increases in demand, unknown crop supplies due to irregular rain fall, and the slow responsiveness of the food system.<sup>23</sup> In the last six years, prices have frequently increased and high price volatility is expected to continue.<sup>24</sup> In some sub-Saharan African countries, lowering domestic prices can be achieved by reducing taxes and tariffs but this involves governance and laws. Energy and fertilizer prices are important factors in food pricing and their increase has raised the production costs and reduced the profits of farmers, which in turn has decreased the incentive for growing food.<sup>25</sup> However, high prices encourage production so that prices can decrease. Sub-Saharan Africa had the largest number of countries affected by undernourishment due to price increases, as seen in Figure 5.1.<sup>26</sup> With food markets inconsistently changing, alleviating the economic hardships of people living in extreme poverty is extremely important.

### Agriculture

33 million, or 80% of all farms in SSA, are smallholder farms.<sup>27</sup> Agricultural production is a large component of income for people living in rural SSA. Increasing production means more food is sold for income, helping maintain healthy workers and keeping more money in the household, no longer struggling to feed themselves. For example, in Ethiopia 43% of GDP comes from agriculture and 90% is exported.<sup>28</sup> Although agriculture accounts for such a large portion of the Ethiopian economy, however,

**Figure 5.1 Differences in Resilience to Food Price Shocks**



**Source:** The British Geographer

the country has limited amounts of fertilizers, pesticides, improved seeds, and smallholder farms. The use of water resources and land availability are also not at efficient levels. These issues are replicated across the region and require sustainable improvements along with local implementation. Sustainable agriculture includes many different components such as land management, land rights, water management, and crop cultivation techniques and technology. One benefit of sustainable agricultural is increased climate change adaptability for farmers.

Land management in SSA has changed from shifting cultivation, which meant that small areas of land were only cultivated for a relatively short amount of time, until soil fertility was depleted, which led to shifting to another plot of land.<sup>29</sup> Shifting cultivation was primarily done by women, until ploughing became the method for private land owners, or men. The introduction of ploughing limited the number of

seasons of uncultivated land and thus more food. A problem occurs when natural resource information is unknown, for example soil fertility, and farmers cannot produce as much as possible. Poor natural resource management can degrade land suitable for agriculture, as seen in shifting cultivation. Good farming practices, like ploughing, as well as good stewardship, help increase agricultural production, economic growth, protect biodiversity, and thus help meet increasing food demands.

In SSA, 80% of agricultural land is held by smallholder farmers, defined as two hectares or less.<sup>30</sup> Smallholder agriculture is significant because single or small families are producing for themselves and are not limited to what is sold in a market. While having land, or resources, to work on is necessary to increase food production, research, or productivity, is also beneficial for increasing production growth. Resource-based growth occurs with the addition of land, labor, capital, and materials which can allow people to grow more food. Since the 60s resource-based growth has an annual agriculture production growth of 2%.<sup>31</sup> Modern commodities would accelerate growth if irrigation equipment, synthetic fertilizers, and farm machinery were adopted.<sup>32</sup> Sustainable use of the land comes from the combination of resource management practices and technologies, which allow for more sustainable land use. Productivity based growth can increase with agricultural research and policy reforms.<sup>33</sup> In 2010 agricultural output was 30% higher with both resource- and productivity-based growth than previously with only resource-based growth.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, a combination of resources and research, rather than just resources, can boost agriculture production in SSA.

Africa's agricultural research centers have been deteriorating since their inception during colonial times.<sup>35</sup> Research is poorly funded and there are not enough science degree holders at work.<sup>36</sup> Agricultural research results help deliver new technologies to farmers, such as improved crop varieties, biological control of pests, control of diseases in livestock, and share better resource management practices.<sup>37</sup> Low adoption rates of new practices in SSA impede the growth of agricultural production. A problem potentially remedied by research centers. An example of where more research is needed is in addressing climate change resilience and sustainable practices. Increasing production of new, weather tolerant crops

can help with climate change adaptability. These crops not only can endure sporadic climate change, but also raise food crop yields and helps reduce food price escalation and increase food security.<sup>38</sup>

Land rights have an important role in agriculture because of land ownership difficulties in SSA. Laws regarding land ownership obstruct agricultural progress across SSA, where an estimated 202 million hectares are not used.<sup>39</sup> Land rights are increasingly significant, as investments in agricultural land have been increasing.<sup>40</sup> This uptake in investment began after the rise in the 2007-2008 food prices and mostly affects large scale agricultural production, but the lack of enforced property rights deter investments in many countries in SSA. The insufficient property rights also inhibit investments by contributing to a lack of trust towards enforced land rights. Land grabs create unfair competition, with poor compensation for those stuck working for others rather than on their own farms. 90% of land in Africa is undocumented, meaning that there much land is available for ownership and increasing production.<sup>41</sup>

Currently there is little transparency in SSA's land transactions, and there is not much security either.<sup>42</sup> Lack of ownership also halts significant progress towards increasing food security and ending extreme poverty because less people have land to work on and there is less growing. An increase in land ownership would help increase SSA's food security through agricultural production. The increase in demand for land in SSA is also an important aspect of governance and economic growth, making this issue crucial for sub-Saharan African countries to address.

### **Water Management**

USAID has increased funds toward water resources management in the last decade.<sup>43</sup> Only 4% of agricultural land in SSA is irrigated, and this is mostly in Madagascar, Nigeria, South Africa and Sudan.<sup>44</sup> With more reliable access to water, including through means of smallholder irrigation, there is potential to reduce hunger, increase income, and change the development outlook in the region.<sup>45</sup> The issue in SSA lies not in scarcity, but rather access to water. Rain-fed systems in SSA limit farmers to 3-6 months of crop production, where small-scale irrigation provides the option of yearly crop production. When water reliance is no longer on an environmental factor, farmers and families can work in other markets or spend more time on child care. Another benefit of irrigation for smallholder farms includes the option of

cultivating fruits, vegetables, and other higher-value crops. In most of SSA, crops that can subsist on rain are cereals, such as maize, sorghum, and millet, which do not provide many nutritional benefits compared to irrigated crops.<sup>46</sup> Irrigation can also mitigate climate change effects, such as droughts and extreme heat.<sup>47</sup>

There are two types of irrigation discussed below—centralized (dams) and distributed (pumps). In comparing small-scale, distributed irrigation to centralized irrigation, there emerge many benefits to the former. Centralized irrigation tends to be expensive while small-scale, distributed irrigation that covers large areas are most cost effective in SSA.<sup>48</sup> When small-scale water management practices are managed by local, smallholder farmers the outcomes in production are better than those irrigation systems solely managed by governments.<sup>49</sup>

Small-scale irrigation is ultimately better for smallholder farms and climate change adaptability. Environmental benefits of using distributed irrigation systems include soil salinization reduction (evident in large scale irrigation systems when installed without proper drainage) and the feasibility to access and distribute water. Depending on the conditions of water, farmers can move their irrigation systems to better use rainfall, surface water, and groundwater supplies and decrease evaporation loss.<sup>50</sup> Evaporation loss is significant in SSA since a hydro-climatic environment challenges crop production and in dry lands precipitation returns to the atmosphere through evotranspiration.<sup>51</sup> Recently in SSA, farmers have acquired gas or diesel fueled inexpensive motorized pumps. A 3 year study by International Water Management Institute (IWMI) estimated that small-scale motorized pumps could expand irrigation by around 30 million hectares in SSA and annual net revenue of \$22 billion, providing incomes for 185 million people.<sup>52</sup> Increasing income by even half of that amount saves millions of people from extreme poverty.

In order to successfully adopt small-scale irrigation in SSA, access, distribution, and use must be addressed.<sup>53</sup> Some pumps are not able to reach deep groundwater, making different types of pumps depending on the location in SSA necessary for farmers to access water. Pumps also must be useful in their locations, so that smallholder farmers can profit from their use. Understanding gender-based

agricultural work is also necessary because some women will not use treadle pumps.<sup>54</sup> Solar powered water pumps are also required for the smallholder farmers living in extreme poverty without the resources to purchase fuel for the pumps.

### Nutrition

USAID has doubled nutrition specific funding since 2008. FTF, Scaling up Nutrition (SUN) and the Global Health Initiative focus on the first 1000 days of a child's life to ensure a longer lasting life by providing support to find the causes of malnutrition<sup>55</sup>. The New Alliance was also created to further address the needs of decreasing nutrition throughout developing countries. SSA countries involved in the New Alliance are the same countries devoted to FTF, many of which are dealing with large amounts of extreme poverty. The 1,000 Special Days National Nutrition Education and Communication Strategy (NECS) that SUN promotes is based on community workshops.<sup>56</sup> Media, family counseling, and integration of local leaders in programs all contribute to adopting healthy and nutritious practices.

Malnutrition is a large problem in SSA with children being the primary targets of aid. There are two types of malnutrition: micronutrient and protein. Global discussions on malnutrition refer to protein malnutrition, where people are not consuming enough calories overall for energy.<sup>57</sup> Both types of malnutrition, however, are relevant and micronutrients such as vitamins and minerals are equally significant when coming up with solutions to resolve malnutrition.

Childhood development, health, and school attendance are largely affected by malnutrition.<sup>58</sup> In 2008, 67.6% of preschool aged African children had micronutrient deficiencies specifically in iron.<sup>59</sup> Adding to the problem are the misguided efforts of mothers throughout SSA supplying their children with soft drinks or other sugary drinks, such as chocolate milk and/or juice.<sup>60</sup> A lack of information about the consequences of sugar intake in childhood obstructs future health.

### Climate Change

Climate change is a vast topic that will be addressed in terms of adaptation and resilience. Agriculture and climate change are very interrelated, but have so far not been understood together. For

every 1 degree Celsius that temperature increases, the potential loss of grain crop is around 5%.<sup>61</sup> The impact of climate change on agricultural development in sub-Saharan Africa is sporadic and can determine whether or not people eat. As more technology and information is being shared about the effects of climate change and ways to reduce them, sub-Saharan Africa is slowly changing agricultural practices to be more “climate-smart”.<sup>62</sup> Greener pathways to reducing climate change and green-house gas emissions are also relatively new to the region, with room to improve.<sup>63</sup> Climate change has only recently received focus in SSA and due to this, the spread of information about the effects of climate change and what can be done to mitigate them is currently lacking. Extension programs have also been poorly funded and the resources do not reach enough farmers. In order for climate change information to really spread there will need to be a combination of innovative teaching of the information and extension techniques. Some general problems in SSA due to climate change are pest and weed growths due to high temperatures, soil acidity, droughts, and nutrient-depleted and degraded soil.<sup>64</sup> The different amounts of rainfall also impact short and long term agricultural production.<sup>65</sup> All of these factors inhibit the growth of crops and food security as well as growing income.

Changing nutrient management, such as reducing emissions from nitrogen fertilizers and manure application on fields, is a sustainable agricultural practice that also addresses climate change.<sup>66</sup> To improve farm and water management, less capacity intensive gains can help raise yields, enhance resilience, and reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Increased soil carbon can also help improve soil productivity and thus more production, and resilience of farming systems to climate shocks.<sup>67</sup> The region could also benefit from improvement in irrigation and, soil conservation and fertility, as natural resource degradation is a risk.<sup>68</sup> Agroforestry is an area of climate change and environment that has not received much emphasis but is still relevant. In SSA, research has shown that having trees in crop fields help diminish the effects of climate change.<sup>69</sup> Various case studies have shown the positive impacts of agroforestry, such as keeping ecological functions intact by enhancing water storage for the crops and increasing soil productivity, and thus offering security to farmers who can maintain their access to nutritious foods during crisis.<sup>70</sup> With sporadic patterns of rainfall trees can be important technology and

management practices available for protecting against climate shocks. Climate change resilience via “climate smart” agriculture enhances production and reduces GHG emissions.<sup>71</sup> Information and Communication Technology (ICT) products, such as sensors, high resolution satellite images, and Geographic Information Systems are advancements that can provide relevant data to farmers.<sup>72</sup> These can help with soil management in response to climate change through crop-yield monitoring, forecasting, and dissemination of weather-related information. These new technologies can quickly impact situations in SSA by allowing for quick communication and information for farmers.

East and West Africa have similarities and differences in circumstances when dealing with climate change adaptability. East Africa, including central Africa, risk climate change negatively effecting crops, such as wheat, soybean, sorghum, and irrigated rice.<sup>73</sup> These crops would yield 5-20% less than current production, given current rates of climate change. Climate change resilience is emphasized in this region due to the risks. New agricultural technology such as new crop varieties will need to be adopted by farmers. Planting dates have also been disrupted due to climate change because of sporadic rainfall.<sup>74</sup>

In West Africa, 16 countries face negative climate change impacts similar to the issues of crop loss and technology in East Africa. Unlike in East Africa, West Africa relies on more crops that are subject to the effects of climate change, such as many different kinds of cereals, sweet potatoes, legumes, cowpeas, and groundnuts.<sup>75</sup> Both East and West Africa rely on cash crops such as, coffee, cocoa, and cotton. Climate change awareness is increasing in West Africa via governments and economic communities throughout SSA but adaptive measures have yet to create lasting impacts.

## US INTERESTS

The US provides significant monetary support to humanitarian aid. Given the commitment that the US has already shown for ending extreme poverty as seen with FTF, the New Alliance, etc. addressing current, diverse, interrelated topics will help reach their goal. If USAID supplies money for

agricultural and environmental programs then less money will be needed in the future. Having more money in the budget can be used towards American issues or towards other sectors. Trade involving wheat, which SSA imports, can decrease and ultimately more people in the US would be able to enter the urban labor force and move away from working in agriculture. This not only ensures food security for the majority of the population in SSA but increases GDP for SSA and its partners as well.

Working to institute sustainable agricultural can increase food production for the world and spark an increase in trade and markets. By aiding SSA to increase agricultural production there will be more stable food markets and trade, and decreasing food prices. Inaction may cause the people living in sub-Saharan region to turn towards violent and harmful actions in order to stay alive, to buy food, etc. and hunger and lack of nutrition can actually lead to the death of millions of people, mostly children and women.

USAID's Water Strategy for 2013-2017 includes a strategic objective (SO) for increasing water use in both rain-fed and irrigated agriculture systems.<sup>76</sup> As SO 2, importance falls on water sustainability management in SSA to help provide food security. The goals of the water strategy, "Increase water use productivity and efficiency in rainfed areas" and "Increase water use productivity and efficiency in irrigated agriculture systems,"<sup>77</sup> are aligned with the options below.

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Increase sustainable agricultural research with help from both American and African degree-holding scientists.*

The US Department of Agriculture has studied the impact of agricultural research on the increase of production growths in SSA, with research helping improve sustainable agriculture. By focusing on those sub-Saharan countries with the most extreme poverty and GDP reliance on agriculture, economic growth will occur with the help of degree-holding researchers. Research centers were implemented in SSA mostly during colonial times so the funds to create centers for research would be unnecessary.

In some sub-Saharan countries, agricultural production growth has been increased by local and global investments in agricultural research and development, which delivered improved technology to farmers.<sup>78</sup> Research helps farmers obtain new technologies such as improved crop varieties, biological control of pests, control of livestock diseases, and better methods of natural resource management. These technologies improved productivity on at least 25% of the region's cropland.<sup>79</sup>

Funds to support agricultural research and scientists prevent brain drain and increase research reliance. Also, increasing the number of African researchers can help increase the income of people by creating jobs. SSA needs the funds to get workers with scientific degrees to research centers<sup>80</sup> and to help provide solutions to increasing agricultural production.

Three research areas can help smallholder farmers and further development. First, the development community and SSA's governments need better understanding of current water resources and how these will be affected by climate change. Methods of accomplishing this include locally mapping out water resources, sharing information on groundwater, and using Ethiopia and Niger as pilot countries, because of their accessible groundwater resources and drought- and famine-prone environment.<sup>81</sup> Second, focusing research in the development community is needed to provide better understanding of SSA agriculture, including farmer management. This can range from technology use and failures, commodity prices, storage issues, pest problems, and weather shocks, and gender-based duties. Lastly, research on the differences between distributed smallholder irrigation systems and large-scale centralized irrigation projects. This is due to the way that institutions choose to support them and what different requirements they may have to be able to be instituted. Farmers face different situations across SSA, so addressing the different problems that could arise and trying to solve them can ease product use. Objections to this option may include, however, the amount of time and money that would need to be spent on research, but USAID already invests a lot of money and time. Costs are evident in wages for researchers, which are lower in SSA, however, by offering jobs, saving and investing increases. The benefits of reallocating the money to benefit research centers would outweigh these costs.

*Option 2: Increase awareness of nutrition and support expanding nutrition in current and future programs.*

FTF and SUN currently emphasize maternal and child nutrition in the first 1000 days of life.

Nutrition, however, goes much further than that. Providing nutritional food should decrease hunger and in the long term will decrease the amounts of food supplied to SSA. Programs that SUN uses include community and educational techniques, as evidenced in Malawi, which promote focus on and require attention to learning about nutrition.<sup>82</sup> Such programs are not yet in enough countries, necessitating extension of nutritional information to malnourished people to have greater impact. Implementation of nutrition facts and support in SSA is feasible and having information for adults can help increase human capital and labor force. Awareness of nutrition can be implemented with pamphlets in different languages, pictures, and data. Fortification of familiar crops can also help improve nutrition; however these will require more research.

*Option 3: Provide technology and information to help farmers of SSA understand climate change effects and protect against climate change shocks.*

Different kinds of technology exist for helping prepare and notify people of droughts, floods, etc. in SSA. ICTs are solutions for adapting to climate change shocks that can impact food prices and help ensure next season's agricultural production to increase local food supply. ICTs can help families prepare for bad seasons, intense rainfall, or droughts through weather forecasting alone. Other technologies, such as mobile phones, help spread information quickly about new seeds, practices, or prices. The costs of ICTs need not be expensive. Used sensors or GIS' can be placed in countries with the necessary electricity. Not all types of ICTs need to be purchased to make a difference either, so with more funds, various ICTs can be purchased.

*Option 4: Encourage local communication with development aid in how to increase food production to create a shared reliance in SSA on sustainable agriculture.*

Increase discussion with all genders of smallholder farmers to better understanding of different conditions and possible problems with current agriculture practices. Unsustainable management is not addressed when farmers are not learning the best methods for their crops. Different farmers also have to

deal with different institutional constraints, so helping relay information between governments and farmers can help improve production.

By including local farmer observations on development, specifically in what problems limit their lives to daily expenses of \$1.25, can help end this long-winded mission of helping SSA out of extreme poverty. Anthropologists and scientists working in SSA can increase the knowledge of smallholder farming practices and the agricultural problems can then be addressed by governments and aid agencies. Gender inclusion in the ground work of sustainable practices helps, since the farmers are involved in the discourse of agriculture. When both men and women can vocalize the problems and brainstorm solutions, trial-and-error can determine which crop, land management practice, or technologies will most benefit.

**Option 5: Expand Feed the Future and the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition to more than ten African countries focusing on the countries with the largest amounts of extreme poverty to create a shared reliance on involvement and integration of programs.**

African countries aided by FTF and the New Alliance were chosen in 2009 and 2012 based off of the Rome Principles. Countries with high rates of extreme poverty may not have the resources for applying to these programs, precluding them from the potential prospects and gains. A large factor in choosing countries falls on country involvement, which can be evidenced without applying, as seen with the involvement in the AU and as countries increasingly involve themselves in aid programs.

With the spread of FTF programs, more countries have the resources needed to speedily address food security and nutrition. This would require funding, which may or may not require more money from the various partnerships in FTF. Re-allocation of funds may also be necessary as some countries succeed their goals and no longer require as much help. A solution then is to simply provide FTF programs to countries which are not currently in FTF, but receive aid directly from USAID. Allowing FTF programs to expand to countries not yet in the program only improves conditions for non-FTF countries.

**Option 6: Support better water management in sub-Saharan Africa with decentralized irrigation for smallholder farms.**

Irrigation for smallholders improves production and provides food security. Agroforestry as a method of land management that supports sustainable agriculture, so planting or providing more trees to

smallholder farms helps protect against climate change. With better water management practices, farmers can improve landscape approaches, farm production practices, trade, and crop varieties.<sup>83</sup> By providing trees and increasing smart irrigation would limit the wasting of water. Planting trees is also a relatively easy process and is not location specific. Funding for seeds and information on how to plant are some ways to fund agroforestry.

Distributed irrigation requires less monitoring by institutions and governments, allowing them to spend time on other issues. This type of irrigation requires less installation, maintenance, and oversight from institutions compared to large-scale irrigation. Small-scale irrigation systems also do not entail forced migrations or valley flooding for the creation of dams and reservoirs.<sup>84</sup> In addition to this, distributed irrigation systems are not as prone to corruption as large-scale systems, and farmers invest in these small-scale irrigation products. Small-scale irrigation for smallholders is usually supplied with microloans, meaning that small amounts of funds would go a long way for purchasing the resources for farmers. The greatest factor for supporting better water management falls on annual net revenues. By supplying more small-scale irrigation, think 30 million hectares, annual net revenues can increase by \$22 billion in SSA<sup>85</sup>, ultimately requiring less aid from the US.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### ***Support better water management in sub-Saharan Africa with decentralized irrigation for smallholder farms***

- Fund small-scale irrigation pumps for smallholder farmers living on less than \$1.25 a day.
- Support land rights and farming communities.

### ***Increase sustainable agricultural research with help from both American and African degree-holding scientists.***

- Find scientists in SSA and the US to work in SSA agricultural research centers.
- Prioritize three research areas:
  - SSA's water resources and management and how it will be affected by climate change

- Smallholder farmer management of agriculture
- Differences between small-scale distributed irrigation and centralized irrigation

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# Chapter 6 Agriculture-Related Issues in Asia

By Emily Gonzalez

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## ISSUE

Enhancing food security is a critical step in eradicating extreme poverty because severe hunger and malnutrition negatively impact health, productivity, and overall human capital. Focus on South and Southeast Asia is imperative, as these regions contain high rates of food insecurity and extreme poverty. The USDA (US Department of Agriculture) defines food insecurity as “a household-level economic and social condition of limited or uncertain access to adequate food.”<sup>1</sup> The 1996 World Food Summit declared that food security is considered fully achieved “when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.”<sup>2</sup>

Food security reduces extreme poverty rates because it enables people to be healthier, worry less about their next meal, and focus on developing such aspects of personal human capital as education and economic stability. Not surprisingly, USAID emphasizes “advancing global food security by helping to improve the most basic of human conditions: the need the families and individuals have for a reliable source of quality food and sufficient resources to purchase it. This, in turn, supports global food stability and prosperity.”<sup>3</sup>

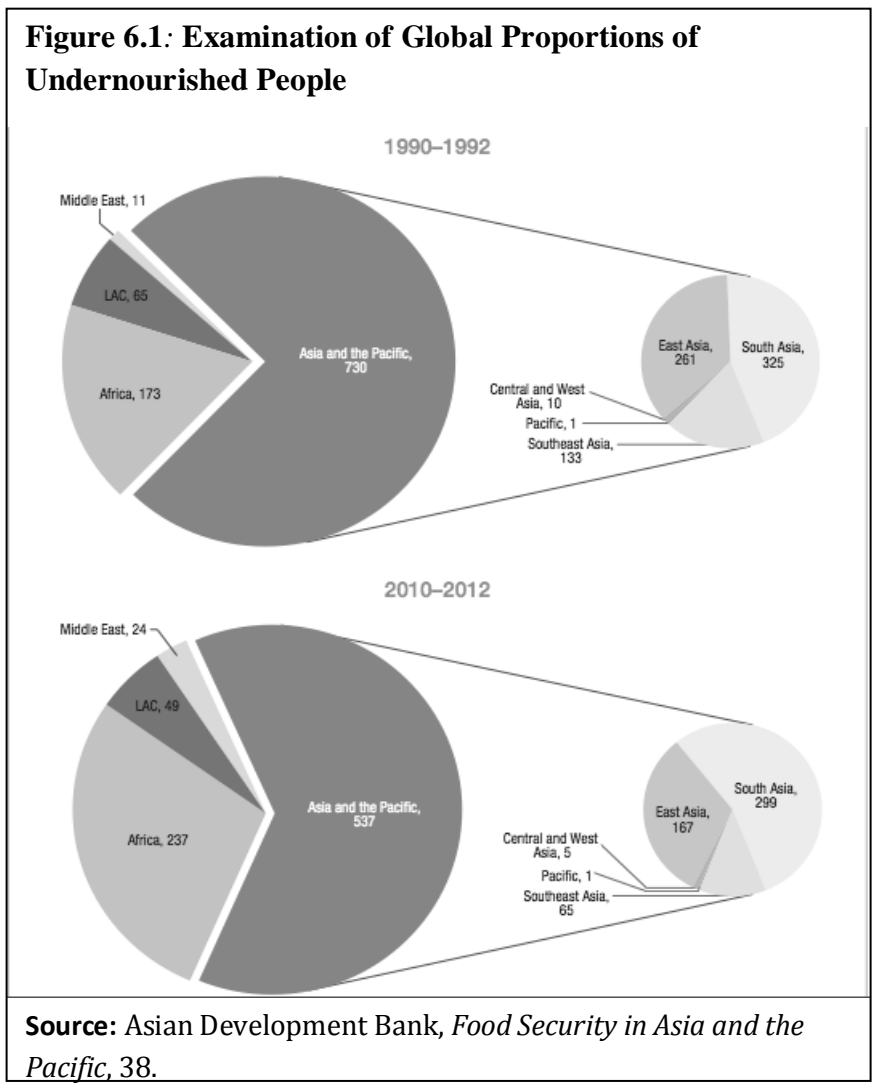
This chapter assesses the effectiveness of USAID’s food security policies in alleviating extreme poverty in South and Southeast Asia, where rates of food insecurity and extreme poverty are high. Increasing food security in these regions by 2030 is crucial for USAID to meet its goal of eradicating extreme poverty worldwide.

## BACKGROUND

Food insecurity encompasses not only hunger, but also malnutrition and famine. Hunger is a physical sensation resulting from inadequate food consumption, and malnutrition results from insufficient

or excessive intake of macro/micro nutrients.<sup>4</sup> Macronutrients are made up of proteins, carbohydrates, and fats; and micronutrients are made up of vitamins, minerals, and trace elements. Food security encompasses physical availability of food, economic/physical access to food, utilization of food, and long-term stability, and is achieved when all of these elements are fulfilled.<sup>5</sup> Famine will be discussed in the chapter on disaster relief.

South and Southeast Asia have the highest proportion of hungry and malnourished people globally. As of 2012, 30 percent of South Asia and 14 percent of Southeast Asia were living in extreme poverty, totaling over 500 million people (see Figure 1).<sup>6</sup> That same year, 18 percent of people were hungry in South Asia and 11 percent in Southeast Asia, or nearly 400 million people in all.<sup>7</sup> In the last 20



years, hunger rates have declined by less than 10 percent in South Asia and barely 20 percent in Southeast Asia.<sup>8</sup> Malnutrition remains a problem in the regions because diets consist mostly of low-nutrient cereals: over 50 percent and thus there is a deficiency in micronutrient intake.<sup>9</sup>

Food insecurity and extreme poverty are closely connected: an increase or decrease in one results in an increase or decrease in the

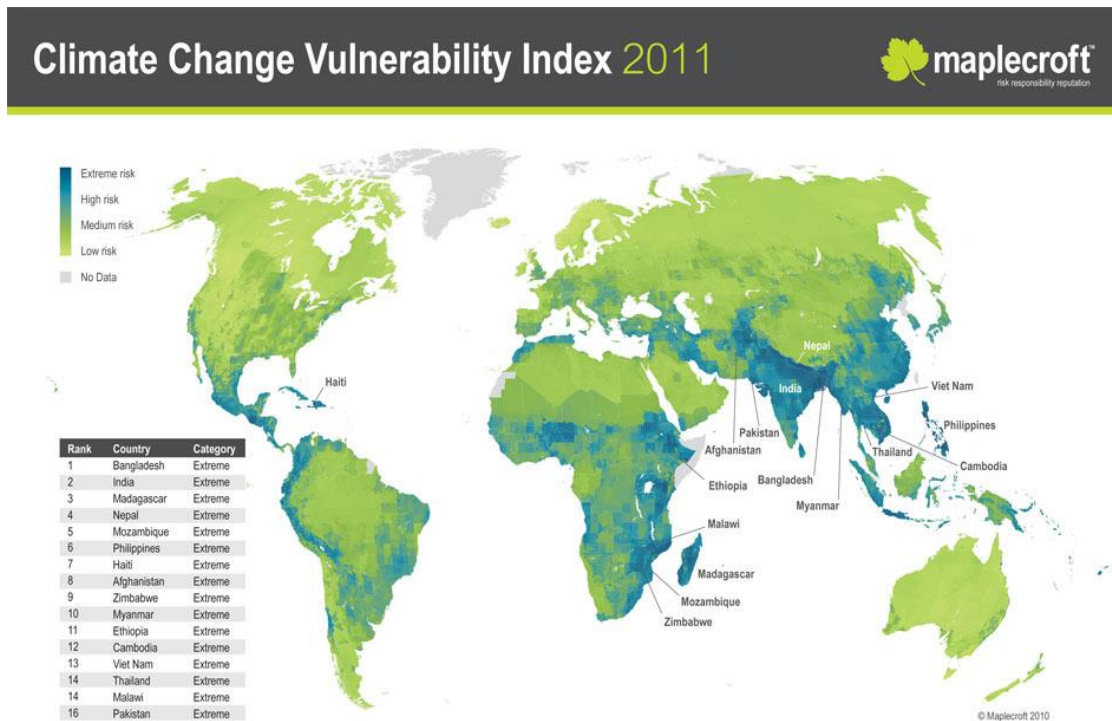
other. It is important to note that within these two regions, extreme poverty is more rural than urban. The rural population accounts for over 80 percent of the extreme poverty in South Asia and nearly 75 percent in Southeast Asia.<sup>10</sup> A considerable proportion of these rural poor suffer from food insecurity, and among them especially women and children. Focusing on agricultural development has significant potential to bring down extreme poverty and food insecurity rates because 55 percent of South Asia and 45 percent of Southeast Asia rely on agriculture as their main source for food and income.<sup>11</sup>

However, uncontrolled agricultural development via rapid deforestation, heavy fertilizer use, etc. can lead to detrimental climate change effects. South and Southeast Asian countries are particularly vulnerable to climate change-related shock and disaster. Maplecroft, the world's leading global risk analytics company, placed 6 out of 10 South and Southeast Asian countries on their 2011 climate change vulnerability index, which rates countries based on their susceptibility to climate change effects (see Figure 2).<sup>12</sup> South and Southeast Asian agricultural development should be coupled with climate change resilience in order to decrease the regions' vulnerability to shock and disaster.

Understanding the root causes of South and Southeast Asia's food instability will help in determining the most effective methods to overcome it. Asia experienced a regional surge in agricultural efficiency and output during the 1960s-70s due to the Green Revolution (GR), but the global food crisis in 2007-08 exposed South and Southeast Asia's vulnerabilities to the world food system. The Green Revolution, beginning in 1968, brought increased access to advanced irrigation, fertilizer, and pest control systems.<sup>13</sup> Such processes allowed farmers to grow high-value crops like wheat and rice. Overall this led to decreased food prices, increased employment opportunities for rural farmers, greater access to varied food, and stimulation of the nonfarm sector because income increases gave farmers more spending money.<sup>14</sup>

However, the Green Revolution did not have all-inclusive benefits. Consequences included unequal access to Green Revolution technologies, lack of women involvement, diet simplification, and failure to consider long-term environmental impacts. First, areas that did not have access to GR technologies were quickly left behind due to the Revolution’s rapid intensification and spread.<sup>15</sup> Disparities formed between those with and without access to GR technologies. Reasons for unequal access have been attributed to “inequitable land distribution with insecure ownership and tenancy rights; poorly developed input, credit, and output markets; policies that discriminated against smallholders, such as subsidies for mechanization or crop and scale bias in research and extension; and slow growth in the nonfarm economy that was unable to absorb the rising numbers of rural unemployed or underused people.”<sup>16</sup> Second, women were almost entirely left out of training and access to GR technology because the focus was predominantly on men. Women in South and Southeast Asia are *still* not included in

**Figure 6.2: Maplecroft’s 2011 Global Climate Change Vulnerability Index 16 nations most susceptible to climate change impacts**



**Source:** Maplecroft, “Climate Change Vulnerability Index 2011.”

agricultural practices as much as men, even though they suffer from hunger more than men. Third, the Green Revolution hurt people's diets because new technologies prioritized high-value cereal crop growth like wheat. Micronutrient crops were often replaced with cereal crops to generate more revenue; this ultimately decreased nutritional intake. Finally, leaders of the GR failed to consider long-term environmental implications of their agricultural practices by implementing policies that largely ignored effects on water use, soil degradation, and chemical runoff.<sup>17</sup>

Green Revolution effects were magnified when global staple food prices rose in the early 2000s.<sup>18</sup> Prices spiked when the international food crisis hit in 2007-08. Food security in South and Southeast Asia was severely hurt by this crisis. In just under 18 months, the food price index increased by an alarming 54 percent while rice prices tripled and wheat and corn doubled.<sup>19</sup> These escalations were attributed to rapid population growth coupled with economic growth, diversified food demands, and a reduction in agricultural productivity.<sup>20</sup>

South and Southeast Asia have been among the most heavily impacted because of their heavy reliance on staple foods, their unstable developing economies which cannot absorb the fluctuations of the global food market, and their undeveloped food trade.<sup>21</sup> On average, people in these two regions have to use half of their income to pay for food, making them vulnerable to food spikes and preventing them from keeping up with the rest of the world.<sup>22</sup> Agricultural development has lost priority, though; it has been the slowest growing sector in South and Southeast Asia in the past 20 years among manufacturing, services, industry, and agriculture.<sup>23</sup> Agricultural development is crucial because 45 percent of South Asia and 55 percent Southeast Asia rely on agriculture for food and income, and USAID has shown that "every 1 percent increase in agricultural income per capita reduces the number of people living in extreme poverty by between 0.6 and 1.8 percent."<sup>24</sup>

USAID has increased efforts to ensure global food security, indicating the issue's importance in accomplishing their mission to eradicate extreme poverty by 2030. In 2009, Feed the Future (FTF) was created during the G8 Summit in L'Aquila Italy. Feed the Future, the US Government's initiative to increase global food security, has become one of USAID's largest and most heavily funded programs. It

has established 19 focus countries, but only 3 are in South or Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Nepal, Bangladesh). In the self-released Feed the Future FY2012 Progress Report, the initiative's overall results and progress thus far was presented in organized scorecards and explicit performance indicators. In 2012, over 7 million agricultural producers obtained access to improved technologies and practices, and over 50 percent of these producers were women in Cambodia and Nepal. In Bangladesh, nearly 3 million farmers were able to implement new agronomic technologies, which increased yields and reduced climate change emissions. In Cambodia, Feed the Future significantly improved food stability and overall income for nearly 10,000 households through technology improvements. These advancements were all made possible through country-led development and collaboration.<sup>25</sup>

Women comprise nearly 40 percent of the agricultural labor force in South Asia and nearly 50 percent in Southeast Asia,<sup>26</sup> and increasing women involvement and empowerment has the potential to increase farming output by 20-30 percent.<sup>27</sup> Yet women have significantly less access to agricultural resources and opportunities. USAID along with IFPRI (the International Food Policy Research Institute) and OPHI (Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative) launched the FTF Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index in 2012. So far, the index has only compiled a baseline report through pilot surveys, but it plans to collect comprehensive data every two to three years. The baseline report evaluates the inclusion and empowerment of women in agricultural development through five specific targets, and contains a comparison of women involvement/empowerment relative to men. It is the first index of its kind, and future reports are going to be based on a comprehensive and strategic vision. Currently, though, the index is only covering Feed the Future countries: Cambodia, Nepal, and Bangladesh.<sup>28</sup>

Overall, it would be more effective to expand the successes of Feed the Future beyond Cambodia, Nepal, and Bangladesh because extreme poverty rates and food insecurity also exist in surrounding South Asian nations such as Pakistan and India.

Agricultural development coupled with climate change resilience will be most effective for several reasons. Past greenhouse gas emissions are going to continue to warm the Earth by about 0.1 degree Celsius per decade for several decades to come, GHG emissions are continuously increasing, efforts to reduce emissions have stagnated, and climate change impacts have recently magnified.<sup>29</sup> Climate change consequences are going to accelerate even more unless agricultural development takes them into consideration.

USAID has explicit goals to increase global food security and reduce climate change in South and Southeast Asia, two highly vulnerable regions. Through Feed the Future's Regional Development Mission for Asia (RDMA), key investments are targeted towards empowering regional and local platforms like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and creating connections among locals involved in the development process like governments, businesses, and farmers.<sup>30</sup> To measure success rates, USAID launched AgLEARN, South Asia Regional Food Security Policy Assessment, Regional Agricultural Trade Environment (RATE) assessments, and the Gender and Food Security Report.

Through the President's Global Climate Change Initiative, USAID focuses on reducing GHG emissions, ensuring implementation of clean energy technology, and decreasing deforestation through the following initiatives. RDMA supports the US Government's Enhancing Capacity for Low Emission Development Strategies (EC-LEDS) in seven Asian nations to provide technical training and assistance on developing programs and policies to reduce emissions. The RDMA also supports the Asia Low Emission Development Strategies (LEDS) Partnership to supplement training, share information, and collaborate on emission reduction in Asia.<sup>31</sup> The Lower Mekong Initiative (LMI) was launched by USAID in order to ensure that agricultural development was simultaneously recognizing global climate change effects. The program covers Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos and focuses on how agriculture and infrastructure investments affect environment and food security.

USAID, along with their Feed the Future RDMA strategy, is emphasizing sustainable environmental development and management of water. Their two new projects under the initiative are the

Sustainable Infrastructure for the Mekong (SIM) and Mekong Partnership for the Environment Project (MPE), the second of which focuses on the environmental impacts of regional development projects. LMI is a positive step, but it only covers 5 countries; and it is the only USAID program that explicitly connects agricultural development to climate change resilience.<sup>32</sup>

## US INTERESTS

USAID's mission to end extreme poverty directly implicates its interests for enhancing food security through agricultural development coupled with climate change resilience in South and Southeast Asia. It is also a main interest of the US Government, as both the US Government and USAID already have significant commitments and investments in food security programs within these regions.

USAID recently focused their mission statement on ending extreme poverty. To achieve this mission, it is crucial to increase food security through agricultural development because "growth in the agriculture sector has been found to be at least twice as effective in reducing poverty as growth in other sectors."<sup>33</sup> Agricultural development can make a particularly significant difference in bringing South and Southeast Asia out of poverty because the majority of people in South and Southeast Asia rely on agriculture as their main source of food and income. The stagnation in agricultural development has hindered economic growth, but reprioritizing it can have rapid benefits.

As the lead international development agency of the US Government, it is in USAID's interest to consistently align their focuses. The US Government has recently emphasized global food security, indicating that it has become a US foreign policy priority. USAID has played a direct role in implementing the following actions. In 2008, Congress included \$200 million in their budget to go towards alleviating global hunger, although none of it went to Asia directly.<sup>34</sup> Also in 2008, the US committed to short and long-term methods to eradicate hunger at the UN High Level Conference on World Food Security; specific financial amounts were not established but there was no direct focus on Asia.<sup>35</sup> President Obama announced the US plan to increase investments for global food security in 2009 by creating FTF at the G8 Summit in L'Aquila, Italy. As mentioned earlier, only 3 of the 19 FTF

countries are in South or Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Nepal, Bangladesh). Also in 2009, President Obama signed into law the Omnibus Appropriations Act and prioritized \$75 million for agricultural development to improve food security. Unfortunately less than \$5 million has been focused directly towards Asia. In 2010, President Obama requested that the budget for agricultural development be doubled and that the Secretary of State identify and implement a government plan to decrease global hunger, but did not make region-specific requests.<sup>36</sup>

This rising scale of food security assistance is promising, yet South and Southeast Asia have received disproportionate support even though they are both in critical need of agricultural development support and have significant potential to translate this development into economic growth. USAID has asserted that investments need to increase in South and Southeast Asia, considering that these regions are where the majority of the world's extremely hungry people live.<sup>37</sup>

Furthermore, USAID already has substantial commitments in South and Southeast Asia's agricultural development and climate change resilience. In 2013, USAID contributed over \$800 million of their FY2013 budget towards agriculture. Over 30 percent of that went to South and Southeast Asia, amounting to over \$200 million.<sup>38</sup> In the same year, USAID contributed over \$390 million to environmental sustainability, and over 32 percent of that went to South and Southeast Asia.<sup>39</sup>

Failing to increase commitment towards the elimination of food insecurity in these regions will hinder USAID's ability to eliminate extreme poverty, it will display a lack of dedication as the US Government's lead international development agency, and it will waste the already-invested resources that have gone towards enhancing food security.

## POLICY OPTIONS

USAID's extensive involvement in food stabilization provides a solid foundation for proposing areas to expand into. Improving agricultural development while simultaneously ensuring climate change resilience is of high importance because South and Southeast Asia are dependent on agriculture for food and income, and ensuring climate change resilience will reduce disaster vulnerability and guarantee

durable stability in food and water access. The options presented here provide opportunities to combine these two critical issues, while concurrently furthering USAID's overall mission of increasing food security and eliminating extreme poverty.

**Option 1: Continue working exclusively towards current food security and climate change targets**

USAID has developed explicit goals for enhancing food stability and climate change resilience in South and Southeast Asia, predominantly through Feed the Future. FTF has established previously mentioned agriculture programs such as RDMA, AgLEARN, South Asia Regional Food Security Policy Assessment, RATE, and the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index; as well as climate change initiatives such as LEDS, LMI, SIM, and MPE.

Such initiatives have significantly increased collaboration, access to training, and local engagement. Continued focus on these platforms and partnerships is critical for ensuring stability and longevity, but there is no explicit link between South and Southeast Asian FTF goals and climate change resilience goals. Failing to bridge the two and failing to expand on current targets decreases USAID's chances for improving food security and eradicating extreme poverty.

**Option 2: Expand/duplicate Feed the Future targets into other South and Southeast Asia countries facing severe food insecurity, while connecting these targets to the impacts of climate change**

Feed the Future has increased local networking/empowerment and access to agricultural technology in Cambodia, Nepal, and Bangladesh. Such successes are crucial for guaranteeing food security. The FTF FY2012 Progress Report's scorecards and performance indicators monitored and evaluated the successes and obstacles of current projects, which have efficiently demonstrated successful efforts and areas for improvement. FTF's clear structure and realistic goals would be beneficial to duplicate in other food-insecure nations in South and Southeast Asia because then agricultural development and climate change resilience projects could be efficiently monitored. Further, it will become clearer which areas need improving. It would also be valuable to expand the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index beyond FTF nations because of its detailed and strategic framework.

Linking women to agriculture has proven to be critical, especially in South and Southeast Asia considering that women make up nearly half of the agricultural labor force.

Pakistan and India could specifically benefit from the expansion of FTF scorecards and performance indicators. Pakistan is currently USAID's second largest overall monetary aid recipient, receiving nearly \$1 billion in FY2012.<sup>40</sup> The 2011 National Nutrition Survey reported that Pakistan is facing a rate of 58 percent food insecurity.<sup>41</sup> India is one of USAID's top 20 recipients of overall monetary support, receiving over \$150 million in FY2012.<sup>42</sup> They are experiencing a 21 percent undernourishment rate, and food security advancements have been slow.<sup>43</sup> Both of these countries have potential to benefit from Feed the Future's target goals; and since FTF has proven success rates, the program's performance indicators have the potential to work in other countries.

While duplicating FTF's targets in countries outside of the program has significant potential for success, this success can have long-term stability and sustainability if climate change resilience is considered within agricultural development programs because combining the two will ensure that nations become less shock-vulnerable. Such duplication will require more time and energy, which may detract from the short-term effectiveness. In the long-term, though, using the FTF model in other countries will actually increase effectiveness.

### *Option 3: Increase cooperation between USAID and contractors*

Improving food security and climate change resilience in impoverished South and Southeast Asian nations can be achieved by increasing coordination among USAID and partner organizations. Case studies of AAPI (Accelerating Agriculture Productivity Improvement) and PRSSP (Policy Research and Strategy Support Program) in Bangladesh, and programs in Afghanistan demonstrate how lack of coordination between USAID and partner organizations has led to inefficient program management and decision-making.

USAID works with IFDC (International Fertilizer Development Center) on the AAPI program in Bangladesh to enhance sustainable agricultural productivity. In 2012, the program released a new FDP/UDP (fertilizer deep placement/urea deep placement) applicator that makes it easier and cheaper for

farmers to utilize FDP/UDP.<sup>44</sup> The applicator took years to develop and USAID was not involved in the design process. The PRSSP program in Bangladesh had a similar course of action. USAID is working with IFPRI on PRSSP to enhance food security. The main goals are to increase agricultural development knowledge, encourage dialogue between stakeholders, and ensure that policymaking is evidence-based.<sup>45</sup> IFPRI is independently leading the initiative and has expressed difficulties in reaching the targets without assistance; USAID logistical and informational guidance would increase PRSSP's success rates.<sup>46</sup>

Furthermore, programs in Afghanistan have notoriously suffered from deficient leadership. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) released a 2012 report demonstrating USAID's deficiencies in successfully implementing projects and producing results, concluding that the main issue was poor management.<sup>47</sup> This is critical for agricultural development because these projects require significant coordination so that technology and information training are successfully implemented. Increasing coordination between USAID and partner organizations would overcome the management issue that GAO laid out, and ultimately increase success rates of agricultural development projects in Afghanistan.

Coordination demands more work on USAID's part, but it will ultimately increase program efficiency and success. Cooperation will be most effective if USAID forms a relationship with their partner organization immediately when the program is developed, so that both sides are able to create a joint program plan with coordinated timeframes and goals.

**Option 4: Continue research on climate resilient crops, and continue to increase research on adapting rice to a climate resilient crop**

Climate resilient crops are a fundamental innovation to continue developing because they offer opportunities for agricultural development while simultaneously ensuring climate change resilience. They are especially important for South and Southeast Asian nations that are highly vulnerable to climate change. The 2011 Climate Change Vulnerability Index found that Bangladesh is the world's most vulnerable to climate change, with India as #2, Nepal as #4, Philippines as #6, Afghanistan as #8, Vietnam as #13, and Pakistan as #16.<sup>48</sup> Bangladesh, India, Philippines, Vietnam, and Pakistan are

highlighted as particularly important because they are going to continue to become more important in the global economy and foreign investment is going to continue to increase.<sup>49</sup>

These nations are also rooted in extreme poverty, making it difficult for them to independently prepare and adapt to climate change. Assistance from USAID is crucial for these nations, as climate change is speeding up. USAID is already working to increase climate change resilience in these regions. The Feed the Future Research Strategy is a long-term research strategy that focuses on how to farm with decreasing water availability and it provides guidance for developing climate resilient crops.<sup>50</sup> Main focuses in Asia include enhancing soil fertility and energy/water conservation, which together will create an agricultural system more resilient to climate change.<sup>51</sup>

The strategic focus is on cereal crop varieties because of their regional importance in terms of food and income. FTF's research strategy is focusing on the following crops in South Asia: "heat- and drought-tolerant rice and wheat, rust-resistant wheat, and cold- and heat-tolerant grain legumes."<sup>52</sup> Such research is beneficial, as rice is more important to South and Southeast Asia than any other crop in other regions.<sup>53</sup> However, emphasis was also placed on wheat and rice during the Green Revolution; this was detrimental in the long-term because it caused South and Southeast Asia to prioritize cereal crop growth and neglect micronutrient crop growth. Over time, this depleted regional diets. Placing the same amount of emphasis on climate resilient crops may have the same consequence.

#### **Option 5: Expand climate resilient crop research beyond cereal crop varieties**

Cereal crops are unquestionably important for South and Southeast Asian diets and income, but development of these crops should not take priority to such an extent that families are replacing their own micronutrient crops with cereal crop varieties just to generate more revenue. This occurred during the Green Revolution, and the long-term diet depletion was detrimental.

Crops like sweet potatoes, peanuts, bananas, pineapples, and mushrooms are currently small yet locally important crops in South and Southeast Asia.<sup>54</sup> If research expands to make these crops climate resilient, they are less likely to be taken over by climate resilient cereal crop varieties in coming years.

Such research development is vital in order to ensure that South and Southeast Asian diets maintain the necessary balance of micronutrients, so as to prevent malnutrition via excessive macronutrient intake.

**Option 6: Redirect a portion of the energy sector aid towards water management and sustainability, especially in Pakistan and Bangladesh**

Pakistan has been experiencing declining water availability, and they are expected to reach complete water scarcity by 2030.<sup>55</sup> Currently, none of the monetary assistance flowing into Pakistan is being used for water management and sustainability; yet they are USAID's second largest receiver of monetary aid.<sup>56</sup> The Agriculture Policy Project in Pakistan has a focus on water, but it is predominantly on improving irrigation practices. If a portion of the monetary aid going to Pakistan is redirected towards improving water management and sustainability, this will have a greater impact on overall food security and poverty because water access is critical to personal diets and overall human capital.

In Bangladesh, over 25 million people have negligent access to water sources.<sup>57</sup> Being one of the most densely populated and climate-vulnerable countries, Bangladesh has a high need for stable and secure water access. The nation is highly susceptible to unpredictable flooding via cyclones and monsoons, making their water access unstable. Currently, USAID is not targeting any of their Bangladeshi monetary aid towards water access, even though Bangladesh is in USAID's top 15 of monetary aid receivers.<sup>58</sup> Redirecting a portion of the monetary aid currently flowing into Bangladesh towards water access is crucial to increase their food security and decrease overall poverty.

Monetary aid would be best redirected from the energy-assistance sector because USAID is currently funding Pakistani energy projects that are about to end, and Bangladeshi energy projects that are still in the early development stages. In Pakistan, USAID is funding energy projects focusing on the restoration and completion of dams in order to provide electricity to 3 million Pakistani households by 2014.<sup>59</sup> Since many of these large-scale projects are scheduled to finish this year, the money can be redirected towards ensuring water management and sustainability. In Bangladesh, USAID is funding clean-energy projects through LEDS.<sup>60</sup> Since specific projects have not been established and this is a

relatively new initiative in Bangladesh, a portion of this money can be focused on ensuring that clean energy projects are simultaneously increasing water access.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### **Expand and/or duplicate Feed the Future targets into other South and Southeast Asia countries facing severe food insecurity, while connecting these targets to the impacts of climate change**

- Model food security improvement projects in Pakistan and India after FTF's Progress Report Performance Indicators, specifically focusing on the "Improved Agricultural Productivity" section of the scorecard
- Create an additional Performance Indicator section on the scorecard for ensuring that agricultural development projects are sustainable and resilient to climate change
- Duplicate the Women's Empowerment in Agricultural Index in non-FTF countries

### **Increase cooperation between USAID and contractors**

- Ensure that there is direct coordination and communication between USAID and contractors during the project formulation process, specifically to determine a joint plan with agreed upon time frames and goals
- Focus on Bangladesh and Afghanistan, since their projects have lost efficiency as a result of lacking cooperation between USAID and contractors

### **Expand climate resilient crop research beyond cereal crop varieties**

- Focus on sweet potatoes, peanuts, bananas, pineapples, mushrooms, and other high nutrient crops

### **Redirect more money towards water management and sustainability, especially in Pakistan and Bangladesh**

- In Pakistan, redirect money from the energy sector since large-scale energy projects will finish in 2014
- In Bangladesh, ensure that newly-initiated clean-energy projects through LEDS are simultaneously guaranteeing water management and stability

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- <sup>3</sup> USAID, “Asia Regional: Feed the Future.”
- <sup>4</sup> USDA, “USDA Economic Research Service - Definitions of Food Security.”
- <sup>5</sup> *An Introduction to the Basic Concepts of Food Security*, 1.
- <sup>6</sup> International Fund for Agricultural Development, *Rural Poverty Report 2011*, 3.
- <sup>7</sup> Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, “Hunger Portal.”
- <sup>8</sup> International Fund for Agricultural Development, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: The Multiple Dimensions of Food Security*, 10.
- <sup>9</sup> Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Economic Growth Is Necessary but Not Sufficient to Accelerate Reduction of Hunger and Malnutrition*, 21.
- <sup>10</sup> International Fund for Agricultural Development, *Rural Poverty Report 2011*, 3.
- <sup>11</sup> Department for International Development, *Growth and Poverty Reduction: The Role of Agriculture*, 14.
- <sup>12</sup> Maplecroft, “Maplecroft.”
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- <sup>15</sup> Pingali, “Green Revolution: Impacts, Limits, and the Path Ahead,” 3.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>18</sup> Asian Development Bank, *Food Security Challenges in Asia*, 11.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup> Asian Development Bank, *Food Security Challenges in Asia*, 11.
- <sup>21</sup> Feed the Future, “Asia Regional (RDMA).”
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>23</sup> Feed the Future, *Strategic Review: Feed the Future*, 7.
- <sup>24</sup> “Dollars to Results: Agriculture in Afghanistan.”
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- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.
- <sup>28</sup> Sraboni, Quisumbing, and Ahmed, *The Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index: Results from the 2011-2012 Bangladesh Integrated Household Survey*.
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- <sup>30</sup> USAID, “Asia Regional: Feed the Future.”
- <sup>31</sup> USAID, “Global Climate Change: Asia Regional.”
- <sup>32</sup> USAID, “Global Climate Change.”
- <sup>33</sup> USAID, “Agriculture and Food Security.”
- <sup>34</sup> USAID, *A Report to Congress on the \$75 Million FY09 Food Security Strategy: Targeted Agriculture Funds*, 2.
- <sup>35</sup> Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, “High-Level Conference on World Food Security: The Challenges of Climate Change and Bioenergy.”
- <sup>36</sup> USAID, *A Report to Congress on the \$75 Million FY09 Food Security Strategy: Targeted Agriculture Funds*, 2.
- <sup>37</sup> USAID, “Asia Regional: Feed the Future.”
- <sup>38</sup> Foreign Assistance, “US Agency for International Development.”

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- <sup>40</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup> Pakistan Medical Research Council (PMRC), *Pakistan: National Nutrition Survey 2011*, 12.
- <sup>42</sup> Foreign Assistance, "US Agency for International Development."
- <sup>43</sup> United Nations World Food Programme, *Report on the State of Food Insecurity in Rural India*, 1.
- <sup>44</sup> International Fertilizer Development Center, "USAID AAPI Project Introduces More Efficient UDP Applicator."
- <sup>45</sup> Dassani, "Press Release: Opportunities and Options to End Hunger in Bangladesh," 1.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>47</sup> Government Accountability Office, "Afghanistan."
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- <sup>49</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>50</sup> Feed the Future, *Progress Report: Growing Innovation, Harvesting Results*, 27.
- <sup>51</sup> Feed the Future, *Feed the Future: Global Food Security Research Strategy*.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid., 27.
- <sup>53</sup> Juliano, "Chapter 2: Rice Consumption and Nutrition Problems in Rice Consuming Countries."
- <sup>54</sup> "Asia."
- <sup>55</sup> Mustafa, Akhter, and Nasrallah, *Understanding Pakistan's Water Security Nexus*.
- <sup>56</sup> Foreign Assistance, "US Agency for International Development."
- <sup>57</sup> WaterAid, "Where We Work: Bangladesh."
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# Chapter 7 Agriculture-Related Issues in Latin America

By Harrison Warner

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## ISSUE

While much of Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) have experienced periods of social and economic progress, agriculture, food insecurity, and chronic undernutrition still affect large segments of populations. Impoverished countries throughout the region have insufficient food and nutrition, impeding their development. 45 million people in LAC lack access to sufficient food, with 4 million children under the age of five underweight and 8 million under normal height<sup>1</sup>. Food security as an issue has come to the fore front for countries and NGO's after the rise of food prices in the late 2000s, resulting in riots and political instability. Other factors including climate change also negatively affect agriculture and are linked to an increasing in frequency of natural disasters. With the population of the extremely poor swelling, "vulnerability to food and nutritional insecurity is increasing throughout the region, ... [which] could reverse [developmental] progress made since 1990 and plunge 53 million people back into the ranks of the undernourished [according to FAO]"<sup>2</sup>.

## Background

Food Security is defined as Food Security is at any time having physical access and financial means to sufficient food that also meets dietary needs for a productive and healthy life. Families are considered food secure when all members do not live in hunger or fear of hunger. "Food insecurity is often rooted in poverty and has long-term impacts on the ability of families, communities and countries to develop." Food security results in undernourishment, which prolonged periods of it affects a person's growth, slows cognitive development and increases vulnerability to illness<sup>3</sup>. Agriculture is critically linked to food security, as it necessary for the production low-cost national food supplies and also for creating sufficient income for rural families. In Latin America, agriculture constitutes a significant share

of national GDPs – 14% in Columbia, 22% in Guatemala, 9% in Brazil, and 17% in Honduras. More people, however, depend on agriculture than GDP values imply. 22 percent of Brazil’s labor force, for example, is employed in the agriculture sector –in Guatemala, this reaches 44 percent<sup>4</sup>. Other issues of Latin American and Caribbean food security are their dependence on imports for meeting caloric intake and the move from production for domestic consumption to production for exports. By relying on imports it raises the countries food insecurity by increasing vulnerability to international price fluctuation. Water security is also related to food security and agriculture, and is vital to maintaining a healthy and productive life. Accessing clean water in particular regions such as the Andes Mountains is difficult. Population growth has decreased water access, making water rights issues increasingly prominent. Moreover, with irrigation being a major pillar to agriculture, water rights are growing in importance to agricultural policies. They determine the haves and have not’s for access to ground and surface water in turn affecting agriculture production<sup>5</sup>. Countries’ past policies combined with commercialization for export have hurt peasant farmers and increased migration of workers from the agricultural sector into urban areas. Peasant and rural workers transition to the cities were met with harsh realities, as under education and low-skilled labor have led to high unemployment and perpetuating poverty.

### Food security

Achieving food security in LAC would give all people, at all times the accessibility to as much food as necessary for an active and healthy life.<sup>6</sup> Food security is also an issue for those who have access to food, but fail to consume adequate nutrients for a number of reasons, including “personal tastes, culture, lack of knowledge, inadequate household processing and storage, misleading advertising, and physical and mental illnesses”<sup>7</sup>. Thus in addition to the agricultural components, education, information systems, health, and nutrition are critical in achieving food security.<sup>8</sup> Food insecure people typically devote 60-80% of their income to food. food security is necessarily link with economic development (thus including agricultural development) since economic development increases national income and “poverty is a function of the level and distribution of national income”<sup>9</sup>. While this report will be looking at solving food security it requires a holistic approach from range of disciplines from “nutrition at the individual

level, to family economics at the household level, to all-weather road construction and maintenance at the regional level, to economic development policy at the national level, and to trade and aid at the international level”.<sup>10</sup>

### *Green Revolution Impacts on Latin American Agriculture*

Starting in the 1940s and 1960s a series of research, development, and technology transfer initiatives became known as the Green Revolution. Agriculture production was increased especially in the developing world with some estimates suggesting that over a billion were saved from starvation.<sup>11</sup> The green revolution produced advanced developments of high-yielding varieties of cereal grains, expansion of irrigation infrastructure, modernization of management techniques, distribution of hybridized seeds, synthetic fertilizers, and pesticides to farmers. Latin America’s first phase focused on the ‘agromatic’ practices (e.g. planting and harvesting dates, densities), second was the mechanizations of capital and technology in the 1970s. Following mechanization came the introduction of new seeds, hybrids, and higher yielding varieties. The last period was represented by new and increased uses of fertilizers and pesticides.<sup>12</sup> Latin America has a dual agricultural system of large scale farmers and small peasant farmers. The resources are largely in favor of the large scale farmer. The Latifundia<sup>13</sup> systems were the origins for this inequality, which was exacerbated by ISI policies and was particularly harsh on peasantry farming. Large farmers account for 20% of the farms but they own 80% of the farming land<sup>14</sup>. However peasants who are devoted to subsistence farming make up 80% of the total number of farmers, but hold only 18% of the land with 7% actually arable<sup>15</sup>. The green revolutions failed in many ways; the Climatic diversity and ecological complexity of Latin America was often overlooked and intern made the process of technical diffusion very difficult. Latin American agriculture is characterized by a range of farming systems that include “... from small to large, tropical to temperate, low- input to high-input, monocultures to complex polycultures and/ or agroforestry systems, rain fed to irrigated and lowland to highland systems”.<sup>16</sup> The peasant farmers had the hardest time adjusting to the Green Revolution. Economic policies disadvantaged farmers in general, lack of access to capital, new technologies in seeds and fertilizer or knowledge to use them also inhibited these farmers. When climate factors were unaccounted

for and impacted new agro technologies, it created mistrust to transition to new seeds or crops due to the possibility of losing a harvest.

### *Past Economic Policies that shaped Latin American Agriculture and food security of today*

Latin America suffers from high amounts of rural poverty and agricultural challenges today because of the economic policies that were adopted across the region. Some economists began to turn away from believing that comparative advantage principles was the best way for Latin American development. As a result to the new developing structuralist school thought, *dependency theory*<sup>17</sup> and *decline terms of trade*<sup>18</sup>, Latin America turned to Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) making the state the main actor for development. Agriculture was directly impacted as export friendly policies were traded for ISI policies that sought to develop industries in a protected environment. The objectives were to create industries capable for producing substitutes for imports at the same time as promoting industrial growth and expanse of domestic economies<sup>19</sup>. Tariffs and barriers on imports led forced other countries to retaliate with similar policies hurting agricultural exports. By making the state a powerful actor with national interest as the primary goal it "...counteract[ed] the strength of local and international economic elites to promote genuine development in the periphery".<sup>20</sup> ISI also complements the demand of political populism, a popular appeal to the masses that generally included redistribution of income to achieve social peace.

For a period of time ISI policies were relatively successful in Latin America as a development model. Economies throughout the 1950 were comparatively growing faster than western countries and from 1950-80 the region averaged annual growth rates of 5.5 percent.<sup>21</sup> Population from 1945-80 had doubled while GDP in real terms quintupled.<sup>22</sup> Despite the economic gains, ISI was unsustainable overtime. Constraints on development were often ignored until too late, e.g. Bolivia in the 1980 faced hyper-inflation, fiscal deficits, external imbalances.

Agriculture during this time was largely neglected as policies and resources were shifted to industrialization. Agriculture was squeezed as surplus was transferred to the industrial sector in various

ways like labor migration, artificially low food prices, foreign exchange from agriculture used to import capital.<sup>23</sup> The decline in the agricultural sector was a necessary side effect of ISI since the role of agriculture in development was measured in its support to the acceleration of growth in the rest of the economy, primarily industry.<sup>24</sup> Rural populations, due to economic factors, migrated to urban areas, increasing poverty and pressures on cities. Food security became an increasingly important issue due to the lack of investment in agricultural infrastructure. This resulted in insufficient food production, an increase in the quantity of food imported, and added another source of pressure on a country's balance of payments. The overvalued exchange rates created a bias against agricultural exports.

The international dynamics were equally important in supporting the ISI model where governments saw budget deficits as reasonable investments in the future. Latin American countries were first supported by international financing, since the global community was anxious to invest with the overflowing amounts of petro dollars after the oil shock in the 1970s. Once the spigots to the international community were turned off due to the second oil shock, countries were forced to turn to the printing press (seignorage) to continue paying external debt and state expenditures. By being cut off from the international financial community, the inability to repay outstanding debts, and hyperinflation forced a shift to neo-liberal economics.

For the most part ISI came to an end during the 1980s (with a few in the 1970s) when international market funds dried up and external debts were exacerbated by the 1982 Mexican financial crises. In response to the crisis, most nations abandoned their ISI development model, implementing structural adjustment policies (SAPs) based on the Washington consensus. Under new policies, agriculture for development was disregarded and instead the focus was "... open economy industrialization to accelerate growth and cash transfers or workfare programs to reduce poverty".<sup>25</sup> SAPs impacted agriculture by removing the biases that distorted trade in favor of industry, however "they were ineffective in inducing supply response due to failure to understand the importance of the state for agriculture given the existence of extensive market failures and the special needs of smallholders to

achieve competitiveness".<sup>26</sup> After two decades this lack of importance put on agriculture for development and understanding the state's role in supporting supply response agriculture has attracted renewed attention with the food crises of 2007-08 leading to public protest of rising food prices. Agriculture is increasingly understood as a contributor to a number of social, environmental, and economic problems and is thus also a potential solution.

The 2007-2008 food crisis pushed Latin American members of Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) to meet and confront the issues of high food prices, scarcities, and violence that affect the region.<sup>27</sup> In Haiti, riots broke out in April 2008 because of high food prices of rice, beans, and fruit that had gone up by 50% compared to 2007, in addition to the price of fuel tripling in two months.<sup>28</sup> Response by the Haitian Senate was to dismiss the Prime Minister after the violent food riots attempted to restore order by subsidizing a 15% reduction in the price of rice.<sup>29</sup> In Panama, the government began buying rice at the high market price and selling rice to the public at a lower, subsidized price.<sup>30</sup> The President of Mexico agreed to freeze prices of more than 150 consumer staples, such as coffee, sardines, tuna, oil, tea, etc. until the end of December 2008.<sup>31</sup> Brazil, which grows more rice than it consumes, had to ban rice exports to protect its domestic supply, attempting to reduce pressure on food prices. Brazil would not meet orders from other Latin American countries and Africa for half a million tons of the grain.<sup>32</sup> Argentina also taking similar action halting their rice exports and other countries like the Venezuelan, Bolivian, Nicaraguan and Cuban Governments agreed on a \$105 million plan to increase regional food production.<sup>33</sup>

#### *What USAID is doing to increase Food and Agricultural security*

Currently USAID is present in a total of eleven Latin American countries (Brazil, Columbia, Dominican Republic Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Peru). Of those eleven, three countries are have agriculture/food security based programs and 2 countries with water (Columbia and Ecuador). Climate Change which is interrelated with agriculture, food, and water security

is represented throughout USAID programs in eight countries (Brasil-83, Columbia-52, Ecuador-8, Guatemala-20, México-16, Nicaragua-1, Paraguay-2, and Perú-23).

Food security issues are more serious in Latin America than USAID programs suggest as there are only three countries with active programs. In comparison to CARE, which receives a generous donation from USAID, is active in 10 countries (Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil). Just based on that USAID could expand agriculture and food security programs in countries such as Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Nicaragua where there is current USAID presence, and Honduras because of the severity of food insecurity.

USAID currently leads the Feed the Future program, the U.S. Government's initiative to fight global hunger and food security, which is focusing on reducing the prevalence of poverty and the prevalence of stunted children under the age of five each by 20% in the next five years.<sup>34</sup> It was also designed with an overall arching goal to assist the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals of reducing extreme poverty and hunger in half by 2015. Between 2010 and 2013 the US government allocated \$7 billion for global food security programs under FTF.<sup>35</sup> FTF coordinates existing US government programs in agriculture and food security with multilateral agencies, partner countries, civil society, research institutions and the private sector. This in turn maximizes the effectiveness of interagency resources and knowledge through common goals.<sup>36</sup> Agriculture security is increased by focusing on smallholder farmers (as oppose to large commercial farming) as a way to develop agriculture sectors and spur economic growth. "Economic growth increases incomes and reduces hunger, poverty and undernutrition."<sup>37</sup> In a country-led approach FTF will focus on root causes of hunger and establish a long term foundation for change "by aligning resources with country-owned processes and sustained multistake holder partnerships".<sup>38</sup> With using input from host governments and other stakeholders in the planning and implementation, FTF hopes to increase the capacity and sustainability to be food secure.

## Brief Description of Feed the Future's projects in Haiti & Guatemala

### *FTF in Haiti- Project Timeline 06/01/2009 - 05/31/2014*

Haiti has suffered a decline in agricultural productivity for the last three decades, which has negatively impacted economic growth and stability. Poor farming techniques combined with flooding and geography have eroded soil in both mountain slopes and plains.<sup>39</sup> Issues such as flooding, brackish water, erratic water supplies, and urban water demand are constraining current water resources and impacting agricultural productivity. To address these issues, FTF aims to promote agricultural intensification, sound natural resource management, and a modern post-harvest and marketing system. FTF looks to increase productivity and postharvest efficiency and improve the management and protection of the corridors' key watersheds.<sup>40</sup> By partnering with NGOs, agribusiness, and government actors they take a "value chain" approach to increasing crop output and sales by improving harvests and improve transport methods, thus increasing market access as well as reducing post-harvest losses.<sup>41</sup> FTF has yielded very impressive results.<sup>42</sup>

### *FTF in Guatemala*

Food insecurity is a legacy of the 36 year Guatemalan civil war; currently Guatemala is home to the highest national level of chronic malnutrition in the Western Hemisphere and one of the highest in the world.<sup>43</sup> In Guatemala, "food insecurity is most severe in the highlands and some areas in the east where drought is recurrent and many people eke out a living on non-irrigated subsistence agriculture". FTF in Guatemala consists of five programs:

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*i 5 Rural Centers established for Sustainable Development (CRDDs), which provide agricultural research, training, and extension services. The output of nearly 9,000 farmers has been increased by an average of 75 percent, generating \$10.5 million in income. More than 700 master farmers have been trained and graduated, 25 percent of whom are women. Introduction of improved seeds, fertilizer, and technologies to more than 9,700 farmers; these have increased beneficiary farmers' yields by 64 percent for rice, 320 percent for corn, 196 percent for beans, and 21 percent for plantains. Three mobile produce collection centers have been created and farmer's associations have received 6,000 plastic crates. Harvest facilities have been used to improve the collection, sorting, storing, and transport of mangoes. As a result, 3 associations were able to increase mango sales to exporters by more than 65 percent. "Project Detail | Feed the Future West."*

**1. *Access to Dynamic Markets for Rural Small and Medium Farmers*- (20.3 Million) Project Timeline: 10/14/2004 - 09/29/2012.**

- Focuses on increasing exports by providing technical assistance to issues like market intelligence, production methods, quality of products, development of new products, business administration, and tailor to the needs of each producer groups.

**2. *Competitive Enterprises ANACAFE*-(11 Million) Project Timeline: 06/08/2006 - 09/30/2012.<sup>44</sup>**

- Focuses on increasing competitiveness of Coffee sector through “value chain” approach.

**3. *Inclusive Market Alliance for Rural Entrepreneurs (IMARE)*- (5.2 Million) Project Timeline: 05/22/2012 - 05/21/2017.**

- Under this program “assistance is being given to a total of twenty four rural small-scale agricultural producer groups to increase their access to more profitable, higher value markets for fresh fruits and vegetables on a sustainable basis.”<sup>45</sup>

**4. *Promoting Food Security and Trade Integration through SPS* (3.4 million) Project Timeline 05/22/2012 - 05/21/2017.**

- Focuses on using a multifaceted approach for increasing access to regional and international markets and to enhancing laboratories’ capabilities to diagnose chemical and biological pathogens and residues.<sup>46</sup>

**5. *Rural Value Chains*- (23 Million) Project Timeline: 05/22/2012 - 05/21/2017.<sup>47</sup>**

- The largest project of the five Guatemalan projects, at \$23 million
- Only third of way to completion, thus not yet yielding results.
- Focuses on improving rural household incomes and increasing access to food. Similarly to other projects, it also focuses on market led growth and reducing poverty and chronic malnutrition in a sustainable manner.

## US INTERESTS

The US is a world leader in agriculture and thus has an inherent interest in promoting open markets for US agricultural goods in foreign countries. Promoting subsidization for international agriculture has been controversial, as it could increase competition against our own farmers. The US Farm Bill is the primary agricultural and food policy tool of the federal government and is one of the strongest interests to deliberate. The comprehensive Farm Bill deals with both agriculture and other affairs under the purview of the United States Department of Agriculture. Agricultural development and food security plays a critical role to economic development and political stability in developing countries. Agricultural aid can be used as a tool in diplomacy to solidify diplomatic bounds with another country. US economic interests are appeased by growing foreign markets and political interests by creating stable governments and reducing national security threats. Food security is also seen as a preventative measure that decreases the chances the US will have to take emergency defense or humanitarian measures in the future.

Another consideration for US interest is the ALBA (Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America) agreement signed by six countries that includes Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, Dominica, Nicaragua, & Venezuela, calling for the heads of state to immediately expel USAID and its delegates. This agreement described USAID as acting with “impunity” and illegally financing media, NGO’s, political leader’s etc.<sup>48</sup> These countries view USAID’s planning and administering economic and humanitarian assistance as a facade and as pretense to intervene in internal politics. Their interpretation is that the US State Department has financed organizations and political parties in opposition to regimes of ALBA countries and as such the “...actions and projects [are] designed to destabilize the legitimate governments... limit the legal authority of our states and in many cases, widely loot our natural resource”.<sup>49</sup> Nationalism and pride has had some degree of an ideological influenced; ALBA states“... [We] do not need any kind of external financing for the maintenance of our democracies” and past

USIAD policies have been intended to “usurp and weaken” the presence state institutions and their capacity as a social and economic actors.<sup>50</sup> Historically, US policies have left US alienated from Latin American countries particularly left leaning ones most recently represented by this ALBA agreement. Such agreements are setbacks to achieving MDG goals, with food and agriculture insecurity increasing by turning away investment aid. May 5, 2013 Bolivia ejected USAID when Bolivian president Evo Morales accused the agency of seeking to conspire against the Bolivian people and his government<sup>51</sup>. Venezuela has issues rhetoric of an “open secret” that US supports the oppositional government and has warned of expelling USAID.<sup>52</sup> In December 2013 Ecuador informed USAID that no new activities are to be undertaken or the extension of existing ones without an accord governing bilateral assistance. President Correa’s rocky relations with US did not help the US decision to cancel the aid.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps it is unreasonable to agree to an accord and setting a precedent for other countries to do the same, on the other hand should that right be more considered.

Part of the FTF design was to answer to some of the United States Government Accountability Office critiques of past USAID policies. Country-led food security programs suffered from a lack of coordination, words such as “fragmentation” or “lacking integration” describes relations between agencies. Lack of coordination resulted in processes if duplication and failing to maximize expertise.<sup>54</sup> In addition to insufficient coordination among US agencies, GAO concluded that difficulties in aligning U.S. assistance to the host governments own policies as well as weak capacities of host government institutions to meet funding commitments for agricultural programs as particular risks to US’s approach. In response to these assessments that appeared in GAO reports from 2008 and 2010, an interagency food security strategy was developed and the number of data management systems was streamline to monitor progress in food security programs. FTF’s whole-of-government approach has helped USAID make significant progress with coordinating and integrating a global food security policy.

FTF emphasized country ownership sustainability by focusing on collaborative implementation of Country Investment Programs (CIPs) and that local capacities are increasingly able to sustain food

security<sup>55</sup>. GAO used four categories that measured the link between the success of US sustainable food security investments and the host country ownership. They are; local governments' ability to meet commitments on agricultural funding, implementing Country Investment Plans, involves stakeholders, and private sector investment conducive with government policies. FTF was able to exceed their target of both public and private expenditure on agriculture increasing technologies and management practices in civil society organizations. Overall targets of the number of countries that increased the various platforms for government outreach to civil society, CIPs inclusion of stake holders, improved "Doing Business" ranking improved was partially met. Lastly, a low number of countries organized joint sector reviews within host government to increase collaboration.<sup>56</sup>

In particular, the seven FTF countries in Asia and Latin America (Guatemala & Haiti) do not have joint sector review programs to improve stakeholder consultations and private sector investment. In other countries FTF has recognized the value of stakeholders to increasing food security and increased the private sector input in agriculture. Forming joint sector reviews to increase the strength of stakeholders and civil society will improve their capacity to engage more effectively in the implementation Country Investment Plans.

GOA concluded that USAID has made improvements in monitoring and addressing risks related to the country-led approach; however USAID's FTF multiyear country strategies did not systematically assess these risks. Most countries strategy did not specifically discuss risks related to a country-led approach such as weak state capacities and government policies conducive for the private sector investment. Thus, the scale and pace of implementing the Country Investment Plan are at risk if local NGOs and the private sector are poorly developed. Additionally, even when risks are identified there is inconsistency in formulating a plan that will mitigate the risk. While the GAO does compliment recent improvement on risk assessment from integrating Country Development Cooperation Strategies with FTF, it is lacking a systematic plan to integrate FTF multiyear strategies into broader country strategies. It assesses risk to some FTF countries but not all. Since it is optional and not required to integrate the FTF

multiyear strategies into the CDCS, it remains unclear “the extent to which USAID plans to systematically assess and mitigate risks to the country-led approach. The U.S. government’s ability to achieve its goals for improving global food security will be limited if it does not require that risk be identified and mitigated associated to the country-led approach<sup>57</sup>.

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Promote and improve food practices*

Promote and improve food practices based on native and traditional products and encourage improvement of soils, sound water management and storage. Target the most vulnerable populations to agriculture and food security and malnutrition and provide access to capital and markets. Increase transportation and related infrastructure in an environmentally conscious manner. Providing school food programs has multiple benefits, one it increases the incentive to attend school improving education standards and two it helps reduce child malnutrition. Thus increasing education and food security become critical to reducing extreme poverty by providing means of sustainable living. One possible area for USAID to target is expanding the coverage of communications campaigns and educational programs designed to promote healthy eating. USAID could provide assistance in create local and or improving national systems that evaluate and monitor nutrition and food security to host countries.

### *Options 2-6: Specific to Feed The Future*

Options for improving the Feed the Future program will require the integration of FTF multiyear strategies into the USAID Country Development Cooperation Strategy to create systematic assessments for risk and “require staff to develop plans to mitigate any risks identified as part of its periodic risk assessments”<sup>58</sup>. Continue progress and assessments of U.S. interagency coordination and engagement with country stakeholders thus leading to improve agriculture productivity and reduce malnutrition. Recommendations for USAID to improve regional FTF programs are to promote joint sector review programs in Guatemala & Haiti. This improves stakeholder input in CIPs and increase private sector investment in agriculture forming. Joint sector reviews grow and strengthen the stakeholders and civil

society, which improve their capacity to engage more effectively in the implementation Country Investment Plans.

**Option 2: Continue Progress and Assessment**

Continue progress and assessments of U.S. interagency coordination and engagement with country stakeholders can enhance U.S. efforts in FTF countries to improve agriculture productivity and reduce malnutrition among children.<sup>59</sup>

**Option 3: Promote Joint Sector Review Programs**

Promote joint sector review programs in Guatemala & Haiti to improve stakeholder input in CIPs and increase private sector investment in agriculture farming. Joint sector reviews increase the strength of stakeholders and civil society will improve their capacity to engage more effectively in the implementation Country Investment Plans. Pros for this option are it does not require changes to the policy, only an additional step of a review all sectors.

**Option 4: Maximize Efficacy With Risk Assessment**

USAID does not necessitate FTF country teams to systematically assess and mitigate risks to the FTF's country-led approach. Risk assessments are important to maximize CIPs effectiveness and they inform management of the relevant risks related with achieving objectives and help them determine the adequacy of controls to manage those risks. Requiring the integration of FTF multiyear strategies into the USAID Country Development Cooperation Strategy could be a viable option to create systematic assessments.<sup>60</sup> One con to consider is the cost of implementing a systemic assessment for all countries particularly if it is determined to be unnecessary.

**Option 5**

The GAO recommends that it is necessary for the FTF country staff to provide a periodic risk assessment for the country-led approach and develop plans to mitigate any risks identified.<sup>61</sup> This in turn increases the success of implementing country investment plans in all countries.

### Option 6

Expand similar FTF programs described in Guatemala and Haiti across the LAC various regions that suffer from agriculture and food insecurity. While one half of that would hinge on expanding the FTF budget grossly the other half requires reconciliation between United States and ALBA countries. USAID shares a large stake in these negotiations, in that their presence was targeted and unwelcomed. Both USAID and the US state department need to put a faithful effort in reconciling relations with LAC countries. In turn not only addressing MDG goals, but fostering better relationships helps economic trade and development leading to increasing stability and appeasing many US interest. The Cons of this option are, it is a very large undertaking that requires more power actors than USAID to be unloved and expansion of the budget at this time or any time are significant tasks. It is also unclear how interested the other countries are in repairing relationships with the US.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### **Recommendations Regarding Option 1**

- Facilitate access to productive assets related to land, equipment and financing for the most vulnerable families.
- Encourage improvement of soils, sound water management and storage
- Promote and improve food practices based on native and traditional products.
- Provide school food programs.
- Expand the coverage of communications campaigns and educational programs designed to promote healthy eating.
- Expand systems for the evaluation and monitoring of nutritional and food security programs.

### **Recommendations Regarding Option 2**

- Continue progress and assessments of U.S. interagency coordination and engagement with country stakeholders

### **Recommendations Regarding Option 3**

- Require Guatemala and Haiti have joint sector review programs for Country Investment Plans

### **Recommendations Regarding Option 6**

- Rebuild relations with ALBA countries which will allow FTF to expand its Latin American and Caribbean presences and address food security issues that contribute to extreme poverty.

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**Resources:**

<sup>1</sup> Rodrigo Martínez et al., “Food and Nutrition Insecurity in Latin America and the Caribbean” (United Nations, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> “Feed the Future,” accessed February 1, 2014, <http://www.usaid.gov/what-we-do/agriculture-and-food-security/increasing-food-security-through-feed-future>.

<sup>4</sup> Patrice M Franko and Franko, *The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 331.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 355.

<sup>6</sup> Luther G Tweeten and Donald G McClelland, *Promoting Third-World Development and Food Security* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 228.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 230.

<sup>11</sup> Peter B. R. Hazell, *The Asian Green Revolution* (Intl Food Policy Res Inst, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> Clara Ines, Altieri, Miguel A Nicholls, “Conventional Agricultural Development Models and the Persistence of the Pesticide Treadmill in Latin America,” *International Journal of Sustainable Development & World Ecology* 4, no. 2 (1997): 93.

<sup>13</sup> Latifundia: Feudal estates in Spanish Latin America, which stood in great contrast to the small parcels of land (minifundias) used by peasant farmers. The latifundia also served as a form of political, social and economic organization and later contributed to a pattern of concentrated landholdings and power. Franko, *The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development*.

<sup>14</sup> Nicholls, “Conventional Agricultural Development Models and the Persistence of the Pesticide Treadmill in Latin America,” 94.

<sup>15</sup> Nicholls, “Conventional Agricultural Development Models and the Persistence of the Pesticide Treadmill in Latin America.”

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Dependency theory: The central theme is that a country does not develop because of its natural endowments; its growth is constrained by centers of power in the international system. Industrial countries (the center) advance at the expense of the third world (the periphery), causing underdevelopment in the region through exploitation of cheap labor and extraction of resources. Franko, *The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development*.

<sup>18</sup> Declining terms of trade: Terms of trade are the price of exports relative to the price of imports, mathematically expressed as  $P_x/P_m$ . Declining terms of trade are reflected in a decrease in the ratio, meaning that the price of

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imports are increasing relative to the price of exports. Under these conditions, countries must export increasing amounts of their own goods (often agricultural goods or commodities) to pay for imports (more likely to be machinery and high-tech items). Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>21</sup> Franko, *The Puzzle of Latin American Economic Development*. 68.

<sup>22</sup> Albert O Hirschman, *A Propensity to Self-Subversion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 161.

<sup>23</sup> Alain de Janvry, "Agriculture for Development: New Paradigm and Options for Success," *Agricultural Economics* 41, no. Supplement (2010): 19.

<sup>24</sup> de Janvry, "Agriculture for Development."

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>27</sup> "How Do Food Prices Affect Producers and Consumers in Developing Countries?" (The International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, September 2009).

<sup>28</sup> "Jamaica Gleaner Online," accessed February 17, 2014, <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20080413/focus/focus1.html>.

<sup>29</sup> "Haiti PM Ousted over Soaring Food Prices," *Google News*, accessed February 17, 2014, <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5hL0HvIfNZQ2nMgFdy9dSKLZ7t2Gw?hl=en&docId=080413012617.22nklvtvu>.

<sup>30</sup> "How Do Food Prices Affect Producers and Consumers in Developing Countries?"

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> "Brazil Halts Rice Exports as World Food Prices Climb - Business - ABC News (Australian Broadcasting Corporation)," accessed February 18, 2014, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2008-04-25/brazil-halts-rice-exports-as-world-food-prices/2415634?section=business>.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> "Feed the Future."

<sup>35</sup> "GLOBAL FOOD SECURITY USAID Is Improving Coordination but Needs to Require Systematic Assessments of Country-Level Risks" (United States Government Accountability Office, September 2013).

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> "Feed the Future."

<sup>38</sup> "GLOBAL FOOD SECURITY USAID Is Improving Coordination but Needs to Require Systematic Assessments of Country-Level Risks."

<sup>39</sup> "Project Detail | Feed the Future West," accessed February 18, 2014,

<http://map.usaid.gov/ProjectDetail?id=a0cd0000000alyHAAQ>.

<sup>40</sup> "Project Detail | Economic Development for a Sustainable Environment (DEED)," accessed February 18, 2014,

<http://map.usaid.gov/ProjectDetail?id=a0cd00000011qfGAAQ>.

<sup>41</sup> "Project Detail | Feed the Future West."

<sup>43</sup> "Project Detail | Access to Dynamic Markets for Rural Small and Medium," accessed February 18, 2014,

<http://map.usaid.gov/ProjectDetail?id=a0cd0000000alxwAAA>.

<sup>44</sup> "Project Detail | Competitive Enterprises-ANACAFE," accessed February 18, 2014,

<http://map.usaid.gov/ProjectDetail?id=a0cd0000000alxxAAA>.

<sup>45</sup> "Project Detail | Inclusive Market Alliance for Rural Entrepreneurs (IMARE)," accessed February 18, 2014,

<http://map.usaid.gov/ProjectDetail?id=a0cd0000000alyOAAA>.

<sup>46</sup> "Project Detail | Promoting Food Security and Trade Integration through SPS and," accessed February 18, 2014,

<http://map.usaid.gov/ProjectDetail?id=a0cd0000000aly4AAA>.

<sup>47</sup> "Project Detail | Rural Value Chains," accessed February 18, 2014,

<http://map.usaid.gov/ProjectDetail?id=a0cd00000011xIIAAI>.

<sup>48</sup> "ALBA Expels USAID from Member Countries | Venezuelanalysis.com," accessed February 18, 2014,

<http://venezuelanalysis.com/news/7069>.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> “Bolivian Leader Expels US Aid Agency,” *BBC News*, accessed February 28, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-22371275>.

<sup>52</sup> Ryan Mallett-Outtrim, “USAID, Uribe and Venezuelan Opposition Plotting Violence, Sabotage and Scarcity; According to Leaked Document” (*Venezuela New Analysis*, November 6, 2013), <http://venezuelanalysis.com/news/10148>.

<sup>53</sup> Alexandra Valencia, “United States Cancels Aid Programs to Ecuador -Officials,” *Reuters*, December 15, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/15/us-ecuador-usa-idUSBRE9BE0HV20131215>.

<sup>54</sup> “GLOBAL FOOD SECURITY USAID Is Improving Coordination but Needs to Require Systematic Assessments of Country-Level Risks.”

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> “GLOBAL FOOD SECURITY USAID Is Improving Coordination but Needs to Require Systematic Assessments of Country-Level Risks.”

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.



# EDUCATION

## CHAPTERS:

8 – Sub-Saharan Africa

9 – South & South-east Asia

10 – Latin America & the Caribbean



# Chapter 8 Education & Development in sub-Saharan Africa

By Amy Marie Barbour

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## ISSUE

The January 17, 2014, statement of USAID affirming its goal of partnering to “end extreme poverty by 2030” reflects the global community’s growing push to guarantee basic human rights for all people.<sup>1</sup> Improving education systems in Less Developed Countries (LDCs) is critical to eliminating extreme poverty. Education contributes to the welfare and betterment of societies by advancing human and knowledge capital, which leads to improvements in human security and ultimately, economic growth. Education is also one of the most powerful tools for reducing poverty and spurring sustainable, broad-based economic growth.<sup>2</sup> Extreme poverty will only be eradicated once universal literacy and universal access to quality primary education are achieved. Improving education in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is essential to reaching this goal. SSA has the highest proportion of people living in extreme poverty, and faces significant challenges for improving education in respect to access, retention, quality, and relevancy. The approaching deadlines of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the US’s pledge to eradicate extreme poverty necessitate that USAID expand and create new literacy and basic education programs in Sub-Saharan Africa.

## BACKGROUND

This portion examines extreme poverty in SSA, the current state of education in SSA, the role of education in eradicating extreme poverty, the cost-effectiveness of various education strategies, and the strategies of other development agencies for improving education in SSA.

### *Extreme Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa*

Extreme poverty is defined by the United Nations (UN) as a condition of severe deprivation of basic human needs (BHN), including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information.<sup>3</sup> In quantitative terms, extreme poverty is defined as living on \$1.25 USD or

less per day.<sup>4</sup> SSA is home to more than one-third of the world's extremely poor population. In 2010, a staggering 414 million people, or 48.5% of those living in SSA, lived in conditions of extreme poverty.<sup>5</sup> The extreme poverty in SSA rate fell 10% between 1999 and 2010.<sup>6</sup> However, the number of people living in extreme poverty rose between 1981 and 2010, largely due to rapid population growth.<sup>7</sup> In 1981, 205 million people in SSA lived in extreme poverty, in comparison with 414 million today.<sup>8</sup>

The reduction in extreme poverty in SSA is, in part, the result of increased funding from and collaborative efforts by development actors and Sub-Saharan African governments who have promoted education, health, infrastructure, the private sector and democracy promotion. Another major contributor is the strong and consistent economic growth resulting from improvements in education. Annual growth in Africa averaged 5% of annual GDP between 2001-2010.<sup>9</sup> The majority of industries catalyzing this growth – such as manufacturing, agriculture, finance, transport and communications, and construction - have need for *educated* workers.<sup>10</sup> To maintain growth in these sectors, African governments must increase access to and retention rates within secondary and tertiary schools, where societal knowledge capital is advanced.<sup>11</sup> Without significant quantitative gains in a knowledgeable and innovative workforce, regional growth will be threatened owed to a lack of thriving sustainable industries that are necessary for long-term growth.

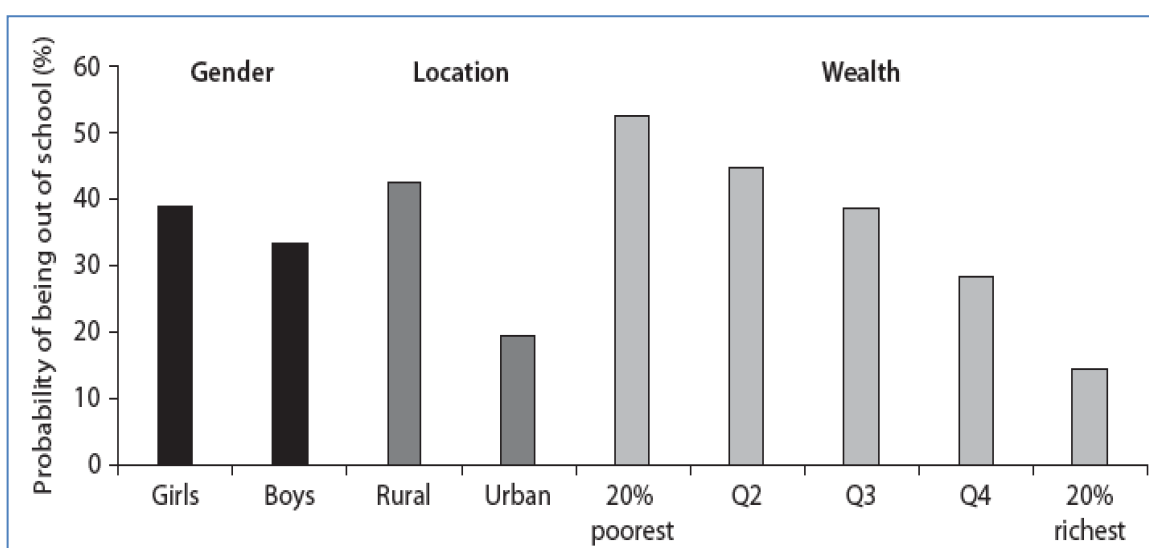
### *The Current State of Education*

Education in SSA is marked by gender disparities, high dropout rates, and low levels of average educational attainment. The region has the highest proportion of out-of-school children in the world and the largest number of countries without universal primary schooling.<sup>12</sup> Central problems in SSA's education systems include access, quality, relevancy, and retention. Though all four issues are unique, they are also interconnected - as challenges in one arena (i.e. retention) may stem from issues in another (i.e. quality).

Access to education is the primary priority in educational development. Issues of access include proximity, affordability, regional stability, opportunity costs, and gender. Students that live far from

school or in areas in conflict or crisis, cannot afford school fees, or have compelling home responsibilities have a significantly lower chance of being in school. Likewise, although gender disparities have been recently eliminated at the primary level of education, girls are still less likely than boys to go to secondary or tertiary school.<sup>13</sup> The three central factors determining the extent to children risk of being out of school are socio-economic background, geographic location (urban or rural), and gender.<sup>14</sup>

**Figure 8.1 Risk of Being Out of School by Gender, Location, and Wealth, Aggregate for Low-Income Sub-Saharan African Countries, 2003**



**Source:** *The World Bank, based on population data from UN 2007, GIR and PCR data from UIS Data Centre, and access rates from household surveys as reported in CSRs.*

Issues of quality include limited instructional resources (such as texts, school supplies, and infrastructure), inadequately trained teachers, ineffective curricula, congested classrooms, lack of consideration for special needs students and insufficient community support. Only about half of SSA's 128 million school-aged children currently enrolled in school acquire the basic skills (such as proficiency in reading, writing and math) required to live healthy and productive lives.<sup>15</sup> Children in rural areas typically receive lower quality education, often due lower teacher-to-student ratios, poor or nonexistent

educational infrastructure, and a higher likelihood of having uneducated parents.<sup>16</sup> Achieving education of sufficient quality has proven to be an even greater challenge than providing universal access. Education development actors increasingly understand the importance and current deficit of quality education, and many have begun to redirect efforts on improving quality rather than expanding access.

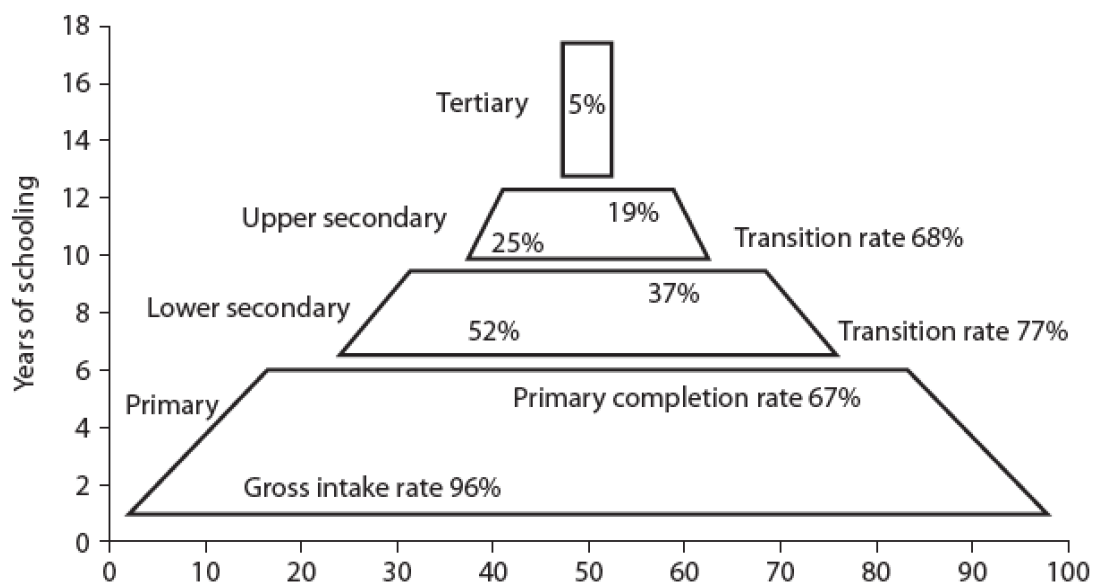
Similarly, many development actors now realize a prevalent discrepancy between skills taught in school and skills needed in the workplace. Secondary education in SSA largely focuses instruction on academic topics, rather than vocational skills.<sup>17</sup> Such emphasis benefits students moving on to universities but hurts students who plan to work after secondary school, as academically focused skills often have little labor market relevance. As a result, unemployment remains high, growth is inhibited, and the foundation of sustainable development is corroded. To improve educational relevancy, future curricula in secondary in tertiary level education must place added emphasis on practical know-how and life skills. Only then will higher-level education catalyze economic growth and help eradicate absolute poverty. In primary level schools,

The fourth main issue in SSA education is low retention within all school levels. As figure 8.2 shows, completion rates are much lower than gross intake rates for primary, secondary, and tertiary levels of schooling. The primary education has the lowest retention rate, with 29% of entering students failing to complete primary school.<sup>18</sup>

The largest cause of low retention rates in SSA countries is high dropout rates.<sup>19</sup> A shocking 10 million students drop out of primary school every year.<sup>20</sup> High dropout rates typically indicate that provided schooling does not meet the expectations and needs of students and parents. Parents may consider working more valuable for their children than attending a low quality school, or force their child to drop out if they know they will not have funding to pursue higher-level education. The latter is most often the case for families living in extreme poverty, who face higher opportunity costs for sending their child to school rather than work. Girls also have lower primary school retention rates than boys in SSA, and are much less likely to complete primary school.<sup>21</sup> Girls from poor families are especially affected,

with parents often prioritizing education for sons due to the perception that boys will have better employment opportunities.<sup>22</sup> Daughters of poor families also have higher risks of pregnancy in primary school, dramatically reducing their chance of completing school.<sup>23</sup> To improve retention rates for these disadvantaged groups, education actors and SSA governments will need to instate new group-directed policies such as granting social protection measures to ensure that poor households have the financial support necessary to cover all school costs, community outreach campaigns stressing the advantages of education, and increased affirmative action programs for girls and children in extreme poverty.

**Figure 8.2 Sub-Saharan Africa's Educational Pyramid, ca. 2009**



**Source:** *The World Bank. Based on 2006–10 UNESCO Institute for Statistics data (UIS Data Centre).*

Despite challenges, development actors and SSA governments have made significant improvements in past decades with increased funding and collaborative efforts. Over the past four decades, aid to Africa has quadrupled from \$11 billion USD to \$44 billion USD, increasing almost \$10 billion USD during the period 2005-2008 alone.<sup>24</sup> Since 2000, the UN and its partners have led unprecedented efforts to aid international development for the world's poorest through the UN

Development Goals (MDGs), helping achieve substantial gains in education development. Primary school enrollment has increased dramatically from an average of 56% to 73% since the beginning of the millennium.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, 51 million more children gained access to school in SSA between 1999 and 2010.<sup>26</sup> Disparities between the sexes have been eliminated at the primary level of education, and school life expectancies have increased, as have adult literacy rates in most countries. Most encouragingly, school enrollment has risen significantly at all levels of education.<sup>27</sup>

However, each success serves as reminder for how much progress is still needed. While access to education is undoubtedly expanding, quality remains poor, 32 million youth still lack access to schooling, and marked gender disparities still exist in the secondary and tertiary levels of schooling.<sup>28</sup> Progress towards universal access has stagnated, with remaining out-of-school youth harder to reach - most commonly for reason of living in a rural area, or one that is in conflict or crisis. Adding additional pressure is the prediction that the population of SSA's five to 14-year-olds is expected to grow more than 34% over the next 20 years, adding 77 million new students into the education system.<sup>29</sup> Unless significant improvement in educational access, quality, retention and relevancy are achieved, extreme poverty will remain a reality for many in the region.

### **The Importance of Education in Eradicating Extreme Poverty**

As extreme poverty is characterized by a severe deprivation of basic human needs (BHN), its eradication will require comprehensive development strategies. Education is a powerful instrument for extreme poverty reduction because it promotes many other areas of development. Education promotes advances in society's human and knowledge capital: its stock of scientific and technological knowledge, cognitive ability, health, nutrition, and skills needed for each person to be economically productive.<sup>30</sup> Education improves food security by developing an essential population of well-trained men and women that can improve local agricultural practices.<sup>31</sup> Better-educated individuals are also healthier, as nutrition and health related knowledge gained in school translates into healthier behaviors.<sup>32</sup> Education has also been shown to increase life expectancy. For example, a study by the National Bureau of Economic Research concluded that every additional year of education increases life expectancy by 0.18 years.<sup>33</sup>

Human security also improves, as education supports the development of people's capacity to handle risks.<sup>34</sup> Critically, education improves productivity, increases individual incomes, boosts economic growth, and lessens economic inequality.<sup>35</sup> One year of schooling can increase a person's earnings by 10%; each additional year of schooling can lift average annual GDP by 0.37%.<sup>36</sup> Finally, it is important to note that most nations that have significantly reduced domestic poverty firstly expanded access to quality education.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, although education brings numerous societal benefits, its impacts take time to manifest. Economic growth, improved societal health, and increased human security can take several decades to come about. Long-term investment is, therefore, critical to witness the full benefits of education on extreme poverty alleviation.

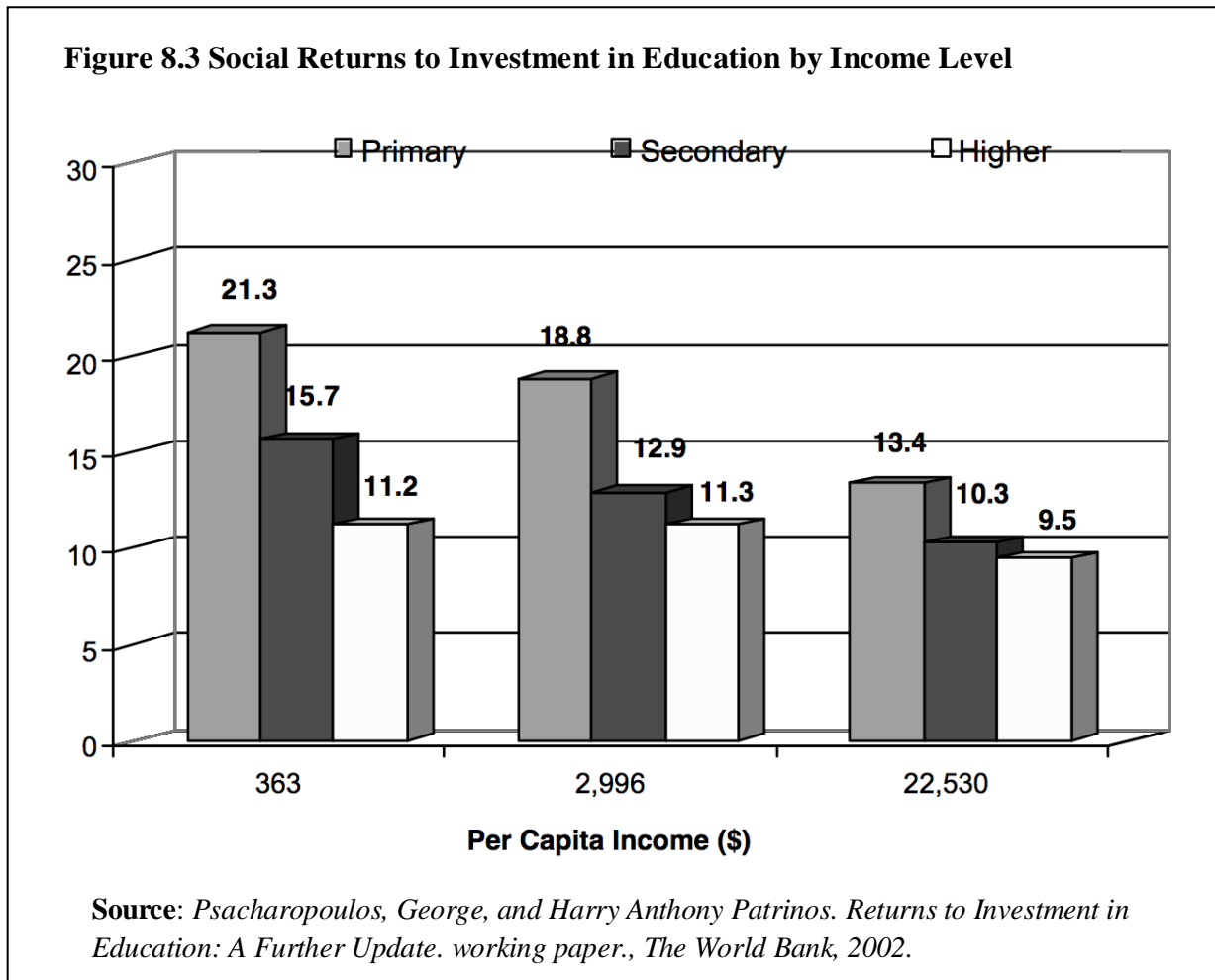
### *Cost-Effective Education Strategies for Reducing Extreme Poverty*

When determining how to most effectively support education development in LDCs, involved actors often research education-related returns to investment. Many relevant patterns have recently emerged regarding which educational investments yield the highest returns. For example, women overall receive higher returns to their schooling investments, and the average returns to schooling are highest in SSA.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, research has shown that there are falling returns to education as a country becomes more economically developed and has a higher national average level of education. Low-income countries (which also have the lowest mean years of schooling) receive the highest rate of return on educational investment. Figure 8.3 below supports this, while also revealing that investment in primary education yields the highest returns on investment. Many experts hold that investment in primary education and literacy is crucial for eradicating extreme poverty, in large measure because literacy is critical for lifting people out of absolute poverty. One study showed that if all students in low-income countries left school with basic reading skills, 171 million people could be lifted out of extreme poverty. This reduction equates to a 12% drop in the number of people in the world living in extreme poverty. Completing primary school is equally important, as it is at this level where foundational reading, math, writing, knowledge and social skills are developed. These skills are essential for future learning, health, and employment prospects.<sup>39</sup> Primary school also yields the highest returns on investment, and spurs

growth that greatly benefits poorer groups.

### Poverty and School Performance

Poverty negatively affects school performance. Research has shown that students in poorer communities tend to perform worse than middle-class learners.<sup>40</sup> This trend arises from a diverse array of health and hunger issues. Firstly, habitual hunger gives children difficulty concentrating in school due to increased fatigue. Children routinely experiencing hunger are more likely to repeat a grade, come to



school late, and have lower attendance rates.<sup>41</sup> Families living in poverty are also at higher risk of lacking access to clean water. This seriously affects academic performance and attendance rates, as lack of safe water can cause debilitating stomach pains and diarrhea.<sup>42</sup> Students in poverty also tend to perform worse in school because of personal health issues that families cannot typically afford to resolve, such as hearing

loss, malnutrition, malaria, infections, or impaired vision.<sup>43</sup> The HIV/AIDS epidemic also disproportionately impacts the learning achievements of students from poor backgrounds. Orphans of parents killed by HIV/AIDS face increased home responsibilities which conflict with academic attendance and studying.<sup>44</sup> Girls from poor families also have less access to sanitary products used during menstruation, which causes them to miss, on average, more days of school.<sup>45</sup> To ensure that poor students receive the full benefits of education, schools must have access to clean water and sanitary latrines as well as nutritious food and sanitary products for students in need.

### *Other Development Agencies' Strategies*

By analyzing the relative success of other agencies' strategies, USAID may improve its own policies and aims. Other large agencies involved in Sub-Saharan education include UNICEF, World Vision, CARE, and Save the Children. World Vision primarily invests in primary education, infrastructure development, and teacher training in effort to improve educational access and quality.<sup>46</sup> CARE works to erase gender disparities in education by supporting female educational attainment in the developing world.<sup>47</sup> Save the Children's education strategy focuses on improving education quality and accountability in the coming years. The organization is establishing a framework for national level targets and minimum standards for learning, for improving accountability, increasing citizen participation in future education policy-making, and strengthening education and learning accountability frameworks that can be monitored by parents and communities.<sup>48</sup> UNICEF's mission encompasses all of these goals and more. It works to increase early childhood education, equitable access, education in emergencies and post-crisis transitions, girl's education, and improve quality of education.<sup>49</sup> In tandem, all these organizations' aims reflect a clear emerging pattern in international educational development. Global education actors (including USAID) are increasingly emphasizing strategies centered on improving educational access and quality, as well as supporting groups in particular need, such as girls and children living in crisis or conflict areas.

### Current USAID Policy

USAID has made several unique commitments to improve education in the developing world and eradicate extreme poverty. The US has pledged to join its allies in eliminating extreme poverty by 2030. On January 29<sup>th</sup>, 2014, USAID took one step further, making the elimination of extreme poverty the first listed priority in its mission statement. When now asked, organization officials can say that it is USAID's mission to "partner to end extreme poverty and promote resilient, democratic societies while advancing our security and prosperity".<sup>50</sup> In the realm of education, USAID has pledged to help fulfill MDG 2 on Universal Primary Education which commits donors to "*ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling*" and MDG 3 to "*promote gender equality and empower women*" including by "eliminating gender disparity" in all levels of education.<sup>51</sup> USAID is also member to All Children Reading (ACR): A Grand Challenge for Development, which seeks to achieve universal child literacy.

USAID's Education Strategy for 2011-2015 is centered on fulfilling these promises. The strategy focuses on improving reading skills for 100 million children in primary grades by 2015, improving the ability of tertiary and workforce development programs to produce workforce with relevant skills to support country development goals by 2015, and increasing equitable access for 15 million learners in environments affected by crisis and conflict by 2015.<sup>52</sup> The establishment of these particular goals reflects USAID's intent to uphold promises made by the Obama administration, namely the achievement of the MDGs and the eradication of absolute poverty by 2030. These goals are intended to concentrate efforts on populations either most affected by absolute poverty, or those to whom benefits will best serve to eradicate extreme poverty.

For FY 2013, 83% of USAID's total education funding of \$511.4 million was allocated to basic education, which includes early childhood education, and primary and secondary education.<sup>53</sup> This encompasses literacy, numeracy, and other basic skill programs for youth and adults. Also in FY 2013, 17% of education funding, or \$105.3 million, was dedicated to higher education, which includes teaching,

training, curricula, degree programs, pedagogy, professional development, exchange programs and institutional and program linkages.<sup>54</sup> Early education aligns with Education Strategy Goal 1 and 3, while higher education mostly aligns with Education Strategy Goal 2. Therefore, USAID currently spends the majority of its education-based funds promoting Education Goals 1 and 3, which center on literacy and supporting children in conflict or crisis areas.

USAID's work in education already reaches millions of Sub-Saharan African people in extreme poverty.<sup>55</sup> USAID allots the largest portion of regional education funding to SSA, and is increasing resource flows to the region.<sup>56</sup> In the FY 2012, net education program costs in SSA totaled \$255,469,000.<sup>57</sup> Sub-Saharan African nations that are in absolute poverty, defined as having an annual per-capita GDP below \$456.25, are Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, and Niger.<sup>58</sup> Education programs are implemented in DRC, Ethiopia, Liberia, Malawi and Niger. USAID works in Burundi, but not within education. Direct programs in Madagascar were suspended following the 2009 military coup, although USAID continues to provide assistance in health and food security through nongovernmental organizations, community associations and other private groups.<sup>59</sup> Current education programs in the five above-mentioned nations mostly focus on providing basic education, improving reading skills, improving educational quality and increasing family and community involvement in education.

## US INTERESTS

The US receives economic, security, and value promotion benefits from providing education-based foreign aid. This type of foreign aid catalyzes growth, thereby creating valuable new trading partners through increased investment and economic exchange. Expanding markets for products with new international trading partners increase US exports and provide more product diversity at home through increased imports. Security interests are also maintained, as studies have shown that increased levels of quality primary and secondary education reduce conflict through prevention and the rebuilding process.<sup>60</sup> This is currently of particular importance, as instability has recently spiked in SSA, as dramatically

exemplified by the Westgate Mall attack in Kenya and clashes in CAR, Mali, DRC and South Sudan. Value-promotion interests are served as US-aided education, with its impact on economic growth, catalyzes transitions to democracy and preserves effective and stable democratic governance.<sup>61</sup> With SSA facing a sharp rise in Islamic extremism, marked by a surge in deadly attacks and kidnappings by Al-Qaeda linked groups, support of democracy-building efforts in the region are especially critical.<sup>62</sup> Accomplishing the goals outlined in the 2011-2015 Education Strategy will serve key US security, economic, and value-promotion interests. Doing also aligns with USAID's new mission statement, and will greatly contribute to achieving the its goal of eliminating extreme poverty by 2030 as well as Millennium Development Goals 2 and 3. Conversely, failure to reach these goals will harm US interests by losing out on potential economic and democracy promotion opportunities, and risking increases in regional instability.

## **POLICY OPTIONS**

### ***Option 1: Using Literacy Centered Mobile Phone Application to Support Reading Promotion***

There are currently 47 million illiterate Sub-Saharan African youths (ages 15-24).<sup>63</sup> As reading skills build the foundation for all future learning, achieving universal literacy is a crucial component for eradicating extreme poverty. USAID understands this, as is clear by the prioritization of literacy under its 2011-2015 Education Policy. Mobile technology is increasingly used to promote literacy in SSA, as an estimated 80% of Sub-Saharan Africans now have access to a mobile phone.<sup>64</sup> Under this option, USAID would alter and expand its current MobiLiteracy Uganda program to be used in all SSA partner countries. The program would continue to be implemented by an outside organization, Urban Planet, which produces educational products created for mobile phones, tablets, and computers.<sup>65</sup> The program currently provides daily reading lessons to first-graders in their local language via SMS text messaging and audio technology.<sup>66</sup> Under this option, the application would be updated to be accessible for a wider audience. The application would be available for free to anyone connected to a mobile network. Educational content would be sent once daily to users, providing quick, universal access to mobile phone users. The

application would offer material for various reading skill levels, so that all community members could benefit and progress. Users could select an appropriate initial skill level, and through application assessment, progress to more challenging reading materials. With lessons available in text and audio, this program would benefit not only those seeking to improve their current reading skills, but also people who are illiterate. Main target groups for the program would be teachers, to use the application in assisting class-time reading lessons, and parents, to use the application to support outside-of-class reading practice with their children. These potential uses of the program directly support Education Goal 1 and 3 and the All Children Reading Challenge, and especially benefit children in crisis and conflict areas temporarily unable to attend traditional school. Expansion of this program is politically feasible, as the program is sustainable, cost-effective, and requires little or no training or data costs.<sup>67</sup>

**Option 2: Implement annual external evaluation procedure for all education programs and mandatory post-project evaluation.**

USAID has acknowledged the “growing need for reliable education data to measure whether adequate learning is occurring in the classroom and to ensure that children are leaving school with the right skills and capabilities”.<sup>68</sup> The agency completes evaluations, however, only for ‘large’ educational projects and programs- that is, those worth an equal to or greater amount than average sized projects- at least once.<sup>69</sup> To ensure and improve project and program effectiveness, USAID would instate a new division protocol in which all education projects and programs undergo yearly impact and performance evaluation by external evaluators. Doing so would support the two aims of USAID evaluations - accountability to stakeholders and learning to improve effectiveness. Evaluation data would be warehoused publically on USAID’s website to ensure transparency, high product quality, and easy accessibility. Summaries *and* full reports would be included, except in cases of classified or proprietary material. Furthermore, post-implementation evaluations would become mandatory 3, 5 and 10 years after project or program completion in order to examine the long-term effects of all projects and programs. While such a policy change would increase evaluation costs, this change would, in the long run, serve as a

positive-yield investment. By amassing a greater reservoir of data and generating project and program analysis, USAID would more quickly discover more effective ways to partner, innovate, reduce costs, and maximize project and program impact. In terms of overall policy goals, this option ranks lowest among options listed. Implementation of this option would further divert scarce resources towards administrative costs, and does not directly align with the MDGs, the US mission to help eradicate extreme poverty, or the 2011-2015 USAID Education Strategy. While this option benefits USAID at a project, program, and organizational level, it is best suited for a later time.

### *Option 3: Increasing Access in Rural Areas by Expanding Formal and Non-formal Education Projects*

Most children out of school in SSA live in rural areas. Almost 26 million of the 32 million children not attending school do so due to living in rural environments.<sup>70</sup> These students have less access to education and lower participation rates even after gaining access to school.<sup>71</sup> They tend to have higher opportunity costs for education, find curriculum less relevant to their lives, and receive less learning encouragement at home.<sup>72</sup> Rural schools also tend to have lower classroom-to-student and teacher-to-student ratios, which undermine the learning process.<sup>73</sup> USAID emphasizes inclusion in schooling of marginalized groups such as rural populations, although rural inclusion is not a top agency priority. Under this option, USAID would increasingly prioritize serving children in rural areas by expanding formal and non-formal education projects in rural areas. Informal projects would include radio or mobile literacy instruction, while formal projects would center on primary school establishment. As students in rural areas tend to live far away from the nearest school, USAID would build more and smaller primary schools to reduce student distances from schools. Multi-grade teaching would reduce costs while offering the entire primary level sequence for each school.<sup>74</sup> Although multi-grade teaching may undermine education quality, access to education is the US's primary objective. Schools would be established in SSA partner countries in extreme poverty that are currently supported by USAID education initiatives (DRC, Ethiopia, Liberia, Malawi and Niger). This option would complement Education Strategy Goal 1, MDG2 and the All Children Reading challenge. In order to achieve universal primary education in accordance

with MDG 2 and universal literacy under the All Children Reading challenge, education expansion into rural SSA areas is necessary. For this reason, this option best serves US interests, is very politically feasible, and ranks high in comparison with other options in terms of overall policy goals.

#### **Option 4: Expand Improving Quality of Primary Education Program (IQPEP)**

Improving teacher and curricula effectiveness is essential for improving educational quality in SSA. Understanding this, USAID created its Improving Quality of Primary Education Program (IQPEP), which strengthens teacher education and improves educational planning and management in order to improve early grade learning in reading, writing, math and science.<sup>75</sup> The program is implemented in Ethiopia by an outside organization, FHI360, a U.S.-based NGO seeking to advance human development.<sup>76</sup> Under the current program, thousands of primary teachers have been trained and students' reading skills have improved.<sup>77</sup> With this option, USAID would expand IQPEP to SSA partner countries in extreme poverty, which are currently supported by USAID education initiatives. This option would directly support teacher recruitment, training, and deployment to address shortages as prioritized under Goal 3.<sup>78</sup> It would also support MDG 2, as evidence of the US commitment to universal primary education includes improving the quality of education.<sup>79</sup> Education Strategy Goal 1 and the All Children Reading challenge would also be supported, as improvements in student reading proficiency have already been witnessed in the Ethiopian program.<sup>80</sup> Thus, this option ranks highly in terms of overall USAID policy goals. Implementation of this option is politically feasible, as the structure for the program already exists, and the program has demonstrated evidential success.

### **POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

- Increase access to education in rural areas by expanding formal and non-formal education projects in DRC, Ethiopia, Liberia, Malawi and Niger.
- Launch literacy centered mobile phone application campaign to support reading promotion in SSA partner nations.
- Expand IQPEP to DRC, Liberia, Malawi and Niger to improve basic education quality.

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# Chapter 9 Education & Development in Asia

By Grace Campbell

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## ISSUE

This chapter examines how USAID can best use its education division both for grants and on-the-ground forces to eradicate extreme poverty by 2030 in South and South East Asia. USAID's current policies are examined through case studies and spending analysis, with a focus on states and organizations that currently receive most USAID funding in Asia. The focus placed on education-specific strategies derives not only from USAID's focus on education as a means of eradicating extreme poverty, but also from the focus paid to education by other developmental organizations as they work towards the success of the UN Millennium Goals. The states used in this discussion include Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India as major USAID education recipients.

## BACKGROUND

This portion discusses the state of extreme poverty in Asia as well as in region-specific areas that receive greater USAID funding, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and the Philippines. It also examines USAID's education goals and strategies, including the successes and failures of particular projects in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

### *Education in Poverty and Development:*

Extreme poverty is defined as living on less than a \$1.25 per day.<sup>1</sup> Extreme poverty can also be seen as the deprivation in opportunities that allow a population to rise above the challenge of living on \$1.25 every day. Education, as recognized by the UN Millennium Goals and by the US's pledge to eradicate extreme poverty, is a central tenant to the solution.<sup>2</sup> Quality education directed towards those living in extreme poverty works to supply cognitive and non-cognitive skills, better preparing those affected by poverty for the future and providing well-being that enables them to make the best choices possible.<sup>3</sup> Rapid improvements in the global outreach of education initiatives over the past 50 years have

allowed many states to reach their target of universal primary education. Economically growing states such as India and Vietnam have witnessed a steady decline in extreme poverty as more people gain access to education and the global economic market. This progress has however, widened the inequality gap, leaving a marginalized population that remains excluded from education in slums and rural areas.<sup>4</sup> Reinforcing the effects of extreme poverty for those receiving education is malnutrition, causing illness-related absences, school dropout, and grade repetition. Children lacking access to or forgoing school are involved in child labor, and are often referred to as ‘nowhere children.’<sup>5</sup>

‘Nowhere children’ and children receiving poor quality education matter immensely for the eradication of extreme poverty – they are the strata of the population left behind and their educational experience (or lack thereof) directly relates to their likelihood of escaping extreme poverty. A 2013 UNESCO report examining the effects of education and its application to eradicating extreme poverty found, for example, that 49% of literate women in Nepal have a skilled attendant at birth as compared to only 18% of illiterate women.<sup>6</sup> The risk of maternal death is 2.7 times higher among women with no education, demonstrating the important role education plays in health.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, in Vietnam women with completed secondary school are 67% less likely to have children permanently stunted in growth due to consistent malnutrition in their first year of life.<sup>8</sup> In the past forty years, half of the reduction of child mortality is causally related to levels of education.<sup>9</sup> While the statistical differences in the choices women make regarding their personal health and that of their children may also stem from the increased incomes which come with higher levels of education, the magnitude of improved outcomes demonstrates the need for attention to education in development strategies.

### *Extreme Poverty and Education in Asia*

Extreme poverty in greater Asia remains prevalent despite the economic growth brought about by globalization.<sup>10</sup> Extreme poverty especially affects marginalized populations. Growing income inequalities affect many groups in Asia, leaving girls and children in rural areas without quality schools to attend. These are the populations targeted by education reform and funding.<sup>11</sup>

Breakthroughs in education have successfully demonstrated its pivotal role in developmental strategies, highlighting the importance of focusing on problems such as gender disparities. Early childhood care and enrollment increased by two thirds from 1999 to 2005, but 17 million children remain unenrolled in primary education, two thirds of whom are girls.<sup>12</sup> The marginalization of gender roles in education has proved to be a greater issue in some developing nations than others. In Afghanistan, Pakistan and Nepal (all countries that have extensive USAID presence) the gender parity index ranges between .8 and .91.<sup>13</sup> Adult literacy is vital to the economic success of a state, it creates a relationship of learning between adults and children, it aids the economic development of a country and it creates an education-focused community; adult literacy has increased by 25% since 1999 in Asia, but there are still 774 million people that remain illiterate.<sup>14</sup>

As school enrollments have increased within every level of education, so has the need for well-trained teachers. This surge in demand has left the developing world understaffed, with the overall ratio of teachers to students currently at 1:28. While this is better than many classrooms in America, this ratio is an average that does not accurately reflect the needs of specific countries. In India and Pakistan, for example, the teacher-student ratio for pre-primary grades is currently 1:41.<sup>15</sup> National governments must prioritize educational training programs to ensure marginalized groups making up the majority of populations living in extreme poverty are aided.

Retention is remains a major problem within educational levels. The median retention in 2004 for primary school children was just 79%.<sup>16</sup> Of those students completing primary school, many choose to forego secondary education. Contributing to low rates of continuing secondary education is a significant lack of resources. There are not enough seats, for example, in secondary and tertiary schools to accommodate even the percentage of marginalized populations finishing primary and secondary schools. The lowest enrollments in post-primary education are in Afghanistan (16%) and Pakistan (27%).<sup>17</sup> Additionally, those pursuing higher levels of education are not learning applicable life skills, such as

literacy. South and West Asia are home to half the world's illiterate population, or 338 million adults - 63% of whom are women.<sup>18</sup> Bangladesh serves as an example to education reform in South Asia.

### Bangladesh

Bangladesh has actively pursued education for the masses, with the majority of school-aged children enrolled in school at all levels. Additionally, there are currently more girls attending school than boys at all grade levels.<sup>19</sup> Despite this success, children in schools still face extreme hardships within the education system. Upon completion of primary school, approximately one-third of Bangladeshi students have not acquired basic literacy skills. According to the Bangladeshi government, it takes an additional 7-8 years to acquire these skills.<sup>20</sup>

Despite shifts in opinion in favor of education, approximately 13% of Bangladeshi children remain out of school.<sup>21</sup> These marginalized children are those remaining trapped in the dilemma of extreme poverty in Bangladesh. Currently, only 45% of slum children in Bangladesh are enrolled in primary education. Enrollment of girls is currently 4.5% behind boys in the country overall, but within the slum populations, it remains 6.8%.<sup>22</sup> This statistic reflects the difficulty in getting state funded education to the slums, as they are considered illegal temporary housing on government property that is designated for another purpose. This land cannot be repurposed for school buildings, leaving slum children without realistic means of obtaining formal education in their neighborhoods.<sup>23</sup> Education is also considered less relevant for many living in extreme poverty. Approximately 19% of 4-5 year olds currently living in the slums of Bangladesh are involved in labor of some kind; primary education is not compulsory in Bangladesh, making many families feel less compelled to send their children to school.<sup>24</sup>

### India

India is another Asian education reform and policy success story. The government changed the constitution to place emphasis on education, stating that it is a national right for all people.<sup>25</sup> With a population of 1.21 billion, 28 states, 7 union territories, and a growing economy, India has realized the importance of a decentralized education system reaching the masses.<sup>26</sup> Over the past decade, enrollment

has increased at a pace similar to that in Bangladesh. The number of out of school children has fallen from 25 million to 8 million; the current primary school enrollment rate is 95%, showing marked improvement in access to education.<sup>27</sup> While poverty is falling, income inequality is rising. Enrollment rates in private primary schools over the past five years has sharply increased from 18.7% in 2006 to 25.6% in 2011. This may cause further divisions in poverty level as wealthier families leave the public education sector leaving government funded schools without support from all income levels. If children coming from higher income families provide the school with better resources to ensure high levels of education, it has the potential to leave the students in school with lower levels of poverty without the resources to demand the level of education they need in order to succeed.

Moreover, despite significant improvements in education access, the literacy rate in Northern India has fallen from 53.7% in 2010 to 48.2% in 2011. This exposes a gap in education quality and achievement, particularly in Northern India.<sup>28</sup> In rural areas such as this, over half of students share classes with students in other grades, undermining learning opportunities and increasing class times.<sup>29</sup> Increased class time limit the government's ability to efficiently use resources, causing fewer students to benefit from education programs in the long run.

### Afghanistan

Afghanistan is a major beneficiary of USAID in all sectors of development, including education. There are currently ten active programs directly or indirectly benefiting Afghanistan's education system.<sup>30</sup> As it stands, 28.1% of Afghanistan's population is illiterate, leading many adults to not prioritize education for younger generations.<sup>31</sup> There have, however, been drastic improvements in overall enrollment of appropriate-aged children in school, and specifically in narrowing the educational gender gap. In 2005, only an approximate one million children were enrolled in school, none of whom were girls. In 2010, nearly five million children enrolled and 38% were female.<sup>32</sup>

Major drawbacks remain despite progress in education reform and poverty elimination in Afghanistan. The Ministry of Education, for example, requires that teachers have education at least

through Grade 14, but many teachers do not meet this requirement. The number of teachers between 2005 and 2010 has increased by seven-fold, but only 22% meet the personal education requirements of the Ministry of Education.<sup>33</sup> Additionally, although 3,500 new schools were constructed between 2005 and 2010, only 40,000 schools nation-wide have rooms for their students to meet regularly. As a result, many families have been forced to send their children to private schools in Pakistan.<sup>34</sup> This leaves children of families unable to do so with no school to attend, increasing income disparities within Afghanistan, and pushes valuable investment means outside of the country. Finally, 30,000-40,000 students currently graduate from secondary school every year in Afghanistan, but only one-third of these students are able to continue on to tertiary school due to lack of seats in universities..<sup>35</sup>

### Pakistan

Pakistan has one of the worst track records in educational development and is also one of the largest recipients of financial support from USAID. Pakistan has the world's highest number of children not in school, at 5.1 million, or 1 in 12 children.<sup>36</sup> Primary school enrollment has, however, improved. In 1999 primary level enrollment was 54% - today it is at 74%. Gender disparities persist, as girls are still less likely to attend primary school than boys.<sup>37</sup> The degree of educational efficacy often stems, in part, from the educational levels attained by parents. 49.5 million adults in Pakistan are illiterate, of whom two-thirds are women demonstrating high correlation with educational levels of parents and likelihood for their children to remain in school.<sup>38</sup> Access to education in rural settings is also worse than the national average, causing one-quarter of Pakistani children aged 7-16 have never been to school. In the three poorest regions in Pakistan, all rural, one-half of children have never been in school.<sup>39</sup>

Pakistan's population demonstrates the long-term effects of neglecting children's education. As its population ages, the workforce entering the global economy is lacking the skills necessary to compete; one-third of young people (aged 14-15) have not completed primary school. This means that 12 million people lack basic skills, such as literacy. This is the second highest proportion of all developing countries.<sup>40</sup> The proportion of young people in Pakistan lacking basic cognitive and non-cognitive skills

correlates to and exacerbates the growing income inequalities within Pakistan. Of the wealthiest young men and women, 70% have completed secondary school. Of those in extreme poverty, however, only 15% of young men and 5% of young women have achieved the same level of education.<sup>41</sup> Growing income inequalities perpetuated by issues educational access for Pakistan's poorest people are creating a population which will face difficulty in rising from extreme poverty.

### Philippines

The Philippines is still heavily affected by Typhoon Haiyan. After this natural disaster struck in 2013, the US began paying immediate attention to the Filipino population and providing aid both on the ground and as monetary assistance. Aid has been presented as military support, Peace Corps support and direct relationships with international aid organizations on the ground.<sup>42</sup> The most recent statistic from the Filipino government states that 7.5% of the population lives in extreme poverty, which represents approximately 1.6 million people.<sup>43</sup> Primary education levels are extremely high in the Philippines. The World Bank reports that primary education is at 106%, this percentage is over 100% because it accounts for children that are over or under school age but are still currently enrolled in academic programs.<sup>44</sup> This statistic demonstrates two needs that the Philippines have; the first need is for educational quality and teacher training needs to maintain a priority as children are now in school but may be at risk of receiving lower standards of education than needed, secondly, there is a need to provide the means for children to be able to attend higher levels of education that will help further economically develop the country that allows for increased opportunity to eradicate extreme poverty.

### USAID Background

USAID aims its education policy at achieving three overarching goals: 1) improving reading skills for 100 million children; 2) improving access to and quality of tertiary and vocational training and; 3) increasing access to education in areas of conflict.<sup>45</sup> The vast majority of USAID's funds are spent on Goals 1 and 3, with the majority of financial assistance going to education reform in Pakistan.<sup>46</sup>

USAID's first goal under its 2011-2015 Education strategy is improving the reading skills of 100 million primary school aged children by 2015.<sup>47</sup> USAID finds that it is to the learners' greatest advantage to receive their cognitive skills and training in their native language. Studies have found that there is a greater success rate in learning higher level skills, such as second languages, if learners first master cognitive skills in their native tongue.<sup>48</sup> USAID's strategy for this goal is increasing instructional time spent on reading comprehension, expanding quality teacher training, and ensuring that schools have adequate supplies and reading materials to satisfy needs.<sup>49</sup> Current projects based around this goal include a project in Bangladesh titled *Proteeva*, which is sponsored with Save the Children. Budgeted at approximately \$12,000,000 and spanning from 2010 to 2015, this project aims to provide services to 3,150 primary schools and provide training to staff, parents and caregivers on effective learning strategies.<sup>50</sup> A second project USAID is currently involved with is the *Quality Learning Project*, which is designated for the Central Asia Republics including Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. The program has budgeted \$12 million specifically for the purpose of enhancing the quality of the educators and enabling them to have more training and resources available to them.<sup>51</sup> USAID specifically cites studies showing that the number of years in school does not necessarily match with an increase in cognitive skills, emphasizing the need for increased attention toward the quality of education received.<sup>52</sup> The third and largest literacy program working in Asia for which the financials have been released is a program in the Philippines entitled *Literacy for Peace and Development*. The program had a budget of \$25 million and spanned from 2010-2013. This project worked specifically with Muslim populations in the Philippines to build literacy and peace negotiation skills among children and adults throughout the country.<sup>53</sup>

Goal 2 of USAID's education strategy is improving access and quality of tertiary and vocational training.<sup>54</sup> One example within Asia is the Indian program *University Linkages*. Under this program, universities are given additional funds and grants for improving curricula and providing better vocational training to help the university system become more responsive to the private sector.<sup>55</sup> A second program

pertaining to Goal 2 is the *Masters Degree Program* implemented by USAID in Indonesia, which trains Indonesian students on conducting effective research, thereby improving domestic education and economic development.<sup>56</sup> Similar programs are currently underway in the Philippines, with the US supporting the Philippines in becoming a dominant economic force in the greater region. With the Philippines' high rates of school attendance, USAID's program aims to create a competitively trained workforce that will take charge in the growing South East Asian economy.<sup>57</sup>

Goal 3 of USAID's education strategy is to creating equitable opportunities for education in areas of crisis and conflict.<sup>58</sup> Of the 70 million children without access to primary education, 40 million live in conflict zones.<sup>59</sup> In Asia specifically, USAID has donated an significant sums for achieving Goal 3 in Pakistan., via two projects in particular: the *Higher Education Commission Support Program*, budgeted at \$90 million<sup>60</sup>, and the *Teacher Education Project*, budgeted at \$50 million.<sup>61</sup> The *Higher Education Commission Support Program* works at the university level to improve instruction, specifically on agriculture, water, energy technology, business and health topics. It does so by providing scholarships, laboratory equipment and teacher training for rebuilding social and economic sectors.<sup>62</sup> Coinciding with this, the *Teacher Education Project* is dedicated to effective training of teachers, enabling them to better reach children in need.<sup>63</sup>

## USAID Program Effectiveness

### Afghanistan

USAID ran a program in Afghanistan called the *Higher Education* project that ended in 2013. This program directly relates to Education Goal 2. This program successfully created eighteen institutions, which now boast 31.9% enrollment of women and a 34.4% increase female faculty members.<sup>64</sup> More work remains to be done, including increasing the number and quality of facilities and faculty size. These issues can be addressed through continuing focus on upgrading structures and providing incentives for the graduates to return to academic institutions and contribute to knowledge sharing.<sup>65</sup>

Another program of USAID in Afghanistan works to build the infrastructure at all levels of education, to improve access to public education to children in all areas, rural or urban.<sup>66</sup> This program includes multiple projects that directly relate to USAID's third goal of creating greater access to education in areas in conflict or crisis. One such project was the building of the Balkh education facility, in which \$17.1 million was designated by USAID for the building of new schools in Afghanistan, with \$2.9 million was purposed specifically for the Balkh Education Facility.<sup>67</sup> While many schools were successfully constructed, the Balkh Facility was left with building structure problems that, after five years of work and the end of the official program, have caused the facility to be unusable due to electrical, plumbing and flooring issues in the building.<sup>68</sup> While USAID is providing the initiative for infrastructure programs, it seems that there is a chance that some programs may be left unfinished potentially inhibiting children from using the resources as effectively as possible.

### Pakistan

A major focus of USAID's education work in Pakistan is improving overall quality of education, particularly in regards to quality of instruction. There are two major USAID projects in Pakistan that specifically addressing teacher quality, both of which are now complete. The first is the *Teacher Education Project*, active from 2007 to 2012, provided a 24-course program to improving teacher effectiveness and independence in class. This program has been met with almost exclusively positive reviews from both teachers and students, with the only recommendations for betterment being the inclusion school resources.<sup>69</sup> USAID's second program in Pakistan, known as *Ed-Links*, is also now complete. This joint effort by USAID and external non-profit organization, Ed Links was a collection of different projects designed to improve teaching and increase learning. While the program is thought to be a success, it was ultimately impossible to measure the effectiveness of the program due to continuously changing goals and changes in management and strategy.<sup>70</sup> Education reform stands a platform for USAID's presence in Pakistan.

## India

With India being one of the largest growing markets in the world, there is an international push to create public-private alliances for bettering access to education for the country's large population. USAID was involved in a program called *Education and Employment Alliance (EEA Program)* that was designed and funded specifically to facilitate relationships that would better enable education in India.<sup>71</sup> This program launched in 2005 and finished in 2009, received a total of \$12.1 million in USAID support. Run alongside the International Youth Foundation, the program supplied education management facilities to six countries including India.<sup>72</sup> The program's overall focus was advancing student job preparedness, providing career counseling, and teaching entrepreneurship and leadership skills. Ending in 2009, the program was a wildly successful program, with 25% more student involvement than expected. 30,000 youth participated and the vast majority of partners involved felt that the program succeeded beyond expectations, with the only concern being it took up more partner time and resources expected.<sup>73</sup> This program demonstrated USAID's ability to both partner with other institutions as well as create self-sustaining programs that provided benefits to both students and faculty.

## US INTERESTS

USAID's broad educational program goals all benefit US interests. In regards to Goals 1 and 2, increasing literacy rates and creating more educational resources for areas of conflict, studies have shown that increased cognitive skills in students' native languages and cultures helps them succeed much more than their counterparts educated in the US as immigrants, by focusing on education abroad it better prepares potential immigrants to be more successful when they arrive to the US.<sup>74</sup> As increases in cognitive skills bolster state economies, and Asia as a whole continues to grow economically, opportunities for trade and international economic partnerships multiply for the US.<sup>75</sup> Goal 3, aiding education reforms in countries in conflict or crisis, directly relates to the national security of the United States as well, promoting positive attitudes towards the US as a nation advancing peace and global leadership. In addition, states with better primary and secondary education programs are statistically less likely to experience internal conflicts, providing regional stability and further US security benefits.<sup>76</sup>

In states like Afghanistan and Pakistan where the US has been involved for extended periods of time, it is to the advantage of the United States to ensure it is involved in as many precautionary projects as possible, such as education. This ensures that states are on the path to peace, saving the US money in military spending as well as creating potential opportunity for economic gain as states involved gain education and reduce poverty, having more of a presence on the international economic stage.

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Creating enhanced scholarship programs & university spaces in South & SE Asia*

Programs of higher education focus have proven successful in Pakistan. *Ed-Links*, for example, has improved teaching quality via teacher training programs.<sup>77</sup> Creating similar programs throughout Asia would provide the resources needed to provide quality education for all - better enabling governments and schools to reach primary education goals, increasing retention rates and allowing students to enter the job market sooner, and more successfully completing USAID's goal for greater international literacy. Programs modeled with these ideals will reduce gaps in the education system, such as in Afghanistan, where 22% of teachers have not finished secondary school.<sup>78</sup>

### *Option 2: Increasing direct funding and advocacy for children living in slums in S & SE Asia*

Bangladesh and India in particular have large numbers children in slums without formal education, due to restrictions slum properties cannot be repurposed for schools.<sup>79</sup> The solution is to increase the presence of informal schools allowing children to gain literacy and cognitive skills. Programs emphasizing informal schools can be used both in rural areas, where schools are located far from households, and in urban slums, where formal school is not a feasible option.<sup>80</sup> Informal education is used in the Philippines as a means of providing an alternative education to children needing to gain life skills best obtained in a classroom.<sup>81</sup>

### *Option 3: Increasing direct funding of and advocacy for school retention programs.*

To combat the retention problems in schools throughout Asia, USAID could increase in-school food programs, specifically by farming on school property and augmenting community partnerships that

provide food so that children miss less school due to malnutrition illnesses.<sup>82</sup> USAID would also encourage greater knowledge sharing with different education programs to enable them to uphold stronger requirements for their teachers and create feelings of efficacy towards education in the communities. This can be facilitated with national testing and greater schools under the control of government standards. Teaching standards remain a prevalent issue in education reform and government funding of schools is increasingly becoming an issue as more schools are no longer in government control. With so many children attending private schools or schools without government funding, the income inequality gap is perpetuated and many are left in extreme poverty, as we have seen in Pakistan.<sup>83</sup>

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Create enhanced scholarship programs & university spaces in South & SE Asia**

- Increase the number of scholarship programs and research grants to encourage more students to work towards receiving higher education and providing research facilities that encourage highly trained and knowledgeable professors to stay at universities involved
- Create standardized testing programs and pay grade incentives to encourage teachers to seek more advanced knowledge therefore increasing the quality they provide

### **Increase direct funding and advocacy for school retention programs**

- Partner with organizations working towards fighting hunger to enhance quality and number of in-school food programs
- Create knowledge sharing and advocacy groups to encourage students, families and communities to see the value in achieving higher levels of education

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# Chapter 10 Education & Development in Latin America

By Annah Mwendar

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## ISSUE

On January 17<sup>th</sup> of 2014, USAID published a re-envisioned mission explicitly stating the goal of “ending extreme poverty by 2030”.<sup>1</sup> With this newly asserted goal in mind, we must reassess current education and youth development activities, programs, and projects in the Latin America and Caribbean region (LAC) and offer new programs to target the specific populations affected by extreme poverty. In Latin America and the Caribbean the task of eliminating extreme poverty may seem accomplished compared to other developing regions. The World Bank reports that, “the share of the population living below an extreme poverty line of \$2.50 a day, the minimum necessary in the LAC region to meet basic food requirements, dropped by half, from 26.3 percent to 13.3 percent”.<sup>2</sup> Many international development agencies including USAID have acknowledged the immense progress of the region, which can now mostly be classified as middle-income. Regardless of this progress however, extreme poverty still exists throughout LAC. Identifying where and within which particular populations it is a first task. Secondly, understanding how education can help in the elimination of this poverty is crucial. In this chapter we will address the following issue— How can USAID most effectively facilitate the end of extreme poverty by 2030 in LAC through educational activities, programs, and projects?

This chapter will focus on USAID’s use of Education programs in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) for the eradication of extreme poverty. The Background section will build an understanding of extreme poverty, educational systems, and USAID education programs in LAC. The Interests section will assess USAID stakes in education programs in LAC. Policy options will then be offered to more effectively achieve USAID goals with education in eradicating extreme poverty in LAC.

Lastly recommendations are given for three policy options on how to implement. Guatemala, Colombia, and Haiti will be used throughout this chapter as case studies of LAC.

## **BACKGROUND**

### ***Extreme Poverty in LAC***

Before discussing educational programs in this developing region we must first understand how poverty manifests here. The story of poverty in LAC can be seen differently than in the rest of the developing world. While the region has made great strides in raising national incomes and growing middle classes, this outlook of conditions disregards some 80 million people who still live in poverty in LAC.<sup>3</sup> While extreme poverty at a global level is classified as living on less than 1.25 USD a day per capita, throughout Latin America and the Caribbean extreme poverty is defined as living on less than 2.50 USD per day per capita as this is the amount necessary to meet basic food requirements. At first glimpse, only Haiti appears to fall under this category of extreme poverty within the region with a national GDP per capita well below the mark. Countries in Central America especially, like El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Guatemala too have frequently shown the highest levels of poverty.<sup>4</sup> However on an intra-national basis, many more areas within the region can be seen as extremely impoverished. In particular rural areas still suffer from extreme poverty at higher rates than urban areas, throughout. In regards to the demographics of people in extreme poverty, indigenous and ethnic minorities tend to be afflicted at greater rates. Research supports that while overall GDPs in LAC may have increased, so too has inequality, which is what ultimately abets extreme poverty. This section will discuss how extreme poverty can occur in the variety of countries throughout LAC, specifically examining: 1) Guatemala, 2) Colombia, and 3) Haiti.

### ***Guatemala***

Guatemala remains a challenge for development with the largest city in Central America, Guatemala City, and among the lowest human development indices in the world. 15% of Guatemala's population lives in extreme poverty.<sup>5</sup> With the 12<sup>th</sup> highest income inequality or GINI index in the world,

mostly only urban and non-indigenous populations have experienced economic growth and social development.<sup>6</sup> Extreme poverty within Guatemala is most prevalent among indigenous youth and women in the rural regions. Indigenous Mayan, Xinka, and Garifuna groups account for approximately 43% of the population and 75% of the indigenous population lives in poverty.<sup>7</sup> Additionally Guatemala is characterized as a male-dominated or “*machista*” society.<sup>8</sup> Guatemala has managed to reduce overall poverty by 12% since 1989 and reduce other indicators of poverty such as chronic malnutrition by 14.5% since 1989, but these progressions remain less than impressive on a global scale.<sup>9</sup> Much work towards eliminating extreme poverty for Guatemala’s most marginalized populations remains to be done.

### *Colombia*

Poverty trends in Colombia show substantial long-term progress.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, extreme poverty persists in Colombia due to the country’s immense socio-economic inequality. In 2008 and 2010, Colombia ranked having the second highest GINI index in the world.<sup>11</sup> The GINI index, used as an indicator of development by the World Bank, measures the extent to which the distributions of income in a country deviate from a perfectly equal distribution. Last year on the UNDP’s Inequality adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) Colombia ranked 91 out of 160 countries in the world.<sup>12</sup> Recent assessments estimate, “extreme urban poverty”, categorized by “homicide and domestic violence for the poor having escalated to unprecedented rates, where the burden of crime is disproportionately borne by poor women”.<sup>13</sup> Additionally, Afro-Colombians are the primary ethnic group living under the poverty line.<sup>14</sup> Addressing these instances of extreme poverty within the country can help ensure the political and social stability of Colombia and the entire Western Hemisphere.

### *Haiti*

Haiti is the most impoverished nation in the Western Hemisphere. With a daily GDP per capita of about 2.11 USD, it’s the only nation in LAC that would be classified as in extreme poverty on a national level.<sup>15</sup> More than 80% of Haiti’s population lives in poverty.<sup>16</sup> Poverty in Haiti has been sustained by political instability and violence throughout its history. Haiti can be considered one of the most unstable

political states in modern history, with more than 20 different constitutions written since its independence in 1804.<sup>17</sup> The financial crisis of 2008 along with the earthquake of 2010 further decimated every sector of the country's development<sup>18</sup>. Around two million people or 20% of the population was physically displaced and forced to live in "temporary shelters" throughout the country.<sup>19</sup> Avenues for improvement within every sector of development present themselves in Haiti, and most certainly within education. Programs that target the most marginalized populations would be most effective in helping alleviate extreme poverty within the country.

### Education in LAC

Current educational systems throughout Latin America and the Caribbean originated from the evangelistic and civilizing purposes of colonial ancestors.<sup>20</sup> From the Bahamas to Tijuana to the Southernmost tip of Chile, indigenous populations throughout the region were conquered by Spanish and Portuguese conquistadors spreading Christianity. With the arrival of Europeans and African slaves in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, an intermixture of culture and cohabitation of multiple races became prevalent across many countries. In the period when independence movements began, education in LAC was, "regarded as an institution responsible for political education".<sup>21</sup> In both colonization and independence we see that education in the region was used as an instrument in processes of transformation and socialization. Today these origins remain pertinent in understanding the political and socio-cultural stratification seen in countries throughout LAC. Historical hierarchies established through social and political means are still the foundation of marginalization and poverty in LAC and particularly within education systems.

While education has been used to strengthen both political and economic institutions in LAC, lack of quality education has remained a primary means of sustaining extreme poverty. Among other factors extreme poverty within education can be classified by, "the need to have children working, the lack of clothing, the disinterest of parents who are also illiterate", all of which keeps the poorest children from attaining their education.<sup>22</sup> With great variance across the region particular country case studies can be used to evaluate dominant issues in education obstructing the elimination of extreme poverty. This

section will develop an understanding of the educational systems in Guatemala, Colombia, and Haiti to assess how extreme poverty can be eliminated by 2030.

### *Guatemala*

The early educational history of Guatemala is filled with violence and lack of quality. From colonization to independence, Guatemala often lacked the political and social stability to sustain a nourishing educational system. Civil war waged in Guatemala for the most of the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, stifling all development. However, great strides have been made within Guatemala's educational system since the 1996 Peace Accords, which ended the nation's more than 30 year civil war. The Peace Accord records established education, "as a means to transmit and develop values and knowledge within the multi-lingual and multi-cultural society".<sup>23</sup> Consequently, these Accords helped establish how essential education is for development within the country; since then Guatemala has substantially increased access to basic education with 98% of primary-aged students enrolled as of 2008<sup>24</sup>.

While general access to education has improved, completion of education at all levels largely remains an issue.<sup>25</sup> This suggests that while there have been improvements in the enrollment of early-age schooling, middle school students may be the next population to be targeted in the fight to eliminate extreme poverty. Working towards the continuous completion of education in Guatemala may be the next educational challenge to be tackled in the country. Guatemala's Ministry of Education is committed to addressing some of the nation's educational deficits. In its Strategic Implementation Plan for Education 2012 – 2016, Guatemala's government outlines goals for intercultural bilingual education, teacher professional development programs, and a national reading program.<sup>26</sup>

### *Colombia*

Colombia not considered a hotspot of extreme poverty, and neither is its educational system considered to be impoverished. In fact, researchers of educational systems in LAC assert that, "on the world stage, Colombia's pedagogical culture is quite sophisticated".<sup>27</sup> Pedagogical queues from Colombia have been adapted in both the French and British educational systems. More women than men are

presently represented in its higher education institutions<sup>28</sup>. While the overall history of Colombia's pedagogy may paint a progressive picture though, much can be gained by development-focused strategies in its education system.

Colombia's educational history can be characterized by a long struggle between traditional centralized educational systems residual from the colonial period and modernized decentralized educational systems reflective of the immense diversity in the country; the former is currently predominantly in place. The current educational system in Colombia maintains a, "weak recognition of popular cultures, ethnic, cultural, and gender diversity"<sup>29</sup>. The nation functions through a centralized educational system that instead emphasizes "educational standards, evaluations of students' competencies, and greater control over teachers"<sup>30</sup>. Apart from this disregard for the cultural diversity of the nation, Colombia's education system continues to be plagued by a national "situation of widespread violence and corruption fueled by drug trafficking and political violence"<sup>31</sup>. While violence and these socio-cultural disparities remain a large issue for education in Colombia, their government is starting to make efforts towards acknowledging these deficiencies.

Colombia's Ministry of National Education currently has a comprehensive education strategy for development acknowledging the key principles of inclusion shown in Figure 10.1.

**Figure 10. 1 Colombia's Ministry of Education Principles**<sup>32</sup>

1. *Education is for everyone and for life.*
2. *Education is for innovation and competitiveness.*
3. *Education institutions must be strengthened.*
4. *Education is process that must be in permanent modernization.*
5. *Education is a process in which all should participate.*

## *Haiti*

Haiti was recently ranked as the third worst country in the world to be a school child, just slightly ahead of Eritrea and Somalia, respectively.<sup>33</sup> Haiti's education system has never truly been the governmentally-supported institution of development for all that it should be. Instead it has been a social system of violence and exclusion. Under 15<sup>th</sup> & 16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish conquest the island of Hispaniola's indigenous Taino-Arawak population was mostly killed and African slaves were imported, for whom education was immediately outlawed by the Black Code of 1685.<sup>34</sup> When the French gained control of the western part of the island, more social economic and legal liberties were given to those of lighter complexion and with knowledge of the French language.<sup>35</sup> White French and Mulatto Haitians were able to move up the economic and social ladders of development, receiving education. Even after independence, social and economic divides continued to be maintained through cultural, religious, and linguistic systems of exclusion.<sup>36</sup> Under presidents François "Papa Doc" Duvalier and son, Jean-Claude Duvalier in the 20<sup>th</sup> century students, educators, and educational facilities were systematically attacked and destroyed in corrupt political agendas<sup>37</sup>. Overall, political instability within the country has sustained insecurity, prohibiting many students from attending and completing school. Historical marginalization is still apparent in Haiti, where Black or African-descendent people compose 95% of the country's population and White French and Mulatto people account for 5%.<sup>38</sup>

The discrepancies of inequality in Haiti are exacerbated by natural disaster. The 7.0 magnitude earthquake that Haiti suffered in 2010 displaced much development progress. While overall enrollment in primary education has increased post-earthquake, many issues within education still exist. Schools were damaged and destroyed in the earthquake, "the socioeconomic situation of families worsened further; in addition, school access became very difficult and even impossible... school supervision has become nearly impossible in some areas".<sup>39</sup>

Inaccess to education most greatly affects the most vulnerable populations—women, rural inhabitants, and citizens who cannot speak French. “Institutional arrangements within Haiti have perpetuated hierarchal power relations and gendered socioeconomic outcomes in the country.”<sup>40</sup> Today we see that while rural Haiti accounts for almost 70% of the nation’s population, rural areas only receive about 20% of educational expenditures.<sup>41</sup> The large direct and indirect costs of education often force families to choose which children will be educated and often girls receive the short end of the stick. “In Haiti, adult women have less education than adult men and have higher illiteracy levels”.<sup>42</sup> Creole is the national language of Haiti, spoken and understood by 100% of its citizens.<sup>43</sup> However, French the other national language spoken by about only 10% of its population, remains the primary administrative and educational language of the country— meaning that to advance either politically or on a socio-economic level one must learn and be proficient in French. A majority of Haitians suffer from a “linguistic apartheid” which is most apparent in the educational system.<sup>44</sup>

Haiti’s Ministry of National Education and Vocational Training (MENFP) has made efforts to prioritize education. In Haiti’s most recent Strategic Plan for Development, it acknowledges that “support on behalf of the state is required” to allow access to poverty-reducing education for the majority of underprivileged populations in the country.<sup>45</sup>

### USAID Programs

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is currently the top national producer of foreign aid and is a primary face of US Foreign Policy, strongly grounded in the goal of promoting prosperity and security internationally.<sup>46</sup> USAID “invites new ideas and fresh perspectives to develop efforts to find innovative solutions to longstanding and seemingly intractable development challenges”.<sup>47</sup> USAID has been committed to *Investing in People* in the developing world through health, education and other social initiatives. US government funding to education and social services cover an extensive variety of potential development programs, as shown in Figure 10.2. USAID’s education programs have systematically been working on three goals in the developing world: First, improving early

grade reading; second, expanding access to higher education and workforce development; third, educating children and youth in crisis and conflict situations<sup>48</sup>. For the fiscal year 2013, funding towards “Education and Social Services” was the second largest priority for US foreign assistance in the region at \$10.6 million<sup>49</sup>, just \$200,000 less “Health” initiatives. For the United States, education development goals in LAC have proved particularly important as a fiscal priority.

**Figure 10. 2 Purpose of Educational and Social Service Funding from United States Government**<sup>50</sup>

*“Promote equitable, effective, accountable, and sustainable formal and non-formal education systems and address factors that place individuals at risk for poverty, exclusion, neglect, or victimization. Help populations manage their risks and gain access to opportunities that support their full and productive participation in society. Help populations rebound from temporary adversity, cope with chronic poverty, reduce vulnerability, and increase self-reliance.”*

In the 1960s USAID most commonly supported education in the LAC region through supporting higher education at selected universities to create managers of a self-sufficient development. University training alone “was seen as an explanation for unequal development”.<sup>51</sup> In more recent years as evidenced by current projects, USAID has been working to educate the poor and firstly ensure basic education for all. Additionally, USAID has worked to ensure the transparency of all its activities, programs, and projects throughout the region. For example in Haiti, USAID in 2012 launched funding for *La Fondation Heritage pour Haiti (LFHH)*, *Haiti chapter of Transparency International (TI)*<sup>52</sup>. This project provides a free anti-corruption hotline directly to the inhabitants of Haiti to call in or email any reports of corruption by the government and USAID-funded programs. In this and similar ways, USAID has made it clear that continual evaluation and transparency at all levels of programs and projects is appreciated.

The overall story of education in the region has been one of improvement. USAID currently works with almost 100 educational projects located throughout LAC. Case studies of Guatemala,

Colombia, and Haiti can be used to understand and assess programs and activities, with the three goals of USAID's current Education Strategy in mind.

### Goal 1: Reading and Primary Education in Guatemala

In its aim to achieve Goal 1, increasing primary school enrollment and improving primary grade reading skills, USAID has made significant progress. This goal is based on USAID asserted principle that, "learning to read is the foundation for future learning at all levels and subjects". In Guatemala we see USAID implementation of programs supporting this goal.

USAID has historically had an effective presence in primary-aged educational programs in Guatemala. In the 1990s, USAID principally focused on primary school access for girls to close the gender disparity in enrollment.<sup>53</sup> Today net enrollment between genders in primary school has reached near parity with 99% of primary-aged boys enrolled and 92% of primary-aged girls enrolled.<sup>54</sup> Currently USAID has 22 ongoing educational programs in Guatemala. The USAID Guatemala Country Development Cooperation Development Strategy asserts the development goal of helping provide, "education quality and improved access... targeted to youth in rural communities of the Western Highlands".<sup>55</sup> Under this goal USAID/Guatemala has engaged in projects like *Education Reform in the Classroom*, aimed at increasing equitable access to basic education. Projected to last from September of 2009 to September of 2013, the program was allotted a total budget of 200 million USD.<sup>56</sup> Through this project USAID has been able to assist Guatemala's Ministry of Education with research and evidenced policies to improve their capacities to provide universal quality education. This type of assistance has helped strengthen institutions of Guatemala and facilitate a long-term and sustainable development. Nevertheless, evaluations of this program reveal that, "advances in sixth grade completion have been minimal," due to a continued lack of access especially in remote rural areas, generalized high dropout, repetition and failure rates.<sup>57</sup> Looking forward towards eliminating extreme poverty by 2030, international development actors should start to focus on the importance of not just access to, but also *completion* of quality education.

## Goal 2: Secondary and Tertiary Education in Colombia

USAID's second educational goal is to "improve ability of tertiary and workforce development programs to produce a workforce with relevant skills to support country development".<sup>58</sup> Colombia is an illustration of USAID's implementation of programs supporting this goal.

USAID currently has 37 ongoing educational projects in Colombia. USAID provides secondary and tertiary education scholarships for the underprivileged and traditionally marginalized population of Afro Colombians through the *Afro Colombian Leadership Scholarship Program* and the *Martin Luther King Scholarship*. From December for 2007 to June of 2013 USAID allotted 1.35 million USD towards these scholarships.<sup>59</sup>

USAID has also had a broader program in Colombia to assist Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and other vulnerable groups since 2001. From 2005 to 2009, Colombia's Ministry of National Education has been able to increase access to education for IDPs by a more than 3-fold increase to 526,044 people.<sup>60</sup> USAID has provided funding to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Pan American Development Foundation (PADF) to not only facilitate this educational access but also improve educational quality for IDPs by, "integrating the community, adults and children in improvement/construction and equipping of schools".<sup>61</sup> These programs have focused on training and development of students, however there have still been some inefficiencies. High rates of school dropout is an issue created by the "physical, economic, and psychological consequences of forced displacement through violence".<sup>62</sup> Assessments of related education programs targeting extreme poverty alleviation in Colombia have shown that, "although entrepreneurial development programs seem successful in the short run, they do not result in significant changes in income".<sup>63</sup> This shows a need for a different type of further educational program in Colombia that targets vulnerable populations such as IDPs.

### Goal 3: Access to education in Conflict or Crisis Areas such as Haiti

The last of USAID's three essential educational goals is to "expand equitable access to education in crisis and conflict environments to 15 million children".<sup>64</sup> In Haiti we see USAID education programs geared specifically towards this goal.

USAID has successfully been working to alleviate poverty in Haiti. The largest US Government appropriation in LAC goes to Haiti, 318 million USD requested for FY 2014.<sup>65</sup> Some USAID successes in the country regarding education have included building classrooms for more than 60,000 children and providing more than 46,000 textbooks, workbooks, teacher guides, posters, and other instructional material to improve learning and teaching.<sup>66</sup> After the earthquake of 2010 an acute shortage of teaching material and space to learn was among the significant problems for education in the country. USAID has diligently worked to address this need. Two educational programs currently being administered in Haiti by USAID are the *Room to Learn* Initiative and *All Children Reading (Tout Timoun ApLi (ToTAL))*, focused on increasing the quality of primary grade reading in Haiti. Last November, Associate Administrator Mark Feierstein and Senior Advisor for International Education Christie Vilsack visited Haiti with Secretary of Education Arne Duncan to announce the new, multi-year *Room to Learn* program. The program focuses on providing primary education access to youth and children in crisis and conflict-torn areas, currently present in six countries most afflicted: Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Nigeria, Pakistan, South Sudan, and Haiti.<sup>67</sup> Such conflict areas have been directly correlated to a prevalence of extreme poverty.<sup>68</sup> As stated by senior advisor Vilsack, "*Room to Learn* is about providing safe access to schools, rebuilding education systems, and preventing and mitigating the effects of conflict and crisis... so they [all children] have the opportunity to learn to read and build the foundations for their success in school and beyond".<sup>69</sup> As of 2013 USAID was able to help 39,000 children with access to primary education. By using tailored education programs towards these most afflicted populations of extreme poverty, future aid programs and projects can facilitate a greater national development.

## US INTERESTS

“U.S. foreign assistance has always had the twofold purpose of furthering America's interests while improving lives in the developing world.”<sup>70</sup> The United States of America has two key interests in eliminating extreme poverty globally: 1) ensuring our national security and 2) promoting continual economic growth and access to a flourishing global market. USAID policy explicitly states that, “by supporting the worlds’ most vulnerable we strengthen our national security and energize economies”.<sup>71</sup> LAC is not only our closest neighbor as a global region but is currently a developing region full of emerging economies with a rising middle class.

In regards to Latin America and the Caribbean, the United States has a special imperative to help achieve economic and political stability. This notion of aiding in the development of our global neighbors has been a part of US Foreign Policy since the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. Political instability within the region can more easily penetrate and affect US communities than any other region. Insecurity of US borders comes in many forms today, from illegal immigration to trade of illicit drugs and weapons. The proximity of LAC enables a unique opportunity for the creation of black markets and trades. Approximately 75% of illegal immigration to the United States originates in LAC, Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras being the largest contributors in the region respectively.<sup>72</sup> Recent research shows that “almost 40% of illegal immigrants are women, and a greater majority are married couples with children”.<sup>73</sup> Analyses of the populations who migrate illegally show poverty as a common connection.<sup>74</sup> “The conditions that lead people to become irregular migrants are the same in Central America as they are in other parts of the world: grinding poverty, insecurity, lack of opportunity, and the determination to risk it all in the hope of a better future”.<sup>75</sup> In this sense we can see that working to eliminate extreme poverty in LAC, especially for vulnerable populations such as women and youth works to decrease illegal immigration and sustainably enable US security. Economic stability in LAC is also of key interest to the US, which is ensured by quality human capital, something which education greatly contributes to. Economic stability within the LAC contributes to the growth our own markets, with more than 25% of

US exports flowing to the region.<sup>76</sup> Mexico is consistently the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest country that the US trades with.<sup>77</sup> The stability of countries in LAC impact clearly impact the US economy.

Education is a foremost social indicator that can help ensure long-term security, stability, and development. USAID’s Policy Framework states that education is, “essential to unlocking human potential, directly contributing to elevating human development and critical to broad-based economic growth over the long-term”.<sup>78</sup> Educational efforts in developing societies can to serve multiple purposes transferring into benefits in health and nutrition, democratic and civic progress, gender empowerment and equity and economic growth.

## POLICY OPTIONS

In regards to its implemented programs and policy, USAID is known to value private-sector partnerships, innovative thinking, and transparency within a country, ultimately being critical of its own work.<sup>79</sup> All policy options proposed in this chapter will reflect this principle incorporating private-sector partnership, innovation, and transparency. The policy options that will be offered are two (2) regional policy options and three (3) country-specific policy options for each Educational Strategy goal.

### *Regional Policy Options*

#### *Option 1: Work more closely with national governments to ensure skilled-labor jobs*

To ensure that these educational efforts are not lost in LAC, USAID should engage in helping national governments provide jobs for skilled and educated workers. Research has shown that LAC records, “the highest relative growth of skilled migration to OEDC countries”.<sup>80</sup> In Latin America and the Caribbean, the lack of jobs with adequate salaries for the countless professionals and technicians recently graduated from public and private universities is encouraging emigration.<sup>81</sup> This outflow of qualified workers, termed *brain drain*, creates a distinct loss of development sustaining extreme poverty in countries throughout LAC, “not only because of the money invested in the professional and/or university training of the migrant, but also because some areas of the country can end up being unattended”.<sup>82</sup>

Education cannot translate to human and economic development if people do not have a chance to execute gained skills within their communities. Option 1 hypothesizes that if USAID partners with national governments to create jobs for skilled labor throughout LAC, then USAID will be helping create opportunities for high levels of economic growth within LAC, effectively eradicating extreme poverty.

**Option 2: Reinforce use of native language in academic settings**

USAID has rightfully chosen to focus on basic education and reading skills as a development goal in developing countries. “Results show that investment in early education and literacy is foundational to continued progress and achievement.”<sup>83</sup> To further the impact of basic education, USAID can work to reinforce the use of native language in the classroom. Language can be a particular tool of marginalization and oppression for those living in extreme poverty and who cannot afford to learn international languages. For example in Haiti while only 10% of the population speaks French, it remains the main administrative and educational language of the country.<sup>84</sup> Creole is the language spoken by all of Haiti’s citizens and is the primary language for the poorest of the country.<sup>85</sup> As a language capable of expressing “complex and sophisticated concepts”, Creole can be used in political, administrative and all academic settings to provide access and agency to the country’s poorest.<sup>86</sup> In Haiti, assessments of Early Grade reading skills have shown that scores for emerging literacy skills and literacy comprehension are higher for children in Creole than in French<sup>87</sup>. This supports that education in the native language or mother-tongue of students creates greater learning. Option 2 hypothesizes that if USAID works to reinforce the use of native language in academic settings, then USAID will be greater facilitating the impact of basic education by empowering and enabling marginalized and poor populations, effectively eradicating extreme poverty.

## Country-Specific Policy Options

### Option 3: Middle School Completion in Guatemala

USAID can support the eradication of extreme poverty in Guatemala by implementing programs focused on primary school completion and continued secondary education. Education researchers have noted that, “middle school completion is closely connected to the alleviation of poverty and to increasing levels of equity in social and economic development”.<sup>88</sup> In Guatemala particularly, a correlation can be made between the schooling completion of children and increasing migration trends of families.<sup>89</sup> About half of Guatemala’s population is younger than 19 and 51% of this population live below the poverty line.<sup>90</sup> Addressing the issue of completing education at every level is critical for Guatemala’s youth, starting at the primary level of middle school. Many families tend to have perceived an accumulated lack of opportunity by the time their children have reached the age of middle school.<sup>91</sup> Option 3 hypothesizes that if USAID implements programs to ensure middle school completion, then USAID will be facilitating the successive completion of education encouraging human development and economic growth in Guatemala, which effectively eradicates extreme poverty.

### Option 4: Civic Education and Empowerment in Colombia

USAID can support the eradication of extreme poverty in Colombia by engaging and implementing civic education and empowerment programs throughout the country. In Colombia there is a need for alternative education programs that target the most vulnerable populations. Previous assessments of USAID/Colombia education activities have recommended use of “classes for youth and adults outside the formal educational system” and converting, “education processes into a fundamental axis of psycho-social stabilization placing an emphasis on... the integration of communities and adult education”.<sup>92</sup> Many education and development specialists have noted that, “Without political stability, the present economic system and its increasing interdependence between all regions of the world would be jeopardized”.<sup>93</sup> Providing voter and civic education plays a crucial role of enabling democratic governance & economic growth. Schools can provide a safe environment for young people to learn about their basic rights and engage in activities that promote stability. Option 4 hypothesizes that if USAID

creates safe spaces in education for civic engagement, then USAID will be contributing to the political and democratic stability of Colombia, effectively working to eradicate extreme poverty by 2030.

#### *Option 5: Mathematics and Science-Intensive Girl's Program in Haiti*

Mathematics and science-related higher education is a priority for Haiti's national government, in their move towards a future of development by 2030.<sup>94</sup> USAID can facilitate the eradication of extreme poverty and gender equity in Haiti by supporting Haiti's government program to provide scholarships for, "scientific, technical, and professional" majors or studies.<sup>95</sup> Such studies are often hard for marginalized populations to obtain, especially women, due to lack of income, resource, and opportunity. As a program that the government of Haiti has already committed to by reserving a part of its annual budget<sup>96</sup>, helping provide scholarship or support for specialized studies to women, is a development strategy that USAID can have a more effective impact upon. Option 5 hypothesizes that if USAID helps increase the number of women in specialized higher education programs, USAID will be contributing to the human and economic development of Haiti, effectively working to eradicate extreme poverty by 2030. As chapters 11 – 13 will further discuss, "gender inequity in education, health and labor outcomes can undermine economic development and certainly undermines human development".<sup>97</sup>

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the regional and case study research and analysis of current activities, programs, and projects, it is suggested that USAID takes the following steps to implement the undermentioned educational projects in LAC. These recommendations stress the importance of partnership and on-the-ground analyses and research to specialize programs for the diverse and unique communities and populations mentioned.

### *Middle School Completion in Guatemala*

- Step to take: USAID can partner with **Juarez & Associates** to further research
  - Connection between middle school completion and further community and educational success

- Ways to support middle-school aged children and families in rural areas of Guatemala and inner city slums
- What factor most directly prohibits sixth grade completion
- Role that Guatemala’s Ministry of Education can play in furthering middle school completion

*Civic Education and Empowerment in Colombia*

- Step to take: USAID can partner with **Management Systems International (MSI)**, **IMO**, or **PAND** to further research:
  - Connection between civic education and empowerment programs and further community and educational success
  - How most effectively can USAID engage civic education and empowerment programs—at the secondary or tertiary level?

*Math and Science- Intensive Girls Programs in Haiti*

- Step to take: USAID can partner with the **Research Triangle Institute** to further research
  - Connection between math and science-intensive programs for girls and future community and educational success
  - How most effectively can USAID support math and science-intensive programs for girls—at the primary, secondary, or tertiary level?
  - Role that Haiti’s MENFP can play in helping administer math-intensive and science-intensive programs at the primary level in education

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## **RESOURCES:**

- <sup>1</sup> USAID Publication, "The End of Extreme Poverty," January 17, 2014, <https://usaidpubs.exposure.so/the-end-of-extreme-poverty>.
- <sup>2</sup> World Bank, "Shifting Gears to Accelerate Shared Prosperity in Latin America and the Caribbean," June 2013
- <sup>3</sup> The Economist, "The 'Yes, but' Syndrome," *The Economist*, January 2, 2014, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/americasview/2014/01/poverty-latin-america>.
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# GENDER EQUALITY

**CHAPTERS:**

- 11 – Sub-Saharan Africa
- 12 – South & South-East Asia
- 13 – Latin America & the Caribbean



# Chapter 11 Gender Equality in sub-Saharan Africa

By Stephanie Healow

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## ISSUE

Women and children remain the populations most vulnerable to extreme poverty, constituting 70% of the global poor.<sup>1</sup> In rural regions of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), women live within patriarchal constraints that obstruct their rights and efforts to improve the stability of personal livelihood, as well as their communities. Due to women's bottom position in patriarchal hierarchies, women endure additional burdens of extreme poverty. SSA countries with high gender inequality experience unequal distribution of human development.<sup>2</sup> Gender-based violence (GBV) and other forms of patriarchy inhibit the capacity of women to increase their own self-reliance, and gain control of social and economic opportunity in all sectors of development. Gender equality is critical to the development and security of a household, community and nation. Increased gender equality improves economic and social progression from extreme poverty. First, increasing women's access to and control over resources can generate economic productivity gains for themselves and for future generations by: (1) improving women's and girls' status improves other social development outcomes (health, nutrition, education etc.), and (2) equalizing rights lead to more peaceful, secure communities and states. Women's rights are not recognized fully in the employment sector, decision-making legal frameworks, and traditional practices that institute GBV. Although USAID programs have made significant progress in gender awareness and integration of women in development, parity has yet to be complete in the region. This chapter will evaluate how gender equality is promoted in current USAID SSA programs that seek to eradicate extreme poverty sustainably.

## BACKGROUND

USAID collaborates with forty-three SSA countries.<sup>3</sup> As a continent with exponential growth potential, sub Saharan Africa held seven on the ten world's fastest growing economies in 2011.<sup>4</sup> Since 1989, twenty new democracies have been founded in the region. Despite this, SSA still faces great

development challenges; nearly half of all child deaths occur in this region and in the past four decades crop yield has remained stagnant.<sup>5</sup> USAID maintains that women’s empowerment and gender integration into all facets of SSA development programs will help demolish barriers stifling of the region’s complete potential.

In 2009, USAID revised its Automated Directed System to establish a more comprehensive approach towards gender integration. Gender analysis is one of the mandatory analysis requirements integrated into all steps of project implementation (strategic planning, project design and approval, measurement and evaluation) to achieve three outcomes (see Figure 11.1).<sup>6</sup> Gender gap reduction and awareness has grown exponentially in the past three decades, significantly due to USAID’s integration of women in development.

**Figure 11.1 USAID investments aim to achieve three outcomes for all people:**

1. Reduce gender disparities in access to, control over and benefit from resources, wealth, opportunities, and services—economic, social, political and cultural.
2. Reduce gender-based violence and mitigate its harmful effects on individuals and communities, so that all people can live healthy and productive lives.
3. Increase capability of women and girls to realize and determine their life outcomes, and influence decision-making in households and communities.

**Source:** *Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Agency for International Development, 2012, 4.

This section examines the various dimensions of gender inequality, including gender-based violence (GBV), girl's education, health, employment and services, and peace participation and governance. Due to spatial constraints, this chapter will focus Kenya and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) as two case study countries of analysis; other states will be included in programs and data. USAID focuses on Kenya for primary gender empowerment programs in order to strengthen the capacity of civil society organizations and support select institutions of governance facilitating long-term economic growth. USAID describes Kenya as “the gateway to East Africa,” having the “largest, most diversified economy in the region”.<sup>7</sup> Although Kenya does not hold the highest proportion of extreme poverty in the region, it serves as a key example of development in a more secure and stable SSA country. Despite economic potential, Kenya still has vast gender inequality. USAID recognizes by addressing gender inequality, sustainable growth will subsist in this nation. Kenya will receive over US \$81 million in support of engendered development assistance according to the FY 2014 Budget Request<sup>8</sup>. On the other hand, the DRC represents the set of development challenges present in a less secure and stable sub-Saharan country. The DRC faces challenges of violent armed groups' presences, rampant corruption, weak infrastructure and limited human resources, endangering women's safety exponentially. An independent but insecure state, the DRC is budgeted to receive \$11.5 million for GBV prevention and \$27 million for other gender integrated health and economic programs in the FY 2014 Budget.<sup>9</sup> Kenya and the DRC are strong representations of empowering women in civil societies and preventing gender-based violence in a range of secure to insecure states.

The United Nations (UN) measures the gender gap with the Gender Inequality Index (GII), evaluating three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labor market.<sup>10</sup> The Human Development Index (HDI) measures progress of a country through access to education, health and income dimensions.<sup>11</sup> The higher the GII value, the greater the discrimination, the lower the HDI value, the lower progress in human development. Figure 11.2 below displays the correlation of SSA countries low HDI value with GII values and USAID's proposed gender equality support in 2014.

The GII measures five inequality indicators: maternal mortality ratio, adolescent fertility rate, seats in national parliament, population with at least secondary education, and labor-force participation rate. These indicators do exhibit gender gaps but dismiss the role of men and masculinity that challenge gender equality and women’s empowerment.

**Table 11.1 Human Development Index 2012, Gender Inequality Index 2012 & USAID FY 2014 Proposed Gender Support**

Country	HDI Rank	HDI Value	GI Rank	GI Value	USAID Gender Support (in USD)
Germany <sup>2</sup>	5	0.920	6	0.075	N/A
Kenya	145	0.519	130	0.608	\$86,626,000
Senegal	154	0.470	115	0.540	\$24,150,000
DRC	186	0.304	144	0.681	\$38,500,000
Uganda	161	0.456	110	0.517	\$41,292,000
Tanzania	152	0.476	119	0.556	\$79,622,000
Zimbabwe	172	0.397	116	0.544	\$22,110,000

**Source:** *UNDP Human Development Report 2013*<sup>12</sup> and *USAID FY 2014 Budget*<sup>13</sup>

### Gender-Based Violence

GBV in SSA communities normalizes through traditional practices and belief systems enforced by patriarchal societies. GBV appears in many forms such as child marriage, female genital mutilation (FGM), domestic violence, rape, and dangerous gender norms. Endangering women to consistent threat or violence, GBV disempowers women both socially and economically, perpetuating cycles of extreme poverty. The different forms of GBV adversely affect mental and physical health of the survivors, and on a larger scale, the empowerment of the female population. In 2008, 28.9 percent of Kenyan female GBV survivors faced injuries and/or death, 26.3% financial problems, 21.1% separation/divorce, sexual abuse 15.8%, and emotional depression 7.9%.<sup>14</sup> Additionally, children growing up in violent households suffer lifelong emotional disturbances and may reinforce violent gender norms. Households of GBV not only hinder the women’s current empowerment but also future generations empowerment and opportunity.

<sup>2</sup> Germany serves as a country indicator of development and moderate equality.

A 2011 World Bank report affirms that women between the ages of 15 and 44 in Kenya are at a greater risk of experiencing rape or violence than having cancer, and malaria, and dying in a war or car accidents.<sup>15</sup> Domestic violence is more prevalent at home than by strangers. A study by Gender Violence Recovery Centre revealed in 2009 that most GBV (64%) in Kenya occurs mainly within the survivor's homes as opposed to 20 percent reportedly occurring in dark and hidden areas.<sup>16</sup> Reportedly, 14 percent of Kenyan women have been forced to have sex with their husbands when they did not want to.<sup>17</sup> The Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS 2008-2009) reveals that close to half (45%) of survivors never seek help or tell anyone.<sup>18</sup> In the Eastern region of the DRC, specifically North and South Kivu provinces and Ituri district, of 1005 household surveyed, 39.7% reported sexual violence against women and 67% of households reported conflict-related human rights abuses.<sup>19</sup> The astonishingly high rates of domestic violence appear to go against the prevalent belief that homes are safe spaces for women and girls. While GBV is prevalent in both urban and rural areas, women in rural areas are much more vulnerable to sexual violence because they are less informed about their rights and remain isolated from security services.<sup>20</sup> Lacking resources and support, women remain threatened and hindered from economic and social stability.

Traditional norms of patriarchal societies normalize violent practices against SSA women regardless of recent protective laws. The FGM ritual in SSA presents severe consequences to girl's health and future economic and social empowerment. In some societies in sub-Saharan Africa, such as among the rural Maasai in Kenya, girls undergo FGM usually before puberty as an initiation ritual to womanhood. The initiation and healing usually takes a couple months, causing the girl to miss school.<sup>21</sup> According to UNICEF, one-third of women and girls in Kenya between the age of 15 and 49 had undergone FGM.<sup>22</sup> In September 2011, the Kenyan government passed a law making it illegal to practice FGM, procure the services of someone who practices FGM, or send a person out of the country to undergo the procedure. In rural areas of Kenya, FGM remains a community practice viewed to make girls

clean and pure. A study in Kajiado County, Kenya reported that 68% of respondents wish to continue the FGM ritual, a majority of the respondents being older married men.<sup>23</sup>

The indifference to protective women's law extends into child marriage (CM) laws. In Kenya, the minimum legal age for marriage is 18 for both sexes; however, twenty-five percent of Kenyan adolescent girls are married before 18, five percent before early adolescence (before age 15).<sup>24</sup> In areas such as the Amhara Region of Ethiopia, the prevalence of CM is among the highest in the world; in 2009, an estimated 50% of girls were married before the age of 18.<sup>25</sup> The younger the girl is to marry, usually the older her spouse will be.<sup>26</sup> The age difference holds implications to women's empowerment in the relationship both as an adolescent girl but also into adulthood. After a girl marries, she is more likely to drop out of school to fulfill her assigned role as a wife, limiting future labor-market access.<sup>27</sup> Lacking education and agency in marriage, women of CM remain disempowered and without resource to economic liberty. The lack of freedoms perpetuates cycles of extreme poverty in households and communities that allow CM.

#### USAID on Gender-Based Violence:

USAID implements programs to increase community action to prevent GBV, increasing capacity of local organizations to deliver social services and sustain positive behaviors. In DRC, USAID assists GBV reactionary programs such as USHINDI, which provides immediate medical, psychosocial, legal and economic recovery services for GBV survivors.<sup>28</sup> In evaluation of social programming for GBV protection, increasing men as champions for women's empowerment is necessary.<sup>29</sup>

USAID-funded Peace Initiative Kenya (PIK) provides a 24-hour GBV hotline, emergency GBV response training for hospital staff, and mass awareness campaigns in 19 counties. PIK additionally promotes community leadership by women. Integrating women into community leadership positions facilitates state policies that regulate GBV and women's rights. The duration of this program is June 2012 to September 2015 with a budget of \$3.2 million.<sup>30</sup>

In Amhara, Ethiopia, as well as regions of Tanzania and Burkina Faso where CM is prevalent, USAID supports strategic study on CM. Analyzing the effectiveness and cost of community education, economic incentives, and educational support in order to delay marriage among adolescent girls, compared to control communities not receiving interventions.<sup>31</sup> The evaluation may be effective in shifting CM practices by locating strategic mechanisms of change within specific regions.

### *Gender Equality and Education*

Increasing women's education raises lifetime incomes for themselves, their families and countries.<sup>32</sup> Additionally, studies confirm that increasing female education improves infant survival and child health more than household wealth.<sup>33</sup> According to the World Bank, each additional year of female education reduces child mortality by 18 per thousand births.<sup>34</sup> Education improves personal and community health but also job opportunity for women, alleviating the strain of extreme poverty. The access for girls into primary education has improved in some SSA regions, in Kenya, 82% of female population in 2009 and the DRC, 94% in 2012<sup>35</sup> while South Sudan remains 37.1% of girls in 2011.<sup>36</sup> Girls' ability to access primary school may be increasing but their ability to reach secondary school remains low. Traditional practices such as FGM and CM along with negative stereotypes and school-related GBV hinders adolescent girls' educations and future participation in society. Only 25 percent of women in Kenya over the age of 25 obtained at least a secondary education, whereas the participation of men is 52 percent.<sup>37</sup> In South Sudan<sup>3</sup>, 12.8% of women enlisted secondary schooling and 18.2% of men.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, in the DRC only 10.5% of 25 and older women received secondary education, while the proportion of men is 36.2%.<sup>39</sup> Women's secondary education is vital to bridging gender gaps and economic develop. In particular, girls with secondary education have an 18% return in future wages, as compared to 14% for boys.<sup>40</sup>

Negative masculine stereotypes mark menstruation as a barrier to adolescent girls' secondary education.<sup>41</sup> Due to inaccessibility to sanitary protection and the negative social taboos attached to it,

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<sup>3</sup> Data includes Sudan, see p.140 UNDP HDR 2013

UNESCO estimates that one in ten African adolescent girls miss school during menses and eventually dropout due to menstruation-related issues.<sup>42</sup> In many African communities menstrual blood is considered dirty and harmful, restricting girls who are menstruating from participation in activities such as school for fear that they ‘contaminate’ others.<sup>43</sup> Data reveals that the proportion of illiterate women is double that of men in Kenya; 14 percent of women age 15-49 cannot read at all, compared with 7 percent of men in the same age group.<sup>44</sup> Literacy levels among women decrease with increasing age, from 92 percent for women age 15-19 to 62 percent for those in the 45-49 age group.<sup>45</sup> Improving gender equality of education and literacy rates increase opportunity for women in leadership positions and higher income opportunities.

**USAID on Gender and Education:**

The USAID strategy for education is to make investments that benefit both girls and boys, attempting to remove barriers to girls’ access to education. The USAID Gender Equity through Education (GEE) Program, implemented in South Sudan in 2007, strategized to increase the number of girls and women attending secondary school and Teacher Training Institutes (TTIs), by reducing financial and infrastructure, social and institutional barriers. In the project’s 2010 mid-evaluation, it reported difficult to sustain this program with such weak infrastructure. Also, while focus on girls and their access to education should be a major focus of gender equity, addressing social practices involving boyhood, masculinity and wealth are of equal importance.<sup>46</sup>

USAID launched five leadership partnerships involving universities in the US, Rwanda and South Sudan to promote gender equality and women’s leadership. These programs will promote and develop curricula and opportunities for women in business, agriculture, and education in order to increase women’s access to higher education and advanced degrees. The curriculums will be gender-sensitive, and promote women’s leadership through higher education extension and outreach to underserved communities. Various programs will promote women's leadership in agriculture, lead to increased opportunities for export, and train agribusiness professionals with strong analytical and business

development skills. This program provides valuable technical skill training to women, but access to secondary education remains an obstacle to the provided university education.<sup>47</sup>

### Gender Equality and Health

Experiencing mental and physical abuse from GBV invokes other risks of inequality for women. Improved health for women, whether maternal or disease related, increases access to education and labor markets, empower women and future generations to end extreme poverty. The prevalence of HIV/AIDS among the female population is unevenly higher to the prevalence among men. The table (Figure 11.3) below reports engendered rates of HIV/AIDS infections in five SSA countries and includes female contraceptive use.

**Table 11.2 Prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Gender Populations with Female Contraceptive Use**

Country	Female % ages 15-24 (2012)	Male % ages 15-24 (2012)	Ratio (female: male)	Contraceptive use % female 15-49 (2009-2011)
Ethiopia	0.5%	0.3%	60%	29%
D.R. Congo	0.8%	0.4%	50%	17%
Kenya	3.6%	1.8%	50%	46%
Zimbabwe	6.3%	3.9%	62%	59%
Tanzania	3.6%	1.8%	50%	34%

**Source:** World Bank World Development Indicators, 2012.<sup>48</sup>

Unequal rates of HIV prevalence among women foster from gender norms such as masculinity that encourages men to have multiple sexual partners. Forced sex can also contribute to HIV transmission due to tears and lacerations resulting from the use of force. Women lack the power to ask their partners to use condoms or refuse unprotected sex become at extreme risk of HIV. When partners die, many women may lose their homes, inheritance, possessions, and even children. Facing loss of their livelihoods may

adopt strategies of survival such as prostitution that increase their chances of contracting and spreading HIV.<sup>49</sup> Chapter 1 covers the issue of HIV/AIDS more extensively.

Reproductive health access and nutrition remains limited in certain regions, endangering women's health. Food security and gender equality are intrinsically connected, enhancing productivity and skills, fosters sustainable livelihoods. Decision-making in reproductive health and family planning issues remain in the male domain. When women attend provided clinics, they do not have control over their own sex lives, increasing health risks for women and children.<sup>50</sup> Chapter 4 presents more about maternal health risks and respective USAID goals in eradication of extreme poverty.

#### *USAID on Gender Quality and Health:*

Channeling Men's Positive Involvement in a National HIV/AIDS Response (CHAMPION) is a five-year initiative (2008-2013) USAID funds in Tanzania, led by EngenderHealth. By promoting a national dialogue about gender roles and masculinity, the program hopes to reduce the vulnerability of women, children and men to HIV/AIDS. This model encourages gender equality and engages men in reproductive health promotion and GBV prevention.<sup>51</sup>

USAID responds with the US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). PEPFAR collaborates with twenty SSA countries in providing immediate treatment, prevention and care services for HIV. This includes a GBV response in Mozambique, United Republic of Tanzania, and the DRC. USAID invested in programs through PEPFAR to reach more than 220,000 married adolescent girls in Amhara, Ethiopia with access to family planning, STI services, HIV services, financial literacy, and menstruation management.<sup>52</sup>

#### *Employment Opportunity and Time Use*

Sub-Saharan African women contribute to three types of labor, reproductive (childbearing), productive (manual/agricultural), and community managing (water/health access).<sup>53</sup> Up to 15 percent of SSA countries limit women's choice of the matrimonial home and up to 30 percent restrict married women's exercise of trades and professions.<sup>54</sup> The three types of labors produced by women receive little

to no monetary pay. If women's services received monetary rewards, the community or national GDP would greatly increase, reducing extreme poverty. According to the World Bank, in 2012 Kenyan women constituted 80 percent of the Kenyan agricultural labor force, but this too receives uncertain and low wages.<sup>55</sup> Land rights and patriarchal inheritances exclude women from ownership and entrance into the formal sector of employment. In Kenya, the ratio of estimated male to female earned income in 2007 was 0.65.<sup>56</sup> Women's workdays are up to 50 percent longer than men's productive activities, producing time-poverty for females.<sup>57</sup> Unequal wages situates women working within the informal sector as economically insecure and therefore more reliant on her family or husband. Women's reliance on husbands leads to a risky poverty trap if not addressed correctly.

In addition, leadership positions also remain both formally and informally in the men's domain. A 2007 survey conducted in Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe reveals that even though women constitute over 50% of higher education workforce, only 8% were vice chancellors and 12 percent were registrars. Additionally, in the engineering field, only 22 % of women are managers.<sup>58</sup> Women only make up 11%, or 8,030 of 730,000 members in the police service in Kenya.<sup>59</sup> Predominately male police forces perpetuate GBV, as the force frequently criminalizes feminized poverty and creates structural barriers to women's access to criminal justice.<sup>60</sup> Limited in positions of the formal paid sector, let alone leadership positions, women remain excluded from decision-making roles and economically vulnerable to extreme poverty.

#### *USAID on Employment Opportunity and Time Use:*

In 2012, Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) tracked progress and better understanding of gender gaps in the agricultural sector. Measuring roles in five domains (i) decisions about agricultural production (ii) access to and decision-making power over productive resources (iii) control over use of income, (iv) leadership in community, and (v) time use.<sup>61</sup> It also measures women's empowerment relative to men within households. This measurement and comparative index will uncover

where gender gaps exist and seek to improve existing barriers.<sup>62</sup> One of the 19 countries evaluated includes Uganda.

In 2014, USAID will promote gender and women's programs in South Africa, preparing 75 train-the-trainer investigators. Additionally, the program will provide Domestic Violence Compliance Training and First Responder to Sexual Offense courses, and assist the South African Police Services (SAPS) Monitoring and Compliance Committee for Domestic Violence.<sup>63</sup> The training program will challenge gender roles and provide women representation and leadership in criminal justice systems.

Micro-Finance and Village Saving Loan Associations (VSLA) are catalysts for women's economic empowerment. Providing loans or savings programs, women divide specified amounts to become independent entrepreneurs of their own business. CARE Enterprises within their Access Africa program has launched VSLAs in 26 countries, empowering 30 million women, families and communities<sup>64</sup>. Micro-Finance and VSLA programs do address the daily needs of women in the informal economy, allowing her to provide for family. Increasing women's ability in economic and decision-making power can be seen as a threat to masculinity, leading to an increase in violence by men.<sup>65</sup>

### *Peace Participation, Governance and Legal Rights*

Gender gaps within the labor market extend into unequal representation in governmental positions as well peace negotiations for women. The Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) affirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstructions.<sup>66</sup> Gender equality in peace processes will alleviate fragile or conflict ridden states, building security and economic opportunity for extreme poverty. SSA countries are making great strides in women representation, for example, seventeen countries have regulation quotas for women's political participation. Unfortunately, women's participation in peace negotiations and decision-making abilities remain unfulfilled. For example, in Uganda's 2008 Juba Peace Agreement, there remained no women signatories or lead moderators, 20% witnesses were women and 9% negotiating teams were women.<sup>67</sup> Often relief agencies in time of conflict see women as main

beneficiaries of welfare assistance (food, water, health care). This increases the unpaid labor of women as community managers and increases their time-poverty, decreasing their time allocation for paid labor or leadership in peace processes.<sup>68</sup>

Increasing women’s representation in governmental roles will increase policy awareness of feminized-poverty. Kenya, as well as other SSA countries, have recently implemented policies to enforce a one-third (or other specified ratio) gender rule for the 2013 elections, to ensure a more ‘equal’ representation. In Figure 11.4 below, the proportion of SSA female seat-holders has risen but remains below instructed amounts. Additionally, upper house seats for women remain extremely limited.

**Table 11.3 Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (%)**

Country	2009	2013	2013
	Lower/Single House	Lower/Single House	Upper House
Ethiopia	22%	28%	22%
DRC	8%	9%	6%
Kenya	10%	19%	18%
Nigeria	7%	6.7%	6.4%

**Source:** World Bank, World Development Indicators and Inter-Parliamentary Union.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to quantitative inequalities in governmental representation, the amount of leadership power held in civil service roles for women remains uneven. In 2005, all eight Kenyan Provincial Commissioners were male. Kenyan women senators can only vote for motions in the senate through a letter of delegation (signed off through an elected senator from their country).<sup>70</sup> Occupying a seat in parliament is already a great achievement, but the proportion of Upper House seats held by women remains discrete (see Figure 11.4 above). Women’s decision-making capacities and effectiveness in political positions also remain restricted.

In some countries, laws and policies counter GBV but remain unacknowledged by society. For example, Kenya's constitution outlaws all forms of discrimination and enacted *The Sexual Offences Act* in 2006 in order to strengthen existing sexual violence laws. Before its passage though, parliamentarians removed a clause criminalizing marital rape.<sup>71</sup> In the following year, 28% percent of married Kenyan women experienced physical or sexual violence from their husband within the year.<sup>72</sup> Ethiopia's Criminal Code of 2005 provides a set of articles instrumental to sanction violence against women such as FGM, early marriage, abduction and domestic violence inflicting varying punishments such as imprisonment for up to 10 to 15 years.<sup>73</sup> In Ethiopia, societies disregards the Criminal Code due to belief systems passed generationally both to men and women. The 2005 Demographic and Health Survey found that 14 million, or 81 percent of, Ethiopian women believed a husband had a right to beat his wife for disagreeing with him, burning food or refusing to have sex with him.<sup>74</sup> Gaps remain in protective laws undermining the efficiency of these laws. For example, in DRC, although the law considers assault a crime, it does not specifically address spousal abuse, and police rarely intervene in domestic disputes.<sup>75</sup> Women's lack of legal agency undermines their personal agency in the household and community, reinforcing feminized poverty.

#### *USAID on Peace Participation, Governance and Legal Rights:*

Peace Initiative Kenya (PIK), in addition to immediate GBV assistance, develops Peace Training Campaigns, which target community youth and women leaders at a village level. By engaging with Kenyan women's groups and networks, PIK helps women promote peace and support elected women senators to articulate issues and influence decisions in parliament. The 2013 election filled fewer women in the parliament than the number of the last parliament. The March poll anticipated there would be more women but according to Kenyan Woman, a local journal, due to malpractice and harsh political environment the two-thirds threshold remains incomplete, despite huge numbers of women seeking elective position.<sup>76</sup> Women candidates faced major concern of intimidation, ridicule and propaganda by the media, communities, families, political party members, and candidates during the nomination stage<sup>77</sup>.

Jebiwot Sumbeiywo, Chief of Peace Initiative Kenya Party, told *Kenyan Woman*, “This intimidation forced many potential women candidates to give up contesting the seats that were easily won by male candidates.”<sup>78</sup> Even with promotions of power and leadership, the lack of male support and threat of GBV undermine the women.

In preparation for Nigeria’s 2015 general election, \$8.0 million is requested in the FY 2014 Budget to support structural and institutional reforms for election administration. This includes the expansion of opportunities for women, youth and people with disabilities (PWDs) to participate in political processes.<sup>79</sup> Women’s involvement in campaign processes will increase representation and leadership potential but similar to PIK, is vulnerable to disempowerment by men.

### Evaluations of Gender Development

The three main USAID objectives reported earlier in this chapter (p. 2) deliberately remain general so that programs may implement specialized indicators fitting to their project and region. Tracking progress allows measurement of program’s impacts and constructive revision. In 2011, the state USAID Performance Plan and Report system revised to include seven outcome/output indicators of gender equality and women’s empowerment, indicators described in Figure 11.2.

The seven indicators in Figure 11.2 do not recognize masculinity and male roles that reinforce gender inequality. To quantify gender inequality indicators and discover unintended impacts of programming, USAID gender analysis disaggregates by gender, income, caste, race, ethnicity, disability and other social characteristics as possible.<sup>80</sup> In 2012, USAID produced a Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy Framework, outlining the current issue, objectives and strategies specified toward women in development.

Successful strategic evaluation of women’s empowerment and gender equality is limited to USAID’s programs. Some partner organizations do not maintain gender disaggregated data for their own activities and participation. According to Collaborative Center for Gender (CCGD) representatives in Kenya, although they were gender sensitive, in partnership with USAID they did not receive any

### **Figure 11.5 USAID 2011 Women Empowerment Indicators:**

1. Number of laws, policies, or procedures drafted, proposed, or adopted to promote gender equality at the regional, national or local level.
2. Proportion of female participants in U.S. Government (USG) assisted programs designed to increase access to productive economic resources (assets, credit, income, or employment).
3. Proportion of females who report increased self-efficiency at the conclusion of USG supported training/ programming.
4. Proportion of target population reporting increased agreement with the concept that males and females should have equal access to social, economic, and political opportunities.
5. Number of laws, policies or procedures drafted, proposed, or adopted with USG assistance designed to improve prevention of or response to gender-based violence at the regional, national, or local level.
6. Number of people reached by a USG funded intervention providing GBV services(e.g., health, legal, psychosocial counseling, shelters, hotlines, other).
7. Percentage of target population that views gender-based violence as less acceptable after participating in or being exposed to USG programming.

**Source:** USAID, *Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy*, 14.

guidelines on how to implement and report on gender issues.<sup>81</sup> Gender analysis, due to its expansive nature and unforeseen impacts, proves difficult to extract in universal form in all sectors of USAID development programming.

### **US INTERESTS**

Promoting gender equality and women's empowerment in SSA better the lives of women and alleviates extreme poverty. Economic and social progress for women leads to human development in societies and nations. Gender equality is in the US interest as it supports a sustainable eradication of extreme poverty, expansive global trade markets and peaceful international security negotiations fixed through women leadership.

One of the main goals of the current USAID policy framework is to end extreme global poverty. Equal gender relations and women's rights will be a springboard for economic prosperity and sustainable health and education increases. Investing in gender equality maximizes sustainable development results. Due to USAID's shrinking budget, establishing gender equality will prove most efficient in eradicating extreme poverty.

Empowering women is crucial to the expansion of Africa's trade potential with the U.S due to their major involvement in the production of tradable goods. Agriculture provides employment for 65 percent of Africans and comprises 30 to 40 percent of the continent's GDP.<sup>82</sup> Women make up a majority of SSA cash crop farmers. Crop yields in Kenya could rise up to 22 percent if women farmers had the same education and inputs (such as fertilizer, credit, investment) as men farmer.<sup>83</sup> Natural resources and minerals are also plentiful and more accessible with African countries' development. Increased gender equality and women's empowerment will increase organization of the formal and informal sector, providing a more accessible, expansive and, competitive African trade market for the United States.

Empowerment of women as leaders in peace and security negotiations will promote national and international security, benefiting US foreign policy and diplomacy. In general, women play a crucial role in preventing violence and maintain peace in a household and/or community. According to the 2004 Report of the Secretary General on Women, Peace and Security, "Women can call attention to tensions before they erupt in open hostilities by collecting and analyzing early warning information on potential armed conflict."<sup>84</sup> Providing women with leadership opportunities and equal rights in SSA will increase peace and prosperity. In addition, the 2010 Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) identifies women as an integral part of US diplomacy and development—not simply as beneficiaries, but as agents of peace, reconciliation, development, growth and stability.<sup>85</sup> Insecure countries such as those in the Horn of Africa, entrenched in violent extremism, organized crime, and resource-related conflict will be secure through more peaceful negotiations and economic stability provided by women's empowerment, reducing international conflict.

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Extend program durations*

Women's empowerment programs seek to change deep-rooted patriarchal norms, yet most gender-equality program durations are limited to 3-5 year duration. Short program timelines limit efficiency and sustainable change to gender equality. Extending these programs will range through generations and multiple election processes, providing more comprehensive evaluations and data. Due to constrictions of the US foreign assistance budget, extending programs risks excessive costs for unproductive programming; therefore, strategic evaluative data must be present for extensions. Costly programs also may reduce USAID flexibility to immediate disaster response. Due to risks of unproductive programming, inflexibility and confined budgets, extending program duration may not be cost effective.

### *Option 2: Invest in new strategic approaches to evaluate gender inequality and its developmental effects on communities.*

Because women's empowerment is a qualitative growth that integrates and affects all sectors of development differently in various populations, comparable data is difficult to extract. Investing in new empowerment indicators and gender equality measurements for specified regions will produce informative critiques, revisions, and timelines. In-depth strategic evaluations catered to specific regional/cultural qualifications will improve accuracy for proficient and effective programs, present and future. Similar to the WEAI, creating specific indicators to certain communities will provide more knowledge in other development sectors such as health, educations or economic development. Additionally, similar to the CM study in Ethiopia, case study comparatives will provide confined impacts of gender equality programming. Introducing uniform practices of strategic evaluative data to partner organizations proves necessary to collect more comprehensive data.

**Option 3: Strategic involvement of men in gender equality programs.**

One of the most effective ways to empower women is forging a supportive alliance with men. Gender equality is relational; therefore, women cannot be the only ones to resolve it. Promoting the benefits of gender equality for men will reduce anxieties of their own disempowerment from women. Networking local men's organizations in partnership with women's organizations will produce new ideas of masculinity, gender and healthier ways to relate to each other. Self-reflection and spaces to rehearse new behaviors and constructing positive lessons out of experience will overturn patriarchal ideologies and inequalities. Rather than appearing to blame men for the inequalities of patriarchy, include their agency in realigning gender equality and realizing benefits of empowerment of women.

**Option 4: Expand women's job security with more technical and skill training programs.**

Reorganize micro-financing programs and agricultural initiatives to include women in more technological and informational skills. Rather than reinforcing gender-normative labor divisions, train women in men-based labors such as engineering. This can lead economic expansion for women and breaking gender role. Rigorous training programs may flood the market and create competitive labor markets resulting in job loss for men. Loss of employment for men may lead to more GBV similar to VSLA backlashes, staggering gender equality progress.

**Option 5: Continue encouragement and facilitation of women in bureaucratic roles.**

Equalizing representation in leadership and governmental roles will improve gender equality policy. Increased women in court systems and police forces will enforce implemented GBV policies that remain unacknowledged by society. Leadership roles may range from Parliamentary seats to local leadership trainings in USAID programming. Recurring representation of women leadership will challenge passive gender roles and create vision for new women's positions in households, communities and future generations.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **Collect more quantitative statistics and program evaluations of gender inequality**

- Use Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index as a model for developing other extensive evaluative indexes of development sectors such as education, and governance.
- USAID gender monitors/specialists and partner organizations' gender monitors meet periodically to share experiences and develop innovative ways to assimilate gender mindfulness within selected sectors.
- Increase evaluations of men's role in environments of GBV and women's empowerment.
- Consider a series of evaluations on two regionally similar communities over a lengthened period: one control and one manipulated with gender-integrated programs, similar to the CM program in the Amhara region of Ethiopia. Use this to conduct and view variance and impacts in all sectors of development. The emphasis on men in gender equality and women in gender equality promotion can also vary between experiments.

### **Implement and include programs for men in the field of gender equality.**

- Create an extensive Men and Gender Equality report/policy framework, outlining specific policies and approaches to men in different regions of gender equality action.
- Partner local men organizations with local women's organizations. Utilize networking organizations such as Men Engage Africa.
- For men who are perpetrators of GBV, provide gender equality rehabilitation programs after punishment.
- In education, mainstreaming gender in curriculums will be beneficial for girls' empowerment and education but also boys support of women. For example, home economics may involve boys and men to share some of household labor, and sex-education may change traditions of FGM and bring healthy normalcy to menstruation.

### **Continue support of SSA women in bureaucratic positions.**

- Increase representation and leadership roles for women in USAID Democracy and future election programming.
- Train the Trainers for local women in leadership workshops.
- Integrate democracy and government education in school settings.
- Encourage partner SSA governments to implement policy that increases the ratio of women in criminal justice systems and other governmental seats.

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**Resources:**

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- <sup>5</sup> Ibid.
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- <sup>10</sup> Malik, *Human Development Report 2013*, 153.
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# Chapter 12 Gender Equality in Asia

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## ISSUE

Achieving gender equality and women's empowerment is critical for ending extreme poverty. Global indicators show developing countries throughout South Asia, and certain countries in South East Asia, as some of the most unequal for women in terms of economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment.<sup>1</sup> These conditions are the result of long-standing cultural, social, political, and economic norms that limit the opportunities of women, hindering every sector of aid and development efforts. However, thanks to well-planned and implemented policies, these norms are slowly changing. The 2013 Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Report recognizes that gains are being made in regards to gender, but there needs to be even more attention on addressing the inequality between genders if there is to be a world without extreme poverty by the year 2030.<sup>2</sup> This chapter will address the state of women in the most disparate regions of Asia, and evaluate the ways in which USAID can continue to sustainably address their most pressing needs within the three main outcomes of USAID's Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Policy framework: 1) reducing gender disparities, 2) reducing gender-based violence, and 3) increasing the capability of women. Achieving gender equality and women's empowerment by developing policies that will confront the challenges posed to women in these three areas will play an important role in bringing extreme poverty to an end and enabling societies in Asia to realize their development potential.

## BACKGROUND

In this chapter, gender equality refers to the capabilities of women to access resources, opportunities, and security. Female empowerment will refer specifically to the level of agency women have over resources and opportunities to make strategic decisions for the benefit of themselves, their families, and their communities.<sup>3</sup> This distinction is important in that both must be addressed if women

are to fully engage in opportunities to bring themselves, their families, and their communities out of extreme poverty. Still, data on both of these measures is limited due to the general lack of sex disaggregated records. This creates an issue in identifying improvement in gendered outcomes, obscuring of gender trends, and programs that all too often are framed in a gender sensitive way, but due to on the ground issues and power dynamics end up reinforcing oppressive trends.

Because of this data deficiency, the most effective indicators of women's equality and empowerment come from large-scale efforts to measure and rank countries based on a set of standard indicators. The most prominent of such measures are the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Gender Inequality Index (GII) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), and the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index (GGI). These measures show the status of women varies greatly throughout Asia, often coinciding with the persistence of extreme poverty. It is important to note that there are also populations that fall outside of these strict definitions of gender, and often such populations are the most vulnerable to violence and discrimination, but this chapter focuses on the mainstream issues affecting the largest numbers of women and girls in Asia.

USAID separates the countries of Pakistan and Afghanistan from the regional category of Asia. Pakistan and Afghanistan both have low levels of gender equality and women's empowerment on the global indexes, and are important areas of crisis in which there is an opportunity for gender equality and women's empowerment to make great strides. Because of the important role of women in conflict and crisis areas, the low GGI scores of both countries, and their proximity to South Asia, this chapter will also touch on this region, while focusing primarily on the category of South Asia where the largest amounts of extreme poverty and gender disparities are found.<sup>4</sup> The policy recommendations presented in this chapter, though targeted at Asia specifically will then be well suited to optimize USAID's efforts in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

### Extreme Poverty and Gender in Asia

UN data shows that from 1981 to 2005, South Asia's regional share of extreme poverty jumped from 28.91 percent to 43.26 percent.<sup>5</sup> This trend is in direct contrast to the trend seen in East Asia and the Pacific (EAP) where, the portion of those in extreme poverty in EAP fell sharply from 56.50 percent to 22.97 percent within the same time span.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 12.1 - UNDP's GII in Asia**

Country	GII	Rank
Pakistan	.567	123
India	.61	132
Nepal	.485	102
Cambodia	.473	96
Malaysia	.256	42
Bhutan	.464	92
Indonesia	.494	106
Afghanistan	.712	147
Tajikistan	.338	57

**Source:** *The World Bank, and Poverty Reduction and Economic Management (PREM). "The State of the Poor: Where Are the Poor and Where Are They Poorest?"*

Table 12.1.1 shows that India holds a consistently large and slowly growing regional share of the world's extreme poor.<sup>7</sup> An estimated 1,220,000,359 people live in India alone.<sup>8</sup> Although the rate of poverty within India itself has lessened from 60 to 30 percent according to the World Bank, the country is consistently maintaining a significant portion, nearly a third, of the world's absolute poverty.<sup>9</sup> Other South Asian countries, EAP countries excluding China, and countries in the Middle East and North Africa are all keeping relatively stable shares of those in extreme poverty, while the share China has decreased greatly since 1981. Although this data is not sex-disaggregated, a global estimate by the UNDP shows that women account for that 70% of those in extreme poverty.<sup>10</sup>

According to the World Economic Forum's GGI, the countries of Pakistan, India, Nepal, Cambodia, and Malaysia rank in the lowest bracket in terms of gender equality.<sup>11</sup> Tajikistan, Bhutan, and Indonesia rank closely behind with no data currently available with Afghanistan. These rankings take into account economic participation and opportunity, educational attainment, health and survival, and political empowerment, suggesting that the disparities facing women around Asia are deeply rooted and diverse. Figure 12.1 shows a few differences in ranking of these countries by UNDP's Gender Inequality Index

(GII).<sup>12</sup> The GII ranking measures the inequality between genders by focusing on three indicators: reproductive health, empowerment and the labor market.<sup>13</sup> In these factors, Malaysia and Tajikistan do remarkably well compared to their rank in the GGI, while Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan have the highest levels of disparity.<sup>14</sup> Still, across both measures there is the recognition that countries in and surrounding South Asia are among the most unequal in the world.

In relation to the Millennium Development Goal 3, promoting gender equality and empowering women, the UN has come to a similar conclusion<sup>15</sup> of findings as shown in Figure 12.2. In South, South-Eastern, and Western Asia have inequalities occur in women’s share of paid employment and women’s equal representation in national parliaments, with some improvements in the gender parity of girl’s enrolment in primary school across Asia<sup>16</sup>. These indicators only hint at the much deeper story of inequality and limits imposed on women throughout Asia, the ways at which women are overcoming them, and how aid can effectively partner to support the process.

**Figure 12.1 Progress towards MDG 3 in Africa and Asia**

Goals and Targets	Africa		Asia			
	Northern	Sub-Saharan	Eastern	South-Eastern	Southern	Western
<b>GOAL 3   Promote gender equality and empower women</b>						
Equal girls' enrolment in primary school	close to parity	close to parity	close to parity	parity	parity	close to parity
Women's share of paid employment	low share	medium share	high share	medium share	low share	low share
Women's equal representation in national parliaments	low representation	moderate representation	moderate representation	low representation	low representation	low representation

**Source:** United Nations. “Mellennium Development Goals: 2013 Progress Chart”

USAID on Extreme Poverty and Gender in Asia

USAID is already at the frontlines in gender work. The new USAID Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment Policy from March 2012 recognizes the importance of women in “accelerating progress in development and advancing global prosperity and security” because “across every

development priority worldwide – from education to economic inclusion – gender inequality remains a significant challenge”<sup>17</sup>. Under the new policy guidelines, USAID is focusing on three general outcomes: reducing gender disparities, reducing gender-based violence, and increasing the capability of women and girls in realizing their rights and influencing decision-making.<sup>18</sup> With gender equality and female empowerment as the basis for two of the seven guiding principles, USAID promises to invest strategically to utilize new technologies, innovations, and science to address the gender gap while empowering women and girls.<sup>19</sup>

USAID’s main gender programming in this region is with Ambassadors Small Grants Program to Support Gender Equality in Afghanistan (ASGP), which utilizes flexible grants to build the decision-making capacity of women throughout Afghanistan.<sup>20</sup> Much of the other gender focused work of USAID goes through partnerships with other gender-aware organizations such as Chemonics International, and smaller organizations like CARE. Fiscally, USAID divides funds allocated to Gender into three categories: 1) Gender Equality/Women’s Empowerment-Primary (GE/WE-Primary) in which gender goals are the primary goal of the activity, 2) Gender Equality/Women’s Empowerment-Secondary (GE/WE-Secondary) in which gender activities are incorporated into activities with another primary focus, 3) Gender-based Violence (GBV) in which activities are aimed at preventing and responding to GBV and Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) in which activities to advance peace and security work to fully integrate women and girls.<sup>21</sup> From the \$1.9 billion requested for the 2014 Fiscal Year, 52 percent was put into USAID’s two main initiatives – the Global Health Initiative and the Feed the Future Initiative, with the \$308.0 million going to GE/WE-Primary, \$1,421.0 million to GE/WE-Secondary, and \$181.0 million going to GBV.<sup>22</sup> In Asia, the majority of such funds are allocated to Afghanistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Burma.<sup>23</sup>

### *Gender Disparities*

Though some South Asian economies, like India, have experienced significant economic growth, the growth is disproportionately leaving out women, especially the poor and those in rural communities

and states – in particular the mountainous regions of the Himalayas.<sup>24</sup> One such community is that of the Karakoram-Himalaya region that spans the borders of Pakistan, India, and China. Karakoram is one of the poorest mountain regions on the world and “one where women struggle daily to balance the competing demands of subsistence, agricultural, child and family health, and community obligations.”<sup>25</sup>

Early marriage is common in this region, and in one study, there was an average of 5 children born to each woman.<sup>26</sup> Early marriage creates a health risk for girls, limiting their educational and economic opportunities. These limits reinforce the trend of gender disparities. Such disparities are robust and problematize economic development. In the Karakoram region, emergence of markets into the global arena was seen as a huge success, but the globalizing market is actually creating even more severe gendered divisions between the labor of men and women, leading to unequal expectations.<sup>27</sup>

The 2013 MGD report found that only 30 percent of women in South Asia are employed, as opposed to 78 percent of men.<sup>28</sup> This value, of course, does not mean that women in South Asia are not engaged in work, but that much of their work lies obscured in the informal sectors, or in unpaid work in homes. Throughout the world, unpaid care work in households and communities is another issue that is limiting the economic recognition and opportunities of women. The 1995 Human Development Report showed that while women in developing countries contributed over half of the work burden, only one-third of women’s work was paid, compared to three-fourths of men’s work.<sup>29</sup> In an effort to confront this disparity, the UNDP has recognized the need to expand women’s economic opportunity, strengthen women’s legal status and rights, and expand opportunities for women’s voice, inclusion, and participation.<sup>30</sup>

There is a growing desire to educate girls in this region, but progress is stifled by heavily unequal expectations for how girls and boys spend their free time – while boys are allowed to engage in sports and build friendships, girls are expected, as one woman put it, to “make flat bread, sweep, clean, take care of the younger siblings, and wash the clothes of the adults and children.”<sup>31</sup> This distinction in labor roles is

justified through a discourse of gendered familial expectations, such as the need for girls to prepare for the domestic tasks they will take on as wives, which set girls on an early track of unpaid and under-appreciated care work. The women do have informal networks that help reduce the burden and create powerful support systems for them and their families, but with modernization and changing roles in the households, as many as 1/3 of these networks are at risk of breaking down. This is most starkly seen in the recently reviving practice of *Purdah*, a religious practice of physically segregating females that is observed by some Muslim women in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Northern India, as well as some married Hindu women in rural north India.

CARE efforts in India have found that such norms limit the effectiveness of their programs with girls. One key barrier was parental hesitation over the safety and appropriateness of such activities for their girls.<sup>32</sup> But there is evidence that this “community attitude barrier” can be overcome by providing extra support to women and girls through well-planned programs.<sup>33</sup> In many developing countries there is a shift in perceptions of girls, but even successes in changing community standards are slow to be followed by policy that actualize the efforts and secure the girls’ opportunities.

### USAID’s on Gender Disparities

One of USAID’s core aims is to “reduce gender disparities in access to, control over and benefit from resources, wealth, opportunities and services – economic, social, political, and cultural.”<sup>34</sup> Current projects by USAID’s partner organization in the area focus on three areas of gender empowerment: individual change (agency), structural change, relational change.<sup>35</sup> These areas recognize not only the importance of capacity building for the individual, but also working with the larger community to shift attitudes regarding gender roles and accepted norms.<sup>36</sup>

The new GenDev Office is developing strategies to educate all USAID staff on gender in the development and in the workplace.<sup>37</sup> USAID is partnering with GSMA, AusAID, and VISA in a Global Development Alliance to close the gender gap in mobile phone use through the mWomen program.<sup>38</sup> USAID is also working to partner with community groups to prevent child marriages in Bangladesh,

increase the entrepreneurial capacity of women in Pakistan, and partnering to implement country tailored programs throughout Asia.<sup>39</sup>

### Gender-Based Violence

In the state of Kerala, which has the highest GDI rating of India, there are abnormally high rates of female suicide, and increasing levels of domestic violence against women.<sup>40</sup> Explanations for this suggest that higher education levels among women are enabling females to dream bigger and think critically about gender roles. But, these ideas and opportunities are often in contrast with gendered expectations and socio-cultural norms both in the public and private spheres. This creates the paradox of greater female empowerment accompanied by higher degrees of violence towards women, suggesting that educational empowerment alone is not proving sufficient for holistic and sustainable empowerment of women unless larger structures and norms are also changed.<sup>41</sup>

Cambodia is facing similar issue of structural oppression and gender-based violence. In Cambodia, human trafficking is a rising concern. Human trafficking refers to the entire system of modern day slavery that affects children, men and women, as well as sex-trafficking specifically which proportionately affects vulnerable populations of women and girls. While Cambodia's government has been on Tier 2 off the US Department of State's Trafficking in Persons (TIP) report, it was recently moved on to the Tier 2 watch list, meaning that the government is not fully complying with the Trafficking Victims Protection Act's (TVPA) guidelines, but making efforts to come into compliance. Unfortunately the government is failing to make continued efforts to prosecute traffickers and those engaging in child sex tourism.<sup>42</sup> Cambodia is recognized as a source, transit, and destination country for forced labor as well as sex trafficking.<sup>43</sup> Many such persons who are trafficked come from backgrounds of extreme poverty, and are forced into extreme poverty either in the country, or in surrounding countries they are brought into.<sup>44</sup> Beyond trafficking, women and girls also face cultural pressure to provide domestic and care work which limits their educational and leadership opportunities in ways that boys and men are not limited. In both degrees of gender-based violence, there is the problem of data obscured

because it lacks gender segregation, and a lack of reporting of crimes facing women.<sup>45</sup> There is also a persistent information gap that limits the access victims have to help and the tools policy makers and law enforcers have to combat GBV.<sup>46</sup> Challenges in gender based violence and gender inequality make it harder for women to engage in economic growth, technological advances, democracy building, and public health.

### USAID on Gender Based Violence

For the 2014 fiscal year, USAID is allocating \$181,292,000 for reducing human trafficking, with \$560,000 going to Cambodia specifically out of the \$938,000 going to the entire region of EAP.<sup>47</sup> A much more substantial \$28,934,000 is allocated for South and Central Asia, with Afghanistan alone claiming \$24,000,000.<sup>48</sup> This makes sense, given the typically high levels of GBV in conflict zones, which is discussed further in Chapter 14 on disaster assistance in crisis and conflict. Still, there is much work still to be done in addressing the persistence of GBV throughout Asia. USAID programs working with the issue of TIP usually work to prevent trafficking, support victims, and train police and criminal justice personnel.<sup>49</sup> USAID also works for country-specific evaluations of trafficking efforts made by government, civil society, and international organizations to combat trafficking.<sup>50</sup> Though, not necessarily a form of GBV, child marriage is often a mechanism by which girls are made more vulnerable to all forms of GBV. In addressing this, USAID is working to foster activities that prevent child marriage, and address the planning and reproductive health needs of young married girls and couples. An example of such efforts is the partnership between Impact on Marriage: Program Assessment of Conditional Cash Transfers (IMPACCT) and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), which are reviewing the success of the Indian government's Aphi Beti Apna Dhan program.<sup>51</sup> The program under review incentivized families to delay the marriage of their daughters, by offering them a bond to cash that would only mature if their daughter turns 18 and is still unmarried<sup>52</sup>. The project is still under review, but regardless of the result, such partnerships in evaluation help ensure the effectiveness of measures like this with high-impact on the lives of women and girls.<sup>53</sup>

Recognizing the importance of gender equality and female empowerment, the sector of Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance is also partnering with the sector of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment to respond to the 2012 Executive Order on Preventing and Responding to Violence Against Women and Girls Globally. This order recognizes that "gender based-based violence undermines not only the rights of the millions of individuals who experience it, but also the public health, economic stability, and security of nations."<sup>54</sup>

### *Decision-making Capabilities of Women*

Across South Asia, women and girls are also excluded from many public and private decision-making processes. Some work to promote gender equality has been done in the region, but many organizations are simply giving communities aid while ignoring the larger structural issues within societies, between men and women and within the economic structure that lead to the oppressive inequalities.<sup>55</sup> These inequalities thrust an uneven amount of domestic responsibility for care onto women who deal with societal reproduction as well as manage sanitation. While the men and boys may spend some time nurturing infants, the gendered roles in the family cause women to care for children who become sick, often disrupting their routines and causing a deeper experience of poverty and this face of poverty induced by domestic responsibility is often ignored by policy-makers.

To confront some of the issues facing the Oshikhandass community in the Karakorum region of Pakistan, a Water and Sanitation Committee was established. The representatives from the community were all males, although duties of sanitation and water obtainment are predominantly the roles of women. Though the committee did some good, the effects were ultimately not sustained. If the women would have been involved, however, the work would have likely been much more successful.<sup>56</sup> In this sense, a WID project to improve the conditions women were stuck in, actually served to exclude women and unintentionally deny them a voice in shaping the community.<sup>57</sup> The project's evaluation explained that aid projects, "need to be more mindful of women's dual productive and reproductive roles and responsibilities, to recognize that alterations in women's agricultural work may influence their child-care options and their strategies for mediating risk". Poverty reduction in "mountainous areas in developing-

country contexts must include a careful examination of how changes in livelihood systems, household structures, and social networks affect differentiation within gender positions.”<sup>58</sup>

This time-burden of household activities suggests that raising the capabilities of women is not as simple as putting funds and technology into communities, without also working to develop the ways in which women are empowered to use their resources in ways that benefit themselves and their families. As the 2013 World Economic Forum’s Global Gender Gap report found, 28 percent of women were married between the ages of 15-19, and although girls match boys in enrollment in public school, there are still significantly fewer girls in secondary and tertiary education, and the literacy rate for girls is significantly lower.<sup>59</sup> These disparities help create off-balance power dynamics in the home that limit the say girls have in family planning and household decisions. Education in Asia, which plays a major role in this process, is discussed in more detail in Chapter 9 of this Task Force.

Outside of the home, positions of power in policy-making and community decision-making are keys to raising the agency of women in South Asia. The 2013 Global Gender Gap Report for India reported that although India is unique in having had a female head of state, ranking first in the world, it ranks past 100 for the number of women in parliament and the number of women in ministerial positions. For these indicators, India actually has a score of .12 (with 1 meaning full equity).<sup>60</sup>

#### *USAID on Increasing Decision-making Capabilities of Women*

USAID has put 30 million USD into programs supporting women’s leadership. This has helped create the Women’s Empowerment in Agriculture Index and developing women leaders in the field of Agriculture. USAID is also looking to understand the “processes through which social norms and attitudes about gender, reproductive health, and violence are transmitted in Northern Uganda” through the Gender Roles, Equality, and Transformations (GREAT) Project.<sup>61</sup> Much of USAID’s work in this field has come through coordinated efforts with organizations such as CARE which work to build the leadership capability of girls. These programs have seen

some success in empowering women in their homes and communities. Still, there is a common challenge of overcoming cultural and social norms enforced by parents. Often parents – men and women alike – are worried about the safety of their daughters in such programs.<sup>62</sup> The process of gaining their trust in most circumstances takes at least five years for a program to gain enough community trust to engage with a high number of girls. But as Chapter 11 explained, many gender based programs have a lifespan of only 3-5 years. There has been significant success with community based women’s organizations, though, which are empowering women leaders in their own communities, but progress with these is short-run and there has been a lack of measureable indicators in such work.<sup>63</sup>

## US INTERESTS

USAID’s new mission is to “partner to end extreme poverty and to promote resilient, democratic societies while advancing our security and prosperity.”<sup>64</sup> Working towards reducing gender disparities, reducing gender based violence, and increasing the capability of women are keys to achieving USAID’s mission. Advances in gender equality and empowerment can enable: increased participation of women in economic activity leading to lower levels of extreme poverty, higher incomes for women with the resource to get adequate nutrition for themselves and their families, maternal education leading to higher primary enrollment in schools, equal access to property rights allowing women to manage natural resources in more sustainable ways, and empowerment leading to a higher demand for family planning, safe sexual practices, and malaria prevention.<sup>65</sup> An important facet of this is combatting GBV, especially as it relates to TIP.

Without progress in gender equality and empowerment, all these sectors of USAID involvement are hindered and opportunities to benefit from the knowledge and skills of women are lost. Chapters 6 and 9 of this Task Force have already touched on the importance of such development, particularly in the

region of Asia. As women are often the caregivers for children, increased health outcomes and education for mothers can change the odds for the next generation and set societies up for success. These women will be catalysts for change in their own society, empowered in their homes, communities, and countries, which will create a broader base for success in USAID's many initiatives to improve food security, wide spread education, economic growth, and even crisis preparedness.

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Require sex-disaggregated data in all USAID sponsored programs*

Sex disaggregated data will measure progress, enable better evaluation of gender equality and women's empowerment efforts, and allow gender specific work to focus on long-term programs. As Chapter 11 discussed, the Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index can be used as a model for the mainstream dis-aggregation of data. Collection of such data should span across diverse topics ranging from health, education, infrastructure, employment, political representation, and GBV.<sup>66</sup> By collecting such data across the board, USAID can evaluate its efforts more holistically to ensure that gender really is being made a priority even in projects that aren't necessarily GE/WE-primary or GE/WE-secondary. This will allow for gendered programming more on long-term, sustainable solutions, but still have the rigorous evaluation and progress monitoring that is required for programs such as developing and supporting community groups for the most vulnerable communities of women.

### *Option 2: Invest in long term gender programming, setting a minimum time allocation of 5 years for any gender specific initiative*

A majority of gender-based programs are short lived, and therefore don't produce a sustainable outcome, as was discussed in Chapter 11. By making any gender based program at least 5 years long, more sustainable and measurable change will be able to be achieved. One of the most sustainable methods of doing this is investing in building community groups for the most disadvantaged women. This method of empowerment through community activism allows for culturally sensitive empowerment from within,

sustainable in the sense it will continue long after USAID leaves, has been shown to be most effective. The disadvantage of such a long-term focus would be losing flexibility to allocate funds to areas of new crisis, and adaptation of programs to better-suited methods. This could be mitigated by raising the budget for gender programming, but with limited funds, long-term initiatives should be the priority, but flexibility is important to be maintained.

### *Option 3: Focus USAID gender-based efforts in the Himalaya Region of Asia*

In order to more successfully identify the way in which gender expectations are created in Uganda, USAID has implemented the GREAT Project.<sup>67</sup> Although the situation facing women in Asia is distinct from that in Africa, USAID could use the knowledge built from the implementation of the GREAT project after its completion in 2015 to establish a similar project in the Himalaya region, which spans the poorest Indian states, Nepal and the Karakoram region of Pakistan. Though each of these countries have distinct needs, a focused investigation of gender conditions in that context would provide for a greater understanding and cultural sensitivity in the region of Asia most vulnerable to extreme poverty and gender disparity.

With programs primarily targeting gender, it would also be effective to focus in on certain communities, as the Millennium Villages project did, and work to holistically empower a community of women. These women can then be empowered as ambassadors to do similar work in surrounding villages, providing an exit strategy for USAID. This will lower the chances of women being empowered in one aspect, but facing increased discrimination in another, such as the women in Kerela who engaged in higher education, but were confronted by domestic violence at home. USAID can do this work through the office of GenDev in increasing partnership with Agriculture and Food Security, Health, Education, and Economic Development to ensure that women remain more of a priority through gender training in schools, choosing women for micro-loans, and giving women more say in on-site committees. Each of these strategies would supplement the focused efforts on gender equality and women's empowerment. One challenge of implementing this strategy would again be allocating funding for such an endeavor, and

backing out of other crucial programs USAID is already offering. The other challenges lie in determining which villages to focus on, and coordinating all efforts in those areas. Both of which would require extra funding and labor, but could be quite effective in the long run.

**Option 4: Develop basic infrastructure in consultation with local women**

A Task Force by the UN Millennium Project recognizes that transport, water and sanitation, and energy can greatly reduce the time burdens of care work on women in Asia. In addressing care work, it is also essential for societies to recognize the importance of such societal reproduction, measure time usage and capture care work in gender-responsive budget initiatives, build capacity of caregivers, and raise awareness in country sensitive ways. This is a process that will need to be expanded and encouraged well beyond the year 2030.<sup>68</sup>

The other way to confront the time-burden of care facing the majority of women is to utilize new technology and develop long-term by consulting the women who will be most affected by them. Important infrastructure includes better water systems that would greatly reduce the amount of time women have to spend gathering it for their families, bathroom facilities for women that open up access to public areas, electricity to homes which changes the face of domestic work and street lighting that can change the reality and public perception of safety for women and girls, feeder and main roads that will allow women increased mobility and access to social connections, and reliable public transportation systems with stops in well-lit areas of the community that are considered safe. Each of these structures would have a profound impact on the community at large, and revolutionize the daily lives of women who engage in the majority of care work.

These infrastructures are lacking throughout Asia, but more specifically in the Himalaya region which has low levels of gender parity, high levels of extreme poverty, and a mountainous region recognized as having specific challenges that must be overcome to reach the MDGs. By focusing on building infrastructure in these most vulnerable populations in Asia, USAID can most effectively contribute to raising levels of gender equality. A further discussion of water and sanitation can be found

in Chapter 4 of this Task Force, but the emphasis here is on the importance of consultation with local women during the process of planning and implementing such projects. As the example of the water and sanitation committee in the Karakorum region shows, such improvement efforts often ignore the insights of women. This is largely due to the power disparity within communities and political leadership that make it difficult for USAID and other organizations to access the knowledge women have about their resources, processes and needs. This challenge can be mitigated by other efforts to build the capacity of women, and funding efforts can be allocated by prioritizing consultation with women in infrastructure establishing efforts in all sectors of USAID work.

**Option 5: Launch programs to raise mother's literacy rates**

Education is the other main limiting factor keeping women out of economic opportunities. Only 44 percent of women in South Asia are literate, so by launching literacy programs for mothers of young children, USAID can educate women while raising the chance that girls in those families have of making it through secondary school.<sup>69</sup> Raising literacy rates for mothers can also empower women to take new roles in the economy, build stronger community groups with one another reach out to other communities, learn about and actualize their rights, share resources, and claim a larger role in all levels of the decision making progress. Such literacy work would be particularly effective in minority communities with the largest pockets of uneducated women, where aid will have the greatest effect on raising the low enrollment of girls in secondary education.<sup>70</sup> Still, this work in education has had a limited effect on improving the situation of women if it is not preceded by efforts to build the structures necessary for women to take advantage of their gained knowledge, and empowerment efforts to give women an outlet to utilize such skills for the betterment of their lives, families, and communities. Education in Asia is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 9.

**Option 6: Scale up integration of C-TIP programs in other sectors**

In Ghana, USAID integrated a Countering Trafficking in Persons (C-TIP) program into agricultural development programs that trained cocoa farmers.<sup>71</sup> This was successful in partnering

important agricultural issues with the prevention of GBV. As the example of Kerala showed, simply living in a community that is developing is not always enough to decrease GBV. Therefore, by implementing similar projects in Asia, USAID can support the women in the communities that are expanding and ensure that they are not left out, or even oppressed to a larger degree, by the development of their community. The challenge of coordinating such efforts and establishing sustainable change lies in overcoming the persistence of under-reported instances of GBV, especially when the majority of GBV in Asia does not fall directly under the category of TIP.

#### **Option 7: Launch new Women in Leadership Initiatives**

Women's leadership is an important indicator of gender equality, and a key to sustainable policy formation and enforcement that will create sustainable development in regards to women's empowerment. In efforts to bring more women into national politics, the Asia Foundation is currently partnering with a local organization called Partners in Prosperity, working to help women in Cambodia gain leadership skills and develop better campaign strategies. In 2002, this method has proved successful in aiding 1,000 women gain elections to local councils.<sup>72</sup> Once elected, they work to create professional networks of women councilors to increase effectiveness. Measuring the effectiveness of such community development programs, these collaborations were noted as being crucial for women to build support for one another and maintain their momentum.<sup>73</sup> USAID could scale up their leadership initiatives that work with girls in ways similar to the Asia Foundation. Combined with efforts community based efforts to raise opportunities girls have – such as gaining the trust of parents – more initiatives of this nature could lead to the empowerment of the next generation of girls and leaders.

#### **Option 8: Focus on Parents as change-agents**

Parents hold decision-making power in determining what gendered norms their boys and girls will have. By bringing both mothers and fathers into the discussion, gender roles in the home can be challenged, expectations for the education and development of their girls can be raised, and the reality of gender based violence can be confronted. CARE's Power To Lead Alliance (PTLA) found that gender

programming was especially effective with young boys in India, who began to take an interest in activities and roles generally considered to be only suitable for girls. Such interest was limited, however, by the expectations and norms held by parents. If proper care is taken to ensure men don't dominate the discussion, focusing efforts on parents could allow girls more opportunities to engage in USAID programming, address the decision-making dynamic in the home, and be effective in decreasing GBV in the home. Working to change such deeply held gendered norms, though, would require long-term investments and support mechanisms would need to be established. To optimize such efforts, USAID could supplement other initiatives – in various sectors – with this an awareness of a focus on the developing gender equitable expectations of parents.

**Option 9: Form and support women's collectives as the main means by which programming happens and funds are channeled**

In India, the UNDP established a partnership with the IKEA Foundation in Uttar Pradesh to form hundreds of self-help groups for women. In these groups they held trainings and awareness classes on topics including financial literacy, domestic violence, and the rights women have.<sup>74</sup> Through these groups, women were able to support one another to win 278 local elections in 2010 and create new women-owned businesses including a dairy federation that is employing 12,000 women.<sup>75</sup> In light of such successes, USAID funds can most effectively target the culturally sensitive needs of women in their own communities. Recognizing and supporting such groups, will have the greatest impact on building the capacity of women leaders, making it easier for USAID to collaborate with women on infrastructure building and in other sectors of its aid work.<sup>76</sup> Such community groups will also be able to mobilize against the many unreported instances of GBV as girls and other women may feel more comfortable going within their community for help, rather than to male police officers and leaders. In the past, the effects of such community groups have been hard to measure the quantifiable data, especially since they often involve a multiple-year process of establishment and respect gaining. But, with greater emphasis on sex dis-aggregated data in all sectors and levels of USAID's work, this obstacle will be overcome, and changes in the gender status will be more easily recognized.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### **Require gender dis-aggregated data in all USAID sponsored programs**

- Gender disaggregated data will measure progress successfully evaluating equality and women's empowerment.
- With better measures, USAID gendered programming can have a more long-term focus while still being evaluated.

### **Focus on developing energy, water, and sanitation systems engineered and implemented in consultation with women**

- Working with women will increase the effectiveness of these improvements and create the structures necessary for gender equality in Asia.

### **Form and support women's collectives as the main means by which programming happens and funds are channeled**

- This will develop the decision making capabilities of women and create a mechanism for sustainable development of women's empowerment in economics and political involvement, and a means to fight against gender based violence.

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# Chapter 13 Gender Equality in Latin America

By Vanessa Aflalo

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*“We also know that countries are more likely to prosper when they tap the talents of all their people. And that’s why we’re investing in the health, education and rights of women, and working to empower the next generation of women entrepreneurs and leaders. Because when mothers and daughters have access to opportunity, that’s when economies grow, that’s when governance improves.”*

*– President Barack Obama, Remarks at the Millennium Development Goals Summit, United Nations Headquarters, New York, New York, September 22, 2010*

## ISSUE

Thirty four percent of women have a probability of belonging to the bottom twenty percent of income distribution around the world, compared to fifteen percent for men.<sup>1</sup> Gender equality and the empowerment of women is therefore one key tool that must be used by international organizations in order to eradicate poverty by 2030. This is because the links between female empowerment and overall economic betterment are strong, as will be demonstrated in this chapter. Even though substantial progress has been made in eradicating extreme poverty over the last decade, there is still significant room for improvement, especially in economic opportunities and asset distribution. Policies should be put in place to foster economic development for women. These include greater workforce participation, standardized pay regardless of gender, and increased control over means of production. This chapter will argue that through inclusion in the labor market, equalized access to education and decreased incidence of gender-based violence (GBV), women will become empowered within their community. Moreover, the betterment of women’s socioeconomic status reduces poverty for society as a whole- the benefits of this process are not constrained to the immediate benefactors. While examining the effectiveness of USAID policies, this essay will also outline several recommendations for rectifying gender inequities in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). It must be noted, however, that long-term solutions are only possible in the presence of prosperous and democratic governments. This will be surveyed in the policy recommendations section further.

The reasons behind improving women's equality are endless, however, this paper will focus on three main dimensions that are linked to gender equality. First, reducing gender gaps can improve (1) basic human rights such as, education, health and nutrition. Secondly, decreasing gender inequality by increasing access to opportunities, such as (2) economic assets (land or housing) and (3) economic resources, including equal opportunity for employment and equal income. Lastly, gender equality will also help reduce (4) gender based violence (GBV), fear and social patriarchal norms, including sexual assault, women's role in the household, and men's involvement.

All three of these issues are crucial in accomplishing the third goal of the MDGs, which is to promote gender equality and empower women.<sup>2</sup> Achieving gender equality is critical to the development and security of a household, community, nation and region. Therefore, gender equality is a critical first step in the eradication of poverty. The implications of gender are many, including the principal themes that will be developed throughout this chapter. These include, education, health, economic development, and food security. In addition, it has been argued that extreme poverty often leads to violence. However, due to space constraints, this chapter will focus primarily on education, labor market inclusion and the gendered aspects of health such as teenage pregnancy and maternal health in correspondence with USAID programs.

## **BACKGROUND**

Women are poorer than men due to a combination of heavier work burdens, lower earnings, and decreased access to education, trained skills and land or property rights. Simultaneously, they face constraints on socio-economic mobility due to cultural, legal, political and labor market barriers.<sup>3</sup> For this reason, it is important for USAID to keep revising its Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy, in order to adjust to rapid changes in every region. According to USAID, evidence demonstrates that women's empowerment is critical to building stable, democratic societies, to supporting open and accountable governance, furthering international peace and security, growing vibrant market economies,

and addressing pressing health and education challenges.<sup>4</sup> Important efforts have been made at the global and national levels to raise awareness of gender inequalities and women's critical role in development.

USAID is successful in implementing projects geared towards gender equality in LAC because they understand the immense effect women have in achieving the goal by 2030 within the region. For example, the organization created the 2013 *Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy*, the goal being "to improve the lives of citizens around the world by advancing equality between females and males, and empowering women and girls to participate fully in and benefit from the development of their societies."<sup>5</sup> In addition, USAID's vision is a world in which women and men enjoy equal social, economic, civic and political rights.

The challenge is overcoming the historical legacies and patriarchal norms that leave women in an economic, political and social disadvantage in many societies, making it difficult for any region to escape the cycle of extreme poverty if they do not empower women within their society. "Women, especially in developing countries, are thought to bear an unequal share of the burden of poverty. It is frequently asserted that 70 percent of the world's poor are women."<sup>6</sup> For this reason, gender equality is an important tool that must be used in order to fight against the eradication of extreme poverty. The entrenched patriarchal norms that create these inequalities must be eliminated, but the process is slow and difficult.

Although woman's workforce participation rates have risen since the 1950s, there still exists a significant gap in female employment in LAC. Discrimination in this case, gender based, can both cause poverty and be an obstacle in alleviating poverty if not dealt with correctly. Women continue to be overrepresented in informal and low-productivity employment in LAC, "the share of women in the informal economy is 58% compared to 50% for men and despite gains in education, those women that are employed still hold traditional female occupations in domestic service, teaching and office work."<sup>7</sup>

Since independence, LAC has experienced profound political instability, leaving it with a fragile system that has led to human rights violations and unrest. Political unrest and human rights violations

have long been apart of the reality of LAC, and since women are the most vulnerable group in society, they suffer disproportionately. For example, women in Mexico suffer tremendous gaps in economic participation and political empowerment. Even though Mexico has demonstrated impressive economic growth, it still ranks near the bottom of gender equality rankings at 22<sup>nd</sup> out of 26 LAC countries.<sup>8</sup> This demonstrates that the benefits of economic growth are not shared equally.

LAC has been shaped by political instability, leaving it with a very fragile system, in which, human rights violations and corruption, occur easily, thereby affecting the most vulnerable group, women. This chapter will analyze the three main gender -based themes aforementioned. As mentioned in Chapter 17, the GINI coefficient identifies eleven countries in LAC as the most unequal countries in the world. For example, in the Dominican Republic, virtually ten families monopolize the country, leaving the remaining eighty percent of the population in the hands of the wealthiest twenty percent of social elites.<sup>9</sup> These indicators show that while LAC is often considered more developed than the other two regions discussed in this taskforce, there still remains extreme poverty and unequal distribution of wealth in LAC.

Due to space constraints, this section focuses on three main countries, two of which have the highest percentage of poverty and the other, the highest percentage of economic growth, but at the same time an astonishing percentage of economic inequality. These are Honduras, Haiti, and Brazil respectively. As mentioned in chapter 11, the GII is an important measurement used to identify gender gaps within countries. The three dimensions of the GII are: reproductive health, empowerment and the labor market. Therefore, the next sections will focus on a few of these dimensions, including education and GBV.

### *Gender-Based Violence & Health*

Gender-based violence is a violation of women's rights, a barrier to women's active citizenship, and hence, a fundamental constraint to poverty alleviation.<sup>10</sup> The risk of violence and sexual exploitation against women and girls is exacerbated by poverty, poor security, and a lack of awareness<sup>11</sup> According to

the World Bank, GBV disproportionately affects women because of their lack of power in relationships and society relative to men. GBV includes, but is not limited to: (1) physical violence, such as slapping, kicking, hitting with a fist or other object, or use of weapons; (2) emotional violence, such as systematic humiliation, controlling behavior, degrading treatment and threats of harm; (3) sexual violence, including forcible sexual intercourse, coerced sex by intimidation or threats, or being forced to take part in sexual activities that are considered degrading or humiliating; and (4) economic violence, such restricting access to financial or other resources with the purpose of controlling or subjugating a person.<sup>12</sup> However, in LAC, GBV mainly takes the form of intimate partner violence and sexual coercion within the society. Studies have shown that rates of GBV in LAC are among the highest in the world and the rural women the most frequent victim.<sup>13</sup>

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) estimates that 30% to 50% of the region's women involved in intimate partnerships have suffered psychological abuse, such as insults or threats, in the context of their relationships, and that 20 to 30% have suffered physical violence by male family members.<sup>14</sup> In addition to all of the negative health effects associated with GBV, women in LAC that have been the victims of psychological, physical or sexual attacks have been reported to earn less than their peers who do not suffer abuse, ultimately leading to increased impoverishment.<sup>15</sup> For this reason, GBV eradication is crucial for eliminating the cycle of extreme poverty from LAC society.

GBV increases HIV infection rates amongst women in LAC. In some Caribbean and Central American countries, women make up nearly fifty percent of all the infections. The low status of women across LAC is a significant factor. "The fact that women tend to have less education, combined with expectations on the part of the husband that female family members should confine their activities to their home, means that some women cannot access information about HIV/AIDS and how to protect themselves from infection."<sup>16</sup>

### USAID on Gender-Based Violence & Health

USAID believes that GBV is a human rights violation and therefore a huge obstacle in ending extreme poverty. Many programs have been created by USAID with the help of the Department of State over the past decade in order to prevent and respond to GBV. In 2013, the Department of State and USAID requested \$147.1 million for programs addressing GBV worldwide.<sup>17</sup> “USAID programs address the root cause of violence, improve prevention, respond to health and economic needs to those affected by GBV and support legal frameworks.”<sup>18</sup>

In Honduras USAID reached 138,689 people with comprehensive HIV prevention messages. Gender issues were explored in depth with both men and women, especially in regards to condom negotiation and motivation toward healthier behaviors, such as partner reduction and abstinence.<sup>19</sup> According to USAID, Effectively addressing GBV calls for a sustained engagement to reduce vulnerability through legislative action, effective law enforcement, community outreach, increased literacy, and economic empowerment.

Access to contraception is another crucial way to empower women. According to USAID, enabling women and men to plan their families, results in multiple, health, economic and social benefits, for families communities and nations.<sup>20</sup> Through its *Regional Approach to Improve Access to Contraceptives in LAC*, USAID has achieved substantial progress within the region. Due to USAID's Contraceptive Security Program (CS) and government intervention, high levels of family planning have been achieved in Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia, Mexico and Brazil.<sup>21</sup> However, due to the phasing out process, many countries were left without enough funding in order to maintain a successful family planning program.

### Education

Latin America and the Caribbean region suffer from huge education gaps between men and women despite considerations of rapid economic growth. Women typically have a heavier work burden and earn lower wages in LAC than men; therefore, they face more difficulties in having access to

education.<sup>22</sup> Studies have found that girls that finish at least primary school have less of a chance of being infected by HIV/AIDS and will be more successful economically in the future.<sup>23</sup> In addition, women who are educated are less likely to face GBV in their life times and be more likely to be involved in politics in their country, creating an overarching positive effect, which in turn will help eradicate extreme poverty. As USAID states, one extra year of primary school increases a girl's future wage by 10 to 20 percent, and an extra year of secondary school increases that earning potential by 15 to 25 percent.<sup>24</sup>

### USAID on Education

According to USAID, education is a powerful tool for reducing poverty and restricting inequality, improving health and social well being and creating a foundation for sustained economic growth.<sup>25</sup> In Haiti, USAID partnered with the ministry of education in order to create the TOTAL project. The project focuses on improving reading skills for children in first through third grade in several areas.<sup>26</sup> However, USAID has stated that quality education remains a key obstacle to Haiti's social and economic development.

### Economic Development

According to human rights watch, there is a growing body of evidence that human rights-based approaches, and these key guarantees in particular, can lead to more sustainable and inclusive development results.<sup>27</sup> Even though there has been an increasing trend of female participation, huge gender gaps are still present in the labor force, political realm, and in education. Several studies find that if women's labor potential were met, countries will be more likely to achieve the end to extreme poverty.<sup>28</sup> "Growth in women's labor market earnings and higher participation rates, particularly among poorer women, along with the introduction of non-contributory pension programs for women, explain the important role of women in reducing the region's poverty in the last decade."<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, proved to be crucial to reducing the pressures of the poorest in LAC.<sup>30</sup>

### *USAID and Economic Development*

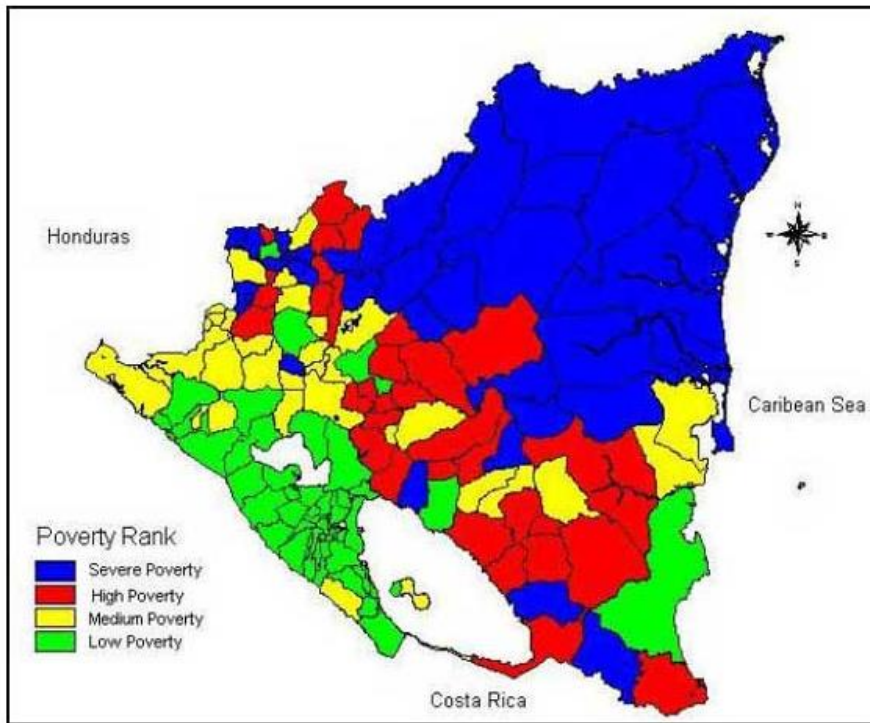
Economic development is an important tool in ending extreme poverty. However, programs are often based on male involvement in business and ignore women as a potential and important resource in society. As discussed in chapter 11, women have untapped potential that should be brought to the labor market. A study done by the OECD found that, the gross earnings gap between men and women has actually significantly declined over the past decade, alongside poverty in LAC.<sup>31</sup> Chapter 17 further discusses the programs that USAID has implemented in the region and their corresponding success. It is evident that women's involvement in the labor market over the last decade has significantly improved LAC's economy. According to the OECD, the growth in female income accounted for thirty percent of extreme poverty reduction.<sup>32</sup> This clearly shows the immense effect women have within their communities.

### *Case Study: Honduras*

#### *Country Background*

Honduras, a lower-middle income country has 46% of its population living in extreme poverty, while 58% of households in rural areas are living in extreme poverty.<sup>33</sup> High levels of crime and violence are the preeminent development challenge for Honduras, as it is the country with the highest homicide rate in the world.<sup>34</sup> Poverty in Honduras is concentrated in the rural areas, where half of Hondurans reside. Thirty percent of Hondurans live on less than US \$2 a day and 18 percent live on less than US\$1.25 a day.<sup>35</sup> This percentage translates to four million out of the population of six million are living under extreme poverty. In addition, inequality is extremely high in the country. Honduras has a Gini Coefficient of 0.54 - exceeded only by Brazil, Paraguay, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico and Panama.<sup>36</sup>

**Figure 13.2 Prevalence of Extreme Poverty in Regions of Honduras**



**Source:** World Bank

In the National Congress, women's representation is only 9.8%, compared to 90.2% for men.<sup>37</sup> Another side of the problem is the high birth rate in Honduras, which not only contributes to increased vulnerability among poor women, but also puts at risk their human capital, particularly in health and education. This in turn, lessens the income

generating opportunities that women may have. Despite the fact that the fertility rate has fallen, according to the Ministry of Health in Honduras, it continues to be very high at 4.1 children per women.<sup>38</sup> Like discussed earlier, the birth rate within a country is directly linked to insufficient access to family planning services that comes with poor government intervention and poverty.

The main area where extreme poverty prevails is on the central hillside areas in the interior highlands of Honduras, which is home to about 75 per cent of the rural population, including indigenous groups.<sup>39</sup> Lack of access to land and basic services, a vulnerable environment and low agricultural productivity are among the problems at the root of poverty in the country. According to IFAD, The income of households headed by women in hillside areas is about 30 per cent less than that of households headed by men. A study published by the World Bank found that gross female labor income remains less than that of males, at around 60-90%. According to the World Bank, in 2010 about 46 percent of women

aged between 15 and 64 participated in the labor market, against 76 percent of men.<sup>40</sup> This shows the tremendous inequality that exists in Honduras today, not only gender-based inequality but also, economic based inequality. Moreover, “There is a fragmentation within Honduran civil society, a situation that particularly affects the women’s movement. The greatest challenge is to bring together gender expertise in anticorruption initiatives and the construction of citizenship.”<sup>41</sup>

### *USAID Response in Honduras*

The Honduran government struggles with corruption and lacks the resources for helping the four million of its citizens in extreme poverty. USAID policy in Honduras focuses on helping the country get out of the poverty trap that they have been under since the beginning of their independence. The US and the EU have taken the lead in investing \$40 million and 40 million euros, respectively, in order to help Honduras combat increasing insecurity and extreme poverty. In addition, the Inter-American Regional Program invested \$1.5 million in 2008–2009 in Honduras through region-wide initiatives of hemispheric partners such as the Pan American Health Organization and the Organization of American States.<sup>42</sup>

USAID’s mission in Honduras has been to strengthen citizen security, improve democracy and governance, strengthen economic growth, increase education and improve health. USAID partners with public and private organizations in order to implement a program geared towards 10-14 year old girls with the goal to create leaders within their vulnerable communities.<sup>43</sup> While a heartening initiative, more must be done to combat the endemic gender equity in Honduras. Increasing gender-based approaches in USAID Honduras projects will combat the gender inequity generationally.

### *Case Study: Haiti*

#### *Country Background*

Haiti, the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, has struggled with tremendous crises ever since the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship. Since 1987, the country has had 12 governments, making it one of the most politically instable countries in LAC. Similarly to the rest of LAC, Haiti’s social structures

remain polarized and stratified by class, making it extremely difficult to achieve substantial improvement for the 55 percent of people living under extreme poverty. Despite massive support for fundamental change in the country, corruption and instability remains the underlying reason, for which Haiti remains in extreme poverty. USAID has made tremendous efforts in order to reduce the percentage of extreme poverty within the country, with the main effort geared towards increase access in education.

Haiti still experiences a huge gender inequality gap and gender based-violence against women, ranking 127 in the Gender Inequality Index, despite creating a Ministry for the Status of Women in 1984. Patriarchal tradition restricts women from gaining the same social and economic status as men. For example, rural women are expected to be the head of the household, therefore having little time to dedicate to furthering their education or working. According to USAID, GBV is a longstanding problem in Haiti where the risk of violence and sexual exploitation against women and girls is exacerbated by poverty, poor security, and a lack of awareness. <sup>44</sup>

### *USAID Response in Haiti*

USAID's mission in Haiti is to reduce extreme poverty by promoting long-term economic development and in turn reducing GBV and gender inequality. USAID addresses GBV through legislative action, effective law enforcement, community outreach, increased literacy and economic empowerment. As mentioned in chapter 17, USAID allocated \$270.7 million to Haiti in 2013, making it the largest investment in LAC. As of 2014, there are fewer USAID gender-based programs in the region because many have come to an end this year. USAID argues that the weakness of the justice system in the country is a particular obstacle that has hindered them in achieving gender equality and reducing GBV within the country. "Effectively addressing GBV calls for a sustained engagement to reduce vulnerability through legislative action, effective law enforcement, community outreach, increased literacy, and economic empowerment." <sup>45</sup>In addition, the effect of the 2010 hurricane has affected everyone within the country, but particularly, women living under extreme poverty. USAID has implemented a variety of successful gender-based policies in the region throughout the years, all of them with one goal in mind: to reduce

GBV and empower women. These programs include: improving security, supporting victims of GBV, improving legislation and capacity and creating economic opportunities to address the root cause of GBV.<sup>46</sup>

### *Case Study: Brazil*

#### *Country Background*

Brazil, a BRIC country, achieved tremendous economic growth during the past decade. In addition, Brazil is LAC's largest country and the world's fifth largest, both by geographical area and by population.<sup>47</sup> Rising domestic demand, an increasingly skilled workforce along with scientific and technological development, have attracted foreign direct investment. Bureaucracy, corruption, and weak infrastructure remain the biggest obstacles to economic development and extreme poverty eradication within the region.<sup>48</sup> Brazil is different from the rest of LAC because of its massive size and economic power within the region and the world. Brazil has experienced unprecedented growth within the last few decades, however, it still has large concentrations of extreme poverty within the country, in both urban and rural areas. Due to Brazil's tremendous influence within LAC and the world, it is crucial for the country to achieve the eradication of poverty and gender equality, so others may follow.

#### *USAID Response in Brazil*

USAID helped create the *Mais Unidos Group*, a partnership between the US Embassy and American companies established in Brazil, with an objective to promote corporate social responsibility, foster joint-partnerships and increase the visibility of participants. Other countries in LAC may learn from this strategic partnership created and someday gain similar economic opportunities. Three-income generating projects were implemented in three different cities: Sao Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro.<sup>49</sup> This program engaged young disadvantaged women in sustainable income generating activities while promoting their social inclusion through information and communication technology training. Currently, there are nine income -generating projects for women throughout the country.

## US INTERESTS

USAID's mission is ending extreme poverty and enabling resilient democratic societies to realize their potential. More than three million lives are saved every year through USAID immunization programs and more than fifty million couples worldwide use family planning due to USAID's population program.<sup>50</sup> Specifically, as USAID states, gender equality and female empowerment are fundamental to the realization of human rights and key to effective and sustainable development outcomes.<sup>51</sup> USAID is committed to preventing GBV, decreasing the gender-based gaps between men and women and promoting women empowerment, by increasing school enrollment of girls and therefore, increasing women participation in the labor market.<sup>52</sup>

In LAC, it is crucial that policies move beyond poverty reduction to reducing economic inequality and ending government corruption. *The Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy* states that no society can develop successfully without providing equitable opportunities, resources, and life prospects for males and females so that they can shape their own lives and contribute to their families and communities.<sup>53</sup> Empowering women is more than a pretty slogan- it entails every single MDG and it is the first step that any country can take in order to achieve economic and social prosperity in the long run. Women empowerment is the priority for USAID as well as many other NGOs because of the fact that once this is achieved, the rest of the MDG goals are much easier to accomplish. Beyond the existence of obvious political interests in achieving democracy in the region, the US has the interest of ending extreme poverty because it will benefit tremendously both economically and socially.

USAID clearly states that partnerships with NGO's help deliver services, enrich democratic process, and meet constituent needs in the areas where USAID works. According to USAID, NGOs are critical in promoting economic growth, human rights and social progress.<sup>54</sup> Similar agencies like CIDA, the Canadian equivalent to USAID, also recognize that women's empowerment is a very important issue that must be dealt with in order to achieve the end of extreme poverty. In addition, the UN and the World Bank have also made gender inequality a top priority on their list. CARE, an International NGO has also

made it their mission statement to end extreme poverty by empowering women and unlocking their potential. CARE delivers the knowledge and support women and girls need to forge new opportunities in the developing world because they are hit hardest by poverty.<sup>55</sup> In addition, CARE adds that women produce half the world's food, put in two thirds of the world working hours and yet make only ten percent of the world's income. Similarly, OXFAM, a British NGO has also taken a gender-based approach as a means to eradicate extreme poverty. OXFAM argues that the right for gender justice underpins all Oxfam's work. According to OXFAM, discrimination and injustice are one of the leading causes of poverty worldwide, therefore, ensuring that women and men benefit equally from their work is a vital part of the OXFAM mission.<sup>56</sup>

Furthermore, as the closest neighbor to the US, gender equality leader to long-term poverty reduction in LAC will reduce instances of violence in the region. Over the past decade, LAC has suffered an epidemic of violence, accompanied by the growth and diffusion of crime, leading to an increase in fear and insecurity. In only one decade, more than one million people have died in LAC due to criminal violence.<sup>57</sup> This epidemic of violence that occurs in most LAC countries affects women most because they are the most marginalized group within the society.

USAID is one of the first agencies to adopt the Women in Development approach, realizing women's potential and important role in extreme poverty eradication. Although impressive progress has been made by USAID in efforts to eradicate extreme poverty by 2030, it cannot do it alone. This is why USAID must keep partnering with other local NGOs in order to reach its goal. USAID seeks to work with a variety of in-country partners, such as country governments, NGOS, the private sector, cooperatives, associations and universities in order to advance country ownership of development activities, which in turn, is critical to USAID's commitment to lasting development.<sup>58</sup>

Ending extreme poverty is not an easy task, and therefore various solutions must be employed. The main catalysts that contribute to most women's disempowerment are lack of leadership within their

community and lack of time to earn higher wages or attend school due to the overarching gap between men and women and a lack of control over resources. Therefore, it is important for USAID to create policies in collaboration with other International Organizations and NGOs that will help eliminate the catalysts and barriers that are responsible for creating the gender gap itself.

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Improve women's leadership in LAC*

Encouraging women to be a part of their nations' leadership roles is the first step to be taken in order to end gender inequality in the region. Women should be equally represented in politics, in the police force and in businesses. By having women present in each of these fields, they will become empowered and change the dynamic of the region. In addition, men can be allies in women's empowerment, helping and encouraging them to become professionals, instead of hindering them. After stability is achieved in LAC, governments should create incentives for women to take an active role in these positions.

### *Option 2: Establish a community midwife program in LAC*

The quality of care, particularly in rural areas, is one of the reasons that so few women decide to give birth in healthcare facilities. It is well documented that women and their families often experience poor and abusive treatment by healthcare providers. Other factors include an absence of personnel in health facilities, challenging distances and lack of transport. A community midwife program can be created to fight these issues, by bringing in doctors from other LAC countries such as Chile and Mexico in order to train midwives in low-income regions within LAC. Partnerships could be forged with local public health NGOs.

### *Option 3: Create a trusted and respected teacher certification program*

Creating qualified teachers not only increases the job force but also, creates a greater incentive to go to school. The problem with the majority of LAC public schools is the lack of trusted and respected teachers, not the lack of incentives or infrastructure. By educating girls, USAID is empowering them to

achieve more in the future; often this leads to lower level of teenage pregnancy or infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS.

**Option 4: Increase the number of girls enrolled in school**

Keeping in mind that girls outnumber boys in most LAC countries, it is important to increase and encourage female school enrollment, specifically after primary school. Creating gender aware public schools with appropriate teaching staff will encourage female participation.

**Option 5: Create information centers for Women's Rights in every capital city of each LAC country.**

Often, women do not know that they are being mistreated, or don't realize the rights they have to change their treatment, because their society has perpetuated the cycle of gender-based violence. For this reason, it is important to create specialized information centers in every capital city in LAC, as well as in rural areas in order for women to promote their rights. Through this program, women will feel more empowered and ready to take on different roles within their society.

**Option 6: Develop labor-market skills in order to support workingwomen**

The burden of family responsibilities usually falls on women in most LAC households, which hinders women's participation in the labor market. This initiative will allow women to develop labor-market skills. The program trains poor literate female heads of household, who are seeking work for the first time and are between the ages of 17 and 50. This program would be most effective in Honduras, Haiti, and El Salvador. After a year of trial and improvement, this program can be implemented in all of the capitals in LAC, and after a few years, the program could exist in several cities in every country in LAC, especially the five poorest ones.

**Option 7: Support female micro entrepreneurs**

By creating an atmosphere where women are equal to men instead of inferior to, women will have the power and capacity to become entrepreneurs. Local and international NGOs must partner with USAID in order to create several programs in various larger cities within LAC. LAC women have many skills, for example, weaving purses and bags and jewelry making in Colombia, Mexico, El Salvador,

amongst others. A program to collaborate in empowering these women would be most effective in a threefold approach: first, it will provide the necessary business skills and microloans for women to become entrepreneurs in their community and second, it will provide advice and training to improving production and quality of the product. Lastly, it will train women to improve their marketing skills and increasing their consumer base, with the hopes of one day becoming an international business.

#### **Option 8: Increase women involvement in Politics**

This programs center will be in the capitals of LAC countries, however, it is important to implement several other programs in different cities around the country that will encourage women in becoming more active in politics. This program will teach women basic communication and public speaking skills that will in turn benefit them, by giving them a voice in their community. In addition, this program will teach women to spot corruption and not reinforce imbalanced systems. USAID already strengthens women's involvement in politics by providing training, improving women's access to justice, amongst other things. However, it is difficult to assess the level of effectiveness due to the corrupt and patriarchal nature of LAC.

#### **Options 9: Narrow the gap between indigenous women and the rest of society**

Indigenous people in LAC represent over ten percent of the population and remain marginalized within their country. This program will seek to narrow the socio-economic gap between indigenous women specifically and the rest of society. Indigenous centers will be created in various cities across LAC, with different classes and programs tailored to the specific country. In Guatemala, for example, indigenous women often do not speak Spanish and thus are automatically restricted from taking part in any part of the society, be it economically or socially. These centers will have Spanish classes for women as well as birth control classes, and literacy classes. By empowering indigenous women and teaching them the official language, they will have more opportunities outside their society. At the same time, these centers will encourage indigenous cultural identity and will therefore be only a tool and not a forced way to assimilate into society.

## POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Understanding that the set of policy recommendations given below will be impossible to achieve without the help of local NGOs and, in the long term, government stability in LAC will allow for these policy recommendations to be successful upon implementation. These recommendations have taken into account exogenous political factors and have therefore been aimed to achieve short-term goals, with the means of implementing more long-term solutions once political stability is achieved in the region. Due to the overwhelming political differences between the US and the LAC region, it is difficult for USAID to fulfill its overarching mission to end extreme poverty in the whole world. For this reason, it is important to create government stability first and foremost in the LAC, and as a direct byproduct, programs will not only run more smoothly, but also, they will become part of the governments agenda in the future. Taking into account that funds are limited and that priorities exist, the following set of policy recommendations are prioritized for USAID to implement in the region:

### **Improve women's leadership in the region**

- Encourage women to be a part of governmental positions.
- Promote leadership in women by creating more respected professions.

### **Create a community midwife program**

- Bring in professionals from other regions in LAC to train midwives in rural areas.
- Jobs and empowerment will be created through this program.

### **Design a trusted and respected teacher certification program**

- Train teachers with experienced and respected local trainings.
- Make teaching a respected profession.

**Increase the number of girls enrolled in school**

- Through financial incentives provided by local NGOs.
- By creating a platform for girls in LAC regions where parents understand the importance of education.
- By having respected female teachers that motivate students.

**Support female micro-entrepreneurs**

- Increase micro-loans from the private sector.
- Continual encouragement of women to make a living out of their hobbies (i.e. jewelry making).
- Decreasing barriers such as time-poverty so that women may focus on their micro-business.
- Implementing business training workshops led by local women.

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*Source: USAID: Typhoon Haiyan*

# DISASTER RELIEF



# Chapter 14 USAID & Global Disaster Relief Efforts

By Nora Elgabalawy

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## ISSUE

Aligned with the US government's renewed emphasis on development in foreign relations and their embracement of the new goal to end extreme poverty by 2030, this section deals with the issue of disaster management and how it is crucial in the goal to eradicate extreme poverty.<sup>1</sup> The occurrence of a disaster, whether man-made (civil unrest, explosion, technological disaster) or natural (drought, earthquakes, pandemic/epidemic, floods, storms, tsunamis, famine, volcanic eruption, etc.) has crippling effects on a community.<sup>2</sup> However, the effects of disasters has a disproportionate outcome on those living within extreme poverty.<sup>3</sup> Ultimately disasters hinder development, by inducing more people into deeper impoverishment and limiting their capacity to lift themselves out of poverty.<sup>4</sup>

With an estimated increase in future disasters, a 2013 study on disaster management pinpoints several countries within South/Southeast Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America/Caribbean who will become the most vulnerable to disasters by 2030.<sup>5</sup> This is due to climate change, geography, and the ratio of population living in extreme poverty within those countries.<sup>6</sup> Development goals among countries will be severely jeopardized, unless strategies to remedy these disasters are developed and given importance.<sup>7</sup> USAID's programs emphasize a comprehensive approach tackling all the critical sides of an effective disaster management plan. USAID's approach consists of providing immediate relief and assistance to those affected, allowing for rehabilitation and recovery post-disaster, and the prevention and mitigation of the impacts of disasters.<sup>8</sup> However, this approach is not specific to eradicating extreme poverty. This chapter looks to further enhance USAID's pre-existing disaster management sector, by generating a disaster management framework that could be used as a tool in eradicating extreme poverty by 2030. This requires addressing disaster-prone areas, where there is a heightened vulnerability to the effect of disasters, and where the cycle of extreme poverty is present.

## BACKGROUND

### *What is a 'Disaster'?*

To better understand the importance of disaster management, it's crucial to first build a better understanding of what a 'disaster' is. A disaster is defined as, "a crisis situation causing widespread damage which... suffocates our ability to recover".<sup>9</sup> The classification of a situation as a disaster depends on the presence of high risk, which exists through the presence of a hazard and a level of vulnerability.<sup>10</sup>

A hazard, in contrast to a disaster, is an "external factor that can have an impact on people's lives, and which have the potential to affect well-being or to do harm".<sup>11</sup> There are two main categories of hazards: natural hazards and man-made/technological hazards. Natural hazards can be further classified as geophysical (earthquakes, landslides, tsunamis, volcanic activity), hydrological (avalanches & floods), climatological (extreme temperatures, drought, wildfires), biological (disease epidemics and insect/animal plagues), and meteorological (cyclones and storms/waves).<sup>12</sup> Man-made/technological hazards are "events caused by humans and occur in or close to human settlements".<sup>13</sup> Thus, complex emergencies/conflicts, famine, displaced populations, industrial accidents, transport accidents, environmental degradation and pollution can fall under the definition of man-made/technological disasters.<sup>14</sup> With the occurrence of natural hazards, the cause may be purely natural and an example of normal climate or geographical patterns. However, natural disasters can also be induced by human actions, such with environmental degradation and poorly planned development activities, which can spurn the risk of future natural hazards occurring.<sup>15</sup>

The level of vulnerability accompanied with a hazard, natural or man-made, is the key element in the difference between a hazard and a disaster. Within the context of hazards, vulnerability is determined by a community's capacity to cope, resist, and recover through the stress and shock of a hazard. If capacity is limited or hindered, then the community becomes vulnerable, therefore susceptible to heightened risk should a hazard strike.<sup>16</sup> Vulnerability or hindered capacity, can be greatly impacted by physical, economic, social and political factors, such as poor governance, discrimination, inequality, and

inadequate access to resources and livelihoods, and most especially poverty.<sup>17</sup> With the absence of important structural factors and access associated with extreme poverty, communities are left vulnerable and the risk then of being affected by a hazard is higher. These communities in extreme poverty lack the necessary resources and knowledge to mitigate, respond, and lastly recover from a hazard, exponentially increasing their risk.<sup>18</sup> With this heightened risk, the hazard becomes a ‘disaster’.

For man-made disasters, like conflict, violence can result from the underlying conditions of extreme poverty.<sup>19</sup> Poverty as a multi-dimensional problem, is the result of a lack of basic needs, which can occur via various political, economic and cultural reasons.<sup>20</sup> Needs such as food, water, shelter and health, are important to sustainment of one’s livelihood. So when there is an absence and lack of access to these needs, some become restless and seek to remedy their discontent through violence. Therefore, a disaster arises as a result of a “clamoring for these basic needs”.<sup>21</sup>

### *Disasters’ Effects on Extreme Poverty*

The instability of extreme poverty and its underlying causes can exacerbate a hazard to become a disaster. However, disasters can in turn induce extreme poverty. Natural disasters exhaust all community resources into surviving the disaster, simultaneously taking away future resources aimed at long-term development.<sup>22</sup> This makes it so that all the efforts towards development will be jeopardized due to the lack of resources, following the disaster. With the lack of resources and development, poor communities find themselves stuck with their vulnerable state. If not becoming even more embedded within extreme poverty following the disaster.<sup>23</sup> With the likeliness of an increase in hazards in the future, these communities under extreme poverty will find it harder to cope under the strain of heightened risk.<sup>24</sup>

Conflict and other man-made disasters, can also help to exacerbate poverty as well. Like natural disasters, conflict has a negative impact on the livelihoods of the population. With the diversion of all resources into conflict, it imposes great hardship on the affected population. Escaping the trap of continual violence caused by conflict becomes increasingly difficult as development continues to be hindered, leading to great impoverishment.<sup>25</sup> Researchers have predicted that a shift in poverty, will find a majority of the poor people within areas embroiled in conflict and fragile states as well.<sup>26</sup>



*Figure 14. 1: Somali refugees in a refugee camp in Kenya, Horn of Africa. The area is home to a lot of drought, famine and conflict. (Source: USAID/Horn of Africa)*

## Areas Under Extreme Poverty and Disaster-Prone

### *Recent Disasters*

Recent disasters that have caused significant damage to an already vulnerable population are: 1) the typhoon in the Philippines, 2) the earthquake in Haiti, 3) food insecurity in the African Sahel and the Horn of Africa, conflict in South Sudan and Syria, and 5) complex emergencies in the Central African Republic (CAR), Burma, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).<sup>27</sup> The effects caused by these disasters have spurred the assistance of various local, national, and international organizations, as these countries lack the capacity to cope with these recent crises.

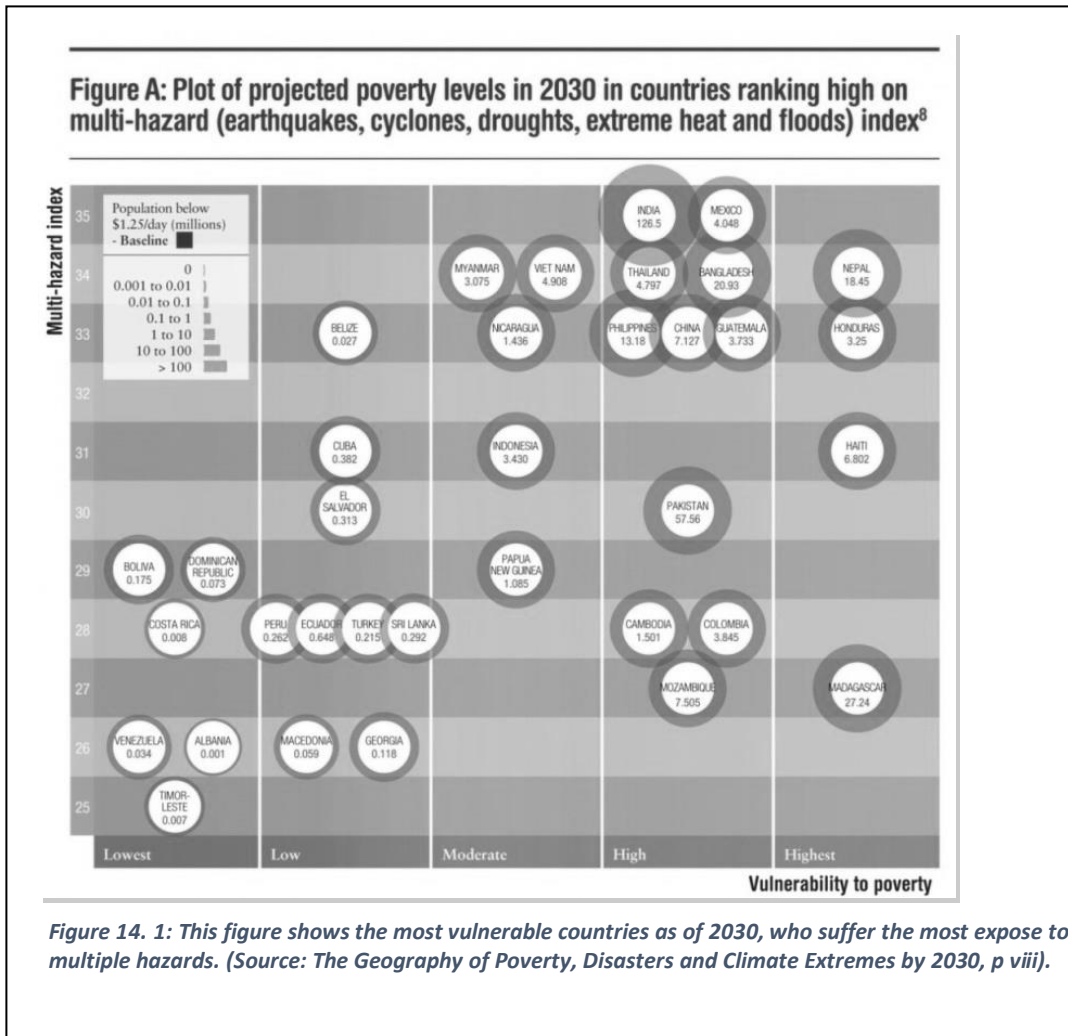
In the Philippines, Typhoon Haiyan landed in the central part of the country, which is considered to be one of the poorest areas within the Philippines.<sup>28</sup> The Philippines already is known to have a significant amount of its population living within extreme poverty, so the effects of the Typhoon in the

poorest part of the country was devastating.<sup>29</sup> The typhoon has affected over 14.1 million livelihoods. Despite the length of time between impact and now, many are still in desperate need of basic services and the situation is still considered a ‘situation of concern’.<sup>30 31</sup> The current circumstances in Haiti is similar. In Haiti, despite the massive flows of aid into the country following the 2010 earthquake, the devastation of the earthquake continues to impact the livelihoods of many poor Haitians. Haiti, as a result, is labeled a ‘severe humanitarian crisis’.<sup>32</sup> The famine in the African Sahel region and the Horn of Africa, originated from long-lasting drought conditions, exacerbated by conflict in the two regions. Of those affected by the famine, many were already vulnerable, as a result of not recovering from the shock of previous disasters within the regions. This leaves many of those poor people who were affected, under greater stress of impoverishment which they struggle to get out of following the occurrence of continual disasters.<sup>33</sup> Finally, lasting conflicts within Syria and South Sudan, and complex emergencies within the CAR, Burma, and the DRC have caused great concern among the international community, who have labeled these crises as ‘severe humanitarian crises’.<sup>34</sup> The impacts the conflicts and complex emergencies have on these countries is great, as there is a presence of significant displacement of the population, a lack of basic needs, and greater amounts of impoverishment.<sup>35</sup> In Syria, a country that is not as deeply entrenched in extreme poverty compared to others, more than half of its population has been thrown into poverty from the ongoing conflict, and into greater despair.<sup>36</sup> These recent disasters, therefore, shed light on the relationship between disasters and poverty.

### *Future Disasters*

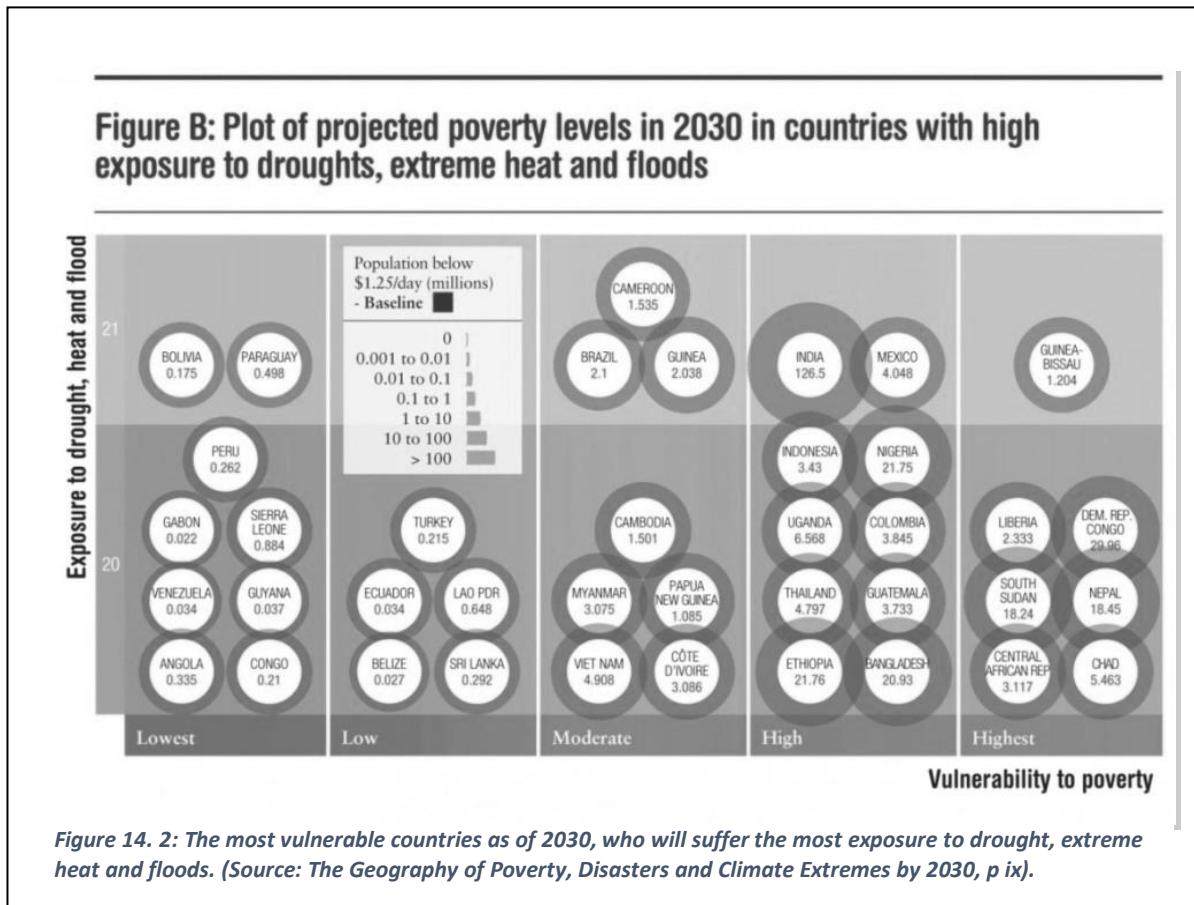
A recent 2013 report from the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) maps out the future of disasters, and the threat they will pose to areas consistent with high vulnerability. The report predicts that the countries that show high vulnerability, consistent with an overlap of having high amounts of extreme poverty and as the top disaster-prone regions, will be mostly concentrated in countries within South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>37</sup> Countries within these regions will be the most vulnerable to future disasters and therefore lack the capacity to manage the effects. Within South Asia, the report identified the most vulnerable countries as Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, as well as India. In Sub-Saharan

Africa the classified countries are Cameroon, the CAR, Cote d'Ivoire, Chad, the DRC, Ethiopia, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, South Sudan and Sudan.<sup>38</sup> The report also classifies Haiti and Madagascar as major areas of overlap.<sup>39</sup> In looking at the vulnerabilities of each country within these regions and the potential of hazards, one can build a better understanding of why these countries are ranked high for risk.



**South Asia**

In South Asia, Bangladesh is one region that is extremely hazard-prone due greatly to the effects of climate change. In its history Bangladesh has been hit by numerous natural hazards, such as floods, drought, cyclones, tornadoes, riverbank erosions and is at risk from earthquakes and tsunamis.<sup>40</sup> The country is most vulnerable to cyclones and widespread floods, with cyclones occurring almost every year.<sup>41</sup> The cyclone of 1991 was Bangladesh’s most severe storm on record, and the country’s most recent cyclone occurring in 2013, was cyclone Mahasen.<sup>42</sup> Bangladesh has high levels of people living under extreme poverty as well, with 20.93 million living on under \$1.25 a day, which makes the country extremely vulnerable to disasters and therefore ideal for disaster management programs targeted to reduce poverty.<sup>43</sup>



Nepal is also entrenched in extreme poverty with 18.45 million living on under \$1.25 a day.<sup>44</sup> For Nepal the continual stresses on natural resources due to climate change and environmental degradation has made the country highly susceptible to multi-environmental hazards, as well as the country's geographical placement.<sup>45</sup> Nepal's history shows its vulnerability to hazards such as earthquakes, floods, landslides, fire, and disease epidemics, with an earthquake being the greatest potential risk to the country.<sup>46</sup> Conflict and political instability have also marred Nepal, which have hindered the progress of development within the country and impacted the state of those impoverished. The conflict as well is exacerbated by the presence of increasing extreme poverty, which makes Nepal more vulnerable to conflict as well as natural disasters.<sup>47</sup>

Pakistan has 57.56 million living on less than \$1.25 a day.<sup>48</sup> With the continual risk of cyclones, flooding, landslides, droughts and earthquakes, the country is increasingly vulnerable to major disasters, especially floods and droughts. Pakistan also runs the risk of earthquakes, seeing that it lies near two giant plates.<sup>49</sup> On September 2013 Pakistan was hit by an earthquake of a magnitude of 7.7 in the province of Balochistan, causing widespread damage.<sup>50</sup> Conflict within the region since 2008, has also caused for large amounts of displaced families, adding to disaster vulnerability. The large amount of those displaced has caused the necessity for humanitarian assistance. As the on-going conflict has been declared as a disaster.<sup>51</sup>

In South Asia, India has the largest amount of its population living within extreme poverty, with 126.5 million living on under \$1.25 a day.<sup>52</sup> The country is also very prone to flooding, earthquakes, cyclones, and drought.<sup>53</sup> With the largest population in the region, the country is not only at risk of many natural disasters, but conflict as well. India therefore would seem like a prime candidate for disaster management as a means of eradicating poverty.<sup>54</sup> However, India as a whole already has the capacity to cope, mitigate, and recover from a disaster, so targeting India for disaster management would be counterintuitive. Instead, given the vast size of India it is wise to look at the individual provinces in India for analyzing risk.<sup>55</sup> The provinces to be examined are Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra

Pradesh, Orissa and Karnataka.<sup>56</sup> These provinces are concentrated in extreme poverty and are highly vulnerable to disasters, therefore they have limited capacity to handle the effects of future disasters.<sup>57</sup>



*Figure 14. 3: Women receiving Supplies from USAID/OFDA in India. (Source: USAID/India-Disaster Assistance).*

### *Latin America/Caribbean*

In Latin America/Caribbean, Haiti has a projected high risk of vulnerability to disasters by 2030. The amount of those living under \$1.25 a day in Haiti is 51.2 % of the population.<sup>58</sup> The country has also had a history of earthquakes, tropical storms, and flooding. Haiti's most recent disaster, the 2010 earthquake which was a 7.0 magnitude, caused severe damage. Three years after the earthquake those under impoverished circumstances have regressed further and deeper into poverty, despite the massive aid efforts. The effect the

2010 disaster has had on poverty was long-term, as Haiti is finds it difficult to recover to pre-earthquake conditions, making it one of the poorer countries in the world and one of the highest vulnerable to future disasters.<sup>59</sup>

### *Sub-Saharan Africa*

In Sub-Saharan Africa, Madagascar is another high risk country. According to data from the United Nations(UN), 81 percent of the population in Madagascar lives under \$1.25 a day.<sup>60</sup> At this

percentage, Madagascar is one of the poorest countries in the world, and as a result development is very challenging with the prevalence of such widespread poverty.<sup>61</sup> Along with being extremely poor, Madagascar is also very hazard-prone with the country being subject to various hazards like floods, drought, and cyclones. Cyclones present the greatest danger to Madagascar, since on average Madagascar is hit three to four times a year by cyclones, which have in the past caused great amounts of economic damage.<sup>62</sup> Malagasies are also at risk due to political instability that occurred from 2009, which has also hindered development.<sup>63</sup> With climate change, researchers predict that the south and west parts of Madagascar are likely to experience more severe droughts, while cyclones are expected to hit more frequently towards the north.<sup>64</sup>

In Cameroon, 10 percent of the population lives under \$1.25 a day.<sup>65</sup> In comparison to other low developed countries, Cameroon is relatively more developed and is identified as a middle human development country based off the human development index (HDI).<sup>66</sup> However, despite Cameroon's moderate vulnerability due to the amount of those living within extreme poverty, the country is still at high risk to hazards and long-term impacts as a result.<sup>67</sup> The hazards Cameroon is most at risk to are droughts floods, heat, and the spread of epidemics.<sup>68</sup> Most recently an epidemic of HIV/AIDS has become a big factor to those living within extreme poverty in Cameroon, since the epidemic has undermined development by affecting those at the heart of development efforts.<sup>69</sup>

In the CAR 63 percent of the population lives under \$1.25 a day.<sup>70</sup> The country is prone to hazards like drought, heat, floods, and most recently violent conflict.<sup>71</sup> Due to an outburst of religious conflict, the CAR has been in a state of fragility and vulnerability. The conflict is the result of issues stemming from high amounts of chronic poverty and non-inclusive growth. According to data, fragile states have been proven to show a lack of reduction in poverty over a number of years, due to armed conflict perpetuating extreme poverty.<sup>72</sup> Due to the volatile situation, CAR has experienced significant displacement of a number of its population and food insecurity as well. Attempts of humanitarian assistance to parts of the country have been hindered, due to risk and security concerns. This makes for an increasingly dire population, already living in very vulnerable situations.<sup>73</sup>

In Cote d'Ivoire, 24 percent of the population lives under \$1.25 a day.<sup>74</sup> Cote d'Ivoire is most at risk to floods, drought, heat, and epidemics.<sup>75</sup> The country has also been racked by violent conflict, which can hinder the development of the country, by perpetuating extreme poverty.<sup>76</sup> The government of Cote d'Ivoire has recognized the threat of conflict and potential hazards have on development. Under the country's Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), the government has therefore, included plans for disaster risk management under their plans for reducing poverty in the country.<sup>77</sup>

In Chad 62 percent of the population lives on under \$1.25 a day.<sup>78</sup> With more than half of the country's population living in extreme poverty, Chad is vulnerable to various hazards. More specifically, the country is mostly at risk to drought, heat, floods, and famine. The recent food crisis within Chad, has left many without the basic necessity of food and the means of income, pushing many into extreme poverty.<sup>79</sup> With previous famines and disasters, many of the poor population within Chad have had trouble recovering. So with the occurrence of the most recent famine, many poor people find themselves even more vulnerable, as they lack the capacity to cope to the continuous risk of disasters, one after the other.<sup>80</sup> This risk of disasters is further inflated by displaced populations from surrounding countries, riddled by conflict.<sup>81</sup>

In the DRC, 88 percent of the population lives on less than \$1.25 a day.<sup>82</sup> This makes the DRC another top poverty country, where the continuance of conflict is likely to persist.<sup>83</sup> Besides the ongoing conflict within the country, the DRC is also at risk of other hazards, such as floods, food insecurity, and epidemics. With their exposure to conflict and these other hazards, the DRC's poor population find themselves embedded within a complex emergency.<sup>84</sup> The conditions of the DRC are complex because the occurrence of these hazards leads to circumstances of impoverishment, but there is also a lack of infrastructure to even provide basic needs to those impoverished by disaster. Due to security concerns that arise from conflict, outside relief is limited. So ultimately, those who live under extreme poverty in the DRC are not given the necessities they need to sustain their livelihoods or their lives, making it hard for them to escape extreme poverty.<sup>85</sup>

Ethiopia is a country that has seen a rise in GDP growth over the recent years, however despite this, 39 percent of the country's population live on less than \$1.25 a day.<sup>8687</sup> The ODI report also predicts Ethiopia will be among the top poverty countries in the world by 2030.<sup>88</sup> This is under the pretense that the percentage of those living in extreme poverty would rise, as a result of an increase of disasters in Ethiopia. Hazards that the country will be prone to are floods, heat, drought, and famine.<sup>89 90</sup> Drought risk, according to ODI report, will increase between now to 2030 and will be the primary risk that will lead to an increase in the poor population living in Ethiopia, especially to those who are vulnerable and living among the highlands.<sup>91</sup>

In Guinea Bissau, the portion of the population that lives under \$1.25 a day, is 49 percent.<sup>92</sup> The country is at risk for hazards such as drought, floods, and epidemics. The disaster that caused the largest loss of human life in the country, was an epidemic in 1996. The greatest amount of those affected by a disaster, was from the 2002 drought that affected 100,000 people.<sup>93</sup> In recognition of the effect disasters have on the country's impoverishment, the Guinea Bissau government has incorporated disaster management within the country's PRSPs.<sup>94</sup>

In Liberia 84 percent of the population lives on under \$1.25 a day.<sup>95</sup> In the country, vulnerable populations are most at risk to epidemics, floods, drought, and extreme weather.<sup>96</sup> Liberia has also been affected by lengthy conflict, but has come out of this crisis looking to rebuild. However, the effects of the 14 year conflict has been long reaching, as a significant amount of the population find themselves without the necessary basic services.<sup>97</sup> With the effects of other disasters, Liberia's efforts towards growth can be at risk of being hindered .

In Nigeria, 68 percent of the population lives under \$1.25 a day.<sup>98</sup> The country is prone to hazards such as drought, extreme temperature, and more significantly, floods and epidemics. Vulnerable populations in Nigeria, are as of recently, most at risk for a Cholera epidemic. Conflict within the northern part of the country and flooding, can also provide risk for the vulnerable populations by leading to an increase in food insecurity.<sup>99</sup>

In Sudan 20 percent of the population lives on under \$1.25 a day.<sup>100</sup> The situation within Sudan remains critical due to continuing conflict, leading to significant population displacement and to increased food insecurity. Those living under extreme poverty need immediate humanitarian assistance following conflict. Unfortunately access to humanitarian assistance is difficult in areas where there is insecurity.<sup>101</sup> Also, Sudan is likely to be at risks to other disasters in the future like, drought, earthquakes, floods, and epidemics.<sup>102</sup> With the possibilities of these oncoming disasters, the vulnerable population will be threatened with even more impoverishment.

Finally, in a study of households in South Sudan it shows that 82 percent of rural households live below the poverty line, while for urban households 73 percent does.<sup>103</sup> Following the secession from Sudan and being embroiled within a lengthy conflict, South Sudan remains one of the least developed



countries.<sup>104</sup> Along with conflict, disasters like drought and floods, have further effect on the already vulnerable populations. With a forecasted increase of natural disasters in South Sudan, the result is a dire need for help in coping and managing these upcoming disasters.<sup>105</sup>

Figure 14. 4: Civilians fleeing conflict in South Sudan. (Source: USAID/Crisis-South Sudan).

## US INTERESTS

Development plays a significant role in US foreign relations. Aiding in development around the world is essential as it relays common economic, security, and political interests between the US and other under developed countries.<sup>106</sup> However, with extreme poverty there is a lack of basic services and

access a population needs to be able to sustain themselves . For any country with a significant amount of its population living with limited to no access to basic necessities needed to uphold their livelihoods, development can be extremely difficult. This is why the US has aligned foreign interests with the new goal to eradicate extreme poverty by 2030.<sup>107</sup> To effectively carry out the goal of eradicating extreme poverty within the set time frame, the realization of disasters as impediments to this goal is of great concern. This is where a catered comprehensive disaster management approach, through effective response, recovery, and mitigation is crucial. By incorporating disaster management within the framework of the long-running goal to eradication, development within areas of US interests can be better realized.<sup>108</sup>

### ***Response***

USAID responds to many crises, providing immediate assistance to many of the recent areas hit by disasters. From the recent Typhoon in the Philippines to the growing conflicts within South Sudan and Syria, USAID covers every type of disaster.<sup>109</sup> Through the Office of US Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) under the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA), the US is able to provide life-saving assistance to those living within a crisis.<sup>110</sup> Through immediate response and relief, the US is able to safeguard the lives of those affected by disasters and help them immediately cope, until the next phase towards recovery.<sup>111</sup>

In 2013, USAID allocated \$2,224.6M towards humanitarian assistance, which covered the provision of immediate assistance and protection to victims of disasters and conflicts, improving disaster preparedness, and building programs and policies for better migration management. Out of the total expenditure to humanitarian assistance in 2013, \$2,105.5M was allocated to providing immediate response and assistance. The importance of disaster response to USAID is further shown in the countries receiving the most humanitarian assistance from USAID in 2013. These countries are the West Bank/Gaza, Haiti, Burma, Pakistan, Georgia, Bangladesh, El Salvador, and Yemen. In the West Bank and Gaza all \$ 35.4M towards humanitarian assistance, went towards immediate response. Within Yemen and Georgia the budget allocation was similar, with \$11.9M going to immediate response in Georgia and

\$47.0M going immediate response in Yemen. With Burma, Haiti, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and El Salvador some funding was allocated towards disaster preparedness, however, still a vast majority of the funding went towards immediate response in those countries.<sup>112</sup>

USAID, through its many partners and contracts, provides immediate relief through the provision of basic services like food, water, shelter, etc., in areas affected by disasters.<sup>113</sup> For example with the occurrence of Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, the USAID/OFDA sent Disaster Assistance Response Teams (DART) to assess the immediate needs and assistance needed within the affected areas, so they can provide the necessary relief supplies. USAID/Food for Peace Program (FFP) supplied emergency food assistance, which they accomplished by giving out cash to the population, who would then purchase enough rice from local farmers and vendors for their entire family. This means of emergency food distribution follows the recent proposal by President Obama to reform the way those affected by disaster have access to food aid, making it more effective. Also, USAID/FFP as well supplied the population with nutritious bars. For immediate access to shelter, USAID/OFDA provided supplies for temporary shelters like plastic sheeting and fixing materials, which allowed the locals to build their own shelters or, if they already had shelter, improve the state of damage from the typhoon. In the issue of health, USAID/OFDA handed out Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene Kits (WASH) which gave the Filipinos access to clean water as well as sanitation products, in an effort to prevent the spread of communicable diseases.<sup>114</sup> In countries affected by conflict or fragile states, USAID/OFDA also provides immediate assistance for those who are most vulnerable, those who have been internally displaced by conflict. For example in the CAR, USAID/OFDA has provided \$1.0M to fund a monitor that tracks internally displaced persons (IDPs) and also provides emergency relief supplies to IDPs as well.<sup>115</sup> This covers the basic services and supplies USAID employs when they must immediately respond, following a disaster.

Immediate disaster response plays an important role in US foreign aid and is also crucial in eradicating extreme poverty, by alleviating those from immediate danger and “stabilizing the condition of the survivors”.<sup>116</sup> For areas that USAID has already provided immediate assistance to, many of these countries have high amounts of extreme poverty and are very susceptible to hazards as well.<sup>117</sup> Since so

many of these countries are entrenched in extreme poverty, they have limited resources to cope with the effects of the disaster, so by delivering immediate assistance, USAID helps these vulnerable communities to cope with the immediate effects, creating a stable foundation for the next step within disaster management, which is recovery.<sup>118</sup>

### *Recovery*

Following the response stage, USAID then invests in disaster recovery. The recovery stage helps to get those affected by the disaster back on to their feet, in a pre-disaster shape and towards the stage of development.<sup>119</sup> Recovery is very important within the larger framework of disaster management, since it



*Figure 14. 5: Cleaning rubble in a neighborhood in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. (Source: USAID/Working in Crises and Conflict- Recovering from Crisis).*

commences, before, during and after a disaster strikes.<sup>120</sup> Disaster recovery in the sense of how quickly a population can recover and how effective they are at doing it, determines how well an affected population will be able to sustain during the long-term.<sup>121</sup> USAID enacts the recovery phase of disaster management through the collaboration of their response sector and development sector.<sup>122</sup>

In the case of Haiti following the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake, USAID funded recovery by focusing on the long-term needs of those affected by the disaster. Following the immediate supplication of WASH kits during the crisis, post-earthquake, USAID provided affected communities with latrines to

manage waste, information on hygiene to better reduce the transmission of diseases, and increasing access to safe water through the subsidization of water vendors and reparation of water pipes.<sup>123</sup> For shelter, USAID/OFDA is working on reallocating those living in temporary shelters during the heightened crisis to transitional shelters, which will help many Haitians reintegrate slowly back into more long-term housing and thus speed up recovery. USAID/OFDA has also worked to provide those displaced by the disaster information on whether it is safe to return to their homes or not and incentivizes families to host others displaced by the earthquake.<sup>124</sup> Following the provision of immediate health services, USAID/OFDA has invested in mobile clinics and stationary clinics to provide necessary care to those injured, disease surveillance, vector-borne disease control efforts, and a patient referral and placement system. Also USAID/OFDA has attempted to restore several hospitals around Haiti, through the provision of medical supplies and equipment.<sup>125</sup> To build food security and lessen the dependency of outside emergency food assistance, USAID/OFDA has supported seed system analysis, which helps them to gauge whether seed aid towards local Haitian farmers would be effective in the long-run in promoting food security.<sup>126</sup> Lastly, USAID/OFDA has placed major emphasis on the role of the economy in disaster recovery. In Haiti, USAID/OFDA encountered their largest economic recovery response for one country to date. Under USAID/OFDA's economic recovery response for Haiti, they supported temporary employment and market infrastructure, developing new livelihoods, and restoring previous livelihoods.<sup>127</sup>

Within a post-conflict context, the recovery phase also includes the incorporation of an inclusive peace-building process. Following the effect of conflict, USAID recognizes the insecurity that arises if there is a lack of reconciliation following the end of the conflict. This insecurity can lead to a rise in continued conflict, unless this insecurity can be remedied. USAID sponsors peacebuilding through supporting interaction between populations on opposite sides of the conflict, bringing them together to build greater understanding for the other side.<sup>128</sup>

Disaster recovery is key in the greater goal of employing disaster management as a tool to eradicate extreme poverty. It targets the long-term needs of a community following a disaster, to help them get back on their feet and be able to sustain their livelihoods.<sup>129</sup> Following the initial phase of

response, rehabilitating the effects of disasters is crucial because it determines whether an affected community is able to recover from the effects of disaster and as quickly as possible move towards sustainable development.<sup>130</sup> If recovery is insufficient, then those affected will find themselves completely overcome by their lack of resources and sink into greater impoverishment, hindering them from moving towards development and out of extreme poverty.<sup>131</sup>

### ***Mitigation***

With the commencement of the recovery phase, the stage of mitigation is intertwined along with post-disaster reconstruction efforts.<sup>132</sup> Mitigation also known as disaster risk reduction (DRR), helps those vulnerable areas that are continually threatened by disasters to better manage the risk of another disaster in the future, through preparation and prevention.<sup>133</sup> With recovery, disaster management is focused on building up sustainable livelihoods following a disaster, however, DRR not only builds up sustainable livelihoods, but protects them as well from any risk that may occur in the unforeseen future.<sup>134</sup> Recognizing the risk of future disasters to various countries in which USAID provides assistance and shares interests with, USAID has adopted DRR within their larger framework of disaster management.<sup>135</sup>

USAID/OFDA's approach towards DRR was inspired from working under the 2005 Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA), which is a global framework for the incorporation of Disaster risk reduction in all levels of disaster management.<sup>136</sup> DRR as envisioned and practiced by USAID/OFDA, incorporates the development of early warning systems, disaster preparedness, mitigation efforts, and training of disaster responders. This can be achieved through mapping hazards, developing people-centered early warning systems, facilitating exchange of information on risks, the development of information-sharing systems and services, funding training and learning programs at a community level, working to strengthen policy, build technical and institutional capacities, support information exchange and stakeholder engagement, stockpile commodities that may be needed in a response, and review and update disaster preparedness and contingency plans.<sup>137</sup> USAID/OFDA also incorporates building resilient livelihoods within its DRR framework. Building resilient livelihoods can be achieved through promoting the sustainable management of land and natural resources among vulnerable populations, supporting

programs to increase food production of farmers, and diversifying livelihoods through building environmental resilience.<sup>138</sup> Lastly, USAID/OFDA promotes within the context of DRR, programs to integrate disaster response and recovery. This is done through their investment into programs aimed at specific risks, strengthening the ability to cope and to recover within development programs, targeting underlying risks, building and improving government capacity, and building public/private partnerships.<sup>139</sup>

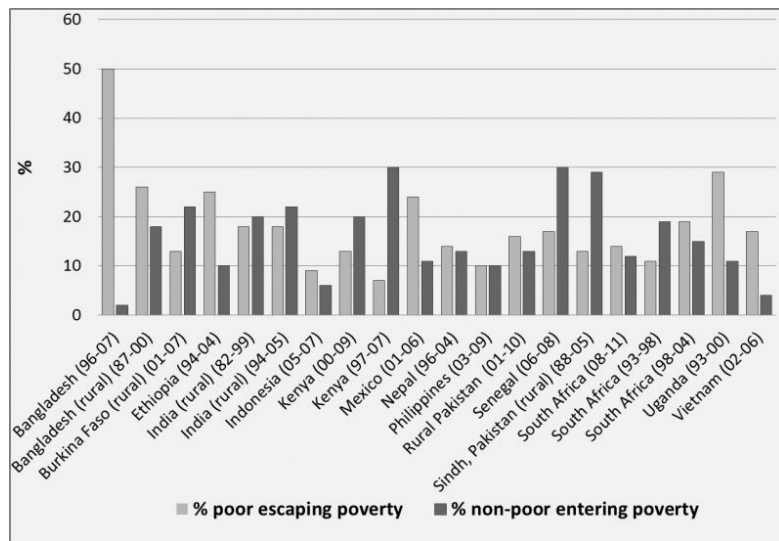


Figure 14. 6: This graph shows how impoverishment can cancel out progress. (Source: *The Geography of Poverty, Disasters and Climate Extremes by 2030*, p 64).

In Bangladesh, for example, USAID looking at Bangladesh’s history of being hit by destructive cyclones, has attempted to successfully mitigate their devastating impacts. USAID/OFDA has invested funding into supporting the construction of early warning systems that help to forecast when a new hazard may occur, Bangladesh’s existing Cyclone Preparedness Program, strengthening community preparedness and mobilization levels, and training medical and search-and-rescue first responders. USAID/OFDA also helped to provide pre-positioned emergency relief supplies, for areas that would be more likely prone to future cyclones, so future response can be much faster and cost-effective as well. With these programs in place, many affected communities were able to better prepare for Cyclone Mahasen in 2013, lessening the impact of the cyclone, and as a result saving many lives. Following the aftermath of Mahasen, the success of DRR within USAID’s disaster management approach was realized. The disaster showed the

capabilities of the government of Bangladesh to build up their capacities and become self-sustaining within the context of a disaster.<sup>140</sup>

The main purpose of DRR is to reduce the impacts of disasters, so that the great costs in managing these disasters is mitigated within the long-term.<sup>141</sup> By targeting the underlying vulnerabilities that turn a hazard into a disaster, USAID creates long-term projects and programs that can help build a resilient community. Countries that have all the mechanisms and infrastructure in place can better mitigate the effects of disasters themselves, reducing the impact of future disasters and the amount of resources which go into the disaster. Instead these resources will go towards new development and preserving development gains, which is essential in helping poor communities crawl out of extreme poverty.<sup>142</sup> Therefore DRR is important in eradicating poverty. With less resources needed and a decrease in vulnerability within the country, USAID can limit its funding towards that specific country, and allocate its funds to other countries of interests.

## POLICY OPTIONS

Though USAID's comprehensive approach to disaster management has been successful in dealing with various disasters in different regions, their approach is not specialized towards poverty reduction.<sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> To cater USAID's comprehensive approach within the framework of eradicating extreme poverty by 2030, these options should be taken into account.

### *Immediate Relief/Response*

For the response phase, the key is to build an effective response approach which creates a stabilized foundation for recovery/development and mitigation to be better realized, and disaster management can be more effective in eradicating extreme poverty. Also to make disaster response more cost-effective, with the intent of leaving more funding for other stages.

#### *Option 1: Work with local communities to develop quicker disaster response.*

When a disaster occurs, the first people to respond happens to be the closest as well.<sup>145</sup> Disaster response is extremely time sensitive. If emergency assistance isn't present within a matter of time, the

amount of mortality among the population can greatly increase.<sup>146</sup> Therefore emphasis on immediacy of response is crucial. However, by the time international emergency efforts make way, the disaster has already matured and affected many.<sup>147</sup> Instead of placing sole responsibilities of immediate response on international organizations, local communities who are close to the disaster should be incorporated. By working with local communities in developing disaster response, immediate assistance can be provided within a short time, lessening the rate of mortality among the affected population. This is clear with the provision of emergency food assistance.

During the earthquake in Haiti, USAID distributed emergency food through the system of Local & Regional Food Aid Procurement (LRP). This meant that the U.S. government would purchase food from American farmers. Then they would send it to one of their main warehouses and then ship the food off on an American vessel, to the area hit by the disaster.<sup>148</sup> With this approach towards emergency food assistance, aid gets to its destination late. According to Oxfam, “the requirement to use U.S. transport often causes aid to be four to six months late”.<sup>149</sup> By the time the aid reaches its destination many have died, and it’s also too expensive for many who are impoverished by the disaster.<sup>150</sup> Also, with this approach money is being wasted to inefficiencies.<sup>151</sup> Instead, work with local communities, through cash-for-food or voucher programs. Give cash to the people and then they take that cash to purchase food from local farmers. Through this approach food aid can be provided a lot quicker and is inexpensive and in turn local economies can greatly benefit from the purchase of local crops. Also the cost of shipping will be lowered as well as the cost of purchasing all food from American farmers.<sup>152</sup>

President Obama has already recognized the importance of working with local communities, reforming International food Aid, by providing funding for expansion of the USDA Local and Regional food aid Procurement Pilot Project. Expansion will allow for more food aid to be purchased locally and reduce food Aid monetization, which hinders the local agricultural sector, by reducing the value, and therefore the reduction of local food aid.<sup>153</sup> Already within the Philippines, Food Aid reform has gone to effect with \$8 million of the \$10 million U.S. contribution to the Philippines, being cash.<sup>154</sup> However,

USAID still hands out food aid, a majority of the time.<sup>155</sup> With this option, the one thing to note is that cash-for-food can only work if there is a functioning agricultural sector nearby, whether it be within the country or in nearby countries.<sup>156</sup> Therefore, countries effected by widespread drought and famine, mainly within the African Sahel and the Horn of Africa, may find it harder to benefit from this approach, and may have to be fully dependent on food aid from the outside. But these are only a few select areas.<sup>157</sup>

During the stage of mitigation USAID can also work closely with communities, training locals to be more efficient in their emergency response. So when another disaster hits there will be groups within the parameters of the disaster who can best assist those in need much faster than outsider responders. Catering to the time sensitivity of disaster response.

### **Option 2: Coordination as a key component of effective response.**

With the response of many local national, and international organizations to a disaster and no ruling authority over them, disaster response can become complicated. Each organization wants to serve the population affected by the disaster, but how they assess the situation can vary from organization to organization. Therefore, this can lead to “duplication of efforts, waste, and in the worst cases, aid not reaching those who need it most”.<sup>158</sup> An improvement of supply chains coordination is therefore needed to create more effective disaster relief. USAID works with supply chain management coordination mostly within their Global health sector, to supply essential drugs to those affected by HIV/AIDS.<sup>159</sup> However, supply chain coordination must also be realized within all areas of logistical disaster response. With the reality of difficulties with supply chain coordination due to factors like uncertainty of the impacts of disasters, and the restriction of Donor priorities within disaster response, supply chain coordination may be unrealistic to achieve as of right now. But funding to more research and information of supply chain coordination can better help realize supply chain management within the future of immediate disaster response.<sup>160</sup>

### **Recovery**

The stage of recovery should focus on protecting the livelihoods of the affected population, through early recovery, reconstruction, and long-term development.<sup>161</sup> Helping those poor communities move out of their vulnerable situations following the disaster, and more into sustainable living.

**Option 3: Smoother and quicker transition from response to recovery, through community cooperation**

Following the disaster response phase in the Philippines after the typhoon, two weeks later relief efforts are shifting towards the recovery phase. However the phase of recovery takes a much longer time to go into effect than immediate disaster response. Therefore, those affected by the disaster are beginning to worry that by the time they can fully recover, that they will run out of relief supplies before then.<sup>162</sup> It is therefore important to “support the development of recovery framework as early as possible following a disaster”, to speed up the process of reconstruction.<sup>163</sup> With the transition from response to recovery, the process of recovery is very slow. Poor communities experience long-term suffering within this time of prolonged transition, since they have limited access to relief services and they have yet to feel the impact of recovery.<sup>164</sup>

A solution to bringing about quicker and early recovery, relies on the diversity of the situation. In other terms, there should be no single approach towards recovery in different regions. Instead what should happen is that the framework for recovery should be flexible and funding should be allocated wisely. That way when a disaster strikes, recovery can be determined by the conditions and needs of the population following the disaster. This approach can be fully realized through community cooperation. Through the provision of necessary materials and information to local communities, locals can as a result, now have the capacity to incorporate their own recovery efforts.<sup>165</sup> Locals already have a grasp of their needs and their conditions post-disaster, they just need the necessary knowledge and access to fully begin to remedy their needs, which shortens the time of recovery as it cuts down the efforts used by international NGOs to begin recovery.<sup>166</sup>

**Option 4: Allocate more funds from disaster response towards disaster recovery**

Following the suggestion of option #3 and the criticism of slow recovery, it is necessary that for option #3 to be realized, more money must be incorporated into disaster recovery. Looking to USAID's recent humanitarian efforts to the most recent disasters, a majority of funding goes towards disaster response. In the Philippines, according to USAID's assistant administrator for humanitarian assistance Nancy Lindborg, out of the \$50 million going towards humanitarian assistance in the Philippines, a majority of it has been used in the form of "life-saving supplies" or immediate disaster response.<sup>167</sup> Funding towards disaster response takes up a majority of USAID's budget within humanitarian assistance.<sup>168</sup> However, with the threat of a prolonged gap between disaster relief and recovery on those affected by disasters, there is a need for more funding towards disaster recovery. The purpose of the first two options within immediate response, is to find more cost-effective avenues to effective immediate response, so that parts of funding from response can be diverted into the recovery phase. With more money invested into building up post-disaster recovery and development, poor communities affected by the disaster will no longer find themselves stuck within a period of suffering, where there is a deficit in relief supplies and early recovery and long-term development is happening at a very slow pace.

### Mitigation

Mitigation will also focus on protecting the livelihoods of the affected population, by targeting the underlying causes of disasters. Reducing the impact of future disasters through planning, preparedness, and prevention.

### Option 5: Shift budget focus from disaster response to Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR), especially within Sub-Saharan Africa

Disaster risk reduction is focal to the goal of eradicating extreme poverty, because DRR seeks to target the main underlying causes of disasters, mitigating the effects of disasters and therefore disaster-induced poverty and allowing for unharmed development.<sup>169</sup> However, within USAID's budget towards humanitarian assistance, DRR gets less attention funding wise then compared to immediate disaster response.<sup>170</sup> Nonetheless, if we want to realize goals of development, funding must be focused primarily on DRR, especially within the context of Sub-Saharan Africa due to heightened risk. Since Sub-Saharan

Africa is predicted to be the region where a majority of future poverty will occur. Also, within the region there is a lot of on-going conflict and an increase in natural hazards, that the region will be very vulnerable to. The US is the biggest donor of aid in sub-Saharan Africa, but very little funding from humanitarian assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa goes to DRR. By focusing more funds toward DRR in Sub-Saharan Africa, “the US could contribute in the long-term to achieving a reduction in loss of life and the need for larger international responses to disasters”.<sup>171</sup>

*Option 6: Channel funds of Disaster Risk reduction (DRR) primarily into the following countries: Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan, India, Haiti, Madagascar, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Cote d’Ivoire, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, South Sudan and Sudan.*

The aforementioned countries, are the top countries by 2030 that show an overlap of high vulnerability with being hazard-prone.<sup>172</sup> Since the goal of eradication of extreme poverty focuses on ending it by 2030, these countries would be ideal because they would be the countries most at risk to future hazards, and have the limited capacity to cope with these hazards by that time. Therefore these countries from now to 2030, will be extremely susceptible to devastating disasters, which could lead to the exacerbation of poverty and therefore impedes on the development process.<sup>173</sup> These countries then, should be the main focus of DRR funding.

As of 2014, USAID wants to focus its budget in select areas, instead of throwing a wide approach that encompasses all countries, due to their restricted budget. These countries provide a great target list to focus on, since these countries all together account for a large amount of those living within extreme poverty. By focusing on these countries, the goal of eradicating extreme poverty can be fast realized. So these are areas where USAID is needed the most, and as a result DRR must be focused within these countries, which can help prevent a great amount of those who could live in extreme poverty, and also help others get out of extreme poverty, as well. Also, with the mitigation the costs associated with

immediate disaster response and recovery will greatly decrease over time with effective DRR policies.<sup>174</sup>

DRR, therefore, is effective as well as cost-effective in the long-run.

**Option 7: Country-by-country analysis using Vulnerability and Capacity Assessment (VCA) and risk modeling and mapping to gauge which areas are most vulnerable to which hazards.**

VCA gauges people's ability to cope with hazards. For each country, and areas within these countries rural or urban, the causes of vulnerability vary. As capacity varies, so does the vulnerability to what risks vary.<sup>175</sup> Within countries there may be various risk factors between provinces, risk mapping helps to determine this.<sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup>In India, the country is so vast that its many provinces vary within the backdrop of vulnerability. India as a whole has a relatively good capacity at managing disasters on its own. However if a VCA was done on India, the country would be identified as having a moderate DRR capacity.<sup>178</sup> While a VCA on the provinces of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, and Karnataka would not show the same thing. Instead, the ODI report shows that these provinces will have the greatest vulnerability by 2030, seeing as a number of the populations live in extreme poverty which limits the ability of the governance to cope.<sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> So here VCA is important, because it provides an in-depth analysis of the countries targeted for DRR, discovering what areas are most vulnerable and where funding should be focused. This continues to narrow down USAID's budget to very specific areas. The same applies with risk mapping. Some parts may be more at risk to certain hazards while other areas may be prone to other hazards. This allows for a strong DRR approach, since risk mapping pinpoints what risk will affect which areas which then DRR can cater to this risk and mitigate the effects should a hazard occur.

**Option 8: Integrate DRR with USAID's efforts in development and climate change adaptation (CCA)**

DRR and CCA, both "share a common goal of reducing vulnerability and building resilience".<sup>181</sup> Since climate change is one reason for heightened vulnerability, as it causes extreme weather patterns and disasters which can induce poverty.<sup>182</sup> Disaster risk reduction must incorporate climate change adaptation to reduce the underlying vulnerabilities caused by climate change. CCA deals with the underlying effects

of disasters in turn.<sup>183</sup> Both CCA and DRR overlap with development, as they both seek to build resilience communities and sustainable development.<sup>184</sup> Since they are so interrelated, it would be better to integrate all so there is better communication and coordination to make DRR more effective and comprehensive. That is why DRR, CCA, and Development efforts should be integrated together within the great framework of building sustainable development and eradicating extreme poverty.

**Option 9: Those living within conflict-ridden areas or fragile states must be handled differently, lack of strong institutional structure to uphold DRR.**

With areas embroiled in conflict and fragile states, there is a challenge to implement DRR efforts, when there is an absence of a strong public institution to push for and make DRR mainstream. As a result of a lack of strong infrastructure, DRR efforts for conflict-afflicted and fragile states should take on various dimensions including efforts to build up political development, along with security, and social and economic development.<sup>185</sup> Simultaneously with efforts towards building up institutions, peace building should be incorporated as well or else, conflict will continue to hinder efforts of development. This is why conflict mitigation, through peace building and other efforts, should be incorporated within DRR efforts working towards building sustainable development.<sup>186</sup>

## **POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

***Work with local communities to develop quicker disaster response.***

- Work with local farmers through Cash for food programs, to provide emergency food assistance
- Train local communities in providing effective and immediate response

***Coordination as a key component of effective response***

- Building coordination on all levels, local, national, and international
- More research towards Supply Chain Coordination Systems

***Smoother transition from response to recovery, moving quickly towards early recovery***

- No one size-fits-all recovery plan, work with communities to establish needs following the disaster
- Work with local communities, through the provision of materials and information, to help them rebuild themselves.

***Allocate more funds from disaster response towards disaster recovery***

- To realize option #3, requires more funding towards recovery efforts
- Dilute funds from disaster response towards recovery, through option #1, more cost-effective disaster response.

***Shift budget focus from disaster response to DRR, especially within Sub-Saharan Africa***

- DRR becomes focal point of disaster management, planning and budget wise
- Allocate funds from disaster response towards DRR, through option #1, more cost-effective disaster response

***Channel funds of DRR primarily into the following countries: Bangladesh, Nepal, and Pakistan, India, Haiti, Madagascar, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Nigeria, South Sudan and Sudan.***

- USAID limits its target countries for disaster assistance due to its limited budget
- Focus on these countries, as they will be the areas with a great amount risk by 2030.

***Country-by-country analysis using Vulnerability and Capacity Assessments (VCA) and risk modeling and mapping to gauge which areas are most vulnerable to which hazards.***

- Develop accurate VCAs to create precise planning efforts, and an overall effective DRR plan
- Develop accurate risk modeling and mapping, to help focus efforts of DRR, to areas that require the service of DRR.

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<sup>183</sup> "Integrating Disaster risk reduction (DRR), Climate change adaption (CCA) and Sustainable development," Post-2015 DRR Framework, <http://www.preventionweb.net/posthfa/documents/Summary-and-Closing-Remarks-of-5th-Round.pdf>.

<sup>184</sup> "Integrating Disaster risk reduction (DRR), Climate change adaption (CCA) and Sustainable development," Post-2015 DRR Framework, <http://www.preventionweb.net/posthfa/documents/Summary-and-Closing-Remarks-of-5th-Round.pdf>.

<sup>185</sup> Lockhart, Clare, and Sam Vincent. "Ending Extreme Poverty in Fragile and Conflict-affected Situations." (2013): 3.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid*, 3-4.





# ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

**CHAPTERS:**

- 15 – Sub-Saharan Africa
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# Chapter 15 Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa

By Blake Cizek

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## ISSUE

Extreme poverty exists in the day-to-day lives of 1.2 billion people worldwide whose existence is dependent on the average \$1.25/day PPP. Populations in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) best know this experience, disproportionately representing 48.5 percent of the world's estimated extreme poverty headcount.<sup>1</sup> A variety of factors, such as geography, trade barriers, poor governance and corruption, colonial legacy, and armed conflict, have all attempted to explain why Africa remains the world's poorest region, but have come short in their endeavors to set the context for extreme poverty in SSA. These explanations certainly have merit, but one must first take a step back from these explanations and focus on economic development in order to achieve the aims set forth by USAID to eradicate extreme poverty in SSA.

This approach beckons USAID, African governments, economic organizations, and the international community to closely reexamine the relationship between government and the marketplace in SSA. A reevaluation of development policy in regards to economic growth, trade and innovation is necessary because the current system falls dramatically short of addressing the problem. In order to solve extreme poverty in SSA by 2030, dialogue and action must begin to focus on the sectors of energy, trade, and infrastructure under the guise of reevaluating the relationship between the government and marketplace to eliminate the extractive colonial legacy and endemic corruption of SSA.

## BACKGROUND

New and innovative solutions that strengthen the role of the ties (middlemen actors, energy contracts, trade laws, organizations, etc.) between governments and the marketplace are necessary for economic development in SSA. Shifting development focus to countries like Botswana and Cape Verde, who have comparatively strong governance indices, creates better odds in securing a strong foundation

from which to develop strong economic sectors in energy, trade and infrastructure. This is because the relationship between the government and marketplace in these countries are relatively better off in comparisons to other current USAID projects (e.g. Egypt and Ethiopia) which source foreign aid through unstable and/or corrupt governments to the marketplace. Once strongly developed, the relationship between the government and the marketplace in these countries will allow for the marketplace to flourish domestically, crossing borders to build up the region. Thriving economic regions will attract stronger foreign direct investments (FDIs), both regionally and intercontinentally, opening pathways for trade and a stronger integration of the SSA economy to the global market.<sup>2</sup> These pathways are key in the development process to lift SSA out of extreme poverty because they will create and strengthen economic mechanisms to allow goods to be produced and flow efficiently, which in turn creates opportunities for individuals to enter into a specialized job market which guarantees a higher standard of living for rural and urban communities.

SSA governments, economic organizations, and businesses must realize certain fundamental civil and political rights in order to strongly support economic development projects. Once the government and marketplace cut back obstacles to transparent cooperation and become a harmonious entity within SSA countries, social and economic rights will then begin to form and become protected to strengthen their civil society. Enabling SSA to become an independent actor in lifting people out of extreme poverty is currently the strongest policy to spread democracy, which in turn fends off the security concerns of civil war, terrorism and gendered abuses.

Understanding what created Africa's current economic state is the first step in restructuring the ties between the government and the marketplace in relation to extreme poverty eradication. With the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest population and 2<sup>nd</sup> largest landmass, Africa is at the center of the world. It is home to world wonders such as the Serengeti, Sahara Desert, abundant precious metals and natural resources, and world visionaries; At the same time it is home to various negative conflicts such civil wars, genocide, popular uprisings, failed states, terrorist factions, HIV/AIDS & malaria epidemics, and extreme poverty<sup>3</sup>. This

region is the world's last untapped marketplace. To tap into this vast market, it is of vital importance to understand the colonial legacy that has shaped and continues to shape Africa's history.

### Context: Present & Past

#### Current Situation in Today's SSA Economy: AGOA

Since the 200<sup>th</sup> US Congress passed the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) in 2000, significant leaps and bounds in terms of growth and innovation have been accomplished in SSA economies to develop Western, Eastern and Southern Africa. AGOA was created to significantly enhance market access to the United States (US) for qualified SSA countries that improve its rule of law, human rights and respect for fair employment and labor standards. Originally this US-African trade agreement's mandate was slated expire in 2008, but was soon extended to 2015 by the Bush administration in 2004, realizing that the desired economic impact determined by the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in these regions would take longer than intended. This decision to extend the mandate was primarily recommend by USAID in 2003 when it became the primary United State Government (USG) agency to develop and innovate AGOA into a robust economic system that would launch SSA into the global market.<sup>4</sup> To accomplish this, USAID created the following three trade hubs over the course of the next decade under The Competiveness and Trade Expansion Program (COMPETE): West Africa Trade Hub (WATH), East Africa Trade Hub (EA), and South Africa Trade Hub (SATH). These regional trade hubs in SSA have dramatically changed the economic landscape and US-Africa trade relations, but have not accomplished the AGOA of making SSA a completely independent and transparent marketplace.<sup>5</sup>

Recognizing that AGOA's primary emphasis on manufacturing and service related industries was not quickly making deeply rooted foundations over the course of its first decade, USAID and other development practitioners came together to rethink the economic situation in SSA in such a manner that would not only open Africa's marketplace, but eradicate extreme poverty as well in the process. While maintaining an emphasis on manufacturing and service industries, USAID added food security to SSA trade hubs' mandates in 2009 with the inauguration of President Obama's *Feed the Future* Initiative.<sup>6</sup>

WATH, EA, and SATH's mandates were again extended to emphasize public-private partnerships to accomplish broad-based economic growth across international borders with President Obama's *Partnership for Growth* (PFG) initiative in 2010.<sup>7</sup> COMPETE's mandate in SSA again recently extended in 2013 with President Obama's *Power Africa* initiative to help host-SSA nations to develop effective energy infrastructure and systems. These three recent Presidential initiatives show that AGOA was too ambitious in scope in 2000, and adjustments were needed to primarily focus on and fine tune energy, trade agreements, and infrastructure related sectors. The activation of AFRICOM in 2008 additionally made AGOA's SSA mandate more complex when US defense, intelligence and resource security interests were added to the mix to develop economies while combating terrorism, primarily in the Horn of Africa.<sup>8</sup>

COMPETE's three SSA economic hubs, though similar in overarching objectives, are very much different in scope because the regions that they serve are on varying levels of the development progression scale. Despite their differences, all three hubs work together collectively to create strong economic zones that equip Africans with necessary skills and resources to enable them to become masters over their own destinies to eradicate chronic poverty and economic failure. WATH works with its people to improve transportation, access to finance and business environment for its six value chains (apparel, home décor & fashion accessories, cashew, shea and specialty foods) and information and communications technologies (ICT) to make West African businesses more competition regionally and internationally. USAID's West Africa Trade Hub uses a market-driven approach to increase exports from many African countries including Cape Verde, Cote D'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, and Chad. Because WATH is relatively well established in this region, they are able to take the next step in developing its marketplace beyond basic operational subsistence. To do this, WATH is currently working on sustainable programs that would help to create and sustain multiplier effects in Western Africa economies.<sup>9</sup>

EA on the other hand is committed to increasing food security and economic growth in East and Central Africa by: reducing barriers to regional and international trade, facilitating efficiency and competitiveness in key value chains (apparel, cut flowers, specialty foods, and home décor & fashion accessories), and ramping up trade and investment between the United States and East Africa. East Africa

Trade Hub is currently USAID's poster child for COMPETE because it is perfect for economic experimentation practices by nature of being the least developed behind West and South Africa. In addition, EA received special considerations from AFRICOM's interests for its proximity in and around the Horn of Africa. Origin Africa is EA's primary economic innovation campaign that is devoted to improving African trade by using social entrepreneurship and empowerment to put Africa on the map as a preferred sourcing continent. This 2009 initiative hopes to accomplish these goals by raising awareness to change domestic and international perceptions about Africa's business reliability and ability to a key competitive player through creativity and innovation. Through its operations, EA serves Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and Ethiopia.<sup>10</sup>

SATH is the newest USAID trade hub in SSA, commencing in 2010, shortly after the inauguration of the 2009 *Feed the Future* initiative with a mission set similar to that of EA. COMPETE's Southern Africa Trade Hub is mandated with orders to increase international competitiveness, intra-regional trade and food security. This trade hub, centrally located in Gaborone, Botswana, builds up the relationship between the government and the marketplace by offering technical assistance to governments, the private sector and civil society organizations to advance regional trade by incorporating gender and public health integration, and environmental standards as experimental byproducts. SATH currently operates in Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zambia. Within this region, SATH specifically works to reduce time and costs of transporting goods across borders by deploying modern trade facilitation tools such as coordinated border management, customs connectivity and single transport corridors; strengthening competitiveness of grain, soy and groundnut value chains by reducing post-harvest losses, introducing better seeds and technologies and strengthen agricultural infrastructure and trade links; increasing trade and investment in Southern Africa's textile and apparel sector; increasing capacity for regulating and enhancing clean energy sources; and improving regional trade, investment and integration by enabling the trade environment to become more transparent through legal and regulatory reform.<sup>11</sup>

All three of USAID's trade hubs in SSA are excellent starting points in taking AGOA beyond its limited US-Africa focus to a level of operational capacity that could change SSA dramatically and eradicate extreme poverty by 2030. Much work and clarification of specific project mandates and goals still to needs to be clarified among these three hubs, but all the same, they are doing great work in setting a foundation for long-term economic stability. To do this, USAID needs to take a step back from the suit and tie atmospheres of Washington DC and put themselves into the shoes of the Sub-Saharan Africans that have been living in extreme poverty as a result of a legacy from colonialism and the Cold War which stunted SSA's natural economic progression.

### *Setting the Context: SSA's Colonial & Cold War Legacy*

The legacy of colonialism in Africa began with the Berlin Conference of 1884–85 which regulated European colonization and trade in Africa. The conference ushered in a period of heightened colonial activity by European powers, while simultaneously eliminating most existing forms of African autonomy and independent governance. The partitioning of African territory among European states often violated existing boundaries recognized by local Africans. During this period the economy of Africa was restructured to serve European political and economic interests. The colonial plantation and resource mining systems were widely introduced to grow large quantities of cash crops and mine gems and precious metals for export to Europe. These systems employed cheap and enslaved African labor purely only for Europe's benefit. The implementation and effects of these colonial policies were brutal and created an extractive economy in Africa. The lack of care for the wellbeing of Africans and their economies by the Europeans is exemplified by King Leopold's Belgian Congo colony. The brutal conditions employed by the Belgians created widespread famine and disease which led to the deaths of an estimated 10 million Congolese between 1885 and 1908; all for the purpose of providing cheap rubber to Europe. Europe's short colonial tenure in Africa dramatically changed the course of African economic progression and greatly stunted their ability to enter into a period of industrialization. Instead, Europe's extractive leadership, operations and infrastructure gave African leaders the incentives to be corrupt, priming African independence movements not for liberty, but for preservation of rule by a few. If the

economic systems of colonial Africa were based upon comparative-advantage, not extraction, the invasiveness of extreme poverty in today's SSA would not exist.<sup>12</sup>

After World War II, European attitudes towards Africa began to change as empires were forced to break apart. In the aftermath and at the beginning of the Cold War, western nations were opposed to annexing territories through total conquest. While political forces were on the move, agitation began to grow exponentially in the remaining European colonies. African countries gradually won their independence with borders determined by pre-existing colonial boundaries. As the Cold War continued, fledgling authoritarian African governments could count on support by proxy from either Western governments or Communist states.<sup>13</sup>

As European colonialism began to fade into the woodwork, economic resilience of SSA regimes began to erode over the next several decades. The early years of independence passed relatively smoothly, but as the Cold War began to set in, these newly independent SSA nations succumbed to the pressures of the bipolar political and economic system. As time progressed, democratic and communist blocs highly encouraged SSA regimes to develop single-party ruling systems, outlawing political opposition. As a result, authoritarian rulers came to and maintained power for many years, perpetuating failed extractive economic systems. FDIs and nation-building loans from foreign governments and economic institutions, like the IMF and World Bank, perpetuated corruption of regimes by vaguely "contracting" political and economic allegiance while turning a blind eye to where the money was actually spent. Because money was pocketed, these loans became crippling burdens to some countries that had difficulty in paying back even the interest on the loans. The UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) estimates that between 1970 and 2002 sub-Saharan Africa received \$294 billion in loans, paid out \$268 billion in debt service, and still owes \$300 billion. Corrupt authoritarian regimes chose not to trickle-down money to its people because they needed the wealth to stay in power and were allowed to remain legitimate under the guise of Cold War dogma. Corruption of regimes perpetuated the extractive sentiment, conditioned by the colonial period, by keeping their populations powerless by maintaining systemic extreme poverty.<sup>14</sup>

Throughout the latter half of the Cold War, ethnic and political conflict began to emerge as varying ethnicities, cultures and religions mobilized to combat the oppressive and extractive systems that were perpetuated by colonial legacy and the Cold War. Civil War and government instability kept many SSA economies stagnant for decades. While civil-political instability continued, SSA economies continued to fail because of mismanagement and corruption in agricultural and manufacturing industries. These sectors were failing because the extractive agrarian and mining infrastructures, left behind by colonialism, could not support the basic operation capacity of manufacturing and services industries, which is needed for an industrial revolution to occur in a national economy. Because SSA was ripe with roaming conflict and stagnation due to a lack of industrialization, many SSA countries became increasingly dependent upon foreign imports, such as food and energy. This sentiment is captured in the 1973 OPEC oil embargo, which decimated the economies of 40 African countries who were dependent upon oil imports from OPEC, forcing a continent-wide economic crash which spurred social and political conflict. The security of SSA towards the end of the Cold War was exposed as highly compromised.

Spiraling downward from the legacy of colonialism and the Cold War, SSA economies continued to stagnate, even after the collapse of the USSR in 1991, and were left behind in ruins as foreign assistance began to withdraw. Some scholars and practitioners cite the Cold War as the reason why SSA continued to decline, while others argue that economic decline had been result of meddling in the internal affairs of SSA regimes by the IMF and World Bank. But whether or not these international players had any direct involvement in SSA's economic misery, major governance deficiencies, mismanagement and corruption could have alone accelerated poverty further because of the extractive colonial legacy left behind a century earlier. The Cold War simply helped to perpetuate the colonial system under the guise of independent authoritarianism. Corruption ran deep in the ranks of the wealthy elite in SSA regimes who held positions of authority. Bribery and corruption became the centerpiece of governance in SSA. Up until the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the connection between the government and the marketplace seemed to be null and void because every private and public good produced in Cold War era was run by authoritarian regimes funded by foreign aid and wealth from the sale of natural resources. By all account, SSA should be on the

decline because no actions were taken to lift the poor out of extreme poverty and into the ranks of capital-producing middleclass.<sup>15</sup>

### *Comparing Legacies: SSA vs. East Asia*

It is worth recalling that as Africa emerged from colonialism, East Asia was the region in trouble and turmoil. Its extensive involvement with and destruction in World War II was followed by the Chinese Revolution (1949), the Korean War (1950-1952), insurgency in the Malay Peninsula in the 1950s, the bloodbath in Indonesia (1967-1968), and the Vietnam War that spilled into Laos and Cambodia and continued for over three decades. A widely held view at the time contrasted Africa's potential with Asia's pitfalls. Thus, just a half century ago, economics Nobel Prize winner, Gunnar Myrdal, visited Asia; whose economies then were doing little better than those of Africa have since that time. Even with his rich and experienced worldview and ideas, Myrdal could not help but to agree with the view that this continent's prospects were dismal. History proved this consensus view to be wrong. Though economic development and quality of life looked bleak, much of East Asia had just begun the most rapid period of sustained growth seen anywhere in the world at any time following the catastrophic events of World War II. The early 1990s World Bank study, *The East Asian Miracle*, described the important role that government had played in working with the marketplace by promoting savings, education, technology and entrepreneurship as well as regulating finance and ensuring that financial markets served the needs of society. This relationship between the government and the marketplace in East Asia was so dramatically different from the norm embodied by the Washington Consensus that it continues to baffle scholars and practitioners alike. Despite this sentiment, a country's success in creating reasonably "good government" and adopting reasonably "sound policies" and failure to attract non-extractive foreign direct investment, or even to promote domestic investment "should" not have been allowed to grow at the rate that East Asia did.

Exporting their limited natural resources to could have reflected East Asia's initial spike in economic growth, but this type of investment typically limits growth by producing relatively few jobs and bringing harm to the environment by inefficiently depleting scarce resources. Instead, while investing in

the limited natural resources that they had, East Asian countries heavily invested in manufacturing and service sectors that gave rise to sustained growth and job creation for decades. This created a miraculous economic boom which exponentially raised the standards of living and purchasing power of East Asian populations. As a result, war-torn nations, like Japan, were able to rise from the bottom all the way to the top with the developed Western economies in a mere 50 years. Economic growth to this degree has only happened once in history and has yet to happen again.<sup>16</sup>

Comparing the economic history of East Asia to that of Africa is a necessary endeavor to understand the scale and impact of just how strong the relationship between the government and the marketplace and its intermediaries can be in determining the level of economic success in a region. It shockingly took East Asia only 30 years to develop and rise to a point to break away from comparison Africa in terms of equal extreme poverty rates. In The shift is estimated to have begun in 1981 with East Asia at an extreme poverty rate of 61 percent and Africa at 51 percent. In 2010, East Asia improved exponentially to lower its extreme poverty rate to 13 percent while Africa at stayed relatively stagnant at 48 percent. The economic growth difference is astronomically remarkable because both regions were comparable to each other in terms of extreme poverty rates and a few decades later these regions are dramatically different from each other. Because of this, the relationship, or lack thereof, between the government and the marketplace in SSA begins to become clearer and more prominent.<sup>17</sup>

Plain and simple, SSA leaders, regimes and governments have traditionally not chosen to cultivate economic stability by developing manufacturing and service industries because they have not have adequate turnover in economic policy and nation building since colonialism and the Cold War. Acemoglu and Robinson in their first chapter of, *Why Nations Fail*, introduce the puzzle of why some countries prosper and why others fail as a result of differing political structures which burden or encourage economic institutions. The authors lay out in detail how the Americas came to be and why the economic prosperity north and south the U.S.-Mexico border differ greatly. Theories based upon geography, culture and ignorance were introduced to show variety in the explanation of the legacies of European colonization in the Americas. The institutional differences between the extractive model of the

Spanish in Latin America and the competition-based model of the British in the New England colonies set the bar for how the American nation states developed in the centuries to come. The “get rich quick” schemes of the Spanish left behind corruption and poverty, whereas its northern neighbors prospered because their institutions allowed it. Turn this example back towards East Asia and Africa, there is almost an identical match to the comparison between the British and Spanish colonial systems in the Americas. Because East Asia is not blessed with natural resources, it was turned in a manufacturing powerhouse of tea, opiates and other products desired from British consumers. Whereas in Africa, Europeans colonizers had no desire to cultivate African society because they had come simply for its abundance of natural resources.<sup>18</sup> The difference in the political economies of these two regions point to a correlation which helps to illustrate why Africa is in the predicate that it is. If current foreign policy towards Africa can completely shift away from a program of charitable humanitarian assistance and towards a robust framework which emphasizes the foundation and cultivation of manufacturing and service industries, then extreme poverty can be eradicated by 2030.

### *Rethinking & Innovating Economic Development Policy in Today's SSA*

#### *Power Africa*

Recalling the context which set SSA's current economic state, the journey to completely eradicate extreme poverty by 2030 starts with completely rethinking policy innovation in the realms of energy, trade and infrastructure. Recognizing that much progress has been made in agricultural sustainability with President Obama's *Feed the Future* initiative since its inauguration in 2009, the next step towards industrialization of SSA's economies can now begin to shape and take off. To create robust industrial economies in Africa, three key areas become vital building blocks. These three keys are: 1) develop viable systems which can produce sustainable energy for the remaining two-thirds of Africa which currently don't have access to electrical power; 2) rearrange and restructure African trade agreements, barriers and economic associations into transparent, free-market economic zones; and finally 3) continue

to innovate, develop and provide infrastructure (e.g. microfinance systems; mobile networks; roads, bridges, etc.) to bolster the first two areas.

On June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2013 in Cape Town, South Africa, President Obama launched the Power Africa initiative to address the pressing challenge of providing sustainable and renewable electrical power to enable sustainable economic growth and development in Africa. Roughly around 69 percent of the population of Africa do not have access to electricity; rising to 85 percent of the population in rural areas. This initiative is directed to bridge the gap between Africa's power needs and its economic potential by working together as a private and government coalition of U.S., international and African partners. This newly created coalition, hopes to create the foundation for and to help SSA countries to develop newly-discovered natural resources responsibly, to build power generation and transmission facilities and systems and to expand the use of mini-grid and off-grid solutions.

Currently, the USG is working closely with the African Development Bank and other donors and investors to help fund and share the risk of this energy endeavor. The International Energy Agency (IEA), estimates that Africa will require a hefty price tag of \$300 billion in investments to achieve sustainable and universal access to electricity by 2030. A strong relationship between the government and the marketplace will be the key to making Power Africa happen. With Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria and Tanzania at the helm in the first phase, Power Africa is slated to produce more than 10,000 megawatts of electrical capacity by 2020. This energy jump start would increase access to a least 20 million new SSA homes and commercial entities. In addition, these operations will enhance energy resource management capabilities, allowing partner countries to meet their critical energy needs and achieve energy security. Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria and Tanzania, as the guinea pigs for Power Africa, have set ambitious goals to reform their energy and utility sectors to pave the way for future economic investment and growth. Uganda and Mozambique have also been looped into phase one of Power Africa to partner on responsible oil and gas resources management.<sup>19</sup>

Rooted in partnership, Power Africa sources high levels of investments and financial support from the USG and private US corporations. The USG government alone has already pledged more than

\$7 billion in financial support through the USAID (\$285 million), OPIC (up to \$1.5 billion), Ex-Im (up to \$5 billion), MCC (up to \$1 billion), USTDA (up to \$20 million), and USADF (up to \$2 million). These various government agencies will work jointly to provide an assortment of financial, technical, operational, and infrastructural support. In addition to the USG's pledge, Power Africa has leveraged more than \$9 billion initial commitments from private corporations: General Electric (commits to bring online 5,000 megawatts of energy through technological provision, expertise and capital in Tanzania and Ghana), Heirs Holding (\$2.5 billion investment to support 2,000 megawatts of power), Symbion Power (\$1.8 investment to support 1,500 megawatts of power), Aldwych International (\$1.1 billion investment to develop 400 megawatts of wind power in Kenya and Tanzania), Harith General Partner (\$70 million for wind energy in Kenya and \$500 million for Power Africa at large), Husk Power Systems (installation of 200 decentralized biomass-based mini power plants in Tanzania), and the African Finance Corporation (\$250 million investment in Ghana, Kenya and Nigeria, with an additional \$1 billion for spreading energy projects throughout Africa).<sup>20</sup>

By securing a massive power overhaul in the beginning with Phase One of Power Africa, policy advocates hope that it will help to attract future investments in Africa's Energy Sector. Through enabling a full-court press to develop energy capabilities over the next 5 years, Power Africa is avoiding the traditional decades-long backlog that normally stagnates energy development in Africa. In taking a transaction-centered approach provides incentives to host governments, the private sector and donors galvanize collaboration to produce rapid results that drive forward systemic reforms for future investment in energy and other economic sectors. Enabling host-governments the capacity to develop, approve, finance and bring power projects on line is critical to the success of Power Africa and to economic development of SSA to eradicate extreme poverty by 2030.

### **Trade: Barriers and Organization**

Despite enormous opportunities to do business within Africa, the continent loses money to high trade costs. It takes Africa's top grocery chain, Shoprite, an average of \$20,000 dollars per week to secure input permits to distribute goods in just one country. It takes the same company up to 1,600 documents to

send one truck across the regional border. In Kinshasa- Brazzaville, predicted to become SSA's largest urban area by 2020, few residents cross the border than those who crossed the Berlin Wall in 1988. This is because of the high cost required to cross and ship goods across the Congo River border from the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Republic of Congo. These two examples illustrate the same story, despite several SSA's leaders' claim for improved regional integration as a strategic objective. SSA countries have yet to reach their trade potential, particularly when comes to trading with each other. Only 5 percent of SSA's grain imports, for example, come from regional resources. Africa does not trade with Africa, plain and simple, contrary to popular opinions from around the world. Empowered by energy objects, SSA's can soon start to heal broken relationships between the government and the marketplace by incentivizing intra-African trade. By accomplishing this feat, economic growth is not only a byproduct, it dramatically helps to spur development to eradicate poverty by empowering SSA's youth and working class through job creation which leads to education and specialization.

Africans have not been given the opportunity to engage in efficient and productive cross-border trade because of non-tariff trade barriers like staggering transaction costs, complex immigration produces, limited capacity of border officials, costly import-export licensing procedures, and a lack of investment in trade associations. 10 percent of African trade happens within Africa, and if you compare this to other economic regions like the European Union, which trades at a 60 percent cross-border capacity, it is troubling to make such a comparison. Trade is an engine of economic growth and development, and if Africa is to sustain the current growth momentum, which stands at little more than 5 percent annually, it is of critical importance to increase the volume of trade within the African continent, especially SSA.

Unclear trade policies like high transportation costs and logistics also limit access to efficient transport services, especially in rural areas. For example, seeds released for sale in Kenya may sit stale at the border in Ethiopia because they do not satisfy local requirements or a trader may get his grain to the Tanzanian border, only to find that a ban on exports has been recently imposed. Furthermore transportation infrastructure is not efficient because it may take these same merchants three or four days

to cross the border if they were allowed to cross; adding a 1 percent transportation cost for each day wasted.<sup>21</sup>

If SSA leaders committed themselves to lowering barriers to the movement of goods, services, people and even investments across borders, then SSA's economy will grow dramatically, pulling millions up out of extreme poverty. Once implantation and reorganization of transparent trade policies begin, the barriers faced by ordinary SSA merchants will be radically reduced, allowing Africans to thrive off of its own fruits of labor. Currently, Africa is paying up to 40 percent extra on the transported sum of the goods at the consumer end, compared to a 10 percent extra sum average in the rest of the world. These trade barriers handcuff SSA's economic growth by forcing the marketplace to remain sedated, uncompetitive with the rest of the world.<sup>22</sup>

Removing corrupt trade barriers is not rocket science and would not cost any additional investment. If SSA government and marketplace leaders follow through with decreasing trade barriers and efficiently reorganizing trade organizations, they can free up to \$34 billion from trade costs annually. This would help to bring SSA's booming informal trade into the formal economy. Senegal, Kenya and Mali have already begun this journey towards trade transparency, allowing more doctors, lawyers, accountants and other professionals the ability to travel from country to country in their region to offer services at lower cost and higher return value. These policies not only allow trade to happen, but it also empowers these professionals to share their skills with a greater number of people allowing for higher employment in specialty fields and services offered. It is estimated that by removing trade barriers, it would allow for 400 million young people to engage in the market, increase global competitiveness, spur less reliance on struggling Western economies and end food shortages which affects up to 240 million people annually. This can only happen if strong partnerships are formed between African governments, private enterprises and trade associations, allowing Africa to trade with Africa.<sup>23</sup>

### *Breaking Barriers: Infrastructure*

Infrastructure plays a critical role in economic growth and extreme poverty eradication in SSA. The lack of infrastructure dramatically affects productivity and exponentially raises production and transportation costs, as discussed earlier, impeding growth. This reduces the competitiveness of businesses by diminishing their ability to generate capital for the marketplace, which also hampers the government's capacity to pursue economic and social development policies because capital created by the economy is not readily available. Infrastructure is the enabler which allows for energy and trade reform to occur. Without a robust system, SSA is the least competitive region in the world, allowing for a 2 percent delay in growth annually as a result of deficient infrastructure.

Most of SSA's 47 nation states are small, with populations of 20 million or fewer and economies of less than \$10 billion annual GDP. Their infrastructure systems, like their borders, are reflections of their colonial legacy, with roads, ports, and railroads built for resource extraction and political control. As a result, these countries have terrible difficulty in binding together economically and socially. SSA's inefficient extractive infrastructures choke integration efforts, stunt growth and gouge natural resources. Regional integration is the best way for SSA countries to realize their growth potential and share in the benefits of participating in the global market. The primary benefit of building and reinforcing regional infrastructures is the formation of large, competitive markets in the place of the present collection of small, isolated, and inefficient ones. Sharing regional infrastructure across Africa's national boundaries will solve the problem of extending markets to small scale and adverse locations. As regional integration improves, the SSA economies will begin to extend services rendered to millions of additional consumers. By expanding market reach, SSA economies will become actively competitive with each other, stimulating intra-regional and inter-regional trade. Once built, strong infrastructure exploits and advances synergies among sectors like energy, trade, manufacturing and service industries.

Regional integration can be accomplished by investing in the basic infrastructure systems of energy, water, sanitation, information and communication technologies, and transportation. In order to get break free of the extractive and authoritarian legacies of colonialism and the Cold War, SSA leaders from

the government and the marketplace need to form strong ties and partnerships so that the economy can thrive and not be choked by the astronomically high costs of trade and corruption. By integrating public and private sectors together to provide basic infrastructure, corruption will be reduced and jobs will be a product of enabling the economy to flow and become efficient.<sup>24</sup>

Mobile phone networks and systems help to build and secure regional infrastructure in SSA because they enable the transfer of virtual information (finances, raw data, etc.) between economic actors in previously unreachable markets. With this revolutionary technology taking SSA by fire, mobile phones empower urban and distant rural populations a greater degree of productivity in their communities by integrating economic networks and increasing transparency in SSA public and private marketplaces. The speed of mobile phone adoption is unprecedented because it took only three 3 years to spread to a global scale. Currently, nearly 7 billion phone subscriptions work throughout the world and by 2016 there will be an estimated 1 billion mobile phones in Africa alone. Because of this innovation, this phenomenon creates a greater degree of deterrence in developing markets by keeping money “physically” out of the hands of corrupt officials. It is astonishing to witness the degree of effectiveness that mobile technologies can have on a developing nation. Whether these systems are used to break down corrupt authoritarian regimes through civil action, like in the Arab Spring or used to build stronger and more transparent societies through innovation, like that of M-Pesa in Kenya provides telecommunications infrastructure for domestic and international financiers to provides loans and share risks with entrepreneurs that are making a huge impact on the informal marketplace<sup>25</sup>. The ability to develop and coordinate infrastructure through the use of mobile phone networks makes economic development extremely easy to enter into. This market can only thrive and succeed if telecommunications systems can reach rural areas that Power Africa is attempting to reach.

## **INTERESTS**

The USG for decades, since the advent of the Marshall Plan following World War II, has committed itself to fulfill and protect the needs of the impoverished, malnourished, war-torn and broken

communities across the world by helping to promote democracy through foreign aid, military, diplomatic and development operations. That said, the USG has dramatically cut its foreign aid budgets over the past several years due to varying political factors and has stressed scale, efficiency and innovation to deliver a just as robust development product with a smaller price tag.

Recently, USAID has officially committed itself to eradicating extreme poverty, stemming from the Obama Administration's commitment to fulfilling the UN MDGs. This precedence sets a heavy burden upon the USAID because the international community will critically look to the United States to determine whether or not they are actually committed to becoming a leader in international development or just furthering US interests, or more frankly put "imperialism." To meet this call, the USG is taking large leaps and bounds in morphing USAID into a holistic directorate which emphasizes public-private partnerships, investments in innovation and results-based performance. *USAID Forward* is slated to push USAID above and beyond what is traditionally expected of the USG and its people to share in the global responsibility in protecting democracy and the world's most vulnerable.

With the *Feed the Future* initiative in 2009 and now *Power Africa* in 2013, the USG is promising to maintain its commitment to the international development community, despite varying economic and political forces which have become recent impediments to funding for foreign aid international development operations. The USG, with USAID at the helm has begun to slowly change its foreign aid and development model over the past decade. Traditionally, USG foreign assistance has siphoned aid to foreign governments in order to achieve a trickle-down effect in development and to maintain political allegiances in a bipolar world that was dominated by proxy interests and deterrents in the Cold War. The Cold War is over and the USG has entered into a world where nationalism is not as important as it used to be on a global scale because nations become cultural melting pots as varying customs and traditions spill over national borders. Realizing the world's rapidly changing landscape, the USG is directing USAID to target intermediary actors, grassroots movements, while maintaining a strong product with trickle-down relationships at the top. This sentiment is certainly at play in *Power Africa*, which sources partnerships

from USG agencies, US private corporations, international agencies and corporations, and most importantly African government agencies and economic players.

But, this top-down, hope for the best, foreign aid model is still at play in many regions of world according to USAID's 2013 Fiscal Report, especially in Africa. Critiquing what USAID does with its money is not meant to be an argument which decides whether or not top-down foreign aid works or not. Rather discussing if the USG wishes to become a transformed and transparent player in the realm of international development it needs to source politically-charged foreign aid disbursements back into military, diplomatic and intelligence budgets. It is not unreasonable to question why an exorbitant amount of USAID funding and project resources are directed towards Egypt. Understanding that this impoverished region is a critical battleground for political stability in the Sinai Peninsula, it is not of vital importance in the struggle against extreme poverty. Egypt's foreign aid profile, specifically in terms of "economic development," under USAID's budget is astronomically high and has no close competitors to other nation states in Africa. Arguing whether or not the Egyptian government is stable is beyond the scope of USAID's interests in eradicating extreme poverty because all recipients of money that is obligated and spent on Egypt's economic development are not earmarked. This fact is inconsistent with USAID's newly organized mission to become a transparent development leader. Instead of having much of USAID's already much diluted budget go towards political goals, source the money from somewhere else. SSA has better potential in building up its economies to eradicate extreme poverty if USAID, an established development leader, sets a tone of genuine action and transparency to help tap Africa as the next big globalized marketplace.

With this in mind, the USG, specifically USAID, has its interests in: 1) deploying new tools and expanding existing systems which assess scale of impact and sustainability of existing and future development projects. This means to strategically employ cost-benefit analysis and growth diagnostics to evaluate the impact of public-private partnerships. 2) Deploying economic growth tools in support of existing and future Presidential initiatives, such as Feed the Future and Power Africa and directorates like the Development Credit Authority (DCA). 3) Mobilizing the President's Partnerships for Growth (PFG)

effort to make greater use of “non-assistance” tools to foster broad-based economic growth with US and African partnerships. 4) Becoming more systematic in exploiting the synergies between education and broad-based economic growth to source, train and provide opportunities for unskilled laborers in Africa to become skilled to specialize in the growing economy, especially in the energy, trade and infrastructure sectors. 5) Helping to secure, organize and organically growth strong African economic zones so that they become strong independent actors which fend off security threats such as terrorism and civil war. 6) Promoting SSA’s energy, trade and infrastructure sectors to secure the foundation for democracy in the region to protect US security and energy concerns domestically and abroad. 7) Securing and promoting a stronger SSA economy enable the US’ economy to reap the benefits from US-African trade agreements in the global economy. 8) Fortifying US interests in natural resources and precious metals that are vital to US energy security and US corporations.<sup>26</sup>

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Energy Policy*

The USG has taken huge steps into securing strong partnerships in its Power Africa initiative, but it is not air tight and its strategic goals need to be reevaluated to ensure that they are met for the benefit of Africans and not just USG and US corporate interests which are heavily focused on AFRICOM’s security mandate for the Horn of Africa. Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Liberia are all great places to start energy projects to jump start rapid-economic growth in these zones, but they are not the best candidates to start strong economic zones in because of their history of corruption and civil war. These countries have made great progress in showing the international community their commitment to development and democracy, but they still have a ways to go. Instead, Power Africa’s Phase One could begin in each of USAID’s already established trade hubs in West, South, and East/Central Africa. Currently Power Africa is primarily in East Africa. Each Power Africa project in these hubs should be located in nations that are in Top 20 African nations as ranked by The Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) developed by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation. WATH Power Africa could be based in:

Ghana (7<sup>th</sup>), Senegal (10<sup>th</sup>), Sao Tome & Principe (11<sup>th</sup>), and Benin (13<sup>th</sup>); Cape Verde (3<sup>rd</sup>) is not an option because of its island-based location. EA Power Africa could be located in: Rwanda (15<sup>th</sup>), Tanzania (17<sup>th</sup>) and Uganda (18<sup>th</sup>); Kenya could be consider for its position at 21<sup>st</sup>. Lastly SATH Power Africa could located in: Botswana (2<sup>nd</sup>), South Africa (5<sup>th</sup>), Namibia (6<sup>th</sup>), Lesotho (9<sup>th</sup>), Zambia (12<sup>th</sup>), Malawi (16<sup>th</sup>) and Mozambique (20<sup>th</sup>). Using IIAG is founded on the sentiment that these countries will be more able to carry out substantial energy operations better because they have already committed themselves to becoming Africa's best performers in terms of governance based upon safety & rule of law, participation & human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development. This is important to recognize because the relationship between government and the marketplace is highly dependent on governance because it secures the policy and operational infrastructure which allows the economy to found and thrive. That said, USAID has the option of 1) completely scrapping contracts with the existing Power Africa countries in favor of the IIAG Top 20 in COMPETE's three hubs, 2) continuing on with existing Power Africa contracts 3) or create a hybrid Phase One which includes contracts with countries from both the IIAG Top 20 and the existing Power Africa partners. Option 3 could be strengthened by adding a 5-year progress report which evaluates how each country performs on its Phase One contracts with Power Africa, in order to adjust contracts according to top and under performers. Within this performance-based evaluation, Power Africa practitioners could drop under performers in favor of top performers and then find other candidate that could strongly perform based upon future IIAG Indices.<sup>27</sup>

### Option 2: Trade Policy

As a member of the WTO, the USG is a strong supporters of market liberalization and globalization of remaining untapped marketplaces that align with international trade standards. One of the remaining untapped markets, the biggest actually, is Africa because currently their economies are fraught with corruption, bureaucratic inadequacies, lack of expertise and armed conflict. It's astounding that in the 2<sup>nd</sup> biggest continent on earth, only 10 percent of inter-continental trade occurs between African nations, compared to 60 percent in Europe, a much smaller continent. As discussed earlier, African

merchants have to pay up 40 percent extra in transaction and transportation costs to get their product from point A to point B. With statistics like this, it doesn't take a rocket scientist to make the connection between economic stagnation and persistently high rates of extreme poverty. To break this trend, current trade policy in Africa will need to be turned upside in a completely different direction, if not tossed out entirely. Innovative solutions to trade barriers in Africa is the first step in enabling the economy to take root, thrive and be powered by the initiatives in Power Africa. To do this USAID has the following options: 1) strengthen WATH, EA and SATH by working with public and private leadership in IIAG's Top 20 to create special economic zones along domestic borders to decrease/eliminate trade costs; 2) create accountability programs to evaluate corruption and performance of operators at border crossings and give incentives to these individuals to become transparent civil servants (e.g. extra public benefits, reward systems, etc.) which would allow the economy to no longer be choked at the border; 3) work with the AU to restructure Africa's complex trade associations networks to become clearly marked and identifiable; not a spaghetti bowl full of inefficient redundant overlap; 4) work with the UN, WTO and AU to create special economic zones within the regions of IIAG's Top 20 nations, which would enable trade transaction costs across borders and regions to be zero, for up to 5 years (renewable up 10years, until region is able to be proficiently independent of special economic assistance) to drive rapid economic growth and performance.

### **Option 3: Infrastructure Policy**

Energy policy is the heart and engine of this whole framework, employing trade reforms to be the catalyst which breaks down the gunk barring from streamline efficiency, and then infrastructure comes in to seal the deal to support this whole system functionality and integrity. Infrastructure is often overlooked as the key player in development operations, but it certainly cannot be underscored in this economic policy framework because it helps to drive the growth that energy and trade policy help to bridle into raw power and potential. To do this, the following option are available for consideration: 1) continue to support ICT innovators, like M-Pesa, by researching target areas in IIAG's Top 20 that would be proficient in supporting trade and energy operations as the economy grows; 2) research and evaluate the

operational feasibility of outer-net, which sources its telecommunications networks from satellites instead of traditional physical structures in urban and rural areas, to decide whether or not its operational capacities could fit the scale needed to reach critical rural and urban areas of interest where energy and trade policies will be focusing on over the next 5 years; 3) research and identify civil infrastructure (roads, railways, bridges, etc) that are currently choking trade efficiency in IIAG's Top 20 and begin to develop partnerships for projects to begin operations; 4) evaluate current performance of COMPETE's infrastructure projects in applicable IIAG's Top 20 and compare it to its performance in enabling the local economy to grow; 5) identify strategic economic players in rural and urban areas in IIAG's Top 20 and direct the DCA to begin a full-court press to these areas to share the risk of the rapid economic development in these zones.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

### ***General Recommendations***

- Reevaluate where economic development budget disbursements in Egypt in relation to the earmarked sums of money with unknown destinations
- Reaffirm commitment to economic development in SSA in relation to partnerships with the AU, UN and applicable private partners currently invested in Africa's economic future.
- Create a tri-tiered framework (energy, trade and infrastructure) to become the heart of future economic development in Africa to spur rapid growth to bring communities that are currently experiencing extreme poverty out of this \$1.25/day PPP threshold.
- Continue *USAID Forwards*'s development progression by integrating existing USAID trade tubs and the proposed tri-tiered policy in SSA

### ***Energy Policy***

- Create a hybrid Phase One which incorporates existing Power Africa contracts with Kenya, Ghana, Ethiopia, Liberia, Tanzania and Nigeria with proposed WATH, EA, and SATH top performers as evaluated by IIAG's Top 20.
- Evaluate performance of Phase One's project performance on a country to country basis, identifying top performers over a 5 year period.

- Top performers after this 5 year period will be part of primary consideration for creating special economic zones in these regions.

#### ***Trade Policy***

- Work with public and private sector leadership in WATH/EA/SATH-IIAG's Top 20 to create special economic zones along domestic borders to decrease/eliminate trade costs
- Evaluate corruption and performance of operators at border crossings in order to identify problem areas.
- Develop incentives for civil servants to become transparent individuals
- Strengthen relationship with the AU to restructure Africa's trade association networks to decrease overlapping of responsibilities and territories.
- Create a partnership with UN, WTO and the AU to create special economic zones within the regions of IIAG's Top 20 nations

#### ***Infrastructure Policy***

- Continue to support ICT innovation and creation by identifying target areas in IIAG's Top 20 countries.
- Research and evaluate the operational capacity of outer-net, which sources its data and telecommunications networks from satellites instead of traditional telecommunications structures, to decide whether or not its operational capacities can fit the scale needed to reach critical rural and urban areas of interest where energy and trade policies will be focusing on over the next 5 years.
- Identify civil infrastructure (roads, railways, bridges, etc) that is currently choking trade efficiency in IIAG's Top 20 and begin to develop partnerships to start projects to will eliminate extractive infrastructure.
- Evaluate current performance of USAID's infrastructure projects in WATH, EA, and SATH and compare it to its performance in enabling the local economy to grow
- Identify strategic economic players in rural and urban areas in WATH/EA/SATH-IIAG's Top 20 and direct the DCA to begin a full-court press to these areas to share the risk of the rapid economic development that will occur in these zones as proposed energy and trade policy progresses

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# Chapter 16 Economic Development in South & Southeast Asia

By Caleb Smith

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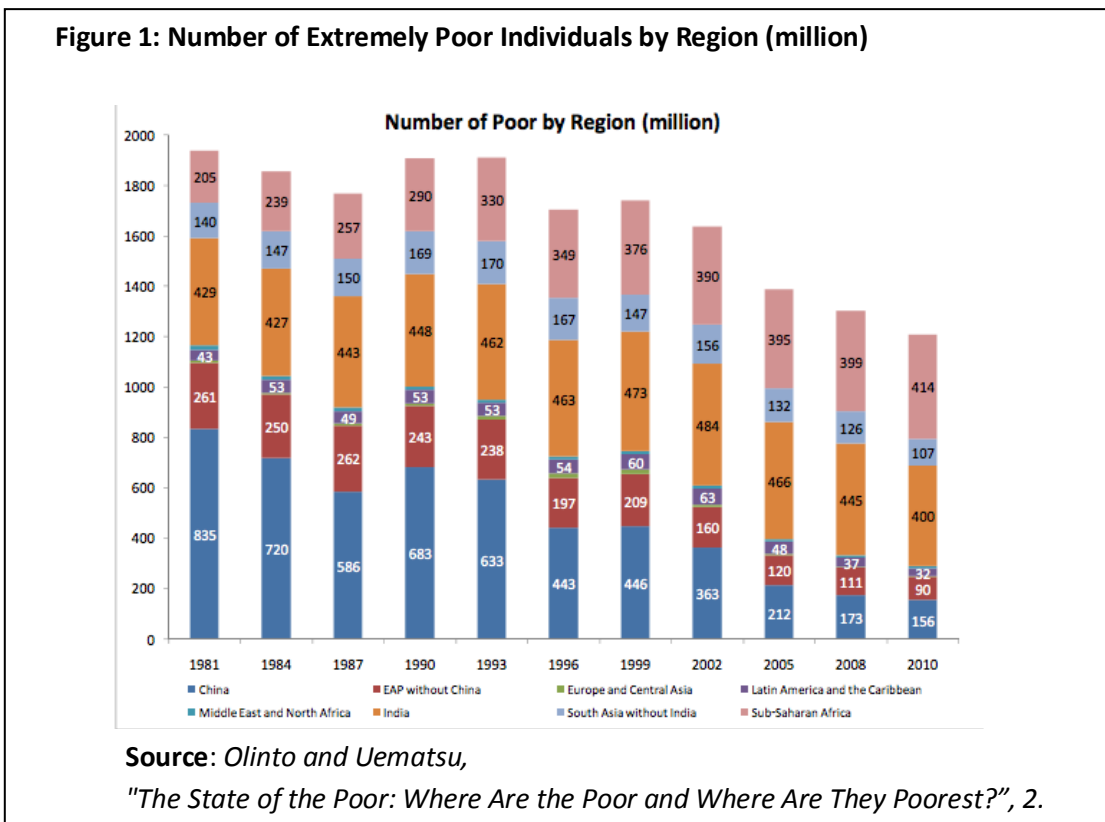
## ISSUE

Broad-based economic growth is a fundamental component for ending extreme poverty.<sup>1</sup> South Asia is home to the largest population of extreme poverty in the world with over 500 million individuals, 80% of which live in India alone.<sup>2</sup> In order to generate broad-based economic growth it is crucial that USAID and other development agencies focus their efforts on various economic challenges that are inhibiting poverty eradication in south Asia. Encouraging macroeconomic cooperation, political stability, infrastructure development, private investment, and public-private partnerships are the necessary functions for generating employment and economic opportunities for the desperately poor.

## BACKGROUND

USAID and the State Department believe that economic growth is essential for reducing extreme poverty. The *quality* of economic growth, however, determines whether the poor benefit. Many countries in South and Southeast Asia have experienced significant economic growth over the last twenty years, yet due to concentrated wealth some are still struggling to reduce high populations of extreme poverty.<sup>3</sup> USAID's current mission statement focuses on generating broad-based economic growth and ending extreme poverty.<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of aligning with USAID's mission, this chapter will concentrate on countries in South and Southeast Asia with the largest populations of extreme poverty and/or with significant US interests. It is important to clarify that this chapter will refer to *South Asia* as India, Bangladesh, Nepal, the Philippines, Pakistan, and Afghanistan because these countries fit into the parameters outlined.

South Asia is home to over 500 million people living in extreme poverty.<sup>5</sup> Since the 1980's the region has only experienced a moderate decrease in the total number of extremely poor individuals, despite a much larger drop in national headcount ratios (HCR), which is the percentage of a country's population living in extreme poverty.<sup>6</sup> Basing poverty reduction on HCR percentages makes poverty reduction seem much more substantial than it actually is because it fails to account for rising population levels. When looking at the distribution of extreme poverty within a region it is important to recognize how HCR statistics can differ between individual countries and within the global context. For example, India's HCR at \$1.25 a day (% of population) significantly decreased from 55.5% in 1983 to 32.7% in 2010.<sup>7</sup> This can be attributed to India's increasing population and a growing middle class. When compared to the global HCR at \$1.25 a day, however, India's share of global extreme poverty actually



increased from 22% in 1981 to 33% in 2013 (partly due to the increasing global population and a significant decrease in China's extreme poverty population.<sup>8</sup> Figure 1 illustrates the decline of India's total extreme poverty population over the past 30 years in comparison to the rest of the world.<sup>9</sup> It is

important to refer to the total population of extreme poverty in order to fully grasp its magnitude in a particular region.

### *Economic challenges inhibiting poverty reduction*

Despite recent economic growth in most South Asian countries, many continue to have high rates of inequality and extreme poverty. The wealth that is being generated by growth is concentrated in high-incomes and is not reaching the extremely poor. Gini coefficients, which indicate wealth distribution in the country, have increased from 41 to 43 in the Philippines and 31 to 34 in India over the last thirty years, reflecting a widening income inequality gap.<sup>10</sup> Inequality in the region, however, extends beyond simply income: the entire South Asian economy is asymmetric. India's GDP, partly due to its population size and global market involvement, makes up 80 percent of the total South Asian GDP.<sup>11</sup> This means any market fluctuation in India has an effect on the countries surrounding it and most significantly on the extreme poor in those neighboring countries. This phenomenon has become recently evident as the aggregate projected GDP growth for South Asia has experienced a significant decrease from 10.0% in 2010 to 4.4% in 2013,<sup>12</sup> mostly in response to high inflation, unstable foreign direct investment (FDI), currency depreciation, and high fiscal debts in India.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, infrastructural inadequacy is a major economic challenge that is inhibiting these and many other economic developments.

Poor transportation and energy infrastructures have inhibited broad-based economic growth by isolating the poor and making it especially difficult for rural areas to access the mainstream economy. For example, only 57% of South Asia's rural population has access to all-season roads.<sup>14</sup> This makes trade in rural areas arduous if not impossible during some parts of the year. In terms of energy access, only 42.5% of rural Bangladesh has access to electricity, while the rate for all of rural South Asia is 66.8%.<sup>15</sup> The Ganges–Brahmaputra–Meghna, Indus, and Helmand basins, which encompass Northeastern India, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan, is one of the most economically isolated regions in South Asia. Limited access to electricity and all-season roads has caused half of the region's 550 million inhabitants to remain in poverty.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately little is being done by USAID to address this problem.

Considering just Bangladesh and Nepal, USAID spent only US\$213,644 and \$10,175 on infrastructural development out of the total \$47.7 million and \$9.9 million spent in 2013, respectively. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the World Bank have committed over \$15.2 million exclusively for infrastructure building projects in Bangladesh, as well as implementing a number of successful infrastructural development projects in Nepal.<sup>17</sup> Improving transportation and energy infrastructure is a fundamental component for eradicating extreme poverty because it increases the rural poor's access to private investment, employment opportunities, public services, and other mechanisms that enable broad-based economic growth.

### *Regional Economic Integration*

Learning from the successes of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), close regional integration is invaluable for extreme poverty reduction.<sup>18</sup> Effective regional integration has been proven to speed up economic growth and incentivize improvements in infrastructure and integration.<sup>19</sup> One negative aspect of regional integration, seen in the case of ASEAN, is a loss of competitive advantages over manufacturing industries in neighboring countries. Currently South Asian countries have horizontally integrated industries, meaning each country generally completes every stage of the production process autonomously. This is detrimental to South Asian industries because it detracts from specialization and does not utilize comparative advantage. Fortunately, most South Asian economies have complementary comparative advantages because they produce similar products (textiles, garments, and agriculture).<sup>20</sup> This negates the loss of comparative advantage. South Asian economics would benefit from vertically integrated industries because it would divvy up the production process and foster specialization and productivity. India, for example, has advanced business services that could benefit from low labor costs in Bangladesh if they vertically integrated their industries.<sup>21</sup>

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) attempted to reconcile South Asian economies but has been substantially less effective at fostering economic cooperation and addressing issues like extreme poverty compared to ASEAN. SAARC was initially established as a way to facilitate further economic and political cooperation between the South Asian countries of India,

Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and the Maldives.<sup>22</sup> Despite a consensus about the need to alleviate poverty, soft issues have largely dominated the agenda and SAARC members have avoided addressing hard economic issues in depth for fear of controversy.<sup>23</sup> Fortunately within the last decade SAARC has made strides to address hard issues by establishing two formal trade agreements. The South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA) was established as a way to address the broader issue of regional cooperation<sup>24</sup> and later this cooperation expanded to include more economical and geopolitical factors with the South Asian Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA).<sup>25</sup>

After becoming operational in 2006, SAFTA implemented a decade-long process to phase out tariffs with safeguards, institutional structures, and dispute settlements to ensure smooth integration.<sup>26</sup> Although trade between SAARC countries has increased since these agreements, the macroeconomic environment has only marginally improved. Intra-regional trade remains idle at around five percent and persistent trade imbalances with India still exist.<sup>27</sup> A shortage of all-weather roads connecting various parts of the region to the mainstream economy has contributed to this stagnation and prevented the rural poor populations from benefiting from these agreements. If South Asia's infrastructural capacity were to increase to half of ASEAN's level, intra-regional trade would increase by as much as 60%.<sup>28</sup> Correcting infrastructural shortcoming will reenergize declining private investment and further contribute to reducing poverty in the region.

Over the past five years the inflow of FDI dropped by almost 50% in South Asia, from \$50.8 billion in 2008 to \$27.4 billion in 2012.<sup>29</sup> Nepal has been hit the hardest by this decrease with FDI at 0.1% of its total GDP. The World Bank attributes Nepal's low FDI to "challenging regulatory and legal framework for foreign investment, poor governance and accounting practices, weakness in the domestic banking sector together with lack of a swap market for the Nepali rupee, poor implementation of property rights, and heightened political uncertainty."<sup>30</sup> These problems are not restricted to Nepal, other countries such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Philippines have all experienced decreases in FDI inflows since 2007.<sup>31</sup> When combined with steady infrastructural improvements, strong regional economic cooperation will stabilize FDI and economic growth through increased flows of trade and investment.

## USAID Economic Development Programs

USAID utilizes a number of mechanisms in order to stimulate broad-based economic growth. These mechanisms range from increasing a country's exports to encouraging entrepreneurship and private-public partnerships.<sup>32</sup> Specific programs include Partnership for Growth (PFG), which focuses on eliminating growth-inhibiting constraints in select developing countries, and the Development Credit Authority (DCA), which acts as financial backing or guarantees for underserved entrepreneurs in new or developing markets. Other programs are reducing the costs of doing business for the private sector and promoting microfinance and microenterprises to empower the poor and help them escape poverty.<sup>33</sup>

USAID's PFG program has been implemented in four developing countries in order to examine the influence of public-private partnerships on spurring investment and development. PFG operates on the belief that the conventional paradigm of sustainable economic development is evolving to more actively include the private sector as essential components for new sources of investment.<sup>34</sup> The program has successfully stimulated development in the Philippines through private sector investments, micro financing programs, and infrastructure building.<sup>35</sup> PFG has also improved coordination and synergies between development agencies and increased transparency in US trade, development, and finance programs.<sup>36</sup> Although there are still steps that need to be taken in order maximize the potential of the PFG program, its successes demonstrate how important the private sector is for stimulating economic development and ultimately ending extreme poverty.

Oftentimes entrepreneurs in developing countries are considered "too risky" to receive a loan from a private financial institution because of incomplete financial records, land ownership proof, and/or other reasons. Access to private lenders is important to extend the potential for development in regions experiencing extreme poverty. USAID's DCA program supports entrepreneurs in new or developing markets by providing financial backing or guarantees for financial loans from private lenders.<sup>37</sup> Financial guarantees allow lenders to take an additional risk of offering loans to previously unqualified borrowers or for development in new markets.<sup>38</sup>

USAID also supports and encourages scientific and technological advances in order to find solutions and innovations for development challenges such as eliminating extreme poverty. Programs encouraging such advances include Development Innovation Ventures (DIV), an open competition encouraging innovations that help to alleviate problems such as extreme poverty, and Frontiers in Development (FID), which engages and partners with smart, innovative, and experienced individuals in the professional world to come up with solutions for development challenges. DIV has produced many technology-based development solutions, particularly in the realm of social enterprises. Unfortunately these projects have not lived up to their potential of sustainability and have been unable to self-sustain without grants or donor support.<sup>39</sup> Inadequate small-scale funding and a lack of wide-range financial sources have partly contributed to these failures.<sup>40</sup> Competition for this limited funding has narrowed the scope of potential development solutions to more high-tech technologies that have the potential to scale rapidly.<sup>41</sup> Publicizing the DIV program will allow access to more funding sources and allow for a broader range of technologies and innovations to be explored.

#### *USAID Economic Involvement in South Asia*

USAID recognizes that there are several necessary mechanisms for achieving broad-based economic growth. These include macroeconomic stability, investments in infrastructure and education,<sup>iv</sup> gender equality, and utilizing global markets and knowledge.<sup>42</sup> Although these mechanisms are incredibly important for broad-based economic growth, other economic mechanisms like encouraging public-private partnerships, strengthening core industries, and expanding the poor's access to public services are critical for reducing extreme poverty and creating economic growth concurrently.<sup>43</sup>

There are currently 99 USAID economic growth and technological innovation projects that address one or more of these mechanisms in the countries examined by this chapter. While all of these projects aim to improve economic conditions, only a handful of them directly impact the extremely poor. Unfortunately the distribution of these USAID projects and funding for economic development in South

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<sup>iv</sup> For more on education and gender equality in South and Southeast Asia see Chapters 9 and 12 of this report, respectively.

Asia is disproportionate when put in the context of extreme poverty, despite the emphasis of USAID's new mission statement. Afghanistan and Pakistan alone account for 62 of the projects in the region yet have two of the smallest populations of extreme poverty.<sup>44</sup> According to ForeignAssistance.Gov, USAID allocated \$789.9 million in 2013 for economic development in Afghanistan and an additional \$345.1 million for economic development in Pakistan.<sup>45</sup> This emerges as grossly disproportionate allocations of funding for economic development when compared with India and Bangladesh, which have the two largest populations in extreme poverty yet were only allocated \$4 million and \$46 million, respectively.<sup>46</sup>

The U.S. State Department also supplies assistance and support for economic development in South Asia but by working bilaterally with national governments rather than through projects on the ground. Similar to USAID, State Department funding does not align with the distribution of extreme poverty in the region, despite also acknowledging the importance of economic development for reducing extreme poverty.<sup>47</sup> For the 2014 fiscal year the State department's bilateral Economic Support Fund (ESF) has allocated a little less than \$1.2 billion for economic development in South Asia.<sup>48</sup> Over \$1 billion of ESF funding is going to Afghanistan and Pakistan alone, leaving only a sixth of the total funding to be used in the rest of region.<sup>49</sup> In order to effectively address extreme poverty in South Asia, it is essential that USAID and the State Department reallocate financial resources to be more representative of its distribution in the region. This also requires that economic development efforts target countries with the largest populations of extreme poverty in order to provide them with best chances for facilitating broad-based economic growth and ending extreme poverty.

## US INTERESTS

The US has many strategic counterparts and significant economic interests in South Asia. These include vital trading partners, substantial financial investments, job sources, and national security interests. Trade and investment security, political stability, and inequality are issues that must be addressed in order to protect US interests. The largest economic interests are represented in India, the Philippines, and Bangladesh. These countries are indispensable trading partners representing the 13<sup>th</sup>, 36<sup>th</sup>,

and 59<sup>th</sup> largest traders of goods (\$ amount) with the US, respectively.<sup>50</sup> In terms of financial interests, FDI in South Asia was \$36.7 billion in 2012 (PPP adjusted),<sup>51</sup> with India accounting for over \$27.1 billion of that total.<sup>52</sup> US foreign assistance to the region was over \$3.1 billion in 2013 (\$6.6 billion including Afghanistan).<sup>53</sup> Additionally, trade and investment with South Asia is increasingly becoming a potential source of US growth and job creation; stability within the region is key for realizing this potential. Economic and political stability will ultimately be achieved through effective economic foreign policies that encourage broad-based growth and focus on poverty reduction.<sup>54</sup>

If left unaddressed, extreme poverty can act as an aggressor of political instability and perpetuate economic inequality. This is an environment that fosters terrorist activity and poses a significant threat to US national security. Both US security and economic interests are threatened by political instability, rising inequality, and susceptibility to natural disasters in the region. Guaranteeing that the region undergoes stable economic development will ensure that US national security and global interests remain unharmed. Furthermore certain economic growth mechanisms are reciprocally beneficial, like linking developing economies with the international market and reducing the cost for US investors to do business there. Higher-income nations like the US, however, should have other ulterior motives for economic development beside reciprocal benefits. A moral obligation to end extreme should underline economic development efforts simply because it is the right thing to do.

## POLICY OPTIONS

According to USAID there are several indispensable components for creating broad-based economic growth. These components include macroeconomic stability, investments in infrastructure and education, gender equality, and utilizing global market and knowledge.<sup>55</sup> Although these components are incredibly important for broad-based economic growth, other economic mechanisms like encouraging public-private partnerships, strengthening core industries, and expanding the poor's access to public services are essential for reducing extreme poverty and generating growth concurrently. The following policy options examine mechanisms that have the greatest potential for benefitting the extremely poor and

stimulating broad-based economic growth. They are loosely arranged in a hierarchy based on these factors but all the options mentioned are important and mutually reinforcing.

**Option 1: Target the extremely poor by focusing economic resources in areas that need it the most.**

Continued economic involvement in South Asia is critical for further reducing extreme poverty in the region. Although the current USAID economic programs are largely contributing to this reduction, a more representative approach is needed to combat extreme poverty head-on. This will ultimately require the reallocation of financial resources to countries that have the largest populations of extreme poverty.

As mentioned earlier, USAID and the State department contribute to economic development through projects on the ground and through bilateral support and assistance to South Asian governments.<sup>56</sup> The problem is that USAID and the State Department's involvement is not representative of the distribution of extreme poverty in the region. Countries with significant US interests and the largest populations of extreme poverty, including India, the Philippines, and Bangladesh, receive a disproportionate share of economic development assistance. US interests are at risk if the poverty situation in these countries worsens. In order to protect US interests, USAID and the State Department need to reorient their economic development efforts to focus on countries with the most severe cases of extreme poverty.

**Option 2: Strengthen regional cooperation by supporting policies that enable deeper economic integration.**

A stable macroeconomic environment is essential for facilitating effective USAID projects and various pro-poor economic mechanisms. There include infrastructure development, private sector investment, core industry development, strong public services, and developing better technologies and innovations. Deeper regional economic integration is essential for a stable macroeconomic environment because it boosts political and economic cooperation while increasing regional trade. SAARC members can become more economically integrated by promoting policies that strengthen local institutions, improve transportation infrastructure, and diversify national industries. India's protectionist trade policies are causing trade imbalances and preventing smaller countries from developing their industries.

Supporting regulatory mechanisms that reduce India's trade protectionism will allow smaller countries to develop their industries and increase regional trade and private investment.

After establishing the SAFTA framework South Asia's regional exports increased by 50 percent, but increased exports does not directly translate to economic growth.<sup>57</sup> Despite the improvement of trade linkages, intra-regional trade still only makes up 5% of the total trade for SAARC countries. Insufficient FDI, competition, and private sector development are partially to blame for this shortage. According to an independent evaluation, tariff reduction and liberalization often decrease employment and tax revenue in the short run, however strong financial and institutional regulations would prevent these implications and help distribute growth more equitably.<sup>58</sup> In order to manage the larger inflows and outflows of capital, stricter regulations need to be placed on financial institutions and more financial backing needs to be provided for developing economies.<sup>59</sup> These regulatory mechanisms could include tariff reductions and/or regional trade liberalization, both of which can prove to be a tremendous stimulator of economic growth.

**Option 3: Reinforce core industries through vertical integration.**

Supporting policies that vertically integrate South Asian manufacturing industries is critical for strengthening their core industries. "A major motivation for pursuing deeper regional economic integration has been to facilitate restructuring or rationalization of industry across the region on the most efficient basis so as to exploit the economies of scale and specialization and strengthen the competitiveness of each country's industries."<sup>60</sup> It is important that USAID promotes policies that encourage production fragmentation. This will allow smaller nations to achieve a comparative advantage with more technologically advanced nations in the region, specifically India. Once core industries are established, intra-regional trade will increase and the wealth inequality gap will decrease.<sup>61</sup>

South Asian countries currently lack diversification and need production fragmentation in order to strengthen core industries. Production fragmentation is the "cross-border dispersion of component production and assembly within vertically integrated processes, with each country specializing in a particular stage of the production sequence and trading the value-added components to result in a final product."<sup>62</sup> An example of where production fragmentation could thrive is South Asia's textile and

garment industry, the largest manufacturing sectors and a significant source of intra-regional trade. The regional textile and garment industry suffers from a lack of specialization due to horizontal integration. Vertical integration, through production fragmentation, would distribute different stages of the textile and garment production process to different countries in the region. This would establish a direct supply chain and increase comparative advantage, encourage specialization, and eventually make a product more competitive in terms of cost.<sup>63</sup> Increasing efficiency and productivity in core industries will increase trade, employment, and private investment, all fundamental factors for broad-based economic growth and poverty reduction. Before core industries can generate economic development, however, infrastructures need to be strengthened in order to support the increased levels of trade and growth.

**Option 4: Improve transportation and energy infrastructures.**

The unreliability of South Asia's infrastructures is limiting the rural poor's access to the economic mainstream, making it especially difficult for them to utilize the formal economic resources necessary for escaping poverty. It is important that USAID and other development agencies establish more transportation and energy infrastructure-building projects in order to increase the poor's access to private investment, employment opportunities, public services, and other mechanisms that enable broad-based economic growth. Around 70 percent of the world's extreme poor live in rural areas, often isolated from the economic mainstream.<sup>64</sup> Minimal access to all-season roads and electricity are major causes of this isolation. Improving transportation and energy infrastructures will raise income levels for those in extreme poverty by increasing private sector investment and generate employment opportunities. In order to generate enough funding to address the scale of infrastructural shortcomings, it is recommending that USAID partners with other development agencies such as the ADB; who in 2012 successfully increased rural access to economic and market opportunities by 25% in Bangladesh through a rural infrastructure improvement project.<sup>65</sup>

**Option 5: Continue to establish partnerships that encourage economic development.**

Partnering with non-state actors and other development agencies is critical for expanding economic and technological innovation programs without compromising the existing budget.<sup>66</sup> According to the 2011-2015 Policy Framework USAID has over 1,200 public-private partnerships registered to its profile and is actively seeking new partnerships that will be conducive to economic development.<sup>67</sup> Additionally, USAID encourages less-traditional partnerships through mechanisms like DIV, FID, and PFG. These programs strive to develop and implement new technologies and innovations that address development challenges.

In the past, however, partnerships have not functioned as efficiently as they could have. Projects in Afghanistan, for example, failed or were ineffectively implemented due to poor oversight and/or unqualified contractors.<sup>68</sup> In order to prevent project failures and ineffective implementation in the future, the contractor or partner must be reviewed for competency and the progress of the project must be diligently monitored by the contracting officer's representative (COR). Past criticism of CORs includes ineffective oversight due to an overload of projects or inaccessibility to project locations, allocating more funds to ensure proper oversight is critical for the success of new projects.<sup>69</sup>

Successful projects are the product of properly allocated resources. *Selectively* distributing resources, or investing in countries, regions or sectors that will have the greatest impact on a development objective, goes back to policy option #1: aid projects need to be focused in areas that have the highest concentrations of extreme poverty. Many economic problems, like poor infrastructure and financial instability, are the root causes of extreme poverty. USAID's PFG is establishing partnerships that increase private sector investments, establish microfinancing programs, and build infrastructures.<sup>70</sup> PFG is also improving coordination and synergies between development agencies and increasing transparency in US trade, development, and finance programs.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, extreme poverty is the root cause of other development challenges in health, food security, and gender inequality. Extending programs, like PFG, that directly address the root causes of extreme poverty will generate a ripple effect and benefit other development objectives as well.<sup>72</sup>

*Option 6: Promote social entrepreneurship and expand the DCA program.*

The private sector is critical for addressing issues in areas that lack public funding. Current rhetoric is expressing the need to reorient US development strategy to focus on private-sector-led growth.<sup>73</sup> When funding gaps occur, or when a public service is operating ineffectively, privatization can be a viable alternative to public funding. USAID stresses the importance of the private and public sectors utilizing each other's strengths to solve a development challenge, "A dynamic private sector is a powerful engine of growth, and well-functioning markets are the most efficient way to allocate resources. Governments have a critical role to play in ensuring that markets function properly and improve the well-being of all members of society."<sup>74</sup> Emphasizing this active partnership can allow USAID and other development agencies to capitalize on their limited resources and properly address the economic challenges in South Asia. Taking from the successes of private-public partnerships in the Philippines, opening a formerly public sector to competition can reduce costs, increase productivity, and expand access to isolated areas; all necessary factors for eradicating extreme poverty.

Entrepreneurship is considered a fundamental component for economic development because of its ability to generate employment, innovation, and social benefits.<sup>75</sup> These are ideal attributes for addressing social problems such as extreme poverty, although entrepreneurs are often focused exclusively on financial and capital gains rather than the social benefit. Social entrepreneurship is a relatively new concept in the global development arena that has quickly gained popularity because of its innate sustainable nature and significant social impact. Social entrepreneurs use businesses strategies to address a problem, like extreme poverty, by reinvesting profits to maximize the social impact. Many social enterprises like Grameen Bank, Manila Water, and Development Alternatives have successfully created economic opportunities for the poor in South Asia by providing financial services, clean water, or employment. Unlike conventional aid programs and philanthropy, social entrepreneurship is self-sustaining and only requires funding to get off the ground.

Entrepreneurs oftentimes have difficulty in developing markets because they are unable to access funding from formal financial institutions. DCA programs are enabling these entrepreneurs to obtain

loans for local economic development. Since its inception in 2013, DCA programs have mobilized over \$3.2 billion in private capital for developing countries to expand local business and stimulate economic development.<sup>76</sup> The Philippines is the only country examined in this chapter that currently has access to DCA programs and alone \$60 million has been mobilized for private investment in water and sanitation infrastructures.<sup>77</sup> Enabling entrepreneurs to access developing markets, like those in the Philippines, generates local employment opportunities and stimulates more-inclusive growth. Expanding access to the DCA program to other South Asian countries besides the Philippines is a critical step for eradicating extreme poverty in the region.

**Option 7: Strengthen public institutions and services.**

Strong public institutions and services are critical components for successful poverty-reducing campaigns. USAID highlights this importance in their 2011-2015 Policy Framework, stating:

*“Economic growth is essential to reducing the many dimensions of poverty, unlocking the full potential of individuals and communities, and enabling governments to provide basic public services effectively. The quality of economic growth matters as much as how it is generated—to be sustainable, growth must be widely shared; inclusive of all ethnic groups, women, and other marginalized groups; and compatible with the need to reduce climate change impacts and to manage natural and environmental resources responsibly.”<sup>78</sup>*

The link between broad-based economic growth and strong public services demonstrates the importance of promoting policies that strengthen local institutional capacity building. Political instability in many South Asian countries is preventing broad-based economic growth and therefore inhibiting extreme poverty reduction. Historically, South Asian governments have tried implementing policies that increase access to social services in order to combat poverty, however a lack of broad-based economic growth and an excess of unfocused programs has largely caused the objective to fail.<sup>79</sup> Other development-oriented organizations, such as USAID, have few economic development projects currently implemented to strengthen the political and social climates of countries in the region. Implementing projects that extend access to social services is critical for reinforcing other economic growth and poverty reducing mechanisms, particularly in countries with political instability like Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India.

**Option 8: Encourage technology-based solutions and innovations for economic development challenges.**

Implementing technological innovations in developing countries can directly influence economic development. In order to develop technology-based solutions for the multiple dimensions of extreme poverty it is important to continue promoting research and development for new and more effective technologies and innovations. The DIV program has the potential to generate innovative solutions for reducing extreme poverty but some adjustments will be needed. Publicizing the program is critical for correcting insufficient funding difficulties by attracting more financial sources. Expanding funding sources will generate opportunities to explore the potential of more diverse development technologies and innovations. Proper oversight and implementation of a new innovation or technology is key to its effectiveness and success. The technology will be useless if the beneficiary populations do not know how to properly use or maintain it. Ongoing involvement by the development agency or contracting agent is also needed in order to ensure that the technology or innovation has the greatest development impact.

**POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

**Focus economic development efforts on countries that are affected the most by extreme poverty.**

- This requires reallocating resources that directly connected to economic development from Afghanistan and Pakistan to countries that have the largest populations of extreme poverty in the region.

**Strengthen regional economic integration.**

- Supporting regulatory mechanisms that reduce India's trade protectionism will allow smaller countries to develop their industries and increase private investment.

**Reinforce core industries by encouraging vertical integration.**

- Vertical integration through production fragmentation and capitalizing on complementary comparative advantages will increase regional trade, employment, and private investment; all fundamental components of broad-based economic growth and poverty reduction.

## **Expand infrastructure development projects, specifically in energy and transportation.**

- Improving infrastructures will contribute to eradicating extreme poverty by increasing the rural poor's access to formal economic resources and other mechanisms that enable broad-based economic growth and contribute to extreme poverty reduction.

## **Extend access of DCA programs to the rest of South Asia.**

- Spurring private investment in countries such as Bangladesh, India, and Nepal generate much needed employment for their populations living in extreme poverty.

## **Bolster support of technology-based solutions and innovations for development challenges.**

- Programs such as DIV need to be publicized in order to generate more funding for research and development of economic development mechanisms and solutions for ending extreme poverty.

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# Chapter 17 Economic Development in Latin America

By Sam Capeloto

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## ISSUE

Despite many optimistic macro-economic indicators, economic development in the most impoverished sectors of Latin America and the Caribbean has proved unacceptably stagnant. A burgeoning middle-class has helped conceal the persistence of extreme poverty in those areas that have been held back by geographic, socioeconomic and financial barriers. Furthermore, the progress that has been made has created an expansive demographic of “vulnerable” families with a high likelihood of backsliding. The inelastic nature of extreme poverty in Latin America must be addressed by USAID in order to meet its economic and security interests.

## BACKGROUND

Fighting extreme poverty in Latin American and Caribbean countries (LAC) through United States institutions is a politically charged endeavor. US/Latin American economic relations have been turbulent for as long as diplomacy has existed between the two regions. US foreign policy is often viewed as “Imperialist” by Latin American citizens, which has led to resistance toward many campaigns advanced by US government affiliates. USAID experienced this tension firsthand in Bolivia in 2013 when Evo Morales, the Bolivian President demanded the immediate expulsion of all USAID programs and representatives. He labeled the organization “a smokescreen [for the United States] to involve itself in [Bolivia’s] political affairs.” This move has been critiqued by certain analysts as a public distraction or scapegoat helping President Morales make a legally suspect third run for office.<sup>1</sup> One year prior, the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America (ALBA), an international organization with representatives from Central and South America and the Caribbean, drafted a resolution “for the immediate withdrawal of USAID from member countries of the alliance,” exposing Morales’ actions as more than an isolated event.<sup>2</sup>

Such decisions stem, in part, from the need for a common enemy in many Latin American countries. Born from an extractive colonial legacy, in which “Europeans were uninterested in investing in

[indigenous] human capital,” social structures in Latin America have been defined heavily by racial hierarchies, establishing this region early on as a land of “haves” and “have-nots.” The lack of infrastructural investments has been particularly damning to populations living in the Andes where tall mountains already make movement more difficult.<sup>3</sup> According to a study focused on Brazil, Guyana, Guatemala, Bolivia, Chile, Mexico and Peru, indigenous men still earn 35 to 65 percent less than white men.<sup>4</sup> As recently as 2011, Latin America had “the highest socioeconomic inequalities in the world,” rivaled only by Sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>5</sup> The GINI coefficient identifies 11 out of the top 25 most unequal countries in the world as Latin American, with Haiti, Colombia, Honduras and Guatemala being the most extreme cases.<sup>6</sup> Ultimately this signifies that, although the average GNI per capita of a Latin American country is \$8,981 US (in the 51<sup>st</sup> percentile of countries worldwide),<sup>7</sup> levels of extreme poverty hold much less optimistic implications for development therein. This issue has been exacerbated by the economic development programs of many development agencies, which by some indicators have tremendously helped those near the poverty line, but have done little for those in extreme poverty.<sup>8</sup>

These societal disparities have persisted in spite of large structural changes that have swept across Latin America in the last 40 years. With a handful of exceptions (most notably Venezuela) countries in this region have taken enormous strides toward market liberalization and democratization.<sup>9</sup> Even Cuba has advanced the causes of liberal economic and political reform, particularly in the aftermath of Fidel Castro’s rule.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately the presence and growth of inclusive institutions across the continent has had limited results enfranchising LAC’s poorest populations. This contradicts many widely accepted political and economic theories arguing that the two should go hand in hand.<sup>11</sup> However, limited as they may be, the GINI index of Latin America has experienced positive change. In 2011 the average score of a Latin American country was 0.52. Put in a global context this number is low, but it nevertheless shows a marked improvement from 0.58 in 1996.<sup>12</sup> If the rise of neoliberal policies have had positive effects on inequality in LAC they have been very limited.

Populism and its ideological relatives have functioned as a counterweight to these policies. In the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, populism gained traction in many Latin American countries, partially in response to

income disparities. In practice it was a marriage between government and labor organizations that marketed itself as attentive to the people.<sup>13</sup> Latin American governments are often framed by locals in the binary of Populist<sup>v</sup> (for the poor) or Neoliberal (for the wealthy) rather than the more western political economic binary of authoritarian and democratic.<sup>14</sup> One consequence of the Latin American framework is that US institutions endorsing market liberalization and free trade agreements are often lumped in to the “Neoliberal” category, making them easy political targets for government officials vying for populist votes.

Latin America is an expansive and diverse continent, and a thorough analysis of the state of economic development requires a regional breakdown. This chapter identifies and discusses the three regions in which extreme poverty is most pervasive in LAC: Haiti, Central America and the Andes. Identifying these specific areas is not meant to imply that extreme poverty does not exist elsewhere (Brazil being the most notable omission), only that it is pervasive and immediate in the areas addressed. With that in mind these regions should be USAID’s primary of foci in the interest of eliminating extreme poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean.

### Haiti

Haiti is the poorest country in the Americas with 32.3 percent of its population living in extreme poverty in 2001.<sup>15</sup> At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it hosted the first successful black slave rebellion, but heavy restitutions claimed by France (which would not be paid in full for more than 100 years) left the Haitian government crippled. Centuries of corrupt regimes and trade embargoes sealed Haiti’s fate as an impoverished nation. Underdevelopment has left the country poorly equipped to deal with frequent natural disasters, promoting a vicious cycle that has left many families in a state of seemingly inescapable extreme poverty. For example, the 2010 7.0 earthquake in Haiti was far more destructive than comparable earthquakes in other parts of the world (such as the 7.9 earthquake that hit China in 2008) because slow or nonexistent economic development has left the Haitian population more exposed.<sup>16</sup> Corrupt and

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<sup>v</sup> Or more recently neo-populist

disorganized bureaucracies have caused political gridlock, making time sensitive decisions more difficult. They have also allowed for decades of unregulated shanty town developments, leaving Haitian property rights in shambles. All of this is coupled with the sense that Haiti is perpetually moving in and out of the international spotlight. Donations toward Haitian aid fluctuate wildly spiking immediately after natural disasters, making long term economic development plans difficult to administer. Donations have decreased significantly since the initial shocks of the 2010 earthquake.<sup>17</sup>

USAID allocated \$270.7 million to Haiti in 2013 making it the largest investment of USAID funds among Latin American and Caribbean countries, and the tenth largest worldwide. Approximately 22% of this sum was dedicated to activities specifically tied to disaster relief, with the rest going to causes that were unrelated (or at least ambiguous in their relation) to recovery. Assistance and recovery receives nearly double the funds of agricultural sector capacity programs, which constitute the second largest portion of USAID funding in Haiti. USAID is currently invested in 130 projects in Haiti, out of which 30 are connected to Economic Development.<sup>18</sup>

### Central America

Second to Haiti, Central America is Latin America's poorest region with Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador holding the highest rates of extreme poverty, and Mexico holding the most aggregate cases.<sup>19</sup> All of these countries have suffered brutal authoritarian regimes and violent revolutions, though gang violence has recently become the most pressing concern. Increasingly active criminal organizations have given Honduras and El Salvador the highest homicide rates in the world.<sup>20</sup> Many of these gangs are international and have spread to (or originated in) the United States, meaning that violence is feeding in to and out of many cities in North America – Los Angeles being the largest hub of Central America affiliated gang violence.<sup>21</sup> Gangs provide economic security and physical protection to inner city youth with few other opportunities. Economic development in poor areas is critical to solving this problem, as it makes stable non-violent income more available.

In 2013 USAID invested \$248.9 million in programs in Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador and Mexico, with Guatemala receiving the most (\$70.8 million) and Nicaragua (Central

America's poorest, but also least populated, country) receiving the least (\$25.8 million). Guatemala and Nicaragua have a relatively diverse range of USAID programs covering many aspects of development including improvements to agricultural capacity, and family planning workshops. Funding in El Salvador is mostly funneled into programs supporting the security sector, and social assistance. In Mexico, USAID has prioritized support to the government's judicial branch, environmental preservation, and creating an environment that enables healthy business practice. In Honduras, basic education, government decentralization, and agricultural capacity are emphasized.<sup>22</sup> There are 738 USAID supported projects in Central America and Mexico, with the majority concentrated in Guatemala. 203 of these programs are specifically related to economic development, concentrated heavily in El Salvador and Mexico where they focus on a wide range of goals from increasing government revenues for social spending, to promoting trade agreements, and improving access to credit.

### The Andes

The third poorest region in Latin America is a patchwork of rural Andean societies across Colombia, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. Colombia has the second highest GINI coefficient in Latin America, hosting a healthy middle class and impoverished agricultural base. These poor Andean communities grow the vast majority of the world's coca for the production of cocaine. The United States is working with local Andean governments in a number of ways to fight the intrusion of cocaine into global markets. In Colombia, for example, they are contributing heavily to *Plan Colombia*, the government's counter-narcotics strategy. The US government is providing more than 35 percent of the funding for *Plan Colombia* projects, focusing the majority of its resources on reducing illicit narcotics and improving security, with the remainder of the money going toward promoting social and economic justice and the rule of law.<sup>23</sup> *Plan Colombia* is reducing illicit narcotics primarily through military interventions, though some resources have also been invested in alternative development programs (ADPs), which promote non-coca livelihoods for farmers.<sup>24</sup>

In 2013 USAID spent a total of \$251.7 million in Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. More than half of these funds (\$140 million) were allocated to projects in Colombia, and the majority of the

remainder went to Peru. Both of these countries have developed projects focusing almost exclusively on aiding alternative forms of development and alternative livelihoods for coca growers in the Andes.<sup>25</sup> Bolivian president Evo Morales strongly opposed parts of these programs, believing that USAID was encouraging non-viable alternative trades for farmers. He believed the returns on many alternate forms of agriculture would come in too slowly for farmers to be able to make an initial living. This was one stated grievance in defense of the removal of USAID officials. Poverty is heavily concentrated in the rural Andes meaning that coca eradication policies will overlap heavily with extreme poverty eradication policies.

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Analyzing aggregate statistics on the decline of extreme poverty across Latin America reveals that most improvements have not taken place in the regions presented in this chapter. The Southern Cone (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay) has enjoyed most of LAC's progress, with approximately 37.9% of its population living in poverty in 1995 (defined modestly at "\$4 a day") to 21.3% in 2011. Central America and Mexico have been stagnant on poverty reduction between 2006 and 2011, when the Southern Cone was making the most notable progress. *Extreme* poverty has followed the same trend.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, many Latin American citizens who have escaped extreme poverty have not entered into the middle class. The World Bank identifies "vulnerable" as a third, intermediary category where many citizens in LAC now exist. "Vulnerable" signifies a household that "faces a more than 10 percent likelihood of falling back into poverty over a five-year interval." This income bracket is currently 4 to 10 dollars, meaning that a Latin American citizen who makes 10 dollars a day has an approximately 10 percent chance of being in poverty again in the next 5 years.<sup>27</sup> In the larger scheme of extreme poverty eradication, this population is secondary to those families actively living on less than \$1.25 a day. However, in the interest of finding a long-term solution it is critical that this demographic be addressed. At approximately 38.6 percent of Latin America's total population, these families make up the largest economic bracket in all regions outside the Southern Cone.<sup>28</sup> Their prevalence demands a system with improved stability along with improved equity.

Extreme poverty, and vulnerable families outside of extreme poverty continue to exist in LAC, predominantly in Haiti, Central America and the Andes. Sustaining and improving on economic development in these regions in a way that benefits marginalized peoples is a politically and economically volatile process. With that in mind there are a number of ways that specific USAID policies can address this crisis in a manner that furthers USAID, LAC and United States interests.

## US INTERESTS

35.3 million people in Latin America live on less than \$1.25 a day: approximately 3% of the total population. Compared to the 1.2 billion people who live in extreme poverty worldwide, this number may not seem enormous.<sup>29</sup> However, Latin American poverty presents a unique moral quandary. Most of the poor communities in LAC are concentrated in the regions identified in this chapter's background, coexisting with wealthy families in the same country. Affluence and poverty coexist in these countries on a scale that does not exist anywhere else in the world. In the world's most unequal society, eliminating extreme poverty is about closing this income gap as much as it is about increasing overall productivity.

With regards to US and USAID interests, these economic disparities can be problematic in and of themselves. Economic disparities often lead to political instability, as evidenced by Latin America's wide range of leftist guerrilla movements. The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Central America, along with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and Shining Path in the Andes were all fuelled by the impoverished and underrepresented members of society. If more families are brought out of extreme poverty in Latin America through the more equitable spread of resources, it is likely that the continent will see greater overall stability. This benefits the United States in a number of ways.

Firstly economic stability in LAC benefits the United States in its connection to the War on Drugs. The Andean region cultivated approximately 181,600 hectares of coca in 2008 and more than half of the cocaine produced from this crop was exported to the United States.<sup>30</sup> Continued coca cultivation is a specific symptom of economic under-development. In a recent survey approximately 74% of coca

cultivators in Colombia claimed there was a “high perceived risk” associated with their profession, but that switching to the next most lucrative crop would halve their profits.<sup>31</sup> As the availability of other economic means increases, the relative weight of a “high perceived risk” will also increase, meaning that USAID economic development aid targeting extreme poverty has a realistic potential to decrease both the quantity of coca produced and amount of cocaine exported to the United States.

Organized crime in Central America and Mexico also feeds off of political and economic instability. El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico in particular have extremely high rates of gang violence. This is more than just a humanitarian issue, as these organizations have a lot of influence in many US cities. Crime in Central America spills in to the US and vice versa. Both gang activity and drug trafficking emphasize the significance of paying close attention to income disparities beyond US borders. In terms of GDP per capita, El Salvador is a definitively middle income country and Mexico, Colombia, and Peru are more affluent still. It is the poorest subsections of these countries that are contributing most heavily to gang activities. Therefore, providing more constructive mechanisms for escaping extreme poverty to Central America’s poor will decrease gang recruitment.

Latin America houses a large number of untapped markets for the United States. On a macroeconomic level there are many countries that still hold heavy trade restrictions with the United States. Bolivia, Venezuela, Cuba, and to a lesser degree Nicaragua, all represent limited trade opportunities that could be expanded on through bilateral trade agreements. These countries are significant suppliers of oil, minerals, sugar, tobacco and coffee, and hold great opportunities for expanded exports and foreign direct investment from the United States.<sup>32</sup> On a microeconomic level, extreme poverty in Latin America both feeds on and encourages geographic and social isolation, restricting market access for large populations in Central America, the Caribbean and swaths of the Andes and Amazon in the South America. These large communities are neither innovating nor consuming on a scale that is globally significant.

## POLICY OPTIONS

### *Option 1: Push for further liberalization of protectionist Latin American governments*

The first policy option is advocating for trade agreements between Latin American countries and the United States. Removing trade barriers is already a USAID goal as part of their commitment to “Trade and Regulatory Reform.” Free trade is a hotly contested model in the scholarly world, but current research strongly indicates that it leads to economic growth, by allowing for specialization of labor and foreign capital investment.<sup>33</sup> One study estimates that Mexico’s GDP per capita “would have been about 4-5 percent lower by the end of 2002 if [the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)] had not been implemented.”<sup>34</sup>

Unfortunately the implications of these policies on families in extreme poverty are less clear. In the 1970s Brazil underwent a series of economic reforms, opening markets and ending protectionist policies, while promoting greater financial austerity from the government. GDP grew by as much as 10% a year, but with it came a sharp increase in inequality.<sup>35</sup> It has been clear since as far back as the 1970s that equity does not always accompany growth, therefore GDP per capita, and growth rates are not necessarily effective indicators of extreme poverty.

Anecdotal evidence from Nicaragua helps illustrate how this might happen. The Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) was implemented in 2004, eliminating tariffs between the US, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and in 2005 the Dominican Republic. This flooded Central American markets with US goods, many of which were significantly cheaper than the locally produced alternatives. Corn subsidies and better access to capital in the United States meant that Central American corn farmers had no way of competing with US prices. For the majority of Central Americans this was a positive change, as it meant they could allocate less of their resources towards purchasing corn. Life in Central America as a whole improved. Unfortunately the families who did not benefit from these improvements were farmers – by far the poorest demographic in Central America. These families lacked the necessary resources to adapt to the changing economic climate and many

experienced economic deterioration as a result.<sup>36</sup> NAFTA has had a similar effect in Mexico, driving many corn farmers to immigrate to the United States.<sup>37</sup>

Ultimately improved trade puts “foods into value chains dominated by multinational firms, and provide fresher foods to middle class urban consumers” while leaving poor farmers with little to work with. Easier access to capital is also of dubious value to the extreme poor. This is because private companies have little reason to invest in private small holds farmers when those farmers are attempting to produce crops to sell domestically.<sup>38</sup>

### **Option 2: Improve Tax Structure and Social Welfare spending**

The second policy option is working with Latin American governments on growing and restructuring safety nets. Latin America does not have an impressive track record with regards to responsible budgeting. Populism is commonly associated with unchecked spending and debilitating trade deficits. Within this context welfare programs being used as part of the solution may seem counterintuitive. However, part of the problem is a lack of basic tax structures to support these programs. Tax revenues as a percent of GDP are slightly less than 20% on average in Latin American countries, compared to the 33% average in high income countries.<sup>39</sup> Latin America’s increasingly healthy middle class needs to be able to invest more in public spending on the poor.

Data from StatExtracts indicates that discrepancies in public spending between Latin America and high-income countries likely account for a substantial portion of Latin America’s income gap. The average GINI index for a high-income country is 0.45 before taxes and transfers and 0.31 after. This indicates a 0.14 point improvement exclusively from government intervention. Meanwhile Colombia, Bolivia and Guatemala observe no significant difference as a result of public fiscal policies. Taxes and transfers have the largest effect in Uruguay, which moves from 0.49 to 0.46.<sup>40</sup> This is still extremely small in comparison to the average high-income country. Tax structures that encourage equity will lower the income gap, decreasing extreme poverty.

Properly expanded and administered safety nets will also shrink the size of the “vulnerable” income bracket. If government better enables economic security, then the dollar amount at which a citizen

has a 10 percent chance of backsliding in to poverty in 5 years will be lower, and less people will fall into the category. This will make improvements in the incomes of those living in extreme poverty more enduring.

USAID already has a number of programs encouraging public sector policies to create “a fair and open economy,” in part by “working with experts, and training partners to be better decision makers” on various subjects.<sup>41</sup> Currently these projects in the public arena focus on paring down and maximizing the efficiency of current public works. For example, USAID is working with local government officials in Colombia on maximizing the efficiency of infrastructure projects.<sup>42</sup> Taxation and social programs are promoting rather than challenging the status quo which is indicative of serious mismanagement of government funds, meaning that these programs are of undeniable importance. So far, however, USAID is failing to focus on the other side of responsible budgeting, which is revenue. Advising government officials on responsible taxations will open up new avenues to USAID for addressing extreme poverty in Latin America.

### *Option 3: Extend research grants on institutions encouraging microenterprise*

The third option is taking a more active role in encouraging statistically rigorous studies of the effects of the various institutions which encourage microenterprise. This involves the evaluation of microfinance, direct cash transfers (conditional and unconditional) and voucher programs. There has been a lot of talk in the development arena about such programs (unconditional cash transfers and microfinance in particular are trending), but the results from recent meta-studies on the caliber of research that has gone into these programs have been disappointing. USAID does not have a large enough body of reliable studies to make informed decisions about the majority of these programs in the majority of cases.<sup>43</sup> A recent USAID report professed the organization’s dedication to “result-driven, evidence-based programming”<sup>44</sup> and with this in mind the present vacuum of dependable data on such promising, innovative solutions is disheartening.

Research elaborating on the relationship between microenterprise programs and extreme poverty is particularly important. There is a large body of research backing the positive effects of microfinance on

poor families, but there is also evidence indicating that these positive effects are almost exclusively useful in bringing families near the poverty line out of poverty, while having little effect on those whose situation is grimmer.<sup>45</sup> It is possible that USAID programs such as Mobile Banking, which uses paperless, branchless banking through mobile phones, could improve the efficacy of economic development programs in poor communities, but again, the research is not there to say for sure.

This policy option involves expanding partnerships with organizations that have a reputable history of consistent and reliable statistical analysis in development, such as Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA). USAID is already working with IPA on several relevant programs including microfinance and mobile banking.<sup>46</sup> However, the dearth of reliable information on the subject indicates that this partnership should be expanded. This will likely require investing fewer resources in actual microenterprise programs in the short term, but will ensure that less money is misspent on ineffective programs in the long term.

#### **Option 4: Prioritize Improvements to Infrastructure**

The fourth policy option is making improvements on infrastructure more of a priority for USAID. Centuries of neglect coupled with geographic setbacks have left transportation costs in poor Andean communities high.<sup>47</sup> This limits capital and labor mobility, making it difficult for progress of any kind to be made in these areas. Mobility is also a key factor in promoting alternative forms of livelihood for coca growers, as it gives them access to new jobs and resources in new locations, such as rural non-farm incomes, which tend to be higher paying jobs, but contingent on reliable infrastructure.<sup>48</sup> This policy option applies most immediately to Andean communities, though transportation issues also exist in the mountains of Central America.

USAID is currently working with the Colombian government on improving local government transparency and efficiency, allowing them to move money in to infrastructure effectively. This is an important step, but USAID is fighting against hundreds of years of neglect in these areas, and will have to prioritize infrastructure operations if it wishes to see satisfactory and expedient results.

### *Option 5: Improve financial accountability to avoid discrediting organizations*

Option five is to ensure that fiscal and political transparency is completely infused through all levels of USAID operations in Latin America. Diffusion of responsibilities through partnerships has led to hierarchical confusion in certain USAID programs, complicating this process.<sup>49</sup> The most recent example occurred with counter narcotics operations in the Andes. USAID was working in tandem with the Department of Defense (DOD) and the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA). Problems with reporting from the DOD called the validity of many of their results in to question.<sup>50</sup> USAID was not ultimately responsible, but their work was partially discredited through their partnership. USAID must not only hold itself to high standard of reliable accounting, but also the organizations that it working with, in order to ensure effective partnerships and avoid further denigration.

Accountability is particularly important in Latin American countries that have had dubious political histories with the United States and its associated organizations. Clear and comprehensive records will make it increasingly difficult for Latin American political figures to make suspect claims about USAID objectives, and to use the organization as a political scapegoat. Complete accountability will go a long way toward reconnecting with Bolivia, and maintaining often strained connections in countries such as Cuba, Ecuador, Dominica, Nicaragua and Venezuela, all of which signed off on ALBA's bill to expel USAID.<sup>51</sup> Demanding transparency in partnerships will also give USAID better resources to improve the efficiency of its partner organizations.

### *Option 6: Redirect Anti-Coca Cultivation Money in Colombia and Peru*

Policy option six is to push Congress to reallocate government funds dedicated to the eradication of coca farms to USAID. In the past, Congress has channeled funds designated for Plan Colombia through USAID rather than giving resources directly to the Colombian government. Funds given to USAID are both more effective at deterring coca production, and less harmful to the livelihood of poor coca farmers. USAID should draw on this evidence to increase funding for these programs. 2008 was the first year congress assigned Project Colombia funding to USAID. There, these funds were invested in alternative development schemes, while the majority of non-USAID funds dedicated to the elimination of

illicit narcotics went into military interventions. The move came in part out of skepticism over the efficacy of Plan Colombia, which had been operating for eight years and seen no demonstrable progress.<sup>52</sup>

USAID has two compelling reasons to argue that more funds be moved away from military intervention. The first reason is an appeal to ethics. USAID promotes US interests by working *with* small farmers, promotes development by making non-coca options attractive. The Colombian government employs primarily military tactics such as crop spraying, which forcibly destroys the crops of impoverished coca farmers, aggravating their situation. The second reason is an appeal to logic. A recent study indicates that the net loss in coca cultivation achieved by US \$100,000 being put into crop spraying can be achieved with US \$37,835 of alternative crop subsidization.<sup>53vi</sup> Congress makes its Initiative more efficient; less coca is produced to move in to the United States; USAID expands programs in Colombia; and impoverished Colombian farmers are able to increase profits.

## POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

### **Encourage bilateral trade agreements**

- Lowering tariffs and embargoes between Latin American countries and the United States will foster growth. This will give countries the resources to better address extreme poverty

### **Reorganize tax structures and welfare programs**

- Connect experts with policy makers to improve Latin American governmental contributions to equity. Restructuring will be informed by case studies identifying specific groups that do not benefit from liberal economic policies and do not have the resources to adjust to the changing economic climate, such as poor corn farmers in Central America.

### **Prioritize improvements to infrastructure**

- Forge and fortify public and private partnerships with organizations that are actively working to improve the accessibility of isolated and impoverished populations with the outside world. This will address one of Latin America's core colonial legacies and poverty indicators.

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<sup>vi</sup> These financial statistics are based on a survey of Colombian coca cultivators, and rely on a number of assumptions, however a 62.2% cost difference is staggering enough to make this claim reasonable.

## **Market USAID's promotion of welfare programs**

- Effectively marketed promotion of welfare programs will endear USAID to the populist ideologies that hold significant political power in many Latin America countries, particularly those that have traditionally used USAID and other US government institutions as political scapegoats, such as Bolivia and Venezuela.

## **Enforce transparency in public-private partnerships**

- Effectively imposed transparency in USAID internal accounts as well as the accounts of partnering organizations will improve the efficiency of funds, particularly in public partnerships, and provide additional opportunities for USAID to endear itself to the Latin American people and protect itself from further political attacks.

## **Lobby congress to move military counter-coca cultivation funds to USAID**

- Illicit narcotic elimination funds used by USAID are of greater benefit to United States' interests and more effectively promote the cause of eliminating extreme poverty, than money dedicated to the Colombian government.

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## **Resources:**

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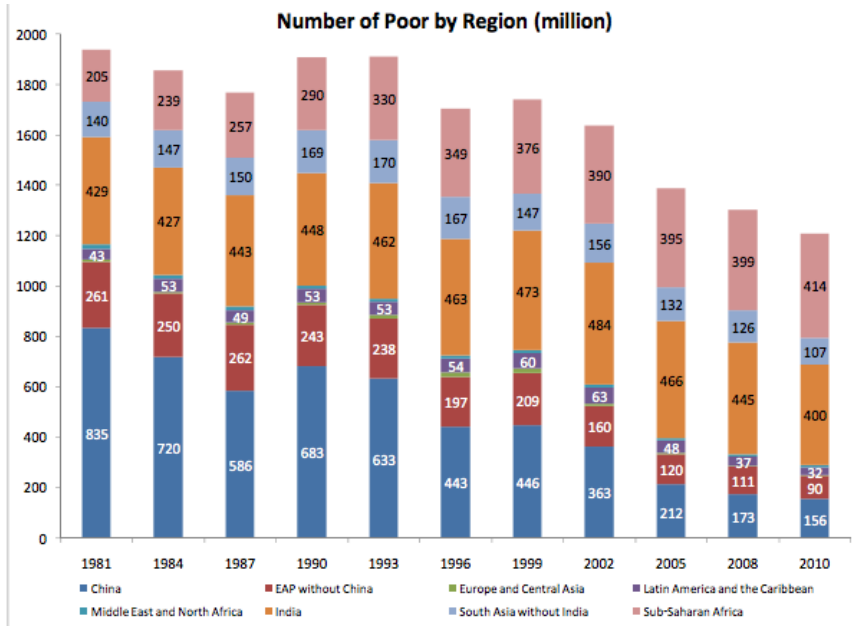
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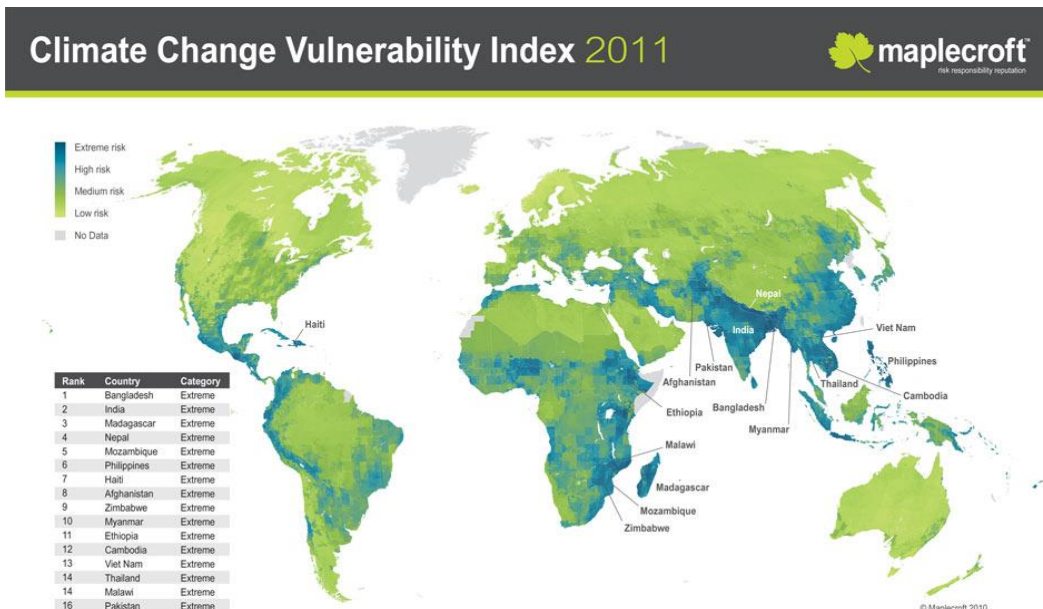
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# APPENDIX 1 Color Figures

**Figure 1: Number of Extremely Poor Individuals by Region (million)**

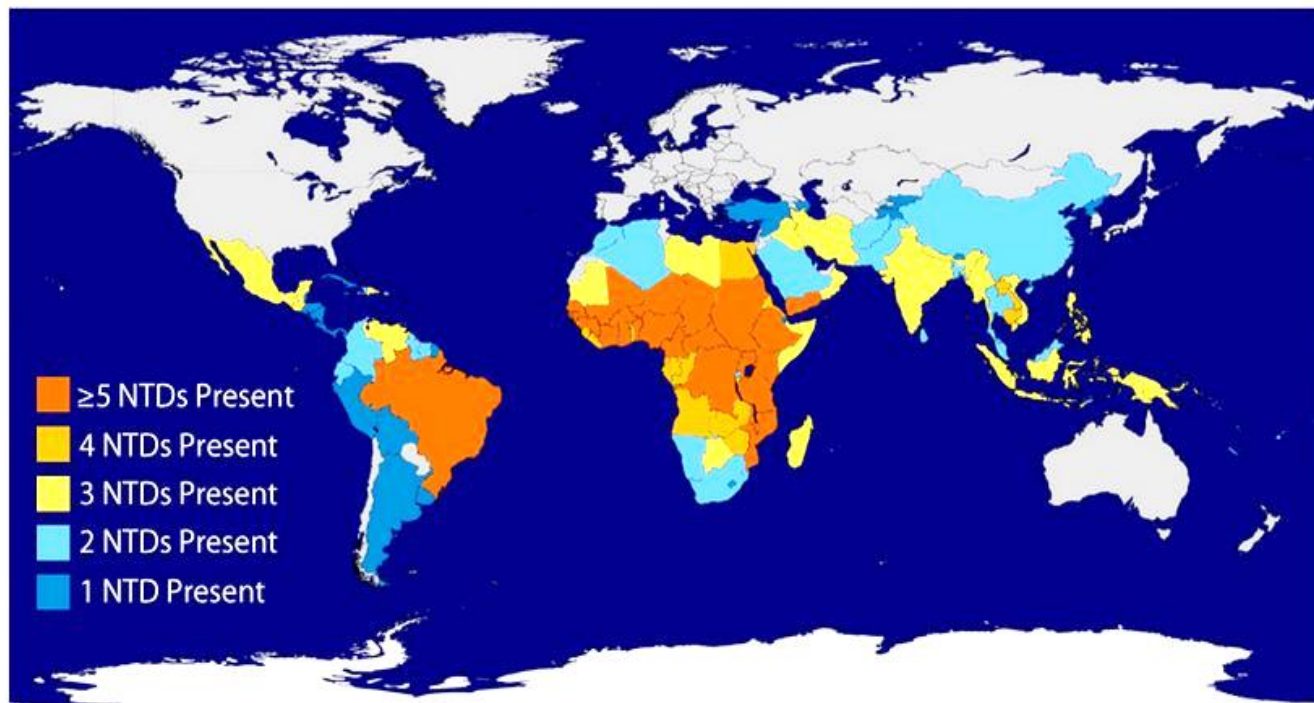


**Figure 6.2: Maplecroft's 2011 Global Climate Change Vulnerability Index  
16 nations most susceptible to climate change impacts**



Source: Maplecroft, "Climate Change Vulnerability Index 2011."

**Figure 3.1 Global Overlap of Six Common NTDs**



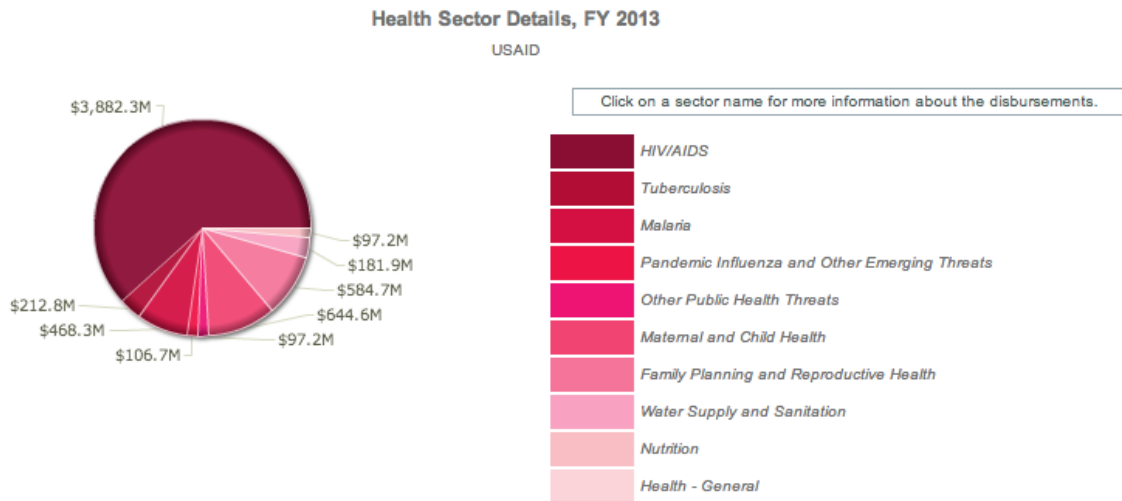
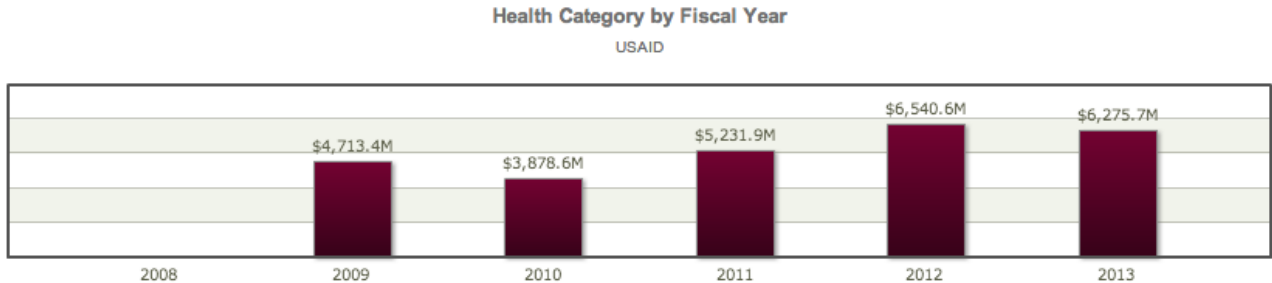
\*Global Overlap of six of the common NTDs. Specifically guinea worm disease, lymphatic filariasis, onchocerciasis, schistosomiasis, soil-transmitted helminths, trachoma.

\*\*Soil-transmitted helminth infections can be caused by three different worms, all treated the same way.

**Source:** Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, <http://tinyurl.com/l5b7ybk>

**Figure 4.1 USAID Expenditure on Health**

**Health:** To contribute to improvements in the health of people, especially women, children, and other vulnerable populations in countries of the developing world, through expansion of basic health services, including family planning; strengthening national health systems, and addressing global issues and special concerns such as HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases.



Source: [www.foreignassistance.gov](http://www.foreignassistance.gov)