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Democratisation and Corruption in a Religious Society:
The Nigerian Experience

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Abstract: The late 20th century till date has greatly witnessed paradigm shift in democratisation crusade around African continents where Nigeria belongs. This becomes significant and crucial in order to perpetually keep the military cabals in the barrack as result of the incessant problems of corruption, religious violence, instability, insecurity and among others. Thus, stable democracy becomes the only solution to this perennial political angst in Nigeria. Therefore, this paper seeks to postulate that democracy should be allowed to grow and build domestic consensus, reassert and readdress corporate participation and as well assume new roles indispensable for keeping and extending the life span of democracy and to immune it against military regime since Nigerians are religious in all things. To this end, democratisation is a democratic institution aimed at furthering political conscientization processes propelled by political regimes and continuously assume new roles in keeping with the exigencies of times and the political developments around them. This would make democratisation the only game in town.

Keywords: Corruption, democratisation, democracy, religious society, Nigerian experience

Introduction
The late 20th century till date has witnessed swift change in democratisation crusade around African continents including Nigeria. This significant and timely change became crucial consequent upon the need to terminate military cabals, one-party system and authoritarian rule. Thus, this democratisation pressure was seen to be the only solution to the perennial political angst in Nigeria in particular and Africa in general. The agitation from people, who, having been raped and fluffed by the military rules coupled with corruption, mismanagement and hardship, was to benefit from the political dividends, which they believed a democratic era would usher in. Today, virtually all the African nations including Nigeria are enjoying democratic dividends. For the first time in history, Nigeria has succeeded in handing over governance from civilian to civilian government, which is a mark of democratic consolidation. Indeed, the continuous existence of a vibrant and solid society like Nigeria is the product of democratisation, which is indispensable and non-negotiable.

However, with democracy at hand, Nigeria is still swinging in comfort with corruption and mismanagement. In fact, round and about us corruption beams, corrupt men and women are the beloved while the hated are those who spurn the vermin. In essence, corruption has berthed permanently on the Nigerian shores where religions like African Religion, Islam and Christianity are mainly practiced. It soars in all tiers of government in the last and current dispensation. Corruption, as the unlimited ostentation of wealth amassing and arrant obscenity in Nigerian culture is an unholy bedfellow with democratisation. The message of democratisation stands sharply in contrast with the wave of corruption. It is therefore the intention of this paper to tersely examine the basic concepts of democratisation and corruption in the Nigerian context. The paper shall conclude by recommending blueprints for democratic development as a re-appraisal of the political destiny of Nigeria.
Conceptualising Democratisation

A conceptual discussion of this kind cannot be fully comprehended without an insight or in-depth understanding of democracy per se. Democracy as a concept originated from the Greek-city state or the *polis* around 5th century B.C. as “demo-cratia” meaning “rule of the people.” Democracy emerged as the government of the masses or the government of the vast majority with collective participation. Thus, this concept represented the interest of the people either directly or indirectly in the *polis*. As a result of civilization in the city-state, representatives at a public forum were recognised to articulate the interest of the vast majority. By and large, various dimensions came to expound the meaning of democracy and its set objectives. Despite the fact that a handful of scholars have written about democracy, it is difficult to satisfy its definitive quest. Be that as it may, the concept remains the best option to ensure understanding of its very meaning between the leaders and the led with a view to regulating and appreciating the instrument of power control among the leaders.

Schmitter (1992:35) sees democracy as the “institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote.” (Howell 1999:45) posits that democracy is a political process where rulers are held accountable to the ruled by a variety of political arrangements, which include regular competitive multi-party elections and where those holding political office do not have automatic security of tenure. However, (Eyinla 2007:65) argues that two fundamental elements in this definition are crucial and prevalent. “They are contestation and participation.” (Eyinla 2007:66) buttresses further that “a polity is democratic to the extent to which the collective decision makers are selected or displaced through free, fair and periodic elections based on universal adult suffrage and where candidates freely compete for votes.” (Madison et al 1987:71) describe democracy as a set of institutions, including the three tiers of government, each of which is supposed to check and be checked by the other two, in order to maintain liberties and avoid tyranny, even of a majority against a minority. Applying cultural approach to the meaning of democracy, (Rustow 1985:82) defines democracy “as a problem-solving formula for power-sharing in which significant groups in society, either directly or through representative elites, negotiate from time to time over issues that are important to them all.”

Of paramount importance in this definition are the bargained interests that are entered into or reached that suffice for the time being. Often times, new issues arise, as old ones are replaced or even atrophy and as groups’ need change. Where negotiations are properly and honestly conducted, groups make concessions in one area in order that they may win concessions in other areas. In which case, any agreement worked out is the best possible for the whole society at the time; it is at most the second best for any of the negotiating groups (Omoruyi 1994:54). Having considered the various definitions of democracy, the most widely acceptable and enduring is the one given by the 16th American President Abraham Lincoln (1809-65), “as government of the people, by the people and for the people”. This means total representation, full participation and flawless accountability to the people by the electors because the people are the government entrusted to the few who represent their interest at the top. Thus, the implication of the three conditions of representation, full participation and completely accountability traced back to city-state is indicative of its level of democratisation.

By indication, democratisation as (Clinz and Stepan 1996:14-23) argue can only be said to take place after a transition to democracy has taken place. They define democratisation as “a political regime in which democracy as a complex system of institutions, rules and patterned incentives and disincentives has become, in a phrase, the only game in town.”
Oche (2002:200) supports the notion of democratization as “being in consonance with the only game in town and is thus premised on a tripod operationalizational inference comprising behavioural, attitudinal and constitutional dimensions”. Behaviourally speaking, a democratic regime can as well be regarded as consolidated when no significant major player will attempt to achieve its set goals either through the creation of a non-democratic or undemocratic or by way of secession. In attitudinal level, (Oche 2002) states that a democracy is consolidated when the overwhelming majority of public opinion is constantly and consistently supportive of democratic procedures, processes and institutions as being the sole appropriate method of conducting governance and public affairs. In constitutional terms, a democracy can be said to be democratised when government and non-government actors “become subject to, and habituated to, the resolution of conflict within the bounds of the specific laws, procedures, and institutions sanctioned by the new democratic process”(Schedler 1991:77).

In fact, for a nation to be regarded as being democratised, a democracy must develop along the aforementioned conditions of behavioural, attitudinal and constitutional lines and qualities that are catalysts for democratic essence. In other words, democratisation and democratic consolidation transcend elaborate formalities of patterning constitutions and establishing institutions. As a process, democratisation places much emphasis on the cultivation and growth of the critical behavioural and attitudinal underpinnings, which are solid foundations for a sustainable, vibrant and viable democratic system (Oche 2002:200).

By extension, (Bratton and Van de Walle 1997:69) assert that democratisation depicts the deliberate construction of democratic political mechanisms and institutions. As a process, it strengthens state structures and develops accountable and responsive forms of governance. (Eyinla 2007:69) however asserts that democratisation can result in full or partial transition. According to him: democratic transition is the inauguration of a new democratic government in which there is a peaceful transfer of power from one set of political personnel to another, while partial democratic transition connotes a situation where authoritarian leaders retain their office in the aftermath of multiparty elections. As a process democratisation is therefore concerned with the establishment and strengthening of the institutional principles and mechanisms that define a democratic regime. The success or failure of a democratisation process is determined by the extent to which the earlier enumerated elements of democracy are established.”

To this end, democratisation is a democratic institution aimed at furthering political conscientisation processes propelled by political regime and continuously assume new roles in keeping with the exigencies of the times and the political developments around them. Also, democratic consolidation is thus the positive end of securing democracy, extending its life span beyond the short term and making it immune against the threat of regression to autocratic rule and of reducing the probability of democratic breakdown, to the point where it can be reasonably assumed that democratic tenet will persist in the near future in the face of any threat (Eyinla 2007:67-70). Schmitter (1992:35) adds that democratisation is the process of transforming the accidental arrangements, prudential norms and contingent solutions that have emerged during the democratic transition process into relations of co-operation and competition that are reliably known, regularly practiced and voluntarily accepted by those who participate in democratic governance. However, the commonest feature in the realm of democratisation that stands out unquestionably is process. Process in this context means a gradual and developmental stage of growth and time to advance to maturity.

Nevertheless, democratisation process can be better sustained when the elements of democracy are vigorously pursued and upheld. Any democratic alternatives to the processes of comple-
Demographic transition have the propensity of democratic breakdown and democratic evaporation. In a democratic setting, the concept of democratic breakdown, one with which Nigerians are all too familiar, which we shall turn shortly, “denotes a total dysfunctionality and failure of the democratic system leading to the supplanting of the system through a coup d’état or any other antidemocratic process that culminates in the establishment or restoration of an authoritarian system. Seen in this light therefore, a major goal of democratic consolidation is to avoid a breakdown of democracy (Oche 2002:201).”

Corruption

The term corruption is not restricted to smooth definition, but going by its definition, it means a “behaviour which deviates from the formal rules of conducts governing the actions of someone in a position of public authority because of private-regarding motives such as wealth, power or status”(Oyeshile 2000:54). Kirkpatrick (1983:1090), sees corruption among others as “rottenness; putrid matter; impurity; bribery; corruption is sometime understood as bribery, which is defined as a price, reward, gift or favour bestowed or promised with a view to pervert judgment or corrupt the conduct especially of a person in a position of trust. However, bribery is a dimension of corruption, and is not the only raison de etre for an abuse of office.

Kong (1996:49) in another vein defines corruption as “the extraction and acceptance of payment from private entities by public officials, and the private misappropriation and abuse of public funds.” This definition is comparatively broad. It covers three aspects of corrupt practices, bribery, embezzlement, and abuse of public fund, which may include pranks associated with inflated contracts, and over-invoicing. Such sharp practices are employed to unlawfully transfer public wealth into private coffers through the agreement of officials and suppliers, contractors, or “conmen and women”(Alemika 2001:2). In the words of Dey (1989:503-504), corruption is “any act undertaken with the deliberate intent of deriving or extracting monetary or other benefits by encouraging or conniving at illegal activities”. Friedrich (1966:74) observes that corruption in terms of transaction is between corrupters and corruptees. The study notes with precision that: “Corruption can be said to exist whenever a power holder who is charged with doing certain things, i.e., who is a responsible functionary or office holder is by monetary or other rewards not legally provided for, induced to take actions which favour whoever provides the rewards and thereby does damage to the public interest”(Friedrich 1966:75).

While (Osoba 2000:372) posits that corruption has moral and legal implications. To him, corruption, “is a form of anti-social behaviour by an individual and social group which confers unjust or fraudulent benefits on its perpetrators, is consistent with the established legal norms and prevailing moral ethos of the land and is likely to subvert or diminish the capacity of the legitimate authorities to provide fully for the material and spiritual well being of all members of society in a just and equitable manner”.

Corruption as a practical and realistic concept has many fangs especially in the areas of bribery, kickback, nepotism, favouritism and among others. In other words, “corrupt practices will embrace receiving of kickbacks, misappropriation of funds, nepotism, extortions, employment patronage and so forth. A corruptionist, on this showing, will be one who defends or who practices corruption”(Alemika 2001:4-7).

It is interesting to note that these various forms of corruption have grossly affected political and socio-economic aspects of lives. Thus, the nature, structure and manifestations of corruption in the historical, legal, religious and social terms are “trendy” issues. Here, its causes must be noted so as to appreciate the understanding of corruption. Among them are greed, unemploy-
ment, poverty, moral decadence in the polity, liberal political economy with its pillars being liberalization or deregulation, privatisation of public enterprises, inflation, and the non-accountability of office holders and lack of transparency. In other words, Corruption as a bane to democratisation rears its ugly head through acute unemployment to grinding poverty with an appalling state of insecurity and political instability, the reality of the conditions in all the facets of the society such as sports, institutions, public and private offices. In fact, (Meny 1996:309) is apposite when he summarises the various causes of corruption in this paradigm.

“The causes of corruption are sought in wholly different directions, depending on the ideological stance and preferences of the seeker. The neo-liberal school considers corruption to be one of the effects of the black market caused by excessive state intervention. The more the state intervenes, the more it legislates, and the more it develops interfering bureaucracies, the greater the risks of parallel procedures and markets spawning unlawful conduct. On the other hand, those who are not convinced of the state’s intrinsic perversity or the market’s unquestionable merits stress another aspect: the erosion of public ethics, the loss of state’s legitimate status as the incarnation of the general interest, and the dilution of communal values through the pursuit of profit and the defence of selfish private interests”.

From the foregoing observation, it is pertinent to note that despite the position or the role of the state coupled with the social elites and the Marxists in the issues that give leeway to corruption, the state has the prerogative to guarantee, defend and promote human welfare, dignity, security and freedom by its active involvement in national economic planning and management in order to reduce the excesses of capitalist and exploitative tendencies inherent in capitalist social organisations (Olufemi 1998:52).

Religion: An Account

Religion is the heartbeat of the society. Religion is literally life because it does not only give order to a just and peaceful society, but offers meaning to life and relations to human beings and developmental stability. In Nigeria, there is the practice of triadic religions of African Religion (Afrel), Islam and Christianity. Thus, the history of African Religion or Indigenous Religion is as old as the people themselves. It is a religion handed down by our forbears from the yore, and it is orally transmitted from one generation to another. It does not possess sacred scriptures, yet, it is thus written in memory of the very world we live and transmits orally as the occasion demands. This is not proselytising religion, nor does it have a drive for membership, yet it is tolerant, it accommodates and remains autochthonous. Therefore, we are born into it, live in it and die it.

Islam and Christianity are the proselytising religions, which had been imported into Nigeria. Thus, Islam was introduced into Nigeria in the 11th century by the Timbuktu traders who had contacted or encounter with the Northerners. It was in the 16th century that Islam spread to the Southwest. While Christianity penetrated into Nigeria in the 16th century. However, this attempt to Christianise Nigeria failed due to many factors. Be that as it may, Christianity came to be planted permanently in the 19th century. They have had disproportionate size. Interestingly therefore, Nigeria is secular and pluralistic state without any particular religion being a state religion. There is no gainsaying the fact that Nigeria is a country of diverse cultures, traditions and beliefs. But of the entire diverse elements, religion has proved to be most sensitive agent of legality in the society. It is this fact about religion that has made it an instrument of legality, unifying factor as well as social mechanism for national development. Of a truth, the tenets of religion provide individuals with shared values, roles and incumbents, altruism and responsibilities. Religion as a way of life is aimed at transformation of individual life. This individual life is a means of micro-
cosmic structure in the overall macrocosmic structure of the society. Apart from this, “each of the patterns of life and practice presupposes a structure of shared beliefs.

The Nigerian Context

Conceptualising democratisation and corruption in the Nigerian religious society, several forces are seriously militating against the democratisation crusade. When one considers the attitudes taken by all the major stakeholders like governments, unions, businesses, the industrial commission, the churches, the mosque, lobby groups and individuals, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that no sincere effort goes into improving the lot of the masses vis-à-vis the body politic. It is a known fact that there are many lacunas in the Nigerian democratic system. Furthermore, the turns and twists in the democratisation crusade are in the strength or weakness of the people vis-à-vis corruption. The Nigerian nation seems to have supported Hutchful’s assertion as quoted by (Olufemi 1998:25) that “the success or otherwise of democratic transitions seems to be relatively independent of the democracy in the continent.” This assertion is traceable to what is perceived as the decline in the pace and depth of democratisation to corruption in the polity.

Tracing the memory lane, democratisation crusade in Nigeria has been in existence since the colonial masters had relinquished powers to the natives. From 1960 till date, it is unfortunate that all promising transition programmes embarked upon by successive military regimes have all failed to bring about democratic sustenance and continuity. Hence, such transitions have been thwarted by the military at the crucial stages as a result of many reasons such as corruption and political instability. But corruption is always the major reason. It should however be established that political transitions in Nigeria have simply been a transition from authoritarian military regimes to democratically civilian regimes religiously. Since Nigeria is a religious state, a handful of them are corrupt religiously; they steal religiously and they receive kickback religiously “These transitions have been endless, ill-designed and in all cases derailed by the military cabals at critical stages of implementation” (Oketa 1998:52). The exceptions in this case are probably the Muritala/Obasanjo’s military regimes of 1975-79 and Abdulsalami Abubakar’s military regime of 1998-99.

As earlier observed, beginning from 1960 since the colonizers had evacuated the Nigerian nation, “the virus of corruption has already found its way in our body-politic. Here, election rigging resulting to massive destruction of property and lives forced the military to intervene in the political governance of the country” (Iroanusi 2006:2). It is therefore evident from the above that corruption was the major bane that truncated the first republic and corrupt practices became incorporated into politics. Gen. Aguiyi Ironsi who assumed leadership supported the fact that “one of the reasons why the military terminated the life of the first republic was corruption. However, the regime declared its intention to stamp out corruption from our public life, which was never done until Gowon appeared on the scene” (Iroanusi 2006:3).

However, during the military tenure of Gowon, he promised to quit governance in 1976, but he was so pressurized by some of his extremely corrupt accolades that he had to recant from that initial promise.

Muritala/Obasanjo’s military regime purged and punished severely corrupt officers in the country. But this experience was later ignored when ten-presenters and the graft-masters became the movers and shakers of the Nigerian society. Nigeria again relapsed after Muritala’s attempt was silent in death, thus plunging the Nigerian nation deep down into the basement of rot.

Despite “Shagari establishment of a code of conduct Bureau and a code of conduct Tribunal…his Second Republic administration would for long, represent one of the most corrupt and
most graft stricken periods, where politicians, public officers and law makers succeeded in elevating profligacy and public treasury looting to an art form”. Thus, the democratisation process kick-started was not sustained because of the corrupt leaders. The Second Republic leaders fleeced the nation so massively that it bothered on probity. Some political leaders in this republic had the flair for corrupt tendencies. “They breakfasted in London, lunched in Madrid and dined in Lisbon. While the Nigerian Naira nose-dived in worth, they coursed their path to the vaults of the Swiss and became notorious for stashing stolen money abroad….Therefore, the political corruption centre seems not able to hold. Subsequently, government gave fillip to the bug” (*Sunday Tribune* 2002:3).

The above revealed the extent of corruption during the second republic. This was however the major reason for truncating this period under review. This resulted in democratic breakdown, and the democratic consolidating fillip was thrown to the bug. The self-seeking and self-serving disposition of Nigerian political elites and opportunists were apparent in the second republic. Their shoddy deals dismissed the regime from being democratically consolidated by Buhari and Idiagbon military regime of 1983-85.

Babangida came in, and as if in sympathy with corrupt politicians locked up by the Buhari regime, reviewed their issues. It must be noted that Babangida tenure at no point in time of the history of that regime, ever preached against corruption (*Iroanusi* 2006:4). In a nutshell, during the Babangida government, corruption became “institutionalised” as opportunities for stealing were almost limitless and the temptation irresistible. Thus, the words of Aluko in (*TELL* 1991:69) are apposite here; when a nation gives its rule to the military, that nation is finished.

When a soldier captures a city, he loots it, when a soldier captures a country, what do you expect? He loots it.

He emphasizes that military leaders do not spear any country they hijack and they never wish such country well. And so, corruption became a full-blown cancer during Babangida administration. Things were not further helped by the nose-diving economy when it was obvious perhaps that Nigeria was scooping up extra dollars from international market. The gulf oil windfall was a case in point (*Sunday Tribune* 2002:3).

In spite of the “institutionalisation” of corruption during Babangida era, many thought that by so doing democracy would be entrenched as he introduced vibrant and brilliant democratic transition programmes. At the end, Nigeria was faced with the annulment of June 12 1993 election adjudged to be the freest and fairest election ever held in Nigeria. Thus, the journey of transition to civilian regimes came to fizzle out immediately the annulment was stamped, sealed and delivered. However, the annulment generated unprecedented reactions, which were not favourable and have the potential of destroying the very corporate existence of the Nigerian nation. Thus, the Nigerian people suffered the annulment “in the form of economic paralysis, political apathy, social industrial unrest and more recently the call for the restructuring of the armed forces, police and other governmental institutions/agencies and the rotation of the office of the president among the six major geo-political zones in the country” (*Oketa* 1998:52). To this end, Babangida “stepped aside” by hurriedly introducing interim National government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan.

Shonekan’s ill-fated adventurism as a “child of circumstance” into politics only recounted of his dream against corruption, of which before he had time to settle down for business in which he was absolutely unsuitable, (*Iroanusi* 2006:4). Abacha with “a gun on the head” approach terminated his interim government. Abacha with his own agenda became a dictator or tyrant in Nigeria. “Abacha can easily pass as the world champion grafter of the century, after the order of the
former Zairean dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko, who until his overthrow, had plundered his country’s treasury to the extent of perhaps more than $1 billion during the 32 years he miss-ruled and bankrupted his country” (Iroanusi 2006:4). Abacha’s enthronement was to perforate the till. It is customary with the military Junta that overnight millionaires are made through inflated contract, outright diversion of public funds, allocation of choice oil blocs and fraudulent allocations of money under the pretext of officialdom and democratic transitions. It thereafter became clear after the death of Abacha that he was the chief presiding officer over the flinch. Abacha as the Governor of CBN brazenly raided the Central Bank, using the CBN bullion vans and CBN top officials to execute the several raids (TELL 2001:69). He died with his five leprous political parties he floated all in the guise of democratic transition.

Corruption has since remained unabated in the polity. The Abdulsalami Abubakar’s junta is yet battling with charges of having aided itself to colossal billions of Nigerian Naira. In fact, the alarming corrupt practices in Abubakar’s junta had elicited surprise from insiders. The financial recklessness was more scandalous than Abacha’s financial fraud (TELL 2001:69). Moreover, people who thought Abubakar was a simple naïve man, were shocked to find out that he suffers from this inferiority syndrome that Abacha had, which made him wanted to surpass everyone with his acquisitive tendencies. In sum, his administration was inveterate in looting with the shortest period the administration lasted before the advent of nascent democracy. The basic reason while people decided to let go was the fact that Nigerians were tired of military regimes and the mental torture they experienced in the military era. All these and other reasons made the people to down play the financial recklessness during this period. However, the democracy he enthroned is still being sustained by the current civilian government. Those who thought that, with the enthronement of democracy, corruption would become a thing of the past were disappointed. The masses of the people could not but express disappointment and chagrin at the massive theft in high and low places going on (Sunday Tribune 2002:4). While local and state governments literally sit in court over monthly allocations, the governors too are busy building castles in the air and replicating the odious theft of the past regimes. In other words, corruption and its choking grip are common among cabinet ministers, legislators, governors, chairmen, councillors who are plundering the nation, competing to outdo one another in the art of cornering Nigerian wealth. In fact, Nigeria as a nation is strikingly rich, and she is the richest country perhaps in the world. Despite the money stashed away and the ones still flying with wings, she is still rich and has money in foreign reserve. If what is happening to Nigeria in every successive regime had happened to US, US would have run aground long ago; yet Nigeria is still moving despite the problems of corruption.

Nigeria is rather very unfortunate as a country in spite of the fact that (Obasanjo 1999:133) had said among others during his inaugural speech that corruption “must not be condoned. This is why laws are made and enforced to check corruption, so that society would survive and develop in an orderly, reasonable and predictable way. No society can achieve anything near its full potential if it allows corruption to become the full-blown cancer it has become in Nigeria. One of the greatest tragedies of military rules in recent times, is that corruption was allowed to grow unchallenged and unchecked.”

This speech led to the anti-corruption bill sent to National Assembly after his inauguration. The results of this were the establishments of Independent Corrupt Practices Commission and other Related Matters (ICPC), Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) and among others. These various commissions started off well, indicting
and arresting serving governors, public personnel and former corrupt leaders and their cronies, i.e. Chief Diepreye Alamiesigha, late Abacha’s family and the Swiss bank phenomenon.

Today, these commissions are being accused of being one-sided, targeting opponents in the Obasanjo’s government, and they are also accused of living above their means. Presently, many allegations of theft are prevalent in Obasanjo regime even before he left power. However, his government successfully relinquished power to Yar, Adua in May 29 2007.

Since the ascendancy of Yar, Adua into power, it has been the era of probe in the national assembly of various embezzlements that took place during Obasanjo era and this present government, i.e., the impeachment of the former speaker of the House of Representatives, Mrs. Patricia Etteh, and the Minister of Health; all linked to various embezzlements and graft of different kinds. All these corrupt practices are antithetical to democratisation crusade in the Nigerian polity.

The concept of democratic breakdown or erosion is too familiar with Nigeria, because corruption has been elevated to the status of gold and adorned purple as a carnival without rules and limitations. Everywhere, one wonders if “corruption is not a Nigerian person” (Oyeshile 2000:55). Corruption in Nigeria soars like fern in the open field. The grave implication is that democratic transition and consolidation aimed at democratisation in Nigeria, is shaking, because the electors and some electorates are simply pursuing self-seeking and parochial interest all in the name of corruption. This democratisation process seems not to be registered in the consciousness, discourse or agenda of the politically attentive and active public. Oche (2002:202) argues that: “The dangers and possibility of democratic erosion, which may have already started, and breakdown, seem to have entirely discounted. The avaricious and self-serving disposition of Nigeria’s political class has been apparent within the past one and half years”.

To this end, Nigeria is democratising in corruption religiously and legislating in extravagance religiously instead of guiding jealously the hard-worn democracy from the military dictatorship. In fact, these things are happening in a religious society. Therefore, they kill religiously, they are corrupt religiously; they rig election religiously; kidnap religiously; siphon and misappropriate the government coffer religiously and elope and escape religiously. Broadly speaking, democracy suffers when the rulers embark on a mission of shameful extravagance in which money; sex, power and material acquisition are key elements of some of them. The foregoing reveals that democratisation and corruption are archenemies, un-mashed and unholy bedfellows. In fact, they are incomparable fellows and cannot work together. As a result of the pride of place corruption assumes in Nigeria, it will be difficult for democracy to thrive in this thorny terrain. Except, corruption gives way to democracy to soar or democracy gives in to corruption so that democracy can be forgotten at a glance. With this at hand, one is quick to ask the following:

Are Nigerians psychologically prepared for democracy, let alone democratic consolidation? What brand of democracy do they want? And

How do we reconcile democracy and corruption in the Nigerian polity?

These and others would be treated in our recommendations.

Recommendations

Without fuss, Nigeria is democratising in corruption religiously and legislating in extravagance religiously, which is dangerous having weighed its pros and cons. To this extent, it shows that this hard-worn democracy that is being democratically consolidated, having succeeded in transiting from civilian to civilian regime for the first time, is beset by corrupt practices. It therefore appears that Nigerians are not psychologically prepared for democratisation project. If not,
the issue of corruption would have not pervaded the political economy. Despite the zero tolerance for corruption, the nation is still battling with cases of corrupt leaders. (Ogbonnaya and Ofoeze 1994:56) are of the opinion that “such impression and its actualisation in a democratic order remain undemocratic, it could lead those in custody of the regime being democratised to take steps aimed at forestalling that possibility.” Therefore, it is advocated that viable mechanisms should be built into the democratisation process in order to safeguard this nascent democracy that emerged after much tunnel. This fact should be recognised on the basis of widespread hardship foisted on the masses by long years of military regime as well as the fresh memories of crucibles Nigerians have suffered. The people should learn from history and be schooled in the art of democratisation and its implication on Nigerian society.

Like Africa, Nigeria is familiar with the problems of communal, ethnic and religious affiliations as basis for power sharing and solutions to some challenges. But democracy is all about individualism. Therefore, Nigerians should live beyond ethnic, religious and communal affiliations to individualism in order to sustain and protect democracy. Religion is an instrument of unifying factor and social mobilization and mechanism for national development. In addition, it serves as check and balance, shared values, roles and incumbents, altruism and responsibilities. Democracy is not a commodity purchased from the market; rather, it is fought for and won by the local groups that desire it (Ogbonnaya and Ofoeze 1994:57). Nigeria, regardless of these affiliations, should not allow themselves to be trumpeted into premature democratisation. This is because like development, democratisation is not something that people do for another, people must do it for themselves or it does not happen (Claude Ake 1991:38).

Under democratisation process, Nigerians should transcend marginalization, political clique, self-interest and so on. Democracy can only thrive in an atmosphere that is politically friendly. Like (Rustow 1985:82) argues that, “no two existing democracies have gone through a struggle between the very same forces over the same issues and with the same outcomes.” Instead of the democratisation process promoting dialogue, participation and reducing the scope for political instability, corruption and social-economic conflicts, it is producing a regime of politically marginalized and highly discontented populace with negative implications for military intervention (Eyinla 2007:74).

Cohen (1971:78) observes that democracy is that system of community government in which the members of the community participate in the making of the decisions, which affect them. However, the only challenge in respect of this observation is that equality and direct participation as the core of democracy renders it impracticable in contemporary society. We submit that since like Africa, Nigerians are known for communal life, communal democratic development should be practiced. Because without communitarian relative democracy, there is no identity for African perhaps Nigerian person. Only together with others can one become a complete human person and achieve individual freedom, which is the core of democracy that again should be exercised in a democratic communitarian manner. In fact, the communal structures cannot elude the reality and quality of self-assertiveness, which individuals show through their political actions. It is this capacity to assert oneself in the community that makes possible the intelligibility of an individual’s autonomous choices of goals and plans for common life (Ezekwona 2005:5). Therefore, we advocate that Nigerians should embrace communal democracy so that community members participate in the process of decision-making that affects them other than having representatives that seek for their common end instead of the people that send them to represent their interest. Nigerians should re-examine the meaning of communal existence and to re-appraise the democratic virtues upon which our socio-economic and political structures are based.
It is clear that democratisation and corruption together cannot help Nigeria because they are incompatible religiously. Therefore, the people should totally embrace genuine democratisation of the polity and economy. The masses at the grassroots should enjoy greater democratic power over their electorates. As a result, the masses at the grassroots should have greater resources to enhance the performance of their activities and strengthen their accountability. Thus, this can be possible when the masses are more popular than the political clique or political “godfathers” who for no other reason save for their interest impose candidates for the people. If the masses of the people make imposition of candidates correspondingly irrelevant, the issue of corruption in the polity will evaporate with time. This will give room for a communal broad-based government. This awareness will educate the citizenry on the importance and benefits of democracy, and the negative implications of corruption on democracy.

Not only that, all the agencies recruited to tackle corruption in Nigeria should be strongly encouraged, empowered, and remained independent religiously in their assignment without interference, and the government should, as a matter of strong commitment and dedication, punish corrupt officials regardless of the antics of their collaborators. The issue of zero tolerance on corruption should not be seen as a “traitor” rather faithfully and religiously executed and internalised like “Caesar’s wives” who lived above board. Phillips quickly adds that “accomplishing goals that are important, for society as well as for ourselves, building something that has permanence and value beyond personal or strictly corporate objectives, should be at least as important as the imperatives of the bottom line (Philips 1999:60).” Therefore, the aforementioned suggestions would definitely build a democratic order that can be effective, and capable of stamping out corruption religiously with a view to consolidating and making every democratic regime in Nigeria as the exact symbol of her people and as a legality.

Conclusion

From our effort so far, it is discovered that democratisation and corruption are unholy and incompatible bedfellows. The paper has thus revealed that in the democratic effort in Nigeria, corruption has been the major bane that had and has crumbled all the democratisation structures in the polity. Of a truth, Nigeria is seen to be democratising in corruption and legislating in extravagance instead of guiding religiously the hard-won democracy from the military dictatorships. Consequently, it will be knotty for democracy to thrive in this thorny terrain of corruption. This problem needs to be addressed, not redefined and attention needs to be focused, not diverted. The various games and circuses promoted by each successive regime have continued to make corruption soaring in an alarming proportion. Perhaps, democratisation as a democratic institution aimed at furthering political conscientisation processes propelled by the political regimes should not be a monumental waste as a result of corruption. Nigerians must in fact and indeed internalise zero tolerance to corruption, and give Nigeria a democratic soul, develop for it a political virtue and a direction to follow, away from the false and ephemeral lip-service paid to anti-corruption crusade since the successive regimes. To this end, the attainment of a corrupt-free society in Nigeria though is an uphill and Herculean task, but it would afford leadership of strong will, purpose, dedication and respecter of the rule of law who must use all state apparatus to entrench and impose it on the populace.

These set objectives are not options to select rather they are matters for the polis through the normal democratic processes to help fostering the corporate existence of the Nigerian nation. This will aid democratisation project to grow and build domestic political consensus, full individual and collective participation and assuming new roles capable of keeping with the demands
of the times. This and others will extend the life span of democracy and make it immune against the threat of incursion of military regime and stem the tide of possible democratic breakdown. Finally, communal democracy is suitable for Nigeria because of her communal background and with this at hand; democratisation will be “the only game in town”.

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Impacts of Social Capital on Household Consumption Expenditure in Rural Kenya: An Instrumental Variable Approach

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Abstract: This paper investigates the impact of social capital on consumption expenditure of households in rural Kenya. For many years, rural development in Kenya relied on the strategy that focused mainly on achieving economic growth through accumulation of physical capital, ignoring the diverse dimensions of social capital and how these dimensions affect rural livelihoods. The paper uses primary data collected from a sample of 340 households from Nyeri district. Instrumental variable and control function approach models are used to correct for the endogeneity of social capital and the heterogeneity bias in the household consumption expenditure model. The results indicate that social capital enables households to generate consumption expenditure sources that support non-monetary forms of exchange. Further, the results show that there is need to control for the endogeneity of social capital. Failure to do so would result in making policy decisions and conclusions that are misleading.

Keywords: Instrumented aggregate social capital, household consumption expenditure, rural livelihoods approach, instrumental variable, control function approach models

Introduction
Social capital can be best understood as a means and/or a process for accessing resources and support at vulnerable life cycles through networks of social relations. At the core of social capital, is the capacity of people for social ties, solidarity and self-organization. Rich endowments of social capital allow people to produce and provide for one another outside the mechanism of the market.

Formulation of development policy in Kenya has often not taken into account key forms of national resources, particularly social capital. Yet research elsewhere (Government of Canada, 2003) has shown that social capital facilitates achievement of a broad range of development objectives. For instance, Kirori et al. (2010), show that social capital has an important role to play in improving the consumption expenditures of rural households in Kenya. The findings of the authors indicate that households with large social capital endowments are able to meet their basic needs through non-cash transactions. Social capital can enable households to increase consumption without cash expenditure, and without relying on self-purchased goods. These findings were arrived at while treating social capital variable as exogenous. This paper is a follow-up of the
work of Kirori et al. (2010) to investigate and address reverse causality of social capital and any heterogeneity bias in the consumption expenditure model.

The overall objective of this study is to investigate the impact of social capital on consumption expenditure of households in rural Kenya while the specific objective is the problem of reverse causality of social capital and heterogeneity bias in consumption expenditure models of rural households rural Kenya based on a case for Nyeri District.

This study aims at seeking answers to the following questions: In its role of improving consumption expenditures of rural households, is social capital endogenous? Is there existence of heterogeneous bias in models of consumption expenditures of rural households?

The area of social capital is new ground that is complex and not yet well studied. In Kenya, the research on social capital, though not a lot, includes the work by Kirori et al. (2010) focusing on the influence of social capital in the improvement of welfare of rural households in Kenya, Nyangena (2004) and Nyangena and Sterner (2008) focusing on determinants of social capital. This study attempts to investigate the problem of endogeneity of social capital and heterogeneity bias in the consumption expenditure models of rural households. It is expected that the study will increase understanding of social capital and contribute to the formulation of rural policy and development programs and to efforts of combating poverty. It will also add to the existing literature on social capital.

**Relevant Literature Review**

This section presents the literature review covering issues related to the definition and uses of social capital, its role in rural livelihoods and public policy and effects.

The idea that social capital could guide economic activity dates as far back as 18th century during the period of Scottish Enlightenment (Woolcock, 1998). Burke (1757) contended that markets could not function at all without prior existence of civilizing norms and moral principles. Hume (1777) speculated that an appropriate ‘moral sense’ would emerge of its own accord to guide markets. Smith (1776) argued that while peoples’ pursuit of self-interest was tempered by an innate moral sense, there was need to regulate markets by the church and state (Woolcock, 1998). The first proponents of the modern concept of social capital were identified by Woolcock (1998) as being Hanifan (1920) and Jacobs (1961). Hanifan invoked the concept of social capital to explain importance of community participation in improving school performance. Jacobs researched on culture of urban communities based on the theory of social interaction.

In the last two decades, the concept of social capital has profoundly been popularized especially in the prominent studies of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988, 1990) and Putnam (1993a, 1993b, 1995). Bourdieu (1998) defined social capital in terms of social networks and connections and posited that social capital provided potential support and access to resources. Coleman (1988, 1990) contended that social capital was a resource in terms of social structure of families and communities and helped actors to achieve their objectives and interests. Putnam (1993a, 1993b, 1995) defined social capital as a key characteristic of communities where the theory of social capital was crucial for policies of grassroots participation, community development and empowerment. Durlauf (2002) argued that the definition of social capital has remained elusive despite immense amount of research on it. The study contends that social capital refers broadly to community relations that affect personal interactions.

Helliwell and Putnam (1995), Helliwell (1996), Upholf (1986), and Krishna and Uphoff (1999) defined social capital as a community level public good emphasizing that social capital may be embedded in society rather than in any one individual. The studies also explained that
social capital is given value by actors including individuals, institutions and organizations who use it to further their individual or collective interests. Ellis (2000) referred to social relations as the social positioning of individuals and households within society where factors such as gender, caste, class, age, ethnicity, and religion created constraints on individuals’ courses of action. Lietaer (2001) explained a model of social capital formation through creation of communities and community (or complementary) currencies emphasizing a need for radical money reform. North (1990) referred to institutions as including formal rules, conventions, and informal codes of behavior that could be a constraint in human interaction.

The theory of social capital has been used to contest some important notions in traditional economics. Social capital theorists have placed critique on some common notions in traditional economics. Narayan (1997) argued that the notion of development capital, as traditionally used in economic operation to determine measures of poverty and household welfare, was inadequate as it ignored the social dimension. The author described a social capital model as a new innovation focusing incorporation of social dimension into the development equation of capital. Lehto (2001), contested the notion of competitiveness. The theorist contended that the notion of competitiveness in traditional economics was connected only in three capital types, the natural capital, the human-made capital and the human capital and ignored social capital. According to Lehto (2001), efficiency in production was also created by social capital comprising key factors such as human relationships, rules of the game in the group and society, trust and mutual support and the spirit of cooperation, all of which formed a mixture of social factors and economic performance. The study explains that the concept of social capital is a key factor to understanding the experience of rural development in finding solutions towards local economy competitiveness.

Social capital is important in improving the livelihoods of rural people directly and indirectly through increase in access to goods and services. Chambers and Conway (1992), defined livelihood as ‘comprising the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims, access), and activities required for means of living’. Ellis (2000) and Ellis and Freeman (2005) explained that social capital mediated access to assets and activities, and the access to these assets and activities to rural households and this essentially determined the level of survival of the households. Baron, et al. (2000), emphasized that social capital underpinned the livelihood strategies of the rural household as it enabled participants to act together more effectively in pursuit of shared objectives. The studies explain that social capital enhanced rural livelihood directly and also increased access by people to goods and services particularly those that exhibited public good characteristics. Knack and Keefer (1997) argued that cooperative norms act as constraints on narrow self-interest, leading individuals to contribute to the provision of public goods of various kinds. For example, in communities within countries where capital markets are weak, strong social capital could facilitate the pooling of finances, which then could be invested in projects such as schools, village enterprises, or irrigation infrastructure. Berry (1989, 1993), Hart (1995) and Bryceson (1996), contended that social capital was essential for facilitating and sustaining diverse income portfolios and access to opportunities and resources to individual households.

Rose (1997, 1998, and 1999) gave a detailed description of social capital in activities that are familiar in everyday rural life. The study distinguished between three categories of activities commonly carried within the household as productive activities, cooperative enterprises, and other activities. In productive activities, social capital becomes part of the household’s primary economy producing goods and services (for example, food, water, firewood, shelter, childcare, and so on) for consumption and exchange to the extent that a household tends towards self-sufficiency. Carmen and Friedland (1995) concurred that social capital was productive since two
farmers exchanging tools could get more work done with less physical capital, rotating credit associations could generate pools of financial capital for increased entrepreneurial activity, and job searches could be more efficient if information is embedded in social networks.

Cooperative enterprises were marginal activities and non-agricultural enterprises involving an extension of the immediate household rather than as conventional business enterprises. Rose (2000), identified four categories of persons that could be engaged in an enterprise including the working proprietor, unpaid household members, unpaid helpers, and paid employees. Other activities included (i) remittances (ii) education, (iii) job search (iv) crime in the absence of social capital and (v) corruption as an indicator of ‘negative’ social capital. Fukuyama (1999), described the use of social capital in free-market liberal democracy focusing on the economic and political functions as well as the civil society. The author argued that an abundant stock of social capital produced a dense civil society, which in turn was a necessary condition for modern liberal democracy.

Social capital has important role for public policy. UKONS (2001) reviewed main issues surrounding policy implications of social capital and showed that social capital related well with outcomes which were important to policymakers such as economic growth, social exclusion, better health and well-being. Cote and Healy (2001) suggested that specific types of social capital including bridging, bonding, and linking could be important for policies aimed at minimizing social exclusion. Donnelly-Roark, et al. (2001), showed that social capital in the context of local level institutions could play an important role in poverty and inequality reduction, promotion of equitable development, rural decentralization and community prosperity. The studies explained that, in the rural decentralization model, local people got an opportunity to integrate their local level institutions (i.e., social capital) into legal, economic, and administrative framework, which in turn, shaped the institutional environment. Alila (1993) explained that a local level development strategy was critical for local capacity mobilization and improvement where local organizations including public organizations, non-governmental organizations, community development organizations, cooperatives, and so on, acted as catalysts for local level development initiatives. In the environment where social capital might lead to unproductive or immoral behavior policymakers could focus on influencing social structures rather than their consequences.

Social capital has profound impact, positive or negative, in many different areas of human life and development (Aker, 2007; Productivity Commission of Australia, 2003; Rose, 2002; Grootaert and Bastelar, 2002a, 2002b; Woolcock, 2001; Grootaert, 2001; Narayan and Pritchett, 1999). The studies provide empirical evidence regarding the contribution made by social capital to the livelihoods of households. For example, the studies showed that social capital resulted in direct income gains and more widespread and efficient services delivery; affected the provision of services in both urban and rural areas; transformed the prospects for agricultural development; influenced the expansion of private enterprises; improved the management of common resources; helped improve education; and could prevent conflict. Putnam (2000) explained that, though social capital was always an asset for those individuals and groups involved, it might not always be beneficial to society as a whole. For instance, horizontal networks of individual citizens and groups that enhanced community productivity and cohesion were said to be positive social capital assets while self-serving exclusive gangs and hierarchical patronage systems that operated at cross purposes to societal interests could be thought of as negative social capital and placed burdens on society.

Portes (1998) identified four negative consequences of social capital: exclusion of outsiders, excess claims of group members, restriction on individual freedom, and downward leveling
norms. Fukuyama (1999) argued that social capital differed from other forms of capital because it led to bad results like hate groups or in-bred bureaucracies. The study also argued that there appeared to be a natural human tendency for dividing the world into friends and enemies, which was the basis for all politics. It was important when measuring social capital to consider its true utility net of its externalities. However, this paper is not able to explain social externality of social capital since it does control for group interaction effects. A key empirical policy question therefore is 'what institutional conditions and or combinations of different dimensions of social capital generate outcomes that serve the public good.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This section presents the theoretical framework and methodology used in the paper. The main premise used is the basic economic model of utility maximization subject to a constraint (Nicholson, 1991) and a modification of Ellis’ (2000) rural livelihoods framework to derive the household consumption expenditure model. Endogeneity of social capital and heterogeneity bias in the consumption expenditure model are corrected by the instrumental variable (IV) and control function approach (CFA) models.

Conceptual Framework

The rural household is assumed to maximize utility by participating in diversified means of survival and improvement of their well being. Households undertake a multiple portfolio of resources and activities (Ellis, 2000). The rural livelihoods approach comprises four blocks, (a) the asset (resources) block, (b) the livelihood mediating processes block or the conditioning factors block, (c) the livelihood strategies and activities block, and (d) the outcomes/effects block as illustrated in Figure 1 adopted from Ellis (2000).

The resources block comprises five capital types (natural capital, physical capital, human capital, financial capital and social capital) accessed in some way by the household. The resources block is the basic building block upon which households are able to undertake production, engage in labor markets, and participate in exchange with other households.

The livelihood mediating processes block is characterized by factors that influence households’ access to resources and pursuit of viable livelihoods. The mediating processes for livelihoods encompass transforming processes and vulnerability processes in terms of agencies that may facilitate or inhibit the exercise of capabilities and choices by individuals and households. The household survival strategies block is characterized by coping strategies and adapting behaviors of rural household for its survival in terms of participating in a collection of activities made possible by the interaction of resources and opportunities accessible to the household.

Two categories of activities that form potential components of a livelihood strategy are the natural resource (NR)-based activities and the non-natural resource (NNR)-based activities. The livelihood outcomes block is characterized by some combination of attributes related to the level and stability of rural household income as well as access of the household to social services and basic needs including education, health, water, shelter, and so on.

Drawing from Ellis (2000), welfare, $W_i$, is a function of consumption expenditure. Let $X_i$ denote social capital goods and $Y_i$ denote non-social capital goods demanded by household $i$, so that

$$W_i = f(X_i, Y_i) \quad (1)$$
Let $p_x$ and $p_y$ denote the prices of good $X_i$ and good $Y_i$ respectively, so that the objective of the household is to maximize welfare subject to the budget constraint, $I_i$, given by:

$$\text{Max } W(\cdot), \text{ s.t } I_i = p_x X_i + p_y Y_i \quad (2)$$

The solution to this problem is a set of household’s demands for $X$ and $Y$ as functions of $I$, $p_x$, $p_y$ and other environmental characteristics.

Replacing $W_i$ in equation (1) which is unobservable with the observable household consumption expenditure, $E_i$, we have:

$$E_i = f(X_i, Y_i) \quad (3)$$

Thus, real consumption expenditure, $E_i$, is a function of social capital goods ($X_i$) and non-social capital ($Y_i$) goods, as shown in equation (3). A social capital good (for example, home care for children) can be accessed through social networks without the need to incur cash expenditure. On the other hand, a component of the same good, e.g., nursery care for children, can only be obtained through an outlay of cash expenditure in the market for this care. It is easily seen therefore, that one component of this good, e.g., the one obtained through cash can decrease as the other component increases. In other words, welfare of a household can increase as one of these expenditure component falls.

**Empirical Model**

The rural household uses its assets endowment to engage in productive activities either in enterprises within the household or in external labor markets. The structural equations of the model may be given by:
\[ E = \alpha X + \beta Y + \mu \]  

(4)

where

\[ E = \text{Real total household consumption expenditure} \]

\[ \alpha = \text{A vector of coefficients on endogenous variables } (X) \]

\[ \beta = \text{a vector of coefficients on exogenous variables } (Y) \]

\[ \mu = \text{a random error term}. \]

The central idea here is that the rural household’s real consumption expenditure level, \( (E_i) \), varies depending on levels of social capital \( (X_i) \) and non-social capital \( (Y_i) \). The non-social capital variables relate to household assets and are twofold, the natural resource-base types (land, human capital, livestock, and so on) and non-natural resource-base variables (radio, television, bicycles, refrigerators).

Household \( i \)’s consumption expenditure can therefore be specified as:

\[ E_i = \alpha + \beta_j X_{ij} + \tau_i Y_{ij} + \mu_i \]  

(5)

where \( j \) refers to the specific measure of social and non-social capital.

\( X_i \) has the following elements

\( X_{GN_i} = \text{Group and network variables} \)

\( X_{TS_i} = \text{Trust and solidarity variables} \)

\( X_{CA_i} = \text{Collective action and cooperation variables} \)

\( X_{IC_i} = \text{Information and communication variables} \)

\( X_{SC_i} = \text{Social cohesion variables} \)

\( X_{EP_i} = \text{Empowerment and political action variables} \)

\( Y_i \) has the following elements

\( Y_{HCE_i} = \text{Human capital of the household head} \)

\( Y_{NC_i} = \text{Natural capital of the household (land)} \)

\( Y_{HC_i} = \text{Household characteristics} \)

\( Y_{CC_i} = \text{Community and/or locality characteristics} \)

\[ \mu_i = \text{error term} \]

It should be noted that if \( E \) is captured by cash expenditure rather than by total household consumption, the coefficient on social capital variables can be negative.

The preferred solution to the endogeneity problem is to use instrumental variable (IV) estimation, which provides an empirical test of two-way-causality. The model must include all the control variables in equation (5), i.e., \( Y \) and a set of instrumental variables to identify the system of equations. The social capital model can therefore be specified as:

\[ X_i = \alpha_1 Y_i + \alpha_2 Z_i + \nu_i \]  

(6)

where \( X_i \) and \( Y_i \) are as defined earlier; \( Z_i \) is a set of instrumental variables; \( \nu \) is a random disturbance term.
This paper has used the religious background of head of household, the proportion of villagers involved in lobbying (petitioning of leaders) for issues that benefit the community, and the level of people’s democratic rights in terms of the voting rate at general elections, as instrument variables. The three indicators are covariates of social capital but do not directly affect household livelihoods. For example, the religious background of a household member will influence the need and type of association and participation in the activities of the network (Putnam, 1995) but will not necessarily affect the livelihoods directly. Involvement of community in lobbying for provision of social services, including and infrastructure, affects social capital accumulation, but has no direct effect on livelihoods (Grootaert, 1999). Communities that lobby for support or vote for leadership are likely to be more cohesive than communities that do not involve themselves in these activities. Such communities are more likely to fight together for their rights.

In addition to controlling for endogeneity\(^1\), the study also controls for heterogeneity bias in the social capital and consumption expenditure relationships. The heterogeneity bias arises in the household consumption expenditure model from unobserved household characteristics that are correlated with social capital and may impact on consumption. Examples of such unobserved household characteristics include virtues, traditions, and experience that can lead to transfers from extended relatives, cohesion in a family, ability to influence others, and community goodwill (for instance, a retired teacher in a village may be given a hearing by society or may be more respected than anybody else). To take into account heterogeneity bias, the identification condition should be explored through a control function (Florens et al., 2008). This would involve addition of a reduced form social capital model residual to the estimated consumption expenditure model so as to purge the observed relationship between consumption expenditure and social capital of any effect of the unobservable by allowing social capital to be treated as if it were exogenous during estimation. The inclusion of the residuals leads to an OLS estimate of the coefficient of social capital that is identical to the one obtained by IV instrumenting for social capital. Assuming the unobserved component is non-linear in the social capital residual (\(X^*\)), the addition of an interaction term of the social capital and its residual (\(XX^*\)) as a second control variable is sufficient to eliminate endogeneity bias even if the reduced form social capital is heteroscedastic (Card, 2001; Mwabu, 2009). This controls for the effects of neglected non-linear interactions of unobservable variables with determinants of livelihoods. Introduction of the control function variables into equation (5) yields the following control function approach model:

\[
E = \alpha + \gamma X + \lambda X^* + \eta XX^* \mu \tag{7}
\]

where \(X^*\) is the fitted residuals from the reduced form of social capital model while \(\lambda X^*\) captures the non-linear indirect effects of social capital on livelihoods. \(XX^*\) is the interaction between social capital and its reduced form residuals. \(\eta XX^*\) captures the effect of the non-linear interaction between the potentially endogenous social capital and the unobservable household characteristics livelihoods.

\(^1\) The estimation procedure specified in equation (6) may still not solve the endogeneity problem completely given the complexity of doing so and also due to issues of obtaining appropriate valid instruments. Some studies propose use of experiments as the best alternative in the absence of valid instruments (see for instance Durlauf, 2002) but experiments also have their own disadvantages. We believe that the instrumentation proposed here still enables us derive policy relevant results and also to make a significant contribution to the emerging literature on social capital and rural livelihoods.
Study Site and Data

This study sought to investigate the impact of social capital on consumption expenditure of rural households in Kenya based on survey data for Nyeri district. The district has 7 divisions, 37 locations, 194 sub-locations and 4 Local Authorities (Republic of Kenya, 2002). Nyeri district is self-sufficient in water resources for purposes of domestic use, agriculture, and industrial development. About 72 percent of the total area is arable land. Much of the agriculture is carried out in smallholder farms, which produce both food and cash crops. The main crops include tea, coffee, horticulture, maize, beans, potatoes and bananas. The literacy level stands at 91.3 percent. The district has a total road network of 2,974 kilometers and a total of 19 financial institutions. There are more than 105 groups and cooperatives of various types including producer, transport, housing groups and SACCOs in the district with a total membership of 154,859 and a turnover of 4.3 billion Kenya Shillings (Republic of Kenya, 2002). The 1999 population and housing census, estimates the population of the district to be 677,216 people (499,152 rural, 178,064 urban) and a total of 168,788 households.

The study uses primary data from a sample of 340 households from Nyeri district to demonstrate the linkage between social capital and consumption expenditures of the rural households. The sample was generated from a master national household sampling frame of the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS). The sampling frame is a multi-stage stratified cluster sampling design. Through field visits, data were collected covering social capital and consumption expenditures of rural households as well as basic household characteristics. The data on social capital focused on the five key social capital dimensions including group and networks; trust and solidarity; collective action and cooperation; social cohesion and inclusion and; empowerment and political action.

The survey data generated a total of 22 social capital variables. Principal factor analysis (PFA) technique is performed on the social capital variables deriving the respective social capital indices. To construct the index for the aggregate social capital, all the 22 variables are combined together. Econometric methods are used to explore the nexus between social capital and consumption expenditures.

Results and Discussion

This section investigates the effects of instrumented social capital on consumption expenditure of rural households. The basic question addressed is whether households with higher levels of aggregate social capital are better off than households with lower levels. The key hypothesis of this study is that aggregate social capital influences consumption expenditure of rural households. To test this hypothesis, we measure the effects of instrumented aggregate social capital on consumption expenditure. Aggregate social capital is instrumented using religion of the household head, lobbying leaders by citizens for support in the provision of services benefiting the community, and the proportion voting variable capturing democratic rights of citizens.

The model of household expenditure consumption underlying this paper assumes that households’ consumption expenditure is maximized through various social capital activities. The demand for social capital could also rise with improved household consumption expenditure implying that there could be endogeneity of social capital over consumption expenditure. Instrumental variable and control function approach models are employed to correct for the endogeneity of social capital and the heterogeneity bias in the household consumption model. We first discuss the descriptive statistics of the variables used in the study.
Descriptive Analysis

Table 1 shows some statistics of household characteristics and socioeconomic status used in the study.

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<th>Household Characteristics and Socioeconomic Status</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age in years</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age of respondent</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household size</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of schooling</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data analysis of the study shows that the average household size for rural Nyeri District is 4.2 while the average age of the people in the District is 28.2 years. The data further show that the mean age of the rural household head was 48.2 years with years of schooling at 8.4.

Table 2 presents some statistics on social capital activities used in the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Capital Activities</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Groups and Networks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group membership</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision making</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutual support</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust and solidarity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonding (intra community relations)</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridging (cross-community relations)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linking (community and service providers)</td>
<td>213 doctors and nurses</td>
<td>88 doctors and nurses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community participation</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective action and cooperation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperation in problem solving</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social cohesion and inclusion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings of togetherness</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime levels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 household member victims</td>
<td></td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 burglarized houses</td>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment and political action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control over decision making</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobbying leaders</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic rights</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% in parenthesis

The membership into groups and networks of the households was about 70 percent. In about 90 percent of the cases members participated in decision making through discussing and deciding together. The level of mutual support in the District is high as about 85 percent of the household heads indicated that they benefited from social networks.

The data also show levels of bonding, bridging and linking in terms of trust among various actors in the District. The level of bonding or intra community relations is indicated by level of trust among people living in the same village, which is very high (90 percent). The level of bridging or cross-community relations is indicated by the level of trust the community in one vil-
lage has on other communities from other villages which is low (31 percent). The level of linking, measuring the quality of relations between the community and service providers, is high (88 percent) for doctors and nurses but moderate (60 percent) for police. The level of community participation is also high (99 percent).

In the case of collective action and cooperation, the data records high levels of cooperation in matters such as solving water problems (90 percent). The data further show that the level of cohesion and inclusion among the rural households was very high as measured by feelings of togetherness (91 percent) and low levels of crime (9 percent household crime victims and 5 percent house burglary). The data also indicate high levels of empowerment and political action enjoyed by the rural households in terms of control over decisions that affect their daily activities (93 percent) as well as expression of democratic rights (91 percent). Table 3 shows the summary of descriptive statistics of selected variables in the model.

Table 3
Summary Statistics of Selected Model Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate social capital</td>
<td>0.27032</td>
<td>0.676714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups and networks</td>
<td>-0.01014</td>
<td>0.755211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust and solidarity</td>
<td>0.149162</td>
<td>0.55918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective action and cooperation</td>
<td>0.167336</td>
<td>0.547626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social cohesion and inclusion</td>
<td>-0.14374</td>
<td>0.527735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment and political action</td>
<td>0.059865</td>
<td>0.666543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth score</td>
<td>-0.30318</td>
<td>0.798668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1=male)</td>
<td>0.664032</td>
<td>0.473264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of schooling</td>
<td>7.822134</td>
<td>4.575208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>51.3913</td>
<td>15.55383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age squared</td>
<td>2882.032</td>
<td>1693.401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status (1=married)</td>
<td>0.770751</td>
<td>0.421183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion (1=protestant)</td>
<td>0.616601</td>
<td>0.487178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petitioning leaders (1=yes)</td>
<td>0.462451</td>
<td>0.499576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion voting in general elections</td>
<td>0.928854</td>
<td>0.10616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data show that on average, the aggregate social capital ownership by rural households is about 0.270. The largest of the social capital dimensions contributing to this average are collective action and cooperation (0.167), trust and solidarity (0.149) and empowerment and political action (0.149); while the least contributors are social cohesion and inclusion (-0.144) and groups and networks (-0.010).

**Impact of Instrumented Social Capital**

Table 4 presents empirical results of the consumption expenditure model controlling for the endogeneity of aggregate social capital and for heterogeneity bias springing from the effect of unobserved covariates of consumption expenditure that are correlated with social capital.
Table 4
Household Consumption Expenditure Model and Aggregate Social Capital: Dependent Variable is Log of Household Consumption Expenditure (Shillings)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CFA Specification</th>
<th>Instrumental Variables Specification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2) 1st Stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate social capital</td>
<td>-0.1838</td>
<td>-0.4259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[3.10]***</td>
<td>[3.40]***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual term</td>
<td>-0.1892</td>
<td>-0.1778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[2.67]***</td>
<td>[2.38]**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction with residual</td>
<td>0.3171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[2.35]**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth score</td>
<td>0.2046</td>
<td>0.1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[3.85]***</td>
<td>[2.66]***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1=male)</td>
<td>-0.1126</td>
<td>-0.0171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[0.78]</td>
<td>[0.13]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of schooling</td>
<td>0.0422</td>
<td>0.0398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[3.84]***</td>
<td>[3.69]***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.0517</td>
<td>0.0657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[3.07]***</td>
<td>[3.72]***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age squared</td>
<td>-0.0005</td>
<td>-0.0006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[2.83]***</td>
<td>[3.41]***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status (1=married)</td>
<td>0.1828</td>
<td>0.1529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[1.01]</td>
<td>[0.89]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion (1=Protestant)</td>
<td>-0.1923</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[2.37]**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petitioning leaders (1=yes)</td>
<td>0.4771</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[5.99]***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion voted</td>
<td>-0.0118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[0.03]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>9.4332</td>
<td>8.9989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[21.50]***</td>
<td>[18.05]***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-statistic (8, 9, 7, 2; 244;243)</td>
<td>[7.86]***</td>
<td>[9.58]***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial R-squared</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Robust t statistics in brackets; *significance at 10%; **significance at 5%; ***significance at 1%.

The first two models represent the control function approach (CFA) models for correcting structural parameters for any heterogeneity biases in the consumption expenditure model. The third model specification is the instrumental variable model to correct for endogeneity of aggregate social capital.

The R-squared suggests that the variables explain between 19 and 21 percent of the variation in the log of the household expenditure. This level of explanation is not unexpected of cross-sectional data.
The results in all the three specifications indicate that, contrary to previous studies; total household consumption expenditure is inversely associated with aggregate social capital. This supports the findings by Kirori et al. 2010 and seems to indicate that aggregate social capital reduces household welfare. Contrary to this simple interpretation, the findings suggest that households with large aggregate social capital endowments are able to generate consumption expenditure sources that support non-monetary forms of exchange. These findings are presented in Table 4.

Furthermore, aggregate social capital can enable households to increase consumption without increasing cash expenditure and without relying on self-purchased goods. This non-monetary exchange is presumed to reduce transactions demand for cash and facilitate household savings. Though these results would be seen to support literature on ‘bad’ social capital, it implies that aggregate social capital in the sample is a public rather than a private good. Inclusion of both social capital and its residual in specification (1) tests whether social capital is really endogenous and the residual purges the coefficient of aggregate social capital for any possible bias.

The results are consistent with the instrumental variable results, in terms of the signs of the coefficients as well as level of significance. Inclusion of the aggregate social capital residual and interaction term of aggregate social capital and aggregate social capital residual, specification (2), takes into account the heterogeneity of the response of consumption expenditure to aggregate social capital. The most important result to note is that the direction of the influence and the level of significance of the aggregate social capital and the residual term are consistent with the IV results but differ slightly in the magnitude of the coefficients.

The reduced form aggregate social capital residual is negatively correlated with consumption expenditure and the coefficient is highly significant. The significance of the residual, specification (1), suggests that aggregate social capital is endogenous to consumption and that IV is the correct estimation procedure. However, the resulting standard errors of estimated parameters need to be adjusted because the generated regressors introduce elements of error terms from social capital equation into the disturbance term of the structural equation (Wooldridge, 2002; Mwabu, 2009). This is done by introducing the interaction of aggregate social capital and residuals into the model. This increases the magnitude of the coefficient of the aggregate social capital by more than double but reduces that of the residual marginally.

The interaction term has a positive and significant impact on consumption expenditure. The significance of the interaction of the residual and aggregate social capital suggests the presence of heterogeneity arising from interaction of consumption expenditure with unobserved determinants of aggregate social capital such as virtues and traditions of households. The significant impact of the residual and the interaction term between aggregate social capital and its fitted residuals further suggest that the IV estimates are unbiased and consistent.

The results also show that households’ consumption expenditures are positively and significantly influenced by wealth score, human capital, and age variables.

Testing Endogeneity of Aggregate Social Capital

Endogeneity of aggregate social capital is tested using the Durbin Wu-Hausman specification test for endogeneity (Wooldridge, 2002). The null hypothesis is that, social capital is exogenous in the consumption expenditures model. The procedure involves estimation of an instrumental variable model and then calculating the Durbin Wu-Hausman test statistics (both F-statistic and Chi-sq). Table 5 presents these results.
Testing for the Endogeneity of Social Capital

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social capital variables</th>
<th>Wu-Hausman F test</th>
<th>Durbin-Wu-Hausaman chi-sq test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate social capital</td>
<td>6.757 F(1, 244) p-value= (0.010)***</td>
<td>6.817 Chi-sq(1) p-value= (0.009)***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

***significant at 1%

The p-values for the F-statistic and Chi-sq test statistics shown in Table 5 indicate that aggregate social capital is highly significant at 1 percent suggesting rejection of the null hypothesis of exogenous social capital. Thus, the reduced form consumption expenditures model results presented in Kirori et al. (2010) yielded biased estimates of the impact of social capital.

Testing for Validity of Instruments

The instrumental variable approach entails employing valid instrumental variables that affect social capital but have no impact on consumption expenditures. One major challenge is to identify good instruments i.e., strong, significant and uncorrelated with the error term of the livelihoods model.

There are various approaches to testing for validity of instruments. One is the parameter restrictions approach whereby we estimate a reduced form consumption expenditures model (OLS) with endogeneous social capital and include the selected instrumental variables. If they turn out to be significant determinants of consumption expenditures, they are invalid instruments. In the study, we test for the validity of three instrumental variables: religion of the household head, lobbying (petitioning of leaders) for provision of social services to the community, and the exercising of democratic rights in terms of voting rates in the last general elections. The results are presented in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate social capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealth score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1=male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of schooling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age squared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status (1=married)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion (1=protestant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petitioning leaders (1=never)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results in Table 6 indicate that the coefficient for the lobbying variable is highly significant at 1 percent in the consumption expenditures model. We therefore cannot conclude with certainty that the lobbying variable is an invalid instrument. Further tests are necessary to ascertain the validity status. The results further show that the other two instruments: religion of the household head and the democratic rights variables are not significant in either model.

A second test for validity of instruments is to check whether the structural model is correctly identified. The procedure involves estimation of the IV model and calculating the Sargan and Basmann test statistics for over-identifying restrictions. The results are presented in Table 7. The null hypothesis is that the restrictions hold (i.e., there are over-identifying restrictions in the consumption expenditures model) implying that the basic consumption expenditures model will generate a consistent estimator of the error variance under the null of instrument validity, i.e., the instrumental variables are uncorrelated with the residual log of consumption, and therefore are acceptable instruments (Baum, et al. 2003). This restriction cannot be rejected (table 7), and so the instruments are valid.

### Table 7
Testing for the Over-identification Restrictions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social capital variables</th>
<th>Sargan N*R-sq test</th>
<th>Basmann test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate social capital</td>
<td>2.501Chi-sq(2) p-value= 0.2863</td>
<td>2.426 Chi-sq(2) p-value = 0.2973</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results show that both tests yield insignificant test statistics, which do not reject the null hypothesis of over identification restrictions. The study can therefore conclude that the model is correctly specified and that the 3 instruments (religion, lobbying, and democratic rights) are valid for addressing the endogeneity problem.

**Conclusion**

This paper investigated the influence of instrumented aggregate social capital on consumption expenditure of households in rural Kenya. The paper used primary data for a sample of 340 households from wider Nyeri district. The indicator of aggregate social capital was constructed using PFA technique. IV and CFA models are employed in controlling for endogeneity of aggregate social capital and purging heterogeneity bias springing from unobservable household characteristics into the consumption expenditure model. The results indicate that instrumented aggregate social capital significantly affects total household consumption expenditure. In particular, total household consumption expenditure is negatively associated with aggregate social capital,
suggesting that households with large aggregate social capital endowments are able to meet their basic needs through non-cash exchanges. There is evidence from Nyeri district that aggregate social capital enables poor households to generate consumption expenditure sources of basic needs that support non-monetary forms of transactions. Households with large aggregate social capital do substitute their cash expenditure needs with social capital and save for future consumption.

**Policy Implications**

The results of the study indicate that social capital asset is an important component of a household’s survival portfolio. Aggregate social capital enables poor households to generate consumption expenditure sources that support non-monetary forms of transactions. The findings of the study suggest the need to promote rural social networks as a strategy for raising standards of living of the poor. Drawing from these findings and available literature, the following can be considered as important policy initiatives for possible role of social capital as a resource and a process in facilitating the improvement of consumption expenditure of rural households in Kenya.

The government can institutionalize the measurement of social capital. This entails creating a data base of social capital formation for Kenya. Measures of social capital will provide additional social indicators of standard of living and well-being that the current range of socioeconomic and demographic indicators may not fully or adequately explain. Institutionalizing the measurement of social capital translates into incorporating a social capital perspective into public policy.

Another important policy initiative is promoting rural social networks and interactions, cooperation and bonding activities among households as well as community empowerment. This policy aims at enhancing development of social capital since social capital asset is an important component of a household’s survival portfolio as strong social capital endowment enhances engagement of households in main sources of livelihoods.

One of the ways of enhancing development of social capital is increasing the households’ cohesiveness to be able to lobby leaders for the provision of services as well as increasing the women’s participation in social capital activities. As grassroots institutions, NGOs and CBOs will be encouraged to increase their role in mobilizing societies to invest in social capital.

Another important policy is the need for the Government to take into account endogeneity and heterogeneity bias in estimating the impact of social capital on consumption expenditure. Failure to do so would lead to misleading policy conclusions.

Another important policy is improving government budget allocations. Government budget is ‘always’ too small to cover all the costs and needs of the people (Government of Canada, 2003). The Government has to decide where and how to allocate the resources. The integration of social capital into policies will, in the long run, lead to a more efficient allocation of the budget. This does not necessarily imply more capital investment but more precise and effective use of existing resources, taking into account the substitution and savings behavior of households as facilitated by social capital.

Another important policy is increasing asset generating activities for the rural households by the Government. This can be done by increasing budgetary allocations to the grassroots through the Local Authority Transfer Funds (LATF) and Community Development Fund (CDF) programmes. The aim of this policy is to enable the households to create the necessary wealth for survival. Improving access to schooling is another important policy aspect for improving livelihoods of the rural households. This is not necessarily a new policy in Kenya but a confirmation...
by the study of the findings of other researchers that education is crucial for improving people’s well being.

This paper makes an important contribution to the literature on social capital in Kenya. However, this contribution can be deepened by immediate research in the area of social capital relating to poverty, its endogeneity in poverty models, determinants of social capital as well as its nature and dimensions (forms). The issue of endogeneity is critical since policy decisions made without taking it into account could be misleading.

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Trafficking and Illegal Female Nepali Migration in India

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Abstract: Recent global trend of international migration has emerged as feminisation of migration. Specific gender related issues become evident when female migrants suffer human abuses because of their dual vulnerability as migrant as well as woman. Trafficking cannot be separated from globalization and livelihood issue. It is very difficult to explain with reliable data that trafficking of women and children takes place along the path of illegal migration. Documented female Nepali migrants show increasing trend for India and follow a decreasing trend for West Bengal. Sex ratios of Nepali migrants expressed as [(F/M)*1000] register gradual increasing trend in India (except a fall in 2001) and West Bengal ensuring feminization of migrants in the migration process. Though documented migration reveals definite trend, quantification of undocumented or illegal migration caused by trafficking is very difficult as there is no systematic long-term data. The important factors that are conducive to trafficking in Nepal are the open border between India and Nepal, poverty, historical oppression, organised net work, profit accrued to traffickers, demand for fair skinned, delicate featured girls, inadequate political commitment to address trafficking and failure of police and judiciary to enforce existing laws. It is recommended that a ‘middle path’ of a regulated open border, bipartite agreement between India and Nepal, mapping of migration routes to understand direction and flow of people, identification of source and destination area to provide clues to the areas to be targeted for awareness building should be adopted as a policy to control trafficking and illegal migration.

Keywords: Documented migration, trafficking and illegal migration, push-pull factor

Introduction
The accelerated pace of globalization with free trade has left far reaching effect in South Asia and impact has been most on women and children who are most vulnerable. Proportion of women who are involved in global migration flows is increasing rapidly. Little is known about the female migration and factors that distinguish from male migration. Lack of employment opportunities and chronic poverty represents the major factors leading to male and female migration. Specific gender related issues become evident when female migrants suffer human abuses because of their dual vulnerability as migrant as well as woman. Trafficking cannot be separated from globalization and livelihood issue. Trafficking means actions leading to recruitment or transportation of a woman, within or across national borders, by means of violence or threat of violence, debt bondage, deception or other coercion. Human trafficking is a human rights violation including the violation of rights to life, liberty, personal security, privacy, mental and physical integrity, freedom from slavery, freedom from torture and other forms of inhumane or degrading treatment. Trafficking in women is connected on the one hand to illegal immigration, and on the other to the general supply of commercial sexual services. It is very difficult to explain with reliable data that trafficking of women and children takes place along the path of illegal migration. There is no systematic source of data on trafficking and migration. It is observed that illegal migration due to trafficking is increasing along Indo-Nepal open border. Factors that fuel to trafficking of Nepali women include an open border, economic destitution, and sex discrimination.

A Nepalese non governmental organization (NGO) service provider says that more than 5,000 Nepalese girls aged 10 to 20, mostly from poor rural families, are trafficked out of the country.
annually for purposes of prostitution (Constable 2001). Age-old custom and patriarchal structure of society are responsible for provoking this profession.

Since feminisation of migration either documented or undocumented is gradually increasing, and it has a link with female trafficking for sexual exploitation.

Objective
This study is devoted to throw light on trafficking of Nepali women leading to illegal migration along Indo-Nepal border. First it concentrates on documented Nepali migration to India and West Bengal, using census records. Then it deals with female trafficking leading to undocumented or illegal migration. Some policy issues are also taken into account.

Sources of Data and Limitation
In India census is the most important source of data on migration. But population census is conducted after a gap of ten years. The census provide on the stock of migrants. It covers only stock of foreign migrants at the time of enumeration. Information on regular flow is not available. The problem relating to availability of data for illegal migration due to trafficking is much more severe. Information on trafficking along the path of illegal migration is obtained only from literature review including various reports, newspaper, magazine and micro level survey reports provided by NGOs.

Documented Migration
This study concentrates on two aspects of migration, one documented and the other undocumented or illegal migration. Documented migration is recorded data, which we normally get from census records. Undocumented or illegal migrants are those who are not recorded as migrants anywhere and these migrants cross the international border illegally or do not have valid travel documents. In this paper basic feature of documented migration from Nepal to India and West Bengal, an Indian state, will be discussed first, then illegal migration due to trafficking will be taken into account.

Table 1 presents volume of documented migration from Nepal to India. India is receiving about .30 million male and .34 million female Nepali migrants as per 2001 census. This volume has increased compared to 1991 census. In West Bengal, a state in India, about 20.3 thousand male and 19.8 thousand female Nepali migrants are observed. Female Nepali migrants show increasing trend for India. There is slight increase in volume of migrants in West Bengal. Geographic proximity (Ravenstein 1885, 1889) between Nepal and West Bengal works as pull factor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of birth: Nepal</th>
<th>Place of enumeration: India</th>
<th>Place of enumeration: West Bengal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Male 203421 Female 275273 Total 478694</td>
<td>Male 22358 Female 19378 Total 41736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Male 299232 Female 341630 Total 640862</td>
<td>Male 20335 Female 19805 Total 40140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Various Census Reports, Migration volumes, D series

From this table 2 it is observed that Nepali female immigrants in India show an increasing trend since 1951. Sex ratio expressed as Nepali female per thousand Nepali male also registers
an increasing trend reflecting feminization of Nepali migration. Since 1981 female Nepali migrants are surpassing male Nepali migrants. This has close link with globalisation, commercialization and increasing demand for female Nepali in the job market including primary sector, informal sector and sex industry.

Table 2: Volume of Female Nepali Migrants in India: 1951-2001
Place of Last Residence Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Female Nepali migrants</th>
<th>Sex ratio of migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>109817</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>218227</td>
<td>778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>252783</td>
<td>923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>270523</td>
<td>1178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>275273</td>
<td>1353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>341630</td>
<td>1141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sex ratio: (F/M)*1000

Source: Various Census Reports, Migration volumes, D series

Though female Nepali migrants in India exhibit upward trend over the years (Table 2), female Nepali Migrants in West Bengal follow a decreasing trend (Fig1)

Though volume of female Nepali migrants show decreasing trend in West Bengal, sex ratios [(F/M)*1000] (Fig 2) of Nepali migrants in India and West Bengal register gradual increasing trend ensuring feminization of migrants in the migration process. But sex ratio of Nepali migrants in India has fallen in 2001. In general the trend is that more females are taking part in migration process, whether it is documented or undocumented. Since feminization of Nepali mi-
migration is gradually increasing, and it has a link with female trafficking for sexual exploitation. Definite trend for documented migration is visible from available data, but for illegal migration this trend cannot be shown due to non-availability of quantitative data for long period.

**Trafficking and Illegal Migration**

Trafficking is gross commercialisation of innocent human life violating human rights and dignity. Trafficking and migration are separate but intimately linked. Trafficking results from a number of injustices that force the movement of certain people and leave them vulnerable to abuse.

**Difficulties in Studying Trafficking**

The lack of quantitative data on trafficking stems from multi dimensions of the problem, which make accurate assessments difficult. The client’s wish to remain anonymous, the clandestine nature of the traffickers’ activities, the low visibility of exploitation itself, and the victim’s fear of the police and their exploiters – all these pinpoint the gravity of the problem in getting quantitative data on trafficking. Thus, researchers find it difficult to locate sources and face non-cooperation from most of the entities involved (Phinney 2001; Blanchet 2002; Pandey and Jena and Mohanty 2002). This probably explains why a majority of the studies have very small sample sizes. Their emphasis on qualitative rather than quantitative data limits the emergence of patterns and trends. There is one study conducted on trafficking at an all-India level based on field research is by Rozario (1988). Many reports use news stories, law enforcement agencies and anti-trafficking programmes as their sources of information, which influence the conclusions they arrive at. As Blanchet (2002) observes, “studies on the trafficking in women carried out from such establishments (rehabilitation homes) do not adequately represent the life path of most ‘trafficked’ women”. Trafficking “patterns and routes are often highly complex, ranging from trafficking within one country and cross-border flows between neighbouring countries to inter-continental and globalised trade” (Tumlin 2000).

Traffickers find protection from corrupt border patrol officials and politicians, thereby escaping any potential prosecution. (Human Rights Watch/Asia June1995). Trafficking routes move inwards to India from Bangladesh and Nepal, outwards to Middle East (United Nations 2000). If one examines trafficking routes and international migration routes, it is clear that traffickers use known migration routes to avoid detection and carry on under the faced migration. Trafficking victims often do not have their passports or other travel or immigration documents, because their abductors have confiscated them hence trafficking. So females who are trafficked are illegal immigrants also. It often happens that young girls who are trafficked, later they are declared illegal and penalised. Migration and trafficking are inextricably linked to each other, although they are different processes. It is observed that most “trafficking routes replicate migration routes”(United Nations 2001). One scholar suggests that problem of trafficking should be resolved from point of view of migration.(Marshall, 2001). Adopting a human rights approach to all policies on development, migration and labour is the only way to truly combat and prevent trafficking. For individuals who have been exploited through the migration process, states should establish services to protect these individual.

**Case of Nepal**

It is extremely difficult to estimate the number of Nepali women and children who have been trafficked. The difficulties arise partly because of a lack of reliable research in this area, and be-
cause of the difficulties described above and of defining what trafficking is and at what stage along the migration path it occurs.

Some figures refer only to women and girls trafficked into the sex industry. These include estimates that between 100,000 to 200,000 Nepali women are working in the Indian Sex industry, and that between 5000 and 8000 young women are trafficked for prostitution into India each year (Xinhua News Agency 2001). Many figures are prone to exaggeration. For example, one report notes that the “majority of the 40,000 prostitutes in Sonagachi (a red light area in Calcutta) are Nepali” (Women and Autonomy center 1994). Based on more reliable research, it is now known that there are in fact only a total of 12,000 sex workers living in Sonagachi and that the vast majority are Bengali. This is not to deny that Nepali women and girls are to be found in many Indian red light areas. However, experts suggest that it is probably the case that a greater number of migrant Nepali women are employed in other sectors – including the industrial, construction, transport, hotel, restaurant and domestic service sectors – both in Nepal and abroad, rather than in commercial sex work (The Weekly Telegraph 2001).

Female trafficking and migration, which works through social network in Nepal & India, is a very complex and multi-causal phenomenon. Woman’s lack of empowerment or lack of information about what may happen if they migrate – these factors can be assumed to increase vulnerability to trafficking. Hence economics of illegal female migration can be linked with economics of trafficking. Sangroula (2001) states that a “segment of pimps grew out of the Nepalese workforce in India ……. the high demand for Nepalese girls in India attracted a number of migrant Nepalese workers in smuggling of girls from Nepal.

The important factors that create an environment conducive to trafficking in Nepal are the open border between India and Nepal under the treaty of 1950, inadequate political commitment to address trafficking and failure of police and judiciary to enforce existing laws. Nepali, women are trafficked to India and through India they are trafficked to Saudi Arabia, Europe etc. So, India is both receiving and transit country. Trafficking is cross border issue leading to undocumented migration. Following table shows trafficked Nepali women and children in different cities of India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Nos.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>36,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorakhpur</td>
<td>04,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pune</td>
<td>03,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patna</td>
<td>04,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucknow</td>
<td>02,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>03,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>01,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Informal Estimation, Pradhan G., CWIN Nepal, 2002

Highlights about Trafficking of Nepali Women and Children in India along Open Indo-Nepal border

**Magnitude of the Problem:** It is estimated that about 200,000 Nepali women and children who are trafficked and sold into India, over the period of years, are working as forced prostitutes in
brothels in different parts of India. It is estimated that there are at least 20% of the children under 16 years who are trafficked and sold into the brothels are as young as 10 years old (Agence France Press 2001).

Human Rights Watch estimates that 20,000 Nepalese women are in prostitution in Mumbai alone (Human Rights Watch/Asia, June 1995). and other groups have put the number at 40,000 to 45,000, with another 40,000 in Calcutta’s Sonagacchi district (Women and Autonomy Center 1994).

In 1992, the Nepalese government estimated that 200,000 Nepalese women and girls were in Indian brothels. Reportedly, 70 percent of those women and girls were HIV positive (Women and Autonomy Center 1994). Every year, nearly 10,000 Nepalese women are illegally trafficked into Mumbai, New Delhi, Bangalore and Kolkata who are in the majority put into commercial sex work. The World Bank’s report on Nepal’s HIV/AIDS states that “Nepal runs the risk of an increased epidemic due to an active sex trade and high rates of girl trafficking to India for sex work.” With an estimated 2.5 million HIV infections in India, and the majority of these women channeled into the various brothels in Indian cities, and one can imagine the number of sexually infected Nepalese women particularly those living with HIV infections (World Bank, 2008).

It is observed that mode of HIV transmission is through commercial sex workers and their clients played a major role in the spread of AIDS in Northern India bordering Nepalese towns and cities. For instance, nearly half of them have been known to return from one or another Indian city after being infected with the virus (World Bank, 2008).

A major challenge to HIV control is trafficking of Nepali girls and women into commercial sex work in India. About fifty percent of Nepali female sex workers previously worked in Mumbai and about 100,000 female continue to work there. It is estimated that about fifty percent of Nepali sex workers in Mumbai brothels are HIV positive (FHI, 2004).

There is dearth of reliable data on HIV/AIDS of trafficked female. Systematic, comprehensive and reliable research on HIV/AIDS due to human trafficking is also lacking. Gender dimension and gender based violence are not dealt with adequately as a counter trafficking and anti HIV strategy.

Most of the women and children who are trafficked into India have come from mountain areas of Nepal and they are cheated and deceived by traffickers using different tricks (Pradhan 1996a), fake attractions and fraud marriage. Many research and case studies (ABC Nepal 1996, 1998) have revealed that carpet industries in Nepal are used as safest transit place for trafficking by the traffickers (Pradhan 2002).

In 2007, the estimated number of Nepalese commercial sex workers in India was estimated to be between 200,000 and 300,000. Nearly half of the women in Mumbai, who ply commercial sex work totaling 120,000, are estimated to be Nepalese. The women are not only subjugated to various forms of torture, gang rape and different sexual acts, they have the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS openly (Women sphere 2010).

Enforcement of human trafficking (control) Act 1986 seems to be very poor. Though this is very alarming problem in Indo-Nepal border, both the Government of India and Nepal are not so serious to control and prevent trafficking.

_Open Border:_ Indo-Nepal open border under the treaty of 1950, as a mark of friendship between two countries, has proved to be the passport to hell. Trafficking of women and children through Indo-Nepal border resulted in commercial sexual exploitation (Pradhan 1996b), child labour, bonded child labour. Provision for open border has been misused by both the countries.
There are about 500 miles of open border between Nepal and India, in which there are 30 entry / exit points. Majority of women and girls who are trafficked belong to so called low caste community, poverty stricken family having poor level of social consciousness (ABC 1998). The imagination of good job, success, glamour, dreamland makes them vulnerable to trafficking (Pradhan G. CWIN Nepal 2002).

Traffickers also find protection from corrupt border patrol officials and politicians, thereby escaping any potential prosecution (Human Rights Watch /Asia1995).

The Nepali police are also complicit in the trafficking of Nepali girls and women to Indian brothels. Villagers and officials in Nuwakot District told Human Rights Watch/Asia that traffickers routinely pay protection money to local police and Nepali politicians as “a sort of commission” to prevent arrests and prosecutions. “If a trafficked female ends up in prison it means she hasn’t paid off the police,” one villager observed. A journalist who has researched trafficking patterns in Nepal told Human Rights Watch/Asia (1995) Factors that fuel to trafficking and prostitution (Acharya, 1998) of Nepalese women and children include an open border, economic destitution, and sex discrimination (Adhikari 2001).

The World Bank estimates that more than half of the Nepalese population lives below the poverty line. Trafficking victims often come from poverty-stricken regions of Nepal or from poor border communities. Traffickers kidnap women and children or lure them into the country through promises of jobs or marriage, later selling them to brokers for as little as US$4. The brokers then deliver the victims to brothels for as much as US$1,333. (Human Rights Watch /Asia 1995).

Social Custom: Some social traditions have indirectly promoted trafficking and prostitution in Nepal. An example is the deukis system, in which wealthy families buy young girls to offer to temple idols. Forbidden to marry, the girls are often forced into prostitution. In 1992, an estimated 17,000 girls were sold into the deukis system (Coomaraswamy1997, 2000). Existence of Kamayani system, which is nothing but ritualised form of prostitution, is responsible for provoking Nepali female for sex work. Some tribes especially Tamangs provided concubines to Nepalese monarchy. After the end of monarchy in 1950s they were compelled to search alternative source of income. Traffickers used them for their own profit and gradually Nepali girls from other communities were trafficked to India.

Push and Pull Factors: It is observed that there are a group of push-pull factors that make females more vulnerable to trafficking for sexual exploitation and illegal migration.

Virtually poverty, low educational levels, underemployment in the families and lack of alternate income generating activities force many women and children vulnerable to trafficking. Among the cultural factors, prevalence of Devadasi, Deuki or Kamayani system may be mentioned. Under Devdasi system, pre-pubescent girls are dedicated to a particular deity of a temple (Chakraborty, 2000). Traditionally, the girls were meant to undertake religious work in the temple and might have a lifelong sexual relationship with one of the priests. Today, however, they may be seen as moneymaking opportunities and sent by priests to work as prostitutes in brothels, often in Mumbai, (Acharya U ILO-IPEC 1998) Priests may also auction off their virginity. In Ne-
pal, the customs of some ethnic groups – such as the Badi, and Jhuma ---- force girls into prostitution. Traditionally, this practice was limited to the red-light districts of the country’s west, but it has been spreading across the country. High price for virginity and increasing demand for young girls work as pull factor for trafficking. The sale of a virgin girl into prostitution can bring an enormous sum of money to poor families. This amount can be even higher if the girl is considered very attractive. Once a girl has lost her virginity, her earning power decreases. Studies have reported that the spread of HIV/AIDS has increased demand for ever-younger girls in the sex industry in most countries in the region. Men mistakenly believe that having sex with young girl is safe because they are not infected with HIV/AIDS or other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Moreover, many men believe that having sex with young girls will improve their virility – or perhaps even cure a STD or make them more successful in business. Communities with weak law enforcement of existing trafficking and labour laws and communities lacking in general recreation activities for female children are more vulnerable to traffickers.

Globalisation (Sanghera 2003) and related trends have heightened competition in the global market place and generated demand for a steady supply of cheap labour. A consequent increase in underground and unregulated labour is leading to more and more children and female being trafficked for labour exploitation. Profitability of trafficking trade act as another factor for increasing demand for female and, currently, it is easy to side-step laws designed to limit it.

According to Radhika Coomaraswamy (1997) Indian brothels hold many Nepalese women and girls of whom 35 per cent were taken on the false pretext of marriage or a good job. About 5,000-7,000 Nepalese girls are trafficked to India every year. Calcutta is one of the important transit points for the traffickers for Bombay and to Pakistan.

**Growth of Trafficking:** The factors responsible for growth of trafficking are a) Feminisation of poverty (Sanghera 1999), b) Growing insecurity for food and livelihood for marginalized group, c) Feminisation of migration, d) Increased demand for cheap, fair, delicate skin, vulnerable females in sex industry, 5) Greater connectivity (Sanghera 2003) to the world due to globalization, advanced communication technology, and mass media.

**Solution and Policy Implication**

- a) Regulated open Indo-Nepal border should be the policy of Indian Government. The British Government kept the Nepal-India border opened primarily to maintain unrestricted migration of the Nepalese hill people to India and to procure them for recruitment in the Indian army. But now situation has changed. In recent times, there has been increasing misuse of the borders by unregulated migration of terrorists, political activists, anti-social elements. The unrestricted movement across the open border has indeed been responsible for trafficking of girls. India government should take positive step to restrict free movement of people without any passport and visa along this open Indo-Nepal border. A closed border is not beneficial for both the countries as the social and political costs involved in such a border are immense. But it is recommended that a 'middle path' of a regulated open border should be adopted as a policy.

- b) All of the three South Asian countries i.e India Bangladesh and Nepal have signed/ratified international and regional conventions and treaties on trafficking, migration and related policy instruments, e.g The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the 1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others; the 1966 International Covenants on Human rights; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1979; the 1990 UN International Convention on the Protection of Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families; the 1993 Vienna Declaration
and Programme of Action of the World Conference on Human Rights, the 1994 Cairo Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Conference on Population and Development; the 1995 Copenhagen Declaration and Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women; the (draft) Programme of Action of the UN Commission on Human Rights on the Trafficked Persons and the Exploitation of Prostitution of Others. All the three South Asian countries also have their domestic laws to curb trafficking. But, in general, these laws are not implemented properly to protect the interest of the victims.

c) Phil Marshall (2001) suggest that problem of trafficking should be resolved from the point of view of migration. He is critical of the response of the government, NGOs, and various networks. Solution should address to regularise migration, protect the rights of the migrants, re-examine the issue of sex work, provide alternative to migration, face the challenges of rescue, rehabilitation and reintegration. Monitoring entry and exit of foreigners could assist to trace offenders and sex tourism. Marshall also suggest capacity building to measure the impact of trafficking programmes like Inter Agency Participatory Project to track migration from villages. Mapping of migration route is required to understand direction and flow of people, to identify source and destination area, provide clues to the areas to be targeted for awareness building, to monitor whether trafficking has increased or decreased.

d) There is need for integrated, co-ordinated efforts to address human trafficking and HIV/AIDS and to reduce underlying social, economic, gender inequalities and violence.

e) The elimination of trafficking and illegal migration along the path of open border require a strong social movement and a fight against exploitation, injustice and crime created in the under world net work and drive against misuse of Indo-Nepal open border which has been passport to hell.

f) The governments in the SAARC countries must have the political will needed to implement global, regional and national policies dealing with migration and trafficking. Since negative impact of globalisation can not be avoided it is imperative that these countries should take measures to reduce the vulnerability of women migrant workers.

g) There is a direct link between trafficking in persons, particularly women and children, with the ongoing insecurity of food and livelihood crises. Hence anti-trafficking program at the macro level should be linked with intensive anti-poverty program at the local/national level.

h) Since feminisation of either documented or undocumented migration is gradually increasing, and it has a link with female trafficking for sexual exploitation, it is of urgent need to put to an end to gender discrimination, low status, lack of access and control of women over economic resources.

i) Indo–Nepal migration is a bilateral issue. There is no solution through unilateral action. There is need for bilateral approach to deal with problem arising out of Indo-Nepal migration.

j) A bipartite agreement between India and Nepal is required for economic development of Nepal. Indian Government should come forward for upliftment of Nepal’s economy so that root cause of Nepali migration i.e, poverty could be minimized.

k) Public awareness and social mobilisation through citizen/social action groups are necessary in effecting change through:

i) Training to service providers, policy makers, legislators, judges and law enforcement, on best methods to identify victims of trafficking and to meet their special needs;

ii) Training on safe and managed migration – promote safe migration through bilateral or multilateral agreements, carefully check travel documents, assure that children are truly with legal custodians.
iii) The media, both print and electronic, and this is no doubt a powerful instrument of social change. It has a large and important role in all aspects of counter trafficking, viz. prevention, protection and prosecution. Public awareness campaigns, public service announcements on TV, radio, and sensitizing or alerting the horrors of trafficking through television and radio are recommended.

Conclusion
Discussion is concluded with few general observations.

a) Documented female Nepali migrants show increasing trend for India and follow a decreasing trend for West Bengal.

b) Sex ratios of Nepali migrants expressed as \[(F/M)*1000\] register gradual increasing trend in India (except a fall in 2001) and West Bengal ensuring feminization of migrants in the migration process.

c) Though documented migration reveals definite trend but quantification and fitting trend of undocumented or illegal migration caused by trafficking is very difficult as there is no systematic long-term data.

d) Trafficking involves deep rooted process of gender discrimination, lack of female education, ignorance of rural folk, cultural factors such as Devadasi system, social factors, ethnic custom, poverty and lack of economic opportunities.

e) The important factors that are conducive to trafficking in Nepal are the open border between India and Nepal, poverty, historical oppression, organised network, profit accrued to traffickers, demand for fair skinned, delicate featured girls, inadequate political commitment to address trafficking and failure of police and judiciary to enforce existing laws.

f) It is recommended that a ‘middle path’ of a regulated open border, bipartite agreement between India and Nepal, strong political will, public awareness and social mobilization should be adopted as a policy to control trafficking and illegal migration.

g) Mapping of migration routes is required to understand direction and flow of people, to identify source and destination area, provide clues to the areas to be targeted for awareness building, to monitor whether trafficking has increased or decreased.

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Sustainable Land Management in a Bid to Alleviate Poverty and Prevent Deforestation in Kenya

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Abstract: There is no time like now, to review land use and management with the ever-shrinking sizes and growing population, increasing demand for food and other agro-products. Consequently many developing nations are finding it necessary to develop new methods and innovative approaches to sustainable land management, conservation and judicious use. There are problems emerging in land resource management and inherent policy and institutional challenges. A holistic approach is necessary and employing of strategies that tackle land systems to find appropriate solutions that will improve the lives of Kenyans and a balance in the ecosystem.

Keywords: sustainable land management, deforestation, poverty

Introduction
Kenya is an agriculture-based economy and hence heavily reliant on quality (bumper) harvest, but not spared the cataclysmic vagaries of weather. About a third (1/3) of her land is found in arid and semi-arid parts, especially in the northern and eastern regions. It means there is population pressure (about 36 million) exerted heavily on the remaining land that is arable and portends potential future food insecurity. It is pertinent that the government seeks measures to alleviate such a catastrophe by exploiting suitable farming techniques for arid and semi-arid lands and concomitantly having drought (high-yielding) crops.

Land is an emotive issue in Kenya and many lives have been lost due to feuding over land. Distribution of land has proved to be a thorn in the flesh of politicians, with most having a penchant for grabbing land earmarked for public projects. Most of the arable land especially in Rift Valley and Western Kenya is in the hands of an elite few, whose farming activities are geared towards export markets. The majority of Kenyans basically rely on subsistence farming, which can hardly support their large families. Most own parcels of land ranging from half (1/2) an acre to 5 acres and there is too much pressure on land especially in highly populous areas.

Mau Forests
The Mau complex covers 400,000 hectares and is the largest forest cover in Kenya. It is one of the four largest water towers in Kenya, the others being Mt. Elgon, Aberdare ranges, Mt. Kenya and Cheranganyi Hills. Three of the lakes fed by rivers originating in the Mau are cross-boundary, that is, L. Victoria (Nile water basin), L. Turkana (Kenya-Ethiopia border) and L. Natron (Kenya-Tanzania border). The hydro-potential of the rivers originating in the Mau – Mara and Ewaso Ngiro at 240 megawatts, River Yala at 50 megawatts. The market value of electricity generated from developed and planned hydro power plants is estimated at 5.3 billion per annum. And it is also an important lifeline of many tourist attractions. It feeds the world famous Maasai Mara Natural Reserve – big game and wildebeest migration; Lake Nakuru National Park – bird species (flamingos). The revenue from the tourist sites is Kenya Shillings 5 billion according to 2007 estimates.

Mau holds the key to people’s livelihoods and provides environmental conditions essential to crop production – water for irrigation; favourable micro-climate conditions, as well as many
products (medicinal plants, firewood and grazing land). Tea is a crop that does well in montane forests where optimum conditions prevail and bring in revenue of Kenya Shillings 8 billion per year (2007 estimates).

It is shocking that the government has excised 67,000 hectares of the Mau forest land reserve (54.3 percent of forests) and given it to the elite; some of them have put up tea factories in the forest, disregarding environmental conservation. The wanton destruction of the forest through illegal logging has made matters worse. The catchments of Lake Nakuru and it is drying up due to the imbalances in the ecosystem and in turn affecting the habitat of bird species along with tourism. Boreholes are also drying up and rivers becoming seasonal.

With the grave danger staring us in the face, it is hesitant to enact evictions and start a serious tree planting campaign to bring the ecosystem into balance. There is the fear of political repercussions because of those well connected to the government. As it tempers, the lives of many are at stake and the sins of the father will be visited upon the grandchildren; nature never forgives.

It is important to have legitimacy of water catchments areas and the threat estimated by competent environmental organizations. Efforts to conserve such areas must be led by competent environmentalists and not those found to be politically correct and pushing their own agenda. Beneficiaries of the wanton destruction are well to do, with a command of resources, but the ultimate losers will be majority whom are honest hard working Kenyans. It would be instructive that all stakeholders be involved in tree planting and security and provision of tree nurseries.

**Global Food Security and Climatic Change**

There should be a clarion call for increased investment in agriculture to alleviate poverty and increase food production to increasing population, economic progress in emerging countries and competition in bio-energy sector. When supply is affected by climate change and declining stocks, the hardest hit are poor nations – vulnerable people and food insecure; small scale crop and animal producers, fishermen and foresters. Climate change will affect availability of land, water and biodiversity. And frequent extreme weather patterns, are expected to result in agricultural production shortfalls with negative impacts on access to food.

There is a reduction in agricultural investment in poor countries during last 30 years; share of agriculture in public development from 17 percent in 1980 to 3 percent in 2006. Financially institutions drastically reduced their funds for agriculture. There is a need to create food enabling frameworks for substantial increase of Direct Foreign Investments (DFIs) for agriculture in low income, food deficit countries. Equitable partnerships between countries which have land, water and labour supply and countries which have financial resources, management facilities and markets would constitute a solid basis for sustainable agriculture. Agriculture needs to boost food production by 2050 (population now at 6 billion will be 9 billion).

There is a requirement to mobilize funds for a renewal of agriculture estimated at US$ 30 billion per annum by High-Level Task Force on Global Food Crisis. All stakeholders must be involved- national governments, international institutions, agricultural professional organizations civil society and private sector; need to sustain the development of agriculture in the poorest countries.

**Food Security and Climate Change**

Today 20 African countries experience severe water shortage and another 12 will be added in the next 25 years. Economic growth in regional hubs such as Nairobi is being curtailed by water
shortages. The drying up of Lake Chad (shared by Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger) is a grim reminder of the dramatic ecological challenges that lie ahead. Uncertainty over water supply affects decision in other areas – hydropower, agriculture, urban development and overall land use planning.

African countries are right to demand that international climate negotiations be based on principles of historical justice. There is a need for financial support by industrialized nations to developing nations, to enable them adapt to climate change and lay the foundation for low-carbon economies.

Fragile ecosystems are a dominant feature of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA); nearly two thirds (2/3) of its surface area is dry land (desert), which makes it highly vulnerable to floods and droughts. Much of the continents political instability is associated with the fragility of its ecosystem and low levels of technological competencies to compensate for natural deficiencies. Africa’s economies are highly dependent on natural resources and water scarcity is emerging as a security issue; and yet to develop objective mechanism for sharing such resources. Much of Africa has lost its traditional crops and facing chronic food shortages.

To forestall the impact of climate change on species, Africa will need to redouble conservation effort and areas in the face of growing demand for land. Most of Africa’s protected areas lack long term finding. And industries such as tourism that benefit from wildlife contribute too little to conservation efforts. Most of the crops are not diverse enough to withstand climate change. If their production is affected by a natural calamity, their prices will increase and food deficient countries are likely to face riots and worse. Building smart economies will involve taking deliberate steps in at least 4 key areas: infrastructure; technical education; business development; and international diplomacy.

Adjustments need to be made in agriculture – crops complemented by more resilient food sources such as tree crops (bread fruit staple in Pacific Islands) – and clean energy (geothermal using existing technologies). Creating climate-smart infrastructure will require greater investment in higher technical training. All stakeholders must play a role – Ministries of agriculture, water, energy and transportation –in training local experts in the design of climate-smart infrastructure. African countries must foster green jobs, universities and institutions be incubators of enterprises that promote sustainability (World Development Report 2010).

Rain Water Harvesting (RWH) Technologies for Agricultural Production

According to Hatibu and Mahoo, potential for RWH received great attention in 1970s and 1980s due to widespread drought in Africa which left a trail of crop failures and a serious threat to human life and livestock. Many water projects were set up in SSA but few succeeded due to lack of technical know-how and selection of inappropriate approach with regard to the prevailing socio-economic conditions. Micro-catchment approaches have a high potential of combining water harvesting with soil conservation. But most projects have a bias towards promoting conservation rather than soil and water conservation with production. Conservation of both moisture and soil has 2 major advantages:

1. Due to increased crop yields farmers will be more willing to implement and maintain the system;
2. The rapid vegetation made possible by improved soil moisture status provides early protection to the soil against erosion.

Micro-catchment RWH provides a good means for changing from soil conservation based on just run-off control to a focus on land husbandry integrating conservation and production which
has a positive impact in reducing poverty and bringing sustainable development (Maize tillage in Kongwa District).

Other practices like weed control (reduction of evapo-transpiration) and use of farmyard manure (FYM) has led to increased crop yield, flooded valley bottoms are used for sugarcane and vegetable production. Promotion of RWH has transformed farmers into cash crop earners (maize, rice, vegetables) instead of subsistence farming.

Given the importance of land access for livelihoods, it is particularly important that governance of land issues is participatory and empowering. Reducing people’s vulnerability includes putting measures in place that safeguard their access to resources and this may include providing formal recognition to current customary access regimes. Legislation should enable the poor access land resources and create incentives for sustainable land use, though recognizing and incorporating peoples’ needs and their traditional management systems. It has been recognized by policy-makers that the practice of water management cannot be separate from questions of land management since access to water emanates from access to land.

The population of Lake Victoria Basin (LVB) is predominantly rural with majority heavily dependent on agriculture and livestock husbandry for their livelihood. And face serious threats to its livelihood due to abuse of resources and environmental degradation. Depending on one’s social, economic and political status in society, some are able to influence decisions governing resource allocation to their advantage at times impacting negatively on the rest of society.

Concerning agriculture, inadequate funding, poor management and lack of ownership of management policies has led to state-run irrigation schemes being handed over to users with mixed results. In Mwea irrigation scheme, the National Irrigation Board did not effectively manage it and hence management reverted to the farmers’ cooperative which unfortunately had no human and financial resources to run the scheme. Attempts to promote wealth creation have often involved land being used as an incentive for potential investors and locals being dispossessed of their land. In Tanzania, villagers have been relocated elsewhere wherever mineral reserves are discovered or to give room to industrial development without adequate consultation and compensation; locals do not always benefit from such investments and may result in serious conflict.

Registration of land and titling must be considered carefully to avoid inherent flaws of property rights to natural resources which create serious flaws to both sustainability and rural poverty. Individualization has led to land concentration and increased marginalization and idleness as people in positions of economic and political power take advantage of the less privileged. Even though men and women may have equal chances to access common resources (land and water), the latter have very little control over their use and benefits ‘accruing from the resources (Higgins and Orindi, 2005).

Investment to Safeguard the Poor

In poor countries, half a dollar can save a life or feed an entire family. Every penny invested in Africa counts today. The financial, food and energy crises will hammer the ‘bottom billion’ – the poorest in some 60 countries that survive on around a dollar a day. Because of the crises, many African countries are likely to miss the 2015 deadline for Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of poverty reduction. Most of the gains are seriously threatened. Foreigners are pulling back capital, drying import and export financing. Trade is declining. Unemployment, especially among disadvantaged groups – youth and women – is staggering. A failure to help the ‘bottom billion’ could fuel mass migration and global insecurity, famine and unrest.
Africa needs to shift from a dependence on donor-driven agenda and peasant-driven agriculture to compete on a global level. It needs to promote production and trade, and expand agribusiness and agro-industries and create wealth and new jobs. Agri-business development can stimulate broader economic growth, boost regional trade, and at the same time enhance food security and reduce poverty (Kandek, 2009).

Historically, political instability has always preceded food shortages and so necessitating countries to address inadequate food supply, increasing hunger and extensive malnutrition. Only 7 percent of arable land in Africa is irrigated compared with nearly 40 percent in Asia and 20 percent globally. Climate-adapted seed varieties are scarce and planted acreage appears to be falling and the average family size of family farms is shrinking. And the effects of climate change are making it harder to boost African farmers’ already meagre yields. Over 70 percent of Africans live in rural livelihoods and depend on agriculture for their livelihood; an investment in agriculture is an investment in lives. And an investment in women (three-quarters of small holder farm households in developing nations are headed by women) means empowering them to play leadership roles in our economic, political and social development. A dollar invested in agriculture in Africa has 2 or 3 times impact on poverty than the same amount invested in other sectors. Agriculture investment is an impetus for economic growth and food security. Farm families need help to buy seeds, fertilizer and pesticides, to build irrigation schemes and care for their animals and equipment. Communities need storage facilities to protect harvest, and transportation and communication infrastructure to bring food to markets.

Results can be obtained when supportive policies are backed by adequate resources. In less than a decade, Malawi has transformed itself from a country of famine to a regional breadbasket that exports food to its neighbours. Agricultural programmes in Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Tanzania are yielding promising results. Agricultural investment in Africa needs to be scaled up and delivered in a coherent manner. Increased funding of annual aid to Africa from its current US$1 to 2 billion per year to US$8 billion would enable the continent to halve extreme poverty and hunger by 2015. And African farmers must have supportive business environments and easy access to markets in African countries and globally. A shift of resources into agriculture can reap strong returns – by job creation boosting economic growth, fighting poverty and supporting peace and stability (Migiro, 2009).

Challenges to Sustainable Land Management

Africa remains the poorest region globally with more than 30 people living in extreme poverty; the greatest challenge is how to spur development and uplift living standards. For most African countries, the post-independence period has been marked by far reaching political, social and economic, and in many instances, by severe political and social turbulence.

Poverty that has fuelled the HIV/AIDS pandemic remains the continent’s most formidable challenge as half the continent’s population lives in absolute poverty. But questions linger, foremost being, have African policymakers learnt anything under NEPAD? Past failures (leader) – bad governance and political leaders abound; and yet economic growth can only be spurred by political stability. Africa has the highest influx of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) who cannot fend for themselves. Poverty reduction should be a priority in most African countries.

Kenya has witnessed an upsurge of poverty from below 40 percent (ten years ago) to the current 56 percent. Poverty is also taking a feminine face as women and children are the most vulnerable with literacy levels barely rising in most African countries. And MDGs may not be met;
goal number one to register 4 percent economic growth and halve number of people living in extreme poverty by 2015. The countries in the north and southern Africa would need to grow by 5 percent per annum while low-income countries in the rest of the continent would have to grow by at least 8 percent. Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) has been declining leaving recipient countries in dire need of funds for development. African countries, Kenya included, will have to mobilize resources internally but high poverty levels limit them on taxation of already overburdened people. Low-income levels in most African countries limit domestic resource mobilization to generate sufficient funds to finance investments. Policymakers need to improve investment climate in their countries.

The continent requires aid and capital flow, a feat that can be achieved by attracting higher levels of FDI; besides generating revenue for governments, FDI would create jobs and reduce poverty levels. There is a need to improve systems of governance (namely efficiency and effectiveness of government institutions and public administration). Most countries are not positioned to take advantage of ICT and unfolding opportunities. Lack of export diversification means that about 40 percent of African countries depend and will continue to depend on only half of primary products for over half of their export earnings. To reap full benefits of globalization, Africa will need to enhance its competitiveness by sustaining and deepening its reforms and by building its human and physical capital (Kabbaj, 2005).

**Effects of Deforestation**

Kenya is facing an environmental disaster with the continued wanton destruction of forests; in certain areas of the country, the forest cover has already been wiped out exposing the country to environmental danger. The environment is vital for the nation’s prosperity and the various challenges involved require the right personnel to be in the Ministry of Environment and other environmental agencies. And to curb the menace of charcoal burning, the communities need to be provided with cheap, alternative sources of fuel. The forest cover is ever dwindling and soon communities will have no trees and no food and will desolately stare hunger in the face. By destroying the environment we destroy ourselves and nature’s harsh reality will haunt us to prosperity unless decisive measures are taken soon.

The process of deforestation had accelerated significantly in the past decade due to human activity with complete disappearance of some forests which served water catchment areas. Some forests like the Mau have been invaded by communities and other indigenous forests like the Arabuko Sokoke tropical forest in Malindi are being destroyed through unchecked logging. The government needs to start a comprehensive programme to redeem the environment (Nyassy, 2005).

Deforestation is felt through the ever burgeoning arid and semiarid lands in eastern Kenya and schooling is grossly affected. Most pupils are lured to school by the school feeding programmes, but when nothing is forthcoming due to famine and prolonged drought, they are forced to stay away and their education is curtailed. The government provides emergency rations but these are not enough and cannot be sustained over a long period. The children are subsequently forced to do menial work in order to feed themselves and this is tantamount to child labour (Ngoloma, 2005).

**Government Initiatives and other Agencies**

The government through the Agricultural Farmers Corporation (AFC) has been releasing funds to farmers in western Kenya to enable them invest in crops and livestock production activi-
ties in order to fight hunger and poverty and improve their economic base. The Agricultural Extension Officers have been retrained on technical services and financial management to help farmers use their loans judiciously and also ensure improvement in quality and quantity of livestock products in the region.

There are other NGOs involved which have the motto ‘pass a cow or a goat’. These organizations target the poor members of the communities and give them a donation of a cow or a goat whichever the case, which when it calves, the offspring are passed onto needy families. With this arrangement, especially for dairy goats, within a short time most villages will own goats. The dairy cow takes longer but works in the same way. It suits the farmers because the animals are kept on a zero grazing basis – less land – and the high yields of milk are a source of income for them. Through organization of dairy boards and other MFIs, they are able to make savings and borrow against their produce to prolong income generating activities (IGAs).

Others encourage the women and young people to have ‘kitchen gardens’ where vegetables (indigenous) and other high value crops are grown in sacks in line with scarce resources (land) in both urban, peri-urban and rural areas. This combined with beekeeping provides a good source of income, with products being processed and taken to neighbouring countries like Ethiopia, Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi among others. The levels of living of the farmers are improving and with the remarkable results, and lucrative markets, most of them are championing the projects and becoming agents of change (Juma, 2005).

Fish Farming

For many Kenyans who do not come from the lake region, the idea of consuming fish for its nutritional value and gastronomic experience is not highly palatable. But vigorous campaigns have been launched to sensitize Kenyans on the highly nutritive value of white meat (fish) and the need to make a relish to their palettes. Fish ponds have been set up in central Kenya and other regions not normally associated with lakes or riverine environments.

The fish farmers are helped to set up cheap but highly effective ponds with fish food that is locally available. The farmers have organized themselves into associations where they have central cooling systems for the fish before they are repackaged for export and local consumption. The culture of fish (white meat) for healthy eating is catching on and since fish farming provides fish at a lower cost, the market is growing and local consumption may compete effectively with external markets.

Famine Relief

There is an initiative to double rice production in response to the country’s drought; support school feeding programme; and provision of rural water supply. Kenya is geared towards revising master water plans of underground water supply and irrigation systems. To wean the economy off the erratic water-fed agricultural system, the government has launched the Hola Irrigation Scheme (rice); expansion of Mwea Irrigation System (rice); develop Bura and Pekerra, Ahero, West Kano and Bunyala, all to be under maize and rice crops. The government has been keenly following the initiatives of the Kenya Agricultural Research Institute (KARI), which has developed varieties (strains) of maize and rice that have a short maturity period and high yielding concomitant with disease resistance. These are the varieties that will curb hunger and make suitable use of land.
Other Farming Activities for Sustainable Land Management

Intercropping:
It is a farming method that uses the synergy of various crops with the underlying factor being their soil nutrient requirement and their ability to enhance soil fertility. It is a useful method to boost food security and make maximum use of the shrinking land sizes, for example in Latin America, coffee is grown together with bananas and interspersed with trees that provide shade to the crops. It is important to intercrop coffee with environmentally friendly indigenous trees that will help curb the current climatic challenges facing countries today.

There are a variety of beans (climbing) being grown in Rwanda which was developed by the International Centre for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT). Scientists hail it for its ability to provide small scale farmers with good yields on small acres (pieces) of land and that both seeds and leaves are useful for food and income. And soil fertility improvement is provided through organic enrichment, better soil conservation and more sustainable agro ecosystems for different areas. It makes optimal use of limited land.

Tissue Culture:
There are strains developed and already in use for Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, cassava and bananas. The Irish potato farming is being practiced in Molo (Rift Valley) and has the potential of boosting the country’s (Kenya) food reserves and able to cushion Kenyans against starvation. Further research is being carried out to ensure a steady production of high yielding and quality potatoes for both local consumption and export markets. Production has been rising steadily from 0.5 million metric tonnes in 1992 to 2 million metric tonnes in 2008 (harvest from 96,000 hectares). There is a potential of 30-40 metric tonnes per acre which needs to be exploited. There are however challenges faced – shortage of healthy planting material and need for improved varieties, diseases and pest control. It would be instructive to address marketing and other rural infrastructure bottlenecks and the inadequate supply of potato seed to farmers.

For the bananas and sweet potatoes, the tissue culture has yielded varieties that have a short maturity period and high yielding. The crops are then processed (value chain) to produce flour, crisps, juice and other products that fetch better prices for the farmers. This has encouraged them to produce more and seek further training on the crops. And also the medicinal value of the crops is being exploited by the medical practitioners and herbalists.

The government through its development arms – Agricultural Finance Corporation and Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC) – needs to play a leading role in providing solutions to address challenges faced by farmers. The ADC needs to acquire more land for research and demonstration and check disease infestation to occasion increased opportunities for the growers to boost their real income.

Some Case Studies of Successful Land Use

Dry Land Farming:
Sorghum does well in arid regions, and the East African Breweries Limited (EABL) is partnering with Africa Harvest and Equity Bank in exploiting its potential in malting and other production. EABL aims at developing a commercially viable source of raw materials for its breweries while offering a lifeline to farmers in arid and semiarid regions, that is, productive use of their land.

It has a potential of job creation (directly and indirectly) and the bank will offer low interest loans to farmers to buy seed and farm inputs while Africa Harvest will promote the use of advanced science and technology products to improve agricultural productivity – technical support
to ensure high quality production of sorghum. The project has been implemented in the lower zones of Eastern Province (Kitui, Mutomo, Masinga, and Tharaka). These are areas characterized by high levels of poverty due to the dry climate and frequent crop failure. The sorghum project has already begun to substantially improve the economic well-being of thousands of poor farmers in dry areas. A public information campaign to sensitize them was launched. And collection centres have been established to collect the bulk grain. And the popularity of sorghum may rise further following the launch of a Kenya Shillings 1.3 billion research project which aims to improve the nutritional value of the crop. A consortium of nine global scientific research bodies is involved in the Africa Biofortified Sorghum (ABS) project to develop the nutritional value of sorghum is search of long-term solutions to malnutrition in Africa. The project seeks to develop more nutritious and easily digestible sorghum varieties for different climatic regions (ACCORD, 2004).

**Other Development Initiatives Exploiting Partnerships:**

Residents of Yatta District (Eastern Kenya) formed Makutano Community Development Association (MCDA) as a rallying point for community members to venture into development projects. And Kenya Community Development Foundation (KCDF) in partnership with Safaricom Foundation came to the rescue of villagers. They founded MCDA and conducted intensive reflection sessions that helped communities acknowledge and appreciate resources within its locality, priorities and distinct strategies to address them. To address the problem of hunger, MCDA has trained and worked with communities to harvest rainwater for irrigation. The villages are slowly being transformed as a number of services are now within a radius of five kilometres. And today, the communities have ten dams, seven shallow wells and a borehole and have turned 10,000 acres into productive use.

‘We have exorcised the evil spirits of dependence on relief food,’ said one of the residents. Through the assistance of the two organizations, they now boast of a secondary school catering for children from poor backgrounds, and are engaged in intensive cultivation of drought resistant crop varieties, beekeeping and processing sunflower oil. All this achieved through partnership of KCDF and Safaricom Foundation 2007 pilot food security programme that sought to support Kenyans to grow their own food instead of relying on food supplies. Encouraged by the results, KCDF sought to augment the programme by incorporating innovative ways of growing food as well as expand it to many areas. They later launched the Ustawi Initiative – a programme that seeks to support communities to grow food crops using modern technologies like greenhouse farming, RWH and drip irrigation among others.

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**Table 1**

**Trade-offs for Sustainable Land Use**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAND USE</th>
<th>GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT CARBON BIODIVERSITY</th>
<th>AGRONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY</th>
<th>NATIONAL POLICYMAKERS CONCERN</th>
<th>ADOPTABILITY BY SMALL HOLDERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercropping (Integrated farm management)</td>
<td>Crops planted with trees especially those environmentally indigenous ones. Reduce carbon emissions; fortify soil and bring balance in the ecosystem.</td>
<td>Farmers provided with high yielding short maturity varieties and market provided. Explore herbal (medicinal) qualities of trees and farmers paid for extraction.</td>
<td>Provide policies that favour development agents (NGOs, donors). Provision of seeds and seedlings at subsidized rates.</td>
<td>Extension services provided; credit facilities to cushion them in lean times. Training and research with the farmers input. Pursue integration and diversification farming activities to reduce risk and increase farm productivity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LAND USE</td>
<td>GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT CARBON BIODIVERSITY</td>
<td>AGRONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY</td>
<td>NATIONAL POLICYMAKERS CONCERN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tree farming (agro forestry)</td>
<td>Encourage balance in ecosystem; preserve water catchment areas and water towers.</td>
<td>Provision of tree nurseries close to farmers.</td>
<td>Formulate sustainable forest management policies.</td>
<td>Training of forest rangers to work effectively with farmers.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Reduce desertification and deforestation.</td>
<td>Provide trees with short maturity periods and be exploited on a commercial basis (agribusiness).</td>
<td>Controlled legal logging with revenues adequately accounted for.</td>
<td>Corporate marketing and licensing to avoid middlemen’s exploitative tendencies that may encourage illegal logging.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Air-conditions atmosphere and underpins energy security from hydro fuels.</td>
<td>Conservation of indigenous and endangered species.</td>
<td>Research and development for trees that can be sustained and are environmentally friendly.</td>
<td>Work with development partners concerned with environmental conservation.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Explore carbon offsets potential.</td>
<td>Work with development partners concerned with environmental conservation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Irrigation (through RWH and other sources)</td>
<td>Harness geothermal power at dams and avoid fuels that increase carbon emissions and pollutions in the environment.</td>
<td>Provide farmers with high yield crops to increase household earnings and land productivity.</td>
<td>National Irrigation Boards to be effectively managed; co-ownership of irrigation schemes with farmers for increased participation and productivity.</td>
<td>Evaluate land use and provide technological innovations that are locally available.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RWH can reduce risk and increase yield (stabilizes production).</td>
<td>Provide adequate funding and ownership of management policies.</td>
<td>Provide financial and credit facilities to farmers to enhance productivity.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Policymakers must conduct holistic studies of hydrological systems to find appropriate solutions that will result in real water savings.</td>
<td>Have small holder organization(s) which can handle marketing and other cross-cutting issues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry land farming</td>
<td>Practices that increase water absorption reduce soil moisture loss, mulching, ploughing and tillage.</td>
<td>Planting of drought resistant crops like sorghum; creation of jobs (directly and indirectly).</td>
<td>Transportation and communication infrastructure to bring food to markets.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Use of advanced science and technology to improve agricultural productivity.</td>
<td>Strengthen cooperatives through heuristic policies handled by the Ministry of Cooperatives and Trade Development and other stakeholders.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Provision of crops to provide long-term solution to malnutrition.</td>
<td>Encourage Public Private Partnerships (PPP) through incentives (tax rebates) and less stringent regulations (harmonized).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fish farming</td>
<td>Reduce carbon emissions through fish activity; balance to the ecosystem; reduce land degradation.</td>
<td>Provision of fish with high spawning rates and can be cheaply sourced; provision of cooling systems for storage for local and export consumption.</td>
<td>Government to involve major stakeholders to ensure holistic policies approach.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Harness financial bodies like AFC and ADB to provide credit and technical support to farmers.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Training and provision of extension services to farmers.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Providing appropriate technology and fish types.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Provisions of infrastructure (soft and hard).</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Corporate marketing and global village reach.</td>
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**Conclusion**

Poverty, agriculture and land use make a complex and challenging system with many flaws and interacting elements. The majority smallholder farmers grow traditional varieties, which are
low yielding and have long maturity period, which is affected by irregular rainfall patterns. It would be useful in using a particular approach in implementing projects; involve farmers and agricultural service providers right from planning to implementation stage; jointly identify problems in the agricultural sector and device strategies to address them. It would be useful to assist farmers identify and procure high yielding varieties; financing and understanding of market systems; pricing and preservation (storage) of crops after harvesting.

Information and cooperation is key to development coupled with suitable avenues of communication. Farmers, especially small scale, need support to enhance their livelihoods, access to basic services, agricultural production and enterprise development. Some cash crop growers and outgrowers have reduced or even abandoned food crop acreage in preference for cash crops and cash rewards – cotton, coffee, tea, sugar, sisal and pyrethrum – in the process encouraging food shortages especially during drought periods. Such activities can be contained through sustainable community-based agricultural solutions where they are taught about intercropping and other viable agricultural production activities. And communities can be encouraged to protect the environment and still generate income (tree planting, carbon off-sets).

With innovation, most communities can solve their own problems and spread it to others by skilfully building partnerships with farmers and institutions countrywide. It is important to evaluate land use systems both as they are currently practiced and alternative farms that could be possible through policy, institutional and technological innovations. Intensification of land use through technological innovation could reduce both poverty and deforestation. It is vital to identify additive economic and ecological benefits to support decision making related to public policy issues associated with agricultural production systems.

Wealth creation is a more enduring way of poverty alleviation. If root causes of poverty are not addressed, then Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives may create dependency instead of empowerment of beneficiaries. Environmental challenges – destruction of natural habitats, pollution and climate change – have become major concerns and a threat to the livelihood of humanity. Companies’ activities affect the ecosystem through their use of energy, waste generation and pollution. By adopting sound environmental practices, they can not only help in restoring the ecosystem but also protect vulnerable communities who are most affected by environmental threats due to their direct reliance on natural resources. The country’s current food and energy crises are as a result of poor planning and mismanagement of public resources. The government can play a role by reforming regulations that delay implementation of CSR initiatives, offering incentives to companies (tax rebates, providing knowledge and expertise in technical projects).

Also efforts to encourage women (majority associated with agriculture) to access climate friendly technology and financing of women’s green entrepreneurial initiatives. Encourage capacity building and technology transfers of measures that reflect priorities of women and poor communities. And also it is important to have sustainable use of resources and implementation of land use and coastal zones management legislation.

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Trafficking in Women and Children to India and Thailand: Characteristics, Trends and Policy Issues

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Abstract: Being a complex phenomenon, problem of trafficking is profoundly entrenched in the socio-economic, political and cultural reality of the context in which it occurs, although this may not be its immediate cause. The perpetrators are the traffickers about whom relatively little is known. This gap has to be urgently addressed, along with the demand factors, which drive trafficking. It is a fundamental violation of the rights of human beings and shows a blatant disregard for the dignity of a person.

Keywords: Trafficking, poverty, women, children, human rights

Introduction

Trafficking of human beings, especially of women and children, is one of the fastest growing trades, generating unaccountable profits annually. The reasons for the increase in this global phenomenon are multiple and complex, affecting rich and poor countries alike. India and Thailand is no exception to this. The source areas or points of origin are often the more deprived places, regions or countries, and the points of destination are often – although not always – urban conglomerates within or across borders. For all those who view trafficking in economic terms, it is the real or perceived differential between the economic status of source and destination areas that is important. In practice, however, human beings may be and are trafficked from one poor area to another poor area as well for reasons best known to the traffickers, a fact that has been corroborated by research studies and documentation across the world. The fact is that the process of trafficking is designed and manipulated by traffickers for their own ends for which they employ all kinds of means. Therefore the assumption that human beings are always trafficked from undeveloped to more developed places is untenable.

There is a strong indication from the available information that women and children are becoming vulnerable to trafficking, as they are unable to survive with dignity because of lack of livelihood options. In the absence of awareness of human rights, the economically and socially underprivileged people at the grassroots have become easy prey to the trafficking trade. Migrating populations have become most vulnerable to exploitation by traffickers. The fact that notwithstanding this stark reality, such gross violations of human rights continued to be a low priority area with law enforcement agencies, made it imperative that this area be investigated.

Being a complex phenomenon, problem of trafficking is profoundly entrenched in the socio-economic, political and cultural reality of the context in which it occurs, although this may not be its immediate cause. The perpetrators are the traffickers about whom relatively little is known. This gap has to be urgently addressed, along with the demand factors, which drive trafficking. It is a fundamental violation of the rights of human beings and shows a blatant disregard for the dignity of a person.
The scale of the phenomenon is difficult to judge. It is very difficult to collect data on trafficking because of the clandestine nature of the operations. The trade is secretive, the women are silenced, the traffickers are dangerous and not many agencies are counting.

Among the most quoted figures are the United Nations estimates that 4 million people in a year are traded against their will to work in some form of slavery, many of them are children and believes that in the last 30 years, trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation in Asia alone has victimized more than 30 million people. Asia is mainly an origin region as well as a destination for trafficking in persons. Asian victims are reported to be trafficked from Asia to Asian countries, in particular to Thailand, Japan, India, Taiwan and Pakistan.

India is located in golden triangle, which is most vulnerable region for the trafficking of women and children for flesh trade. Literature on trafficking in India is completely dominated by the issue of commercial sexual exploitation, so much so that trafficking, as a distinct separate crime does not get highlighted. At times is almost reduced to insignificance in comparison to commercial sexual exploitation. Even though there seems to be considerable information available, one is unable to form a picture, which reflects the reality of trafficking in women and children in India.

Calculations of trafficked people are generally made with reference to commercial sex exploitation. In India, the stigma attached to prostitution and the clandestine nature of operations makes it doubly difficult to arrive at authentic numbers. Increasing incidence of trafficking has threatened the social fabric of the country. Girls under 18 are being lured from Nepal, Bangladesh to Indian metropolitan cities. In India traffickers also lure girls and young women from Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh. The counterfeit promises of jobs and better living standards push these girls and young women into prostitution.

Thailand has one of the most serious human trafficking problems in Asia and is a primary source, transit point, and final destination for untold numbers of women and children. Because of its relative affluence, Thailand is the biggest recipient of labour migration, both legal and illegal, in the Greater Mekong sub-region, which includes Cambodia, Laos, China’s Yunnan Province, Myanmar, and Vietnam. While there are no official government statistics on numbers trafficked into and out of Thailand, it is widely accepted that a significant number of illegal migrant workers are actually victims of trafficking.

International Labour Organization (ILO) report estimated that 200,000 to 300,000 women and children are trafficked into Thailand each year for the purpose of prostitution. According to the US-based research institute “Protection Project”, estimates of the number of child victims of prostitution living in Thailand ranges from 12,000 to the hundreds of thousands. The Government, university researchers, and NGOs estimated that there are as many as 30,000 to 40,000 prostitutes under 18 years of age, not including foreign migrants. A government estimate reveals that five percent of child prostitutes were found to be boys. Thailand’s Health System Research Institute reports that children in prostitution make up 40 percent of sex workers in Thailand. At the other end of this debate many NGOs estimate the number of CSEC victims to be in the hundreds of thousands. Other reports estimate the number of child victims of prostitution to be at least 80,000 but likely to be in the hundreds of thousands.

In the 1980s women and girls were recruited from the poorer provinces in the north and northeast of Thailand for commercial sex services in the urban areas. This traffic consisted mostly of 12-16 year old girls from the hill tribes of the north and northeast. This pattern was to some extent replaced in the 1990s by the trafficking of women and children, primarily from Burma and
Myanmar, but also from Lao PDR, Cambodia and Yunnan province in China. Today, Thailand is considered a major transit and destination country for trafficked women and children from countries in the Greater Mekong sub-region. In addition to exploitation in commercial sex services, persons have been trafficked to Thailand to work as maids or in construction, agriculture or factories. The disparity in economic development between neighbouring countries in the Mekong sub-region has been one catalyst of cross-border migration into Thailand. The opening of borders, increased mobility between countries, corruption and the high profits generated by the sex industry are some of the indirect incentives for trafficking. Thailand receives from neighbouring countries considerable number of children trafficked for different forms of labour and begging. Many of them subsequently end up in the sex industry xii.

The estimates found in various reports vary over time and across regions, primarily because human trafficking is an extremely difficult activity to investigate. There are also differences in focus and in methodologies. As the evidence base is shaky, and easy to challenge, it is important to consider how knowledge on this issue can be improved, in order to properly inform efforts to prevent and reduce trafficking.

**Trafficking Routes: South Asia Vs. South East Asia**

South and South East Asia is considered the most vulnerable region for trafficking because of its large population, large-scale rural-urban migration, large populations living in conditions of chronic poverty, and recurrent natural disasters. India and Thailand has one of the most serious human trafficking problems in Asia and is a primary source, transit point, and final destination for untold numbers of women and children. Women and children are sold, traded, exchanged for sexual slavery and prostitution, and bonded labour across borders, such as from Bangladesh to India, Pakistan, and the Middle East, from Nepal to India, from Myanmar, China, Cambodia, Lao PDR and Vietnam to Thailand and from Thailand to Australia, South Africa, Japan, Bahrain, Taiwan, Europe and North America. Following maps show distribution of Asian countries between which trafficking takes place.
Map 2. International trafficking of women and children

Main supply route from
South East Asia
Push and Pull Factors

The circumstances and situations that influence migration are usually examined in terms of push and pull factors. Push factors are associated with sending regions and pull, with receiving regions.

These factors are inter-dependent, and are classified as economic, political, socio-cultural or environmental in nature. The push factors include: growing inequalities in wealth between and within countries; economic decline; lack of economic opportunities and under-development of an area, characterised by poverty, under-employment, landlessness and impoverishment among rural populations; discrimination; population pressure; harsh economic policies; limited access to resources; lack of opportunities for local employment that would allow women to explore better jobs, or acquire greater skills to obtain a more secure future; and lack of basic subsistence.

The pull factors are listed as: real or perceived differences in wages; more and better employment opportunities in destination areas; demand for female migrant workers in more developed regions; an economic boom in destination areas; a growing number of women and men in destinations who relegate domestic work to hired help; and the increasing acceptance of the practice of prostitution.

Trends

There are many reasons of human trafficking. But the traffickers look for most lucrative purpose through which they can be more benefited. Because of this, most of the women and children from rural Nepal and Bangladesh are more innocent and attractive and they become the target of traffickers in this sense. Sexual trafficking is highly profitable and low penalty nature business than others in India. There is a huge demand for women and female children in the sex industries in India, Pakistan and Middle East. The demand for women and female children is undoubtedly more compared to males in sex industries in South Asian countries. A special target of traders are female children because, among customers of commercial sex establishment, there is a perception that female children are virgins and are less likely to be infected with HIV. Moreover, there is a common myth that sex with a virgin, specially a child, cures a person of STDs. There is no scientific explanation to this belief, but it exists and adds to child prostitution. According to the information received from different GOs and NGOs in India the traffickers prefer Bangladeshi and Nepalese women and children, as they are more easily accessible and also easy to take to India.
Moreover, women and female children are generally less productive than males, they are easier to abuse, easily forced, less assertive, and less able to claim their rights- and accordingly, can be made to work longer hours with little food, poor accommodation and no benefits, which also attracts the traffickers to traffic women and female children more rather than males.

The most important reason behind trafficking women and female children massively from Bangladesh and Nepal is as the Bangladeshi and Nepalese girls are relatively free from the deadly disease AIDS and HIV virus that is why they have high demand to the customers of the brothels. And this is the reason, which compels the traffickers to traffic women and female children massively from Bangladesh and Nepal to India.

In India, the estimates of trafficked victims (women and girls) who are in prostitution number around 2.12 million in India. Most of the such women and girls are reported in the state of Maharashtra, West Bengal, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka (table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/ Union Territories</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>240018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>2062</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>39468</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>120990</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>9375</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>40312</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>110212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>11625</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>4031</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jharkhand</td>
<td>15000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>11625</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>150525</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>51562</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>108253</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>3,00975</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>3556</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>3187</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>4500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>33799</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>33750</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>125478</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>227812</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>203901</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarakhand</td>
<td>6093</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A large number of female adults and children are reported missing in India. Out of them a large chunk of such population is reported in the metropolitan cities. As per police records, the number of female adults and children are reported missing is increasing at a high alarming rate in the metropolitan cities (Table 2).

Table 2: Number of Female & Children Reporting Missing in India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Average Number of Female Adults reporting missing in a year</th>
<th>Average Number children reporting missing in a year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandigarh</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>2043</td>
<td>6227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>1624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>3660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>861</td>
<td>707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>2950</td>
<td>4915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>8103</td>
<td>16656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Various Report of Government of India, New Delhi
State Average Number of Female Adults reporting missing in a year Average Number children reporting missing in a year
Table 3: Child Trafficking in North East India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009*</th>
<th>2010*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arunachal Pradesh</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 (Jun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1 (Mar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipur</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (Sep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meghalaya</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 (Aug)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mizoram</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0 (Aug)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0 (July)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkim</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (Aug)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 (Aug)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Provisional Data

Minister of State for Women and Child Development, Government of India addressed that trafficking of children, including minor girls; saw a rise in India’s North Eastern region over the period of 2008-2009. According to the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), six such cases were reported in the region until September 2010. As per the NCRB data, the number of cases registered under the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956, in the North Eastern region increased from 32 in 2008 to 43 in 2009. As per the data, Assam saw the biggest rise, from 27 cases in 2008 to 37 cases in 2009. Funds have been released for establishing 18 anti-human trafficking units (ATHUs) in the North Eastern States. National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) data, the number of cases registered under the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956 in the North Eastern Region increased from 32 in 2008 to 43 in 2009. The State-wise details are given in table 3.
In Thailand, commercial sexual exploitation is mostly associated with poverty and a lack of education. Children and girls in particular are forced into prostitution in order to help subsidise their family’s income. Women and children (particularly girls) tend to be the most frequent trafficking victims. Gender is an issue in trafficking on both the supply and demand sides of equation. Girls are often seen as expendable, and laws and law enforcement, as well as some cultural and traditional contexts, provide them unequal protection. Girls are in many societies expected to sacrifice education and security and take on responsibilities towards parents, siblings and even their children. Women are forced to migrate to enter urban employment, in which they are easily vulnerable to exploitation and in which remuneration rates are low. The poor income-earning opportunities for women with low levels of education, the desire to provide substantial support for their families and a relatively tolerant attitude towards prostitution in some segments of Thai society help to ensure that some of this labour supply will be directed towards the sex industry.

Studies show that the majority of girls in prostitution are from Northern Thailand. This is particularly true of children from Northern Thailand’s hill tribes. Most vulnerable are women and children from ethnic minority groups, such as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Thai Yai, Thai Leu and Luwa. These children are denied Thai citizenship and are viewed as having a lower cultural status than lowland Thais. Being under privileged, having little education and little understanding of the dangers of leaving home, and with no alternative viable means of income, children from tribal groups often leave for or are lured to ‘work’ in urban areas and fall victim to prostitution. The situation is so desperate for some living in hill tribes it has been reported in some cases that women and children from tribal groups succumb to the pressure of prostitution in an attempt to feel more ‘valuable’ and become ‘accepted’ by Thai society.

Thailand is seen as the primary destination country for migrants in the Greater Mekong sub-region, with most coming from Myanmar, Laos and Combodia. Workers particular from these three countries, often migrant without papers, fleeing condition of poverty or political conflict in search of greater opportunities and a place where they can live without tension. Industrial growth related to global capitalism has been one of the major factors that have triggered migration. The Thai economy is relatively prosperous in the region and there is a great demand of cheap foreign unskilled labourers to sustain its growth.

In table 4 the number of trafficked cases in Thailand during 2008-2010 are shown. It reveals that the number of victims in prostitution is high followed by forced labour or service and forced begging. A total of 129 such cases have been recorded in Anti-Human Trafficking Division of Thailand, out of which 27 cases have been resolved up to September 2010.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Case</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Exploitation</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced Begging</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal of Organs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pornography</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced Labour or Service</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced Extortion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Anti-Human Trafficking Division, Bangkok
Thai Ministry of Social Development and Human Security has set its strategies on prevention and protection of foreign trafficking victims at different levels, namely, serving as the centre of welfare protection and assistance victims of human trafficking and domestic violence. The Department of Social and Welfare Development under Ministry of Social Development and Human Security provides protection service and shelter to the foreign victims who suffer from all kinds of social problems such as sexual exploitation and other domestic violence. Table 5 show that foreign trafficked and vulnerable victims who are receiving assistance in different shelters under the Department of Social and Welfare Development and in table 6 number of the foreign victims protected in each centre is shown.

Trafficking in women and children, both as a root cause and manifestation of poverty and human deprivation, is a major challenge to all stakeholders in Thailand. Thai women and children are trafficked to Australia, South Africa, Japan, Bahrain, Taiwan, Europe and North America for sexual exploitation. Internal trafficking also occurs in Thailand, involving victims from Northern Thailand. The most common trafficking routes within Thailand are from North to South and from rural areas to Bangkok. The trafficked people are usually the rural poor and are often from ethnic minorities. The internal traffic of Thai girls consists mostly of 12-16 year olds from hill tribes of the North/Northeast. Girls from the northern hill tribes of Thailand are often trafficked to Thai cities for prostitution Some local officials, immigration officers, and police reportedly either are involved in trafficking directly or take bribes to ignore it. Police personnel are poorly paid and are accustomed to taking bribes to supplement their income. Official corruption facilitating the worst forms of trafficking in persons is generally at the lower and middle levels. There is no evidence that high-level officials benefit from or protect the practice. Compromised local police protect brothels and other sex venues from surprise raids. Corrupt immigration officials assisted (both indirectly and directly) the movement of women and girls from Myanmar, Laos and China into the country, and of Chinese victims out of the country to the United States and other destinations.

Table 5: Number of Foreign Trafficked and Vulnerable Victims in Thailand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>1454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laotian</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>1681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>4315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Social and Welfare Development, Bangkok
Table 6: Number of Foreign Victims Protected in Different Shelters in 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelter/Home</th>
<th>Cambodia</th>
<th>Lao</th>
<th>Myanmar</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Vietnamese</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Unidentified</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bann Kredtrekarn</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bann Nareesawad</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bann Songkhwae</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bann Srisurat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakkred Reception Home for Boys</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathumathani Home for Men</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaing Rai Home for Men</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangon Home for Men</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songkhala Home for Men</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Social and Welfare Development, Bangkok

Research Design

This study on trafficking in women and children to India and Thailand is pioneering and exploratory. It is not surprising that reliability and authenticity of existing data is a matter of concern. The broad objectives of our study follow from this major concern. These are:

a) To understand the trends and patterns of trafficking, and the structural and functional mechanism that reproduces and reinforces the processes that perpetuate the phenomenon

b) To analyse the roles and functions of the formal and voluntary agencies that are involved in containing and combating this phenomenon

c) To prepare a comprehensive database

In this study both primary and desk review of literature is undertaken. Primary data was collected by use of questionnaires administered on key informants in government and non-government organizations both law enforcement authority and service provider and group of academic researchers in the field. A total of 15 organizations responded to the survey comprising 15 from India and 10 from Thailand and 8 action individual researchers/activists in the field from India and 7 from Thailand have been interviewed. Judgment and purposive sampling methods were employed to select the sample due to the nature of the problem under investigation and scanty possible sources of information.

Findings

Poverty and gender imbalances in the availability of gainful employment opportunities for women, gender violence, and lack of educational opportunities in most parts of India and Thailand have created a pool of vulnerable workers, which has heightened international trafficking activities to the countries. The high incidences of poverty amplify in dependency levels especially due to the effects of HIV/AIDS, and moral decay has all contributed to a worsening trafficking situation in India and Thailand.

Our survey shows that there is a general awareness of the existence of trafficking in persons in India and Thailand from all the respondents. However, there was no tangible or documented evidence of the extent of the vice. The problem of lack of secondary data is compounded by limited knowledge on the vice, which means that not much may be gathered through primary surveys.
Even in government and support institutions, which would be expected to have data on human trafficking, there was a lacuna on the same. This might make it difficult to come up with programs and policies to control trafficking in persons in India and Thailand.

75% of the people interviewed from India and 65% from Thailand defined human trafficking as the transporting of human beings from one place to another illegally while 10% and 15% respectively defined it as illegal migration or human trade. The rest, 15% (India) and 20% (Thailand) defined human trafficking to involve forcing, defrauding and coercing into labour or sexual exploitation. The definitions from the survey concur with the usual definition of human trafficking by the UN Trans-national Organized Crime Protocol. 70% (India) and 75% (Thailand) of the respondents described the activities that would portray human trafficking as dealings in child prostitution, religious sects that trafficked victims through fake promises of miracles, foreigners pretending to adopt children from poor families and removal of organs. Other activities identified by 30% (India) and 25% (Thailand) of the respondents included fake job advertisements through the Internet and newspapers by employment agencies promising jobs, attractive salaries and many benefits.

The most dominant forms of human trafficking identified from our survey include women and child trafficking and prostitution (95% from India and 80% from Thailand of the respondents). Children fall victims of illegal adoption or may be adopted legally but become victims of child labour and prostitution. Other forms identified by 15% of the respondents were smuggling and abduction of human beings, store ways and slave trade (manifested by forced labour and deception). In deception, victims from Thailand are often cheated with offers marriage more so marriage to foreigners (mostly tourists) but the promises collapses once they arrive at their destination and instead they are forced into labour and prostitution. The victims are often molested by their new masters. Another common form of deception is through promises of scholarships for further education, where prospective students take up the scholarship offers only to realize that they have been deceived after they have been turned into prostitutes or domestic workers in the destination countries. The survey further revealed that these forms of trafficking might be carried out at three levels: domestic, cross border or even international.

**Domestic trafficking** mostly involves children and young women being trafficked from rural to urban areas for domestic work and prostitution. A combination of poverty, gender inequality, inadequate legislation and poor law enforcement has made trafficking in girls to thrive in India and Thailand. This has developed slowly from former foster arrangements where parents of poorer rural families would send their children to go live (and work) with wealthier families, often in urban areas. Today, that practice has been exploited by traffickers so that many such children are in fact child domestic workers with no access to education, no freedom of movement and working long hours in poor conditions for little or no pay. All respondents in this survey concur that many children are trafficked internally from rural areas to urban areas into involuntary servitude, including working as street vendor and day labour, and into prostitution. In addition children are trafficked to the Indian’s coastal area where they are sexually exploited in the tourism industry serving mainly foreigners. However children also move to urban areas on their own in order to earn money, and then find themselves living on the streets or in slum areas and are at this stage vulnerable to abuse, especially commercial sexual exploitation.

**Cross-border trafficking** is similar to domestic trafficking only that the victim moves to a neighbouring country. It may be initiated by the victim, the victim’s family or trafficking agents. There is significant cross-border movement within South and Southeast Asia for domestic labour (both male and female) and prostitution. Our survey shows that women and children are traf-
fucked from Nepal and Bangladesh to India and from Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar to Thailand for sexual exploitation in the growing sex tourism industry. Others are also engaged in the massage parlours, hotels, restaurants and domestic services where they are coerced into bonded labour and prostitution for provision of “escort services” in the parlours.

So far as the international trafficking is concerned, our survey findings show that victims are trafficked to other countries for various purposes, mostly through employment agencies that deceive victims on the working conditions in destination countries. Our field survey shows that the major destination countries for South and Southeast Asian Countries trafficked victims are India, Middle East, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore as cited by almost 90% of the respondents from both India and Thailand. The main destinations to the Middle East include Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Lebanon and Bahrain. Our field survey also shows that the key source of trafficked victims into India and Thailand include mostly Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar as cited by 95% of our respondents.

Majority of the respondents (90% and 85% respectively) in our survey were of the view that for cross-border and international human trafficking, fake promises of marriage and jobs were the dominant ones in India and Thailand. Poor families giving their children to rich relatives were cited by 30% (India) and 40% (Thailand) of the respondents as the most dominating form of domestic human trafficking.

Most women who are trafficked from neighbouring countries of India and Thailand are trafficked through informal friendly networks though sometimes highly organised criminal networks are involved. Respondents also said that child trafficking in India and Thailand occurs through personal and familial networks and also through organized international criminal networks, some posing as religious organizations. Most traffickers in persons in India and Thailand that recruit women and girls are mainly women who, in most cases have previously been trafficked or are currently sex workers. Results from the survey also reveal that the most common trafficking agents include wealthy relatives and other well connected people, recruitment and employment agencies, massage parlours, child trafficking syndicates, former trafficking victims, leaders of religious sects, tourists, hospitals and nurses, lawyers who specialise in adoption cases, some NGOs and drug traffickers.

Our survey shows that the main methods used by the trafficking agents are outright abducted and purchase from family members to work as child labourers, sex slaves and even domestic labourers (15% and 10% from India and Thailand respectively), trickery of girls and young women into believing they are being recruited for legitimate education, employment or marriage abroad (80% and 75%) and deception about conditions of work (5% and 15%). However, for trafficking of children, deception or coercion is not necessary for trafficking to occur, it is more the facilitated movement of the child into exploitation.

This study found that gender plays an important role in influencing whether a migrant ends up as a smuggled migrant or a victim of trafficking. Most trafficked persons are young women or children who end up being victims of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, abuse of power, or abuse of force. Orphaned girl children in the care of relatives are thought to be especially vulnerable to trafficking. Almost 95% of the respondents in our survey from both the countries were in agreement that women and young children, mostly girls are the most vulnerable persons to both international and domestic human trafficking.

Educated people looking for jobs were also cited by 65% and 70% of the respondents as being vulnerable to international human trafficking. 30% and 25% of the respondents also noted that illiterate people are also victims of human trafficking both international and domestic. Low-
income people hoping to strike it rich in foreign countries or in urban areas were also said to be vulnerable to human trafficking as reported by 25% (India) and 30% (Thailand) of the respondents. Other vulnerable victims of trafficking as reported by 30% and 35% of the respondents include economic migrants, political asylum seekers, those rendered homeless or jobless after natural disasters or civil conflict, or individuals looking for a better way of life.

Our survey found that India and Thailand are the source, transit and destination of trafficking victims. In our survey, 95% (India) and 90% (Thailand) of the respondents identified factors that make the countries to be a source of trafficked victims as poverty, unemployment, tourism, high drop out rates from school, neglect and discrimination of the girl child, orphan-hood caused by HIV/AIDS, and illiteracy. In 100% of the cases, corruption was said to enhance human trafficking because it makes the office of the registrar of societies register employment bureaus irregularly which end up advertising fake jobs while their real business is to facilitate the trafficking of human beings.

Instability in neighbouring countries such as Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Myanmar, Cambodia and corruption among police and government immigration officials were reported by 80% and 75% of the respondents as contributing to India and Thailand serving as a transit for trafficked human beings. Relaxed and weak (porous) borders and tourism make India and Thailand a sex holiday destination and hence a transit for trafficked victims as noted by 40% and 30% of the respondents respectively. 90% (India) and 80% (Thailand) of our survey respondents cited lack of proper enforcement of immigration laws (once people get in, nobody follows to know what they do) and corruption as factors that make India and Thailand a destination for trafficked victims.

Case Studies from India and Thailand

**Case 1:** *Punam*, 28 years old woman from Nepal, saw her father and mother being murdered due to political conflict. During her trip, she lost touch with her husband and one-year-old child, and ended up in a refugee camp in India. She made contact with an old female friend who had gone to *Darjeeling* many years before. This friend helped her and then forced her to work as a prostitute in a hotel.

**Case 2:** *Nila and Miram*, ages 20 and 22, travelled from rural Uzbekistan to India to work for a fashion design company after hearing a friend’s stories of lavish parties and unending wealth. But once they arrived, their passports were taken and they were told they would not be designing clothing but instead servicing clients at various luxury hotels. Indian authorities eventually discovered the sex trafficking ring. The women returned to Uzbekistan and received necessary victim care and rehabilitative assistance from a shelter.

**Case 3:** To help her family, *Laxmi*, age 29, from Indo-Bangladesh boarder sought work. She was put in touch with a man who proposed to go with her to India, where she would be able to work. It was neither made clear to her what kind of work was involved, nor how much she would earn. She started work as a housekeeper with the men’s sister at *Changrabandha* and stayed with the man’s family. During the two months she worked there for which she was never paid and she was constantly insulted and beaten. The girl was sexually and physically abused by the man when his sister was out of the house.

**Case 1:** *Lin Lin*, thirteen years old girl from Myanmar was recruited by an agent for work in Thailand. Her father took about 4,500 Baht from the agent with the understanding that his daughter would pay the loan back out of her earnings. The agent took the girl to Bangkok, and three days later she was taken to the *Ran Dee Prom* brothel. Latter the Crime Suppression Division of
the Thai police raided the brothel in which she used to work, and she was taken to a shelter run by a local non-governmental organization. She was fifteen years old, had spent over two years of her young life in compulsory prostitution, and tested positive for the human immunodeficiency virus or HIV.

**Case 2:** In Cambodia, Phirun a twenty-two year boy worked in the fields growing rice and vegetables. Promised higher wages for factory work in Thailand, Phirun and other men paid a recruiter to smuggle them across the border. But once in Thailand, the recruiter took their passports and locked them in a room. He then sold them to the owner of a fishing boat, on which the men worked all day and night slicing, and gutting fish and repairing torn nets. They were given little food or fresh water, and they rarely saw land. Phirun was beaten nearly unconscious and watched the crew beat and shoot other workers and throw their bodies into the sea. Phirun endured this life at sea for two years before he persuaded his traffickers to release him.

**Case 3:** A teenage girl Nang is from the north of Laos in Luang Namtha province and was trafficked with two other girls, Ping and Oi by someone she knew from her village, and forced into prostitution. The girls were taken to Thachilek port, a local checkpoint between Bokeo province and Thailand, a common transfer point used by traffickers. The girls were then separated and Nang was sent to a house where there were about 30 other Lao girls working. Two-days later, a man came to the house and took her to a hotel where he raped her every day for about a week until she was forced to start working as a prostitute. Once she began working, she was locked up in a hotel and forced to provide sexual services to clients eight to ten times a day. She never received any money. Nang was able to escape her situation with the help of her friends Ping and Oi. She later found out that she has been sold out for 30,000 baht. Trafficker did not succeed in selling Ping and Oi because the former was not deemed attractive enough and the latter was disabled, although they discovered trafficker still had plan of selling them as domestic help. As soon as they got back to Long district, Luang Namtha, the girls went to the police to report about trafficking. The provincial police eventually arrested the trafficker and fined her six million kip and put her in jail for six months.

**Conclusion**

Trafficking is a problem that today affects virtually every country in the world. Normally the flow of trafficking is from less developed countries to advanced countries. As trafficking is an underground criminal enterprise, there are no precise statistics regarding the magnitude of the problem. Very often estimates are found unreliable. But even by conservative estimates the scope of the problem is enormous. This study is an attempt to fill in this gap for India and Thailand. To achieve the objectives of the study, we rely on desk review and a limited survey of government organisations and supporting institutions.

The results of the survey confirm that human trafficking has been a silent crime and there is limited knowledge and a paucity of documented evidence on the subject. Furthermore, supporting institutions are unwilling to divulge any information on human trafficking. Nevertheless the key findings are that the most dominant forms of human trafficking in India and Thailand are women and child trafficking for forced labour and prostitution. This is done through outright abduction, illegal child adoption and deception (fake marriages and scholarships, nature of the job etcetera). Trafficking is perpetrated by wealthy relatives, employment agencies, trafficking syndicates, former trafficking victims and leaders of religious sects. Most of these agents may be part of well-organized criminal networks operating across countries/continents. The most vulnerable groups for human trafficking are women and children, the poor and the uneducated.
The predisposing factors to human trafficking in India and Thailand were identified as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, ignorance, HIV/AIDS, better life syndrome, drug peddling, tourism, cultural and ethnic conflicts, famine, high drop-out rates from school, discrimination of women and the girl-child, corruption and instability in neighbouring countries. Corruption and lack of enforcement of immigration laws were cited as the major factors that contribute to both the countries being a source, a transit and a destination of trafficked victims.

Very often, trafficking is equated with prostitution and this is one of the prime reasons why the human rights violation inherent in trafficking is not correctly understood, while the traffickers who are actual criminals go scot-free. In fact, for too many years, trafficking in person was treated as ‘victimless crime’. Therefore, there is a need to demystify the term ‘trafficking’ and understand it trend and dimensions within a human rights paradigm. However, it is important that laws intended to protect trafficking are not themselves so restrictive that they violate such rights. In-spite of its overwhelming human rights dimension, trafficking continues to be treated as mainly a ‘law and order’ problem, and that victims of trafficking can suffer from ‘re-victimization’ as they are ‘criminalized and prosecuted as illegal aliens, undocumented workers or irregular migrants rather than as victims of a crime themselves’ coupled with coercion, exploitation, deception, violence, and other forms of either physical or psychological abuse. Names and identifying information of trafficked persons and their family members are not disclosed which leads to cycle of trafficking all over again for the victim.

To successfully combat and suppress trafficking, which has been equated with modern day slavery and constitutes one of the greatest human rights challenges of our time a multi-pronged strategy is to be evolved. There should be enactment of a proper comprehensive legislation to target the traffickers and provide for proper rescue and rehabilitation programmes for the victim survivors. New norms take roots only when there is the power of enforcement behind them. Purposive action by government as well as civil society to empower the vulnerable and restore to the trafficked women and children their dignity and worth as human beings is called for. Prevention activities at source and destination locations include awareness-raising campaigns on human trafficking and safe migration, as well as education, capacity building and vocational training. It also involves advocacy on the incorporation of human rights into school curricula, strengthening the capacities of families, communities and community-based organisations, and the creation of child protection networks and poverty alleviation projects through micro-credit schemes.

Our findings call for policy options focusing on prevention, protection and assistance to trafficking victims and prosecution and enforcement against traffickers. In these efforts, there is need for the Government to tap the cooperation of foreign governments in efforts to combat trafficking for both international and cross-border trafficking. In addition, there is dire need for documentation of human trafficking. Towards this end, the government with assistance from NGOs and other stakeholders need to create a database on all cases (involving human trafficking) of complaints and/or testimonies of victims from consular offices/ embassies, letters to relatives, newspaper reports and any other sources. The government also needs to address factors enhancing human trafficking by promoting education/vocational training/scholarship programme for vulnerable groups (women and children). The government should also encourage gender sensitive perspective in the training of law enforcement agents, prosecutors, lawyers and community leaders. There is also need to encourage greater national and regional co-operation for broad-based skills training and economic opportunities for women and youth who are at risk of being trafficked. The government should provide more shelter and economic, psychological, medical and legal assistance for trafficked persons based on humanitarian and compassionate grounds. It
is also important to increase protective services for children found in situations of prostitution. In addition, the safe return of victims, instead of automatic deportation should be ensured for all trafficked victims. The tourism sector must be regulated to prevent sex predators. Other policy options include curbing corruption and enforcement of strict immigration laws as well as effective information technology act.

Given the magnitude of the trafficking problem and its relationship with migration, sometimes there are difficulties in differentiating between and identifying irregular migrants from trafficked persons. A clear understanding of how to identify trafficked persons would improve victim identification, victim protection, and the identification and pursuit of criminals and their prosecution.

- Addressing the demand side of human trafficking, including those who exploit cheap labour, societal sexual and gender norms, institutional attitudes to trafficked persons and perpetrators, law and prosecution, is crucial in approaching counter-trafficking in a holistic way.
- Assessing cases and the processes of victim protection and the prosecution of traffickers is essential to determine the strengths and weaknesses in the victim protection and criminal justice responses under the new law.
- Research on human trafficking in South and South East Asia especially in India and Thailand must be strengthened in sectors other than commercial sex industry, in order to obtain a more accurate picture of human trafficking in both countries. Moreover, better-focused research is needed to further improve and strengthen counter-trafficking approaches and targeting.

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