JOURNAL OF SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT SCIENCES (JSDS)

Vol. 9 No. 2 ISSN 2221-1152

Published by

International Foundation for Research and Development
(IFRD)

Editorial

Journal of Social and Development Sciences (JSDS) is a scholarly journal deals with the disciplines of social and development sciences. JSDS publishes research work that meaningfully contributes towards theoretical bases of contemporary developments in society, business and related disciplines. The work submitted for publication consideration in JSDS should address empirical and theoretical contributions in the subjects related to scope of the journal in particular and allied theories and practices in general. Scope of JSDS includes: sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, international relations, linguistics, history, public relations, hospitality & tourism and project management. Author(s) should declare that work submitted to the journal is original, not under consideration for publication by another journal, and that all listed authors approve its submission to JSDS. It is JSDS policy to welcome submissions for consideration, which are original, and not under consideration for publication by another journal at the same time. Author (s) can submit: Research Paper, Conceptual Paper, Case Studies and Book Review. The current issue of JSDS consists of papers of scholars from Sri Lanka, South Africa, Indonesia and UK. Microfinance as a strategy of empowering the conflict-affected communities, continental migration trends, the role of moral outrage, poverty & misunderstandings of capability approach are some of the major practices and concepts examined in these studies. Journal received research submission related to all aspects of major themes and tracks. All the submitted papers were first assessed, by the editorial team for relevance and originality of the work and blindly peer reviewed by the external reviewers depending on the subject matter of the paper. After the rigorous peer-review process, the submitted papers were selected based on originality, significance, and clarity of the purpose. Current issue will therefore be a unique offer, where scholars will be able to appreciate the latest results in their field of expertise, and to acquire additional knowledge in other relevant fields.

Prof. Nek Kamal Yeop Yunus, Ph. D.
Editor In Chief

Editorial Board

Editor In Chief

Nek Kamal Yeop Yunus, Ph. D, University Pendidikan Sultan Idris, Malaysia

Members

N. Panchanatham, Ph. D, Annamalai University, India
Somnath Sen, Ph. D, Birmingham University, UK
Anton Miglo, Ph. D, School of business, University of Bridgeport, USA
Mamta B Chowdhury, Ph. D, University of Western Sydney, Australia
R. K. Uppal, International University of Contemporary Studies, USA
Ketna Mehta, Ph. D, Welingkar Education, India
Khorshed Chowdhury, Ph. D, University of Wollongong, Australia
Inderjeet Singh, Ph. D, Punjabi University, Patiala, India
Ananda Wickramasinghe Ph. D, CQ University, Australia
Hai-Chin YU, Ph. D, Chung Yuan University ,Chungli, Taiwan
Mohan Bhai Patel, Ph. D, N S Arts College, India
Yapa M W Y Bandara, Ph. D, Charles Sturt University, Australia
Pacha Malyadri, Ph. D, Osmania University, Andhra Pradesh, India
Chux Gervase Iwu, Ph. D, Cape Peninsula University of Technology, South Africa
Pratibha Samson Gaikwad, Ph. D, Shivaji University of Pune, India
Mohammad Reza Noruzi, Ph. D, Tarbiat Modarres University, Tehran, Iran
M Azhar Khan, Ph. D, Hokkaido University, Japan
Apostu Iulian, Ph. D, University of Bucharest, Romania
Rajendra Parsad GUNPUTH, Ph. D., University of Mauritius, Mauritius

Table of Contents

Description	Pages
Title	1
Editorial	2
Editorial Board	3
Table of Contents	4
Papers	5
Microfinance as a Strategy of Empowering the Conflict-Affected Communities in Sri Lanka H.M.W.A. Herath	6
Continental Migration Trends: Its Implications from an African Perspective Daniel N Mlambo	22
The Role of Moral Outrage on the Impeachment of Garut Regent in 2012-2013 Nur Hidayat Sardini	28
Poverty and Agricultural Productivity Growth Nexus in the Non-Plantation Agriculture in Sri Lanka H.M.W.A. Herath	38
Misunderstandings of Capability Approach: Towards Paradigm Pluralism Sylvain K. Cibangu	54

PAPERS

Journal of Social and Development Sciences (JSDS)
Vol. 9, No. 2, June 2018 (ISSN 2221-1152)

Microfinance as a Strategy of Empowering the Conflict-Affected Communities in Sri Lanka

H.M.W.A. Herath
Department of Economics and Statistics, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka
ariyarathneherath@gmail.com

Abstract: The objective of this paper is to assess the capability of microfinance as a tool of reconciliation through economic activity generation and empowerment in the conflict-affected communities in the Northern and Eastern regions of Sri Lanka. The principal data collection tools for this study were Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews. The impact of microfinance engagement is in varying degrees with certain areas and groups showing evidence of receiving more beneficial impacts compared to others. It also showed very high involvement of women and those women who are active namely, those from groups above the very poor and those who have comparatively better educational levels. We found that microfinance intervention has both tangible and also created other intangible benefits on clients. The post-conflict Northeastern region is not a monolithic entity and there are a number of diverse groups of potential beneficiaries with different needs, skills, capacities and opportunities. Therefore, microfinance initiatives need to consider these situations and develop their interventions accordingly.

Keywords: *Microfinance, Empowerment, Northeastern, Post-conflict, Beneficiaries*

1. Introduction

The discourse on microfinance traverses several fields and interconnects with issues of economic globalization and neoliberal policies, strategies for poverty and vulnerability reduction, and pathways for women's empowerment. Its credibility has grown over the last few decades, including international acceptance of it as a tool for addressing poverty and socio-economic vulnerability. The Microcredit Summit held in Washington DC in 1997, recognized it as a "miracle tool" for poverty reduction. It focused on four themes – reaching the poorest, the empowerment of women, building self-sufficient financial institutions and ensuring a positive and measurable impact on the lives of clients and their families. The United Nations has declared that 2005 as the international year of microcredit, which recognized microfinance as an important way to meet the millennium development goals, particularly the goal of having the world's poverty rate by 2015.It has been recognized that microfinance leads to increase income, helps reduce strains of consumption, and reduces the vulnerability of the poor. By providing the poor with financial services that are flexible and easy to access and aimed at generating economic activities microfinance is considered as an effective means to help break the vicious cycle of poverty.

The original objectives of microfinance which were social upliftment and poverty reduction have expanded gradually during the last three decades with microfinance becoming concerned with what the industry defines as difficult environments (Morduch, 2000; Woller, Christopher & Warner, 2001). This expansion of microcredit services to include non-traditional clientele began in mid 1980 with microfinance institutions starting to turn their attention to communities that were threatened by endemic diseases (HIV AIDS) or were recovering from a natural disaster or armed conflict. With the ending of conflicts, conflict relief effort shifts from saving lives to saving livelihoods with a greater focus on post-conflict economic reconstruction and capacity building(Bernal-Garcia, 2008). This necessitates the provision of financial services and microfinance is recognized as the effective strategy. As a result, microfinance interventions have become an accepted part of the rehabilitation and economic recovery of post-conflict countries. There is debate however over the desirability of incorporating peace conditionality into the operation of microfinance services as some

analysts, especially those who subscribe to financial systems or institutions approach[1] that advocate financial self sufficiency as an indicator of the success of microfinance institutions (Bernal-Garcia, 2008).

The objective of this paper is to assess the capability of microfinance as a tool of reconciliation through economic activity generation and empowerment in the conflict-affected communities in the Northern and Eastern regions of Sri Lanka. While the main focus of the paper is the minority Tamils who were by far the largest group of victim war from these regions the situation of Muslims who are the second biggest ethnic population of these regions and that of the Sinhalese in border areas also is examined. The literature on microfinance operations in post-war environments demonstrated that poverty alleviation, peace development and vulnerability reduction in these regions, microfinance provides an acceptable mechanism. Postwar environments are facing problems such as lack of resources, widespread poverty, income disparities, lack of opportunities, peacebuilding and some other critical socioeconomic and political issues. At present, almost all of these constraints exist in the Northern and Eastern provinces in Sri Lanka as well. With the objective of helping war-affected communities to break the vicious circle of poverty, Sri Lanka introduced a series of poverty reduction oriented microfinance programs through formal channels. These include the programs by government banks, private commercial banks, Non Governmental Organizations and some other social institutions. However, the achievements of microfinance initiatives have been limited, especially in terms of reaching the poorest of the poor for whom the programs were designed mainly because some of these programs include terms and conditions that are not favorable to poor. Accessibility to the formal financial institution to the poor is limited especially, access to the commercial banks. Private commercial banks are generally more interested in profit making than service. Therefore, they mainly target the commercial sector and largely concentrate on providing commercial and short-term credit to least risk sectors, and the elite.

Meanwhile, some of the microfinance institutions realize that banking with the poor can be profitable, but only if costs are contained, risks are managed and clients treated as active partners in the conduct of the business of the enterprise. Currently, there are several initiatives operating in the sector. Some of them are reaching the poor but their initiatives are not financially viable and sustainable. Some are financially viable with the government or other subsidies but clients are not satisfied with the services provided. Some of them are financially viable and reaching the poor successfully. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to understand and identify the ways by which these microfinance initiatives approach their clients and their results, lessons and impact on clients' socio-economic condition. It is important to understand the impact of microfinance and, whether the war affected poorest can acquire the benefit from microfinance intervention process in terms of increased income, building peace and reduced vulnerability? Accordingly, this study is attempting to make a contribution to the discourse on the capability of microfinance as a tool of reconciliation through economic activity generation and empowerment in the conflict-affected communities in the Northern and Eastern regions of Sri Lanka. This will be useful in designing future programs to replicate these initiatives in the future to achieve reconciliation, poverty and vulnerability reduction targets in other regions and contexts. The discussion in the paper is divided into five sections. In the first section microfinance as a strategy for the upliftment of the poor and vulnerable discussed. In the second part there is a brief examination of microfinance activities in Sri Lanka. In the third section the emerging role of microfinance in post-conflict environments (PCEs) and the special issues and concerns of microfinance institutions in working in the new environment is discussed. The fourth part analyses the problems affecting microfinance interventions in the conflict-affected areas in the North and East of Sri Lanka and potential for better engagement and also proposes a model for microfinance intervention in post-conflict environments. The section five in addition to provided conclusions and recommendations.

[1]Though microfinance is making inroads into post conflict environments provision of microfinance services is still dominated by financial systems" or "institutionist" approach that advocates profit-seeking and financial self sufficiency, a view that came into microfinance service provision.

2. Literature Review

Microfinance as a Means of Helping the Poor and a Strategy to bring Economic Development: Microfinance broadly defined is a type of banking service which provides access to financial and non-financial services to poor and vulnerable groups with the aim of improving their economic and social condition(Otero & Rhyne, 1994). The financial services provided by microfinance institutions may include accepting deposits and provision of credits, payment services to the poor and low-income households and their microenterprises. Non-financial service on the other hand may include depending on the operational context. Services such as those related to the delivery of financial service to those others that improve general social conditions of target communities such as health education, maternal and child healthcare, literacy, language training, legal advice and different kinds of personal mentoring, and micro-entrepreneurial development services, involving financial, business or technical skills training. The wide variety of existing credit-plus activities responds to the belief that microfinance does not always sufficiently improve the living standards of its clients and also for the fact that effective use of financial services need several social skills and resources that the target communities lack (Herath, 2015; Marconi & Mosely, 2006). The objective of these non-financial services is to serve as a long term support to help these communities get the best out of financial services. They therefore can be seen as preparing for the main objective. Microfinance institutions be they a bank, a cooperative, a credit union, and Non Governmental Organization (NGO) or some other form of non-bank financial intermediary, seek to provide clients or low income households with a range of money management and banking services. Broadly, all microfinance providers can be classified into three categories based on their main sources of funding. They are (1) all microfinance providers who depend on other people's money (can be domestic or foreign) to finance their lending activities, (2) formal microfinance providers which use members' money to grant loans exclusively to members, and (3) microfinance providers that use the general public's money to finance their lending businesses. Based on the functional and activities implementing MFIs can be classified as formal institutions, semi-formal institutions and informal institutions.

Microfinance is a development strategy aimed at improving the life of poor and disadvantaged segments of society. The argument of micro-finance is that, the one of the major reasons of poverty is lack of access to credit for those who belong to low income and socially disadvantaged groups. If these people are provided with access to financial assistance, including credit, they will be able to start or expand a micro-enterprise that will allow them to break out of the vicious circle of poverty. In this sense microfinance interventions are core to poverty alleviation efforts. Provision of microfinance service are expected not only help people out of poverty but also through improvement in economic conditions to enable them to take control of their lives. Therefore, microfinance is also considered as a means of empowerment of the disadvantaged social segments, not only the poor but also other groups such as women. Poverty is the condition where people are unable to meet basic needs of food, clothing and shelter and its main indicator is low income. Yet poverty is not a problem of income but also about access to resources in general. Poor people lack social capital that effectively prevents them from accessing services which in turn stand in their way in their effort to improve their life conditions. Poverty is also about the ability to take decisions with regard to life matters of the poor. Poverty also is characterized by social exclusion preventing the poor from integrating not only into mainstream life but also shutting them out of essential services of which exclusion from financial services is the major barrier (Muneer et al., 2017). Poor people are in that position not only for income poverty but also for social poverty (lack of social capital) and by products of these two, namely, social exclusion[2] and inability control their life choices. Therefore, poverty is also a problem of power, the root cause of which is the low income (income poverty). It is the argument of microfinance that by providing access to easy and flexible financial service, the poor can be made to take up microenterprises leading to economic improvement that in turn would result in creating enabling effect on individuals making them empowered. Therefore, provision of microenterprise, especially its success, needs to be understood in relation to this enabling effect, namely, empowerment.

Empowerment is the process through which people acquire more influence over factors that shape their lives (Rappaport, 1986; Whitmore, 1988). Empowerment enables people to break the grip of exclusion and take

[2] The focus on financial aspects in the alleviation of poverty is disputed (see (Christen & Drake, 2002; Littlefield, Morduch, & Hashemi, 2003; RIMHI, 1999).

control of their lives. Empowerment therefore is an enabling process that increases the status of people to live their life with dignity, humanity, respect, self esteem and self reliance. The poor and the vulnerable are the most affected by lack of power to control factors affecting their lives and therefore among those who are mostly in need of empowerment. Microfinance is regarded as one such policy that seeks to empower those who do not have resources, economic, social and psychological, to take control over their lives. Empowerment therefore reduces vulnerability[3] which is an aspect of poverty that relates to risks, shocks, stresses and internal defenselessness (Lock-Desallien, 1996). It is widely accepted that the microfinance programs have greater empowering potential on women who are a marginalized segment, both economically and socially, all societies. Microfinance services enable women to develop their own income-generating new economic activities, and thereby making them play a greater role in decision making (as greater bargaining power within the household and leadership in the community) and making attitudinal changes (increased self-reliance, self-confidence and self-worth). Further, small groups, which form the foundation of most microfinance programs, empower women through mutual support, exchanging of new ideas, group responsibility and leadership (Herath et al., 2016).

Microfinance with the general goal of improving economic and social condition of the poor and empowerment of members, especially women, in these communities began in Bangladesh in the 1980s with the establishment of the Grameen Bank movement. Today the strategy has received international legitimacy and adopted as not only a poverty alleviation strategy but also alternative development model for holistic development. By the end of 2000 microfinance serviced had reached over 79 million people of the world's poor and the disadvantaged (Noreen, 2011). Further, microfinance operations that initially developed as a donor supported provision of financial services with equal weight for both social and financial objectives have gradually moved towards adopting more financial operation focused approach lately. Today there are two views on the operational strategies that debate on the extent to which microfinance institutions should be self sufficient financially. In this there are two schools of thought with one focusing on giving primacy to financial operations and claiming that MFIs should be profit oriented and self financing and the other claiming that microfinance should adopt a more holistic approach of support with broad social objectives going beyond commercial objectives and profit (Meehan & Jennifer, 1999; Morduch, 2000; Shaw & Matthew, n.d; Woller et al., 2001). These two are variously known as financial systems or institutions/minimalist approach and welfare based approach have dominated the discourse on microfinance since the 1990s.Apart from the disagreement on the financial operations related objectives there is an agreement among proponents of microfinance service that the core objective of microfinance services is making poor people easy access to financial services for microeconomic activities.

Access to finance can be defined as "availability of a supply of reasonable quality financial services at reasonable costs, where reasonable quality and reasonable cost have to be defined relative to some objective standard, with costs reflecting all pecuniary and non-pecuniary costs" (Claessens, 2006). Access to finance has numerous benefits. But less than half of the households in developing countries have access to financial services, compared to over 70 percent in the developed world. It is estimated that only one out of every eight people who could benefit from microcredit currently has access to it. By 2006, there were 3,316 microfinance institutions with more than 133 million members worldwide. Of these, 69.8 percent were among the poor (defined as earning less than US$ 1 a day). Women accounted for 85 percent of poor clients. As regards households, however, the figures tell a slightly different story. Of the 193.6 million poor families worldwide, only 47.8 percent were within reach of microfinance institutions.

Microfinance in Post Conflict Environment (PCE): Microfinance is increasingly being recognized as a useful strategy in the recovery process in post conflict environments (PCEs). It can be an effective means of providing relief and rehabilitation support that are required in the short-term recovery process and strategy with high potential to help boost socio-economic development in the long-term by providing access to financial services to encourage microenterprises(Bernal-Garcia, 2008). While it is generally recognized that

[3](World-Bank, 2002) defines vulnerability as the expected welfare loss resulting from unexpected events and lack of insurance against them. (Chambers, 1995) explains that vulnerability as having an external side (exposure to shocks, stress, and risk) and internal side (defenselessness, meaning a lack of means to cope without damaging loss).

microfinance operates under similar principles in both stable and conflict-affected contexts, employing microfinance as a tool in post conflict environments need to consider that PCEs are not normal disadvantaged/vulnerable communities whose main feature is poverty and associated problems such as lack of resources and capacities. Armed conflicts have devastating consequences on socioeconomic development of affected communities. PCEs are characterized by widespread destruction of physical infrastructure and other support systems of which financial and trade operation are the most important, a severely traumatized and dehumanized civilian population, often with a large scale refugee component and social relationships weakened by mistrust and suspicion. In some cases, there may be even ongoing pockets of armed conflict. The primary goal of microfinance which is income enhancement and vulnerability reduction requires to be supplemented by social capital building and other support strategies (Doyle, 1998).

PCEs are in extremely disadvantaged situation compared to other vulnerable societies where microfinance is used a strategy of socio-economic development, not only in terms of extremely poor physical infrastructure, economic and organizational structures of diminished capacity, but also with weakened social capital through loss of trust, diminished interaction and weakened networks and increased tensions between different communities and groups, and in declining human capital through death and displacement, loss of self-esteem, and trauma. Add to these is the fact that these adverse impacts mostly affect the poor stratum of society who always are the most affected by armed conflicts. Conflict erodes the financial, economic and social capital of the poor and weakens their organizations thereby adding to their vulnerability. This situation requires microfinance work in post conflict environments to invest heavily on preparatory work such as capacity building (Wilson, 2001; Wlliams, Uch, & Soeng, 2001). Therefore it is generally recognized that post conflict societies are characterized by high operating costs for microfinance institutions (Shaw & Matthew, n.d). In PCEs non-financial services such as training, business development and social intermediation therefore are a must if microfinance work to be successful through they do not generate commercial rates of return. It is in this context the practicality of the dominant minimalist approach which focuses on financial best practices in post conflict environment is questioned by analysts.

The role of microfinance in PCE is in reconstruction and recovery at community-level and household-level. At this level for its special situation strategies addressing special vulnerabilities and lack of resources require prominence than in normal contexts of poverty and vulnerability. According to analysts this involves reconsideration of goals of microfinance in actual implantation of strategies in PCE. On the one hand the protectional objectives of microfinance (addressing issues of vulnerability) such as consumption oriented financing, subsistence production and risk-spreading diversification of household income becomes important (Doyle, 1998; Sebstad & Monique, 2000; Wilson, 2001). On the other hand, secondary order goals of social capital building and capacity functions of microfinance also need to be accorded prominence. As Doyle (1998) correctly says there is a case for sequencing post-conflict microfinance interventions to focus initially on protection and subsequently, with the rebuilding of household asset bases and revival of economic activity, to shift the focus towards sustained income promotion. The stepwise implantation microfinance starting with protectional strategies of re-building of livelihoods, assisting clients to reach a threshold of income security from which they can launch higher-risk, higher-return income-generating therefore may be the suitable strategy in post conflict environments activities (Sebstad & Monique, 2000).

3. Methodology

The principal data collection tools for this study were Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews. Small-scale entrepreneurs from villages in the war-affected regions in the country, including border villages, were selected purposely in consultation with microfinance service providers who were active in Community Based Organizations. Altogether ten Focus Group Discussions were conducted; two in Batticaloa District, two in Trincomalee District, one each in Ampara, Mullaitive, Mannar, Kilinochchi and Jaffna Districts and one in a border village in Anuradhapura in the North Central Province. The Batticaloa and Trincomalee are the fully conflict affected and largest Districts in the two regions. Focused group discussions in Batticaloa[4] and Trincomalee were mixture of Tamil, Sinhalese and Muslim while those in the Northern

[4]There were several Tamils of mixed Portuguese parentage (Batticaloa Burgers) in one Focus Group Discussions conducted in Batticaloa.

Province were exclusively Tamil and the one in the border village (Anuradhapura) was exclusively Sinhalese. Accordingly, we have maintained the ethnic-wise war affected community representation in the sample. All Focus Group Discussions were conducted in informal settings, often a residence of an entrepreneur or an office of a community based organizations. This method was mainly covered the demand side data and information for the analysis of client's perception regarding impacts, strengths and weaknesses of microfinance practices in the regions. Not more than 10 individuals were present at any one of the Group Discussions. Some of those who took part in the discussions have had experience in doing small-scale business before starting their present activity but the majority was newcomers with no experience at all. While the main focus of the discussions was on their experience as small scale entrepreneurs who were receiving microfinance support there were some discussions about their wartime experience and its impact on their present activities and socioeconomic condition.

Key Informant Interviews were conducted with community based organization officials, Grama Niladari and representatives of government banks, private banks, non-governmental organizations and non-financial institutions covering all the Districts to assess the service provisions from institutional point of view, namely, the nature of the service offered and also institutions related problems and difficulties operating in a situation where social issues like weakened infrastructure and general services and also strict security conditions. This method was applied mainly to cover the supply-side information required for the analysis. 100 officials of 100 branches of 20 microfinance organizations and 40 other government and private sector officials were interviewed. This sample selection is also maintained the district wise representation and expansion of branches of each organization. Further, the data collected through Focus Group Discussions were triangulated using the information obtained from key informants and information available in secondary sources. The interviews with government officials, bank personnel and representatives of nonbanking financial institutions were also used to collect secondary data about loan disbursement and repayment rate. Though the researchers would have liked to interview the security establishment, the circumstances, namely, the inability to get required approval from Colombo prevented it. In additions, several microfinance supported establishments were visited in order to assess the operational conditions and which also gave the researchers opportunity to conduct some casual discussions with the workers.

4. Results and Discussion

Microfinance Actors and Activities in Sri Lanka: In Sri Lanka, the origin of microfinance services can be outlined back to the early 1900s. In 1911, the British government passed legislation to set up credit co-operatives in Sri Lanka. However, the government did not interfere with the activities of the co-operatives in the initial phase up to 1942. Traditional village leaders like landlords and village headmen dominated the co-operative societies. These societies did not show much growth during the initial phase. Following the food shortages originated from the Second World War, the government got involved in the co-operative movement in the second phase that began in 1942 by bringing in initiatives like co-operative Agriculture Production and Sales Societies (CAPS) and provided credit facilities to them. As practiced today microfinance activity in Sri Lanka is both a traditional community activity and a tool for economic development, with the clientele being mainly the poor. Service is provided by a broad range of different organizations for purposes of poverty alleviation, social and community development and as a multi-faceted intervention tool in areas affected by conflict. On the whole microfinance intermediaries in Sri Lanka can be categorized into four groups as professional national level microfinance institutions, local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and government programs. These institutions/ programs vary largely in terms of their sources of funding, clientele, coverage, legal, and organizational structure, key stakeholders, main activities and services provided to target individuals/ households.

In the post independence period, the government concentrated largely on agricultural credit, particularly for paddy cultivation. These credit facilities were granted mainly through two state banks, the Bank of Ceylon and the Peoples' Bank at subsidized interest rates under various rural credit schemes with funds provided by the Central Bank. In 1964 the government established the Co-operative Rural Banks (CRBs) which was a major contribution in the field of microfinance. However, microfinance, in its strict sense, was not present in Sri Lanka until 1986. During 1986-1991 the government initiated an arrangement of policy measures to expand credit facilities to the poor under its poverty alleviation strategy. The Ministry of Finance and the

Central Bank initiated the Regional Rural Development Banks (RRDBs) in 1986 as part of these initiatives. As a major poverty alleviation strategy, the government also launched the *Janasaviaya* Program in 1989 under which the beneficiaries were assisted with credit facilities for viable self-employment projects with a view to promoting income generating activities on a sustainable basis. The government expanded this work by establishing the *Janasaviya* Trust Fund (JTF) in 1990. The Small Farmers and Landless Credit Project were launched by the Central Bank in 1991. All these programs had some form of microfinance component.

In 1996, the government replaced the Janasaviya Program with the *Samurdhi* Development and Credit Scheme to promote income generating self-employment opportunities among the poor so as to raise their income levels. In 1997, the government established the *Samurdhi* Authority and its microfinance scheme under which the beneficiaries were eligible to obtain loans of up to Rs. 10,000 for undertaking a new income generating activity or expanding an existing business. As part of this venture *Samurdhi* Bank Societies (SBS) were set up throughout the country to promote savings and to disburse credit. Microfinance initiatives have now expanded and the other major institutions and programs that provide microfinance facilities today include Commercial Banks, Regional Development Banks, Sarvodaya Economic Enterprise Development Services (SEEDS), Gami Pubuduwa Scheme, Thrift and Credit Co-operative Societies (TCCSs), Janasakthi Banking Societies (in Hambantota) and Women's Development Federation (in Hambantota). Apart from these major Micro Finance Initiatives (MFIs), there are Hundreds of domestic and international organizations involved in small credit delivery spread all over the country.

The current laws of Sri Lanka do not permit NGO's to take deposits even from its members as the Banking and Finance Act of 1998 restricts deposits to only banks and finance companies. This prohibition covers all aspects of savings whether it is from members or non members or whether it is as a guarantee for a loan or not. If NGO's take any deposits, then they must deposit them in turn in regulated financial institutions and are not permitted to lend even a part of them. This is a major problem faced by locally based microfinance operators who face severe supply issues. This situation is further confounded by the fact that the NGO sector which is the main supplier of funds for small time local MFIs is also constrained by shortages of funds. In terms of current involvement of the government in microfinance, the Central Bank Rural Credit Department remains the key government agency responsible for rural credit and for microfinance outside the *Samurdhi* Authority. In fact, the difference in emphasis between rural credit and microfinance showed that no government agency is responsible for or focused on policy aspects of microfinance exclusively. In 1992, the Presidential Commission on Banking and Finance recommended that the Central Bank of Sri Lanka confine itself to its traditional supervisory role and shed its development role. Despite this, it began a new microfinance project, Poverty Alleviation Microfinance Project (PAMP), with Japanese funding and also continued to implement the Small Farmers and Landless Credit Program, and own majority shares in the RDBs.

The Central Bank of Sri Lanka, which is the government agency responsible for the supervision of banking and non banking agencies, has no capacity to supervise the large spectrum of microfinance agencies and the work spread all over the country. The Cooperative Department, responsible for supervising key agencies such as the CRBs and TCCS is equally incapable of even auditing its agencies. Thus, microfinance in Sri Lanka is by and large an unsupervised, unregulated area. Despite the substantial growth of microfinance in Sri Lanka in the last 20 years there has been no attempt to regulate the institutions providing this service. The key reason why some regulations are required is the huge amount of savings that the poor entrust to these organizations. As the individual amounts are small from a national perspective the key agencies such as Central Bank of Sri Lanka of the Finance Ministry do not appear to give this issue sufficient attention. At the moment there are no or only a very few safeguards for savers in these schemes including all NGO programs, the Cooperative Programs and even some of the government programs. As a result, many NGO's and even TCCSs have folded their operations but as the numbers are small no one is aware of the fact. This could become a serious problem in future. Compare with other countries, Sri Lanka has developed a highly diversified microfinance system in the region. A study of the supply of microfinance which was commissioned by GTZ ProMis indicated that around 9,000 access points were available throughout the country(GTZ, 2008). The World Bank's study of Country-level Effectiveness and Accountability Review, conducted in 2006, demonstrated that 14,000 access points. However, by international standards the country's microfinance services operate at a low level. The core problem is the poor quality of the microfinance services offered, indicated by insufficient reaching

out, low repayment, low cost efficiency and financial products which not client driven. This situation seriously threatens the sustainability of the offered financial services and their outreach to poorer households, micro and small enterprises. High costs and limited access to finance are the two of the most crucial obstacles faced by beneficiaries, especially those in rural areas.

The main causes of the poor performance of microfinance institutions lie in the inadequate qualification of the microfinance institution staff and the fact that the government of Sri Lanka has not yet designed a national sector policy for a sustainable microfinance sector. Another problem lies in the lack of an organized regulatory and supervisory structure which encompasses all microfinance institutions. While commercial banks engaged in the microfinance business are regulated and supervised by the Central Bank, and the work of savings and credit of co-operative societies are supervised by the Department of Co-operative Development, and *Samurdhi* Banks by the *Samurdhi* Authority of Sri Lanka. There is neither supervision nor regulation of microfinance services provided by international NGOs although they mobilize saving deposits from the general public. The microfinance service providers in the public sector are weakened by politically motivated debt relief often ahead of elections which seriously endangers the repayment culture among its clientele. Another cause is the insufficient infrastructure for training, further education and advisory services to provide immediate and relevant practical advice. The negative impacts which results from all of the above are the insufficient supply of financial services to needy people in the society and micro and small enterprises.

Over the past three decades, microfinance institutions in Sri Lanka have adopted innovative modes of providing services to the poor entrepreneurs. Two main approaches on the role of microfinance intermediation in poverty reduction can be identified[5]. In terms of the first approach that is portrayed as the financial best practice focused I*nstitutionist Approach* where the microfinance institutions offer only financial services in the form of credit. These microfinance institutions are unwilling to provide non-financial services due to multiple reasons ranging from high administrative costs to high transaction costs. In that sense, the primary focus of these microfinance institutions is institutional profit disregarding the social and poverty alleviation dimension of microfinance. The alternative to this approach which places high importance on social objectives is also practiced and often referred to as the *Welfarist Approach* is also practiced by some microfinance providers, especially NGO sector in Sri Lanka. According to the latter, the provision of credit alone will not guarantee that the recipients of credit use scarce capital in productive manner so that the recovery of loans is not ensured. It is interesting to note that these services are increasingly being recognized as an important component of microfinance intermediation as they are associated with the viability and sustainability of the enterprise. Moreover, it is believed that the viability and sustainability of enterprises will in turn ensure financial viability and sustainability of the relevant microfinance institutions (Herath, 2015; Remenyi, 2002).

Nearly 80 percent of Sri Lankan households, including more than 70 percent of low-income households, have access to some form of saving services. The Sri Lankan financial market is essentially a microfinance market with over 80 percent of households having total borrowings below Rs. 100,000 (GTZ, 2008).Female's participation in microfinance programs in Sri Lanka is very high compared with male participants (GTZ, 2010). The following table (Table 1) demonstrates that microfinance institutions such as TCCSs, PAMP, SFLCP and SEEDS captured very high percentage of female clients. High repayment culture is one of the major reasons for increased women's participation in microfinance in Sri Lanka. In addition, some of international NGOs and programs purposely targeted women according to their program objectives and aims.

[5] In the broad category of the commercial/institutionist approach there are two broad strategies, one that focuses on providing credit only (minimalist) and the other with primary objective of credit but providing support services such as capacity building to make credit, especially recovery, more successful (credit plus). are the strategies variously known as minimalist approach and credit-plus approach. The second category of approaches includes zero interest strategies and charity based strategies focusing on social objectives of improving living conditions in its holistic sense, not just economic. As these do not have financial viability as main focus they need to depend on donor funds.

Table 1: Women's Participation in the Selected Credit Programs as at December 2007

Institution	No. of loans Male	Female	Total	Value Rs. Million	% received by women
RDBs	50,804	43,277	94,081	1,614	46.00
LCBs	N.A*	N.A*	N.A*	N.A*	N.A*
SDB	321,687	246,896	568,583	13,000	43.42
TCCSs	36,726	85,696	122,422	2,816	70.00
CRBs	316,142	135,490	451,632	8,999	30.00
PAMP	12,604	39,388	51,992	1,058.4	75.76
SFLCP	669	8,681	9,350	244.5	92.84
SEEDS	11,540	23,081	34,621	1,986	66.67

N.A* - refers to the non-availability of disaggregated data
Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Annual Repot (2008).

It also must be noted here that microfinance industry having reached a certain maturity level in Sri Lanka, has now gone beyond the area of micro credit and into financial services that cover micro savings, micro credit, and micro insurance.

Economy and Livelihoods in Conflict Affected Areas: Of the population of Northern and Eastern provinces around 80% is employed in agricultural crops, livestock and fisheries production. Out of those, 72 percent are homesteaders with less than 0.1 ha of back garden. Approximately 15-20 percent of the agricultural areas (comprising highly productive arable land) consists of high security zones and cannot be used for cultivation or for any other productive activities. There are also areas that still not cleared of landmines. Around thirty years of violent conflict coupled with the large scale and widespread destruction brought by the 2004 Tsunami also has taken its toll on the economy, primarily on agricultural production, of North and Eastern Provinces Sri Lanka. Together with the on-going assistance for resettlement, reconstruction and rehabilitation, there is a need to increase economic production for general improvement of living conditions of the people in the provinces. Strengthening of the small businesses sector by supporting locally manufactured agro-based products and improving of market opportunities is crucial for economic stability of the productive sectors. There is also an urgent need to increase agricultural productivity in order to improve food security among the affected population.

North and East are part of the dry zone of the country and economy is dominantly agriculture. In the Northern Province agriculture contributes around 28% to region GDP yet 38% of employed population was in agriculture (Sarvanathan, 2007). North and east are significant producers of food, cash crops, livestock and fish. The major agricultural crops are rice, union, green chili, potatoes and tobacco. The region accounts for 1/3 of rice production of the country. As its population is only 15% country's population there is a surplus. North and East has been the largest livestock producer since independence. Animal husbandry consists of cattle rearing, goat/sheep farming and chicken. Buffalos are also kept but mainly in the east. According to recent data cattle and chicken are the most popular animal husbandry practice in the region with about 500,000 heads of cattle farmed mainly for milk and over 1.6 million chickens for meat and eggs. There are also about 170,000 heads of sheep of which around half is in Jaffna.

The second biggest livelihood of the region is fishing with sector contributing 12% to the GDP of the North East and has around 110,000 fishermen of which around 60% is in the East. Fish production was severely affected during the conflict due to restrictions imposed by the government. With advent of peace the production has picked up and today the two provinces account for 35% of marine fish production of the county. The total marine fish production from the region in 2011 was 134,690 MT of which the Eastern Provinces share was 88,320 MT (65.5%). Fishing in the region is done using mainly small mechanized fiber glass boats and mechanized and non mechanized traditional crafts. Over 50% fishing vessels in Batticaloa are non mechanized traditional craft. Due to these technological constraints fishing is still carried out in near sea. Of economic activities industrial sector is the least developed. Since the construction of the cement factory in Kankasanthrurai in Jaffna there has not been any industries established in the Eastern Province by the government. The Industrial work force in the region is employed in micro small and medium enterprises the majority of which was either destroyed or damaged during the conflict. Statistics also show that during the

conflict industry related employment halved from 8% to 4.4% with the biggest decrease in Jaffna, Batticaloa and Ampara (Sarvanathan, 2007).

Even before the conflict the economy of the North and East was going through changes resulting from the economic reforms brought in by the government that came into power in 1977. The impact of these policies however affected the North and the East differently. Unlike the economy of the country that saw fundamental changes in the composition of the economic production with the share of agriculture of the GDP which was 30% in 1970 coming down in 2005 to 18% and that of service increasing from 43% to 55% the same did not happen in the North and East. In the North and East, the share of agriculture remained around 35% of the regional GDP with the weak service sector and industrial sector continuing. The impact of liberalization was felt in the Tamil speaking North and Eastern region in a different way. It severely affected the market in the South for the northern producer, especially Jaffna farmer. Liberalization of imports in late 1970s resulted in the decline of the South's dependence on of Jaffna agricultural produce. Conflict added to these problems by paralyzing the already affected northern economy. It destroyed much of the infrastructure of the region. North South links, transport of goods and people and also communication, were severely disrupted and came to near total stand still during the height of the war. Closure of A9 road and damage to the railway line stopping the service altogether and embargo of sending goods and restriction on fishing which is the main livelihood of people in the coastal areas, by the government and LTTE placing similar restrictions severely damaged the economy of the region. The thriving agriculture based economy that prospered and supplied the south with its many agricultural produce transformed from a successful commercial mode of production to survival mode of production as a result of the conflict (Sarvanathan, 2007).

Four years after the war short-term needs have been answered to a large extent through various programs. There are at present two major programs for reconstruction of the former war areas; one for the East is called *Neganahira Navodaya* (Eastern Awakening) and the other is called *Uthuru Vasanthaya* (Northern Spring). Both are government funded programs of development aimed at rebuilding the destroyed infrastructural facilities, mainly the road network and power and water supply. In addition, there are also livelihood development programs, notable among them are *Gamaneguma* and *Gemidiriya* working in tandem with government's major poverty alleviation program *Samadhi*. There are also other development attempts that target specific areas and activities like the *Arugam Bay* and *Pasikuda*tourist promotion zones, *Trincomalee* special economic zone covering 675 sq.km of area and *Kilinochchi* 300 acre agro economic zone. The conflicts affected not only in the Northern and Eastern provinces and neither the Tamil community alone in the country. It also affected the so called border villages in the boundaries of these two provinces. These are dominated by the majority Sinhalese and agricultural (mainly paddy) settlements. A substantial number of villages are new settlements established since the independence. The Muslim community also affected by the conflict with 90,000 Muslims expelled from Jaffna by the LTTE and large areas of the Eastern Province which were home to the Muslims physically threatened by the LTTE and the population being displaced. Paddy cultivation in Ampara was the most affected. The Muslims expelled from Jaffna are still languishing in camps in the North Western coastal belt of the country, especially in Puttalam. Their removal created a vacuum in the economy of Jaffna town by removing a very enterprising population involved in trade. This no doubt affected the market links with the south which is a major market for agricultural produce of the Northern region.

War did not affect all regions of the North and the East equally. North was more affected as the center of militant activities. The District of Kilinochchi where the LTTE headquarters was and the District of Mullaitivu received the brunt of the last battle with extreme devastation of life and property. Over 250,000 civilians were displaced during the last stages of the war mainly from these two Districts. Unlike that Jaffna which is the capital of the Northern Province since 1995 was under government control and was relatively free of large scale conflict. Trincomalee the capital of the Eastern Province was also relatively unscathed. Compared to the North the effect of the conflict in the East was less. Except for parts of rural Batticaloa and Trincomalee outlying areas of the east was free of conflict since mid 1990 and was almost totally free since 2006. In addition to the economy and general services and public entitlements like *Samurdhi* and other poverty alleviation and welfare programs were not operative in almost totally in Mannar, Mullaitive and Killinochchi and partly in other areas. Population displacement was another problem. Alternatively, Diasporas are also found be having a positive effect on the home country though in the Sri Lankan context the role of the Tamil

Diaspora is seen in a negative light for their role in supporting the militants. They bring money into the household and through that to the economy. Among the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora this role was important. During the conflict period they not only supported the militancy but also supported the households and the community through different type of active engagements like building services and facilities. Home Village Associations, Old Boys/Girls Organizations Tamil Diaspora found to playing an important role in the life of the people that have a cushioning effect on the life of the people in the area and also that can be harnessed is for success of future activities. Tamils in Canada have provided substantial funds for humanitarian assistance and play an important role in development effort (Cheran, 2007; Wimalaraja & Cheran, 2010). While militancy role is no more and active community engagement has come down for the obvious reasons the support from the household remains at the same level.

Microfinance Actors, Strategies and its Impacts on Communities in Conflict Affected Areas: Yet the conflict kept away the main government sponsored microfinance initiatives reaching the potential beneficiaries during the conflict. Although continued access to finance was provided by local cooperatives, many branches had to be closed down and others to severely restrict their operations. Commercial banks provided saving facilities, but access to credit and credit-plus services remained difficult therefore the little microfinance initiatives during the conflict period were the ones sponsored by the NGO sector and funded through international donors and relief and development agencies. While the government sponsored programs are making their entry with the end of the war still microfinance services are primarily provided by the NGO sector. During the conflict, financial services in the region faced severe constraints owing to the acts of both the government and the militants. The result was once vibrant credit operations coming to a standstill and the region being deprived of the benefits of early attempts by the government to introduce microfinance in the country. Now that the conflict is over microfinance services are entering the regions. While the prewar credit culture is a potential plus factor for their work the conflict caused damage makes it necessary for the post conflict microfinance initiatives to adopt strategies to suit the conditions presented by the post conflict environment. The destruction of the physical infrastructure apart there are other adverse conditions such as the breakdown of the support services, especially financial service, shortage of personnel with skills caused by migration, greatly reduced opportunities for economic activities, weakened market (displacement and migration) and also disillusioned and traumatized population is severally hampering the efforts of newly entered microfinance operators. It is therefore not surprising to see a plethora of strategies that are being tried by different initiatives in this context.

The operators of microfinance programs in the North and East are mixed group that include banks, authorized non-banking sector operators like finance companies and leasing companies, International Donor Organizations and operators in the Non Governmental sector both local and international. This latter group includes local, regional and national level organizations who depend on external funding and large international NGOs who either operate on their own or through local agents. The strategies of microfinance initiatives in the north and east of the country can be seen as influenced by two factors, namely, the mission and the objectives of the service provider and the ground realties. Banks and other financial service providers have generally employ various shades of credit only strategies. Their approach could be called institutionist/minimalist in broad sense yet some of them provide some non-financial services as well (credit plus). The International NGOs, national NGOs, and UN and other bilateral donors on the other hand pay equal attention to financial best practices and social best practices both. There are also small local level NGOs with primary focus on relief and welfare while providing credit. The latter two groups of operators were providing similar services when there was ongoing conflict. International operators carry out their services either directly with their own schemes, like the GTZ or through local organizations that are funded by them. The biggest nongovernmental local operators are the *Sarvodaya* SEEDS, *Seva Lanka* and *Sanasa*/TCCCs (GTZ, 2010). In addition, the state sector also funds initiatives through local banks and also as part of general poverty alleviation programs the most active of these are the *Samurdhi* and *Gemidiriya*. A distinct characteristic of the conflict environment was that most microfinance clients were relatively well-off before the conflict but fell into poverty as a result of the conflict. Therefore, when they returned to their homeland, they only needed a kick-start to recommence productive economic activities, in sharp distinction with the slower commencement of persistent poor elsewhere.

Almost all microfinance initiatives in conflict areas use group loan approach to deliver their services. Members of a group loan facility can vary and are from a homogeneous group who come together to obtain credit to address their common economic problems. The groups that are commonly found in the region are, in addition to the five-member group, a format that was popularized by the countries pioneering poverty alleviation program *Janasavia,* SHGs, CBOs and other traditional village based volunteer organizations. The format depends on objectives of the livelihood program, funding source, target group, and service delivering methodology of the operator. They are encouraged to make voluntary savings on a regular basis but this is not mandatory and sometimes it is not even possible as some microfinance operators are not authorized to keep deposits. Operators provide credit from the savings if that is allowed under the law or from funds received from other agencies including banks. This process i.e. saving, lending, and recovering setting terms and conditions and keeping financial accounts helps in building financial discipline and more importantly, credit history for members themselves. Group members also learn to handle larger sums of money which are much beyond their individual savings. This process also makes them understand the basic principle of banking that money has a time value and is a scare resource. Poor women are particularly empowered by this type of microcredit strategy, as it gives them ability to earn an income and thus improve their bargaining positions *vis-a-vis* their male partners and in the community as well. This finding, which is in consisting withHerath (2015) and Noreen (2011), concluded that poor and vulnerable women having positive impacts by microfinance intervention for their livelihood development. However, Daley-Harris & Zimmerman (2009) pointed out that microfinance dose not usually serve the very poor including poor women, for whom it can represent a rout into debt rather than a way out of poverty.

We found that microfinance activities have both encouraged and also created other intangible benefits too. There are many cases of cross ethnic cooperation in organized microfinance activities in multiethnic neighborhoods. This is a very common occurrence in Trincomalee and Batticaloa. This cooperation found to be having a multiplier and outward expanding effect. When the neighborhood group is multiethnic unit the market also becomes that of multiethnic clientele and suppliers as well. One very good example of this was a microfinance venture in *Sirimapura* ward of Trincomalee organized by a group of Sinhala and Muslim women. Their main economic activities are door to door selling of clothing items, catering and fish products. The clothing items are bought from Pamunuwa in Maharagama from mainly Sinhala traders by Muslim women and their clients are from all three ethnic communities. The producers and clientele of the other two activities similarly are multiethnic. Also Bernal-Garcia (2008) pointed out that the intervention of microfinance can have a socio-psychological effects through process mitigation of divergence among the different groups, besides its obvious economic impact. At the basis of this mechanism is the development of social contacts across individuals and groups.

Since the Post conflict environment is complex, conflict does not affect all in a conflict region equally. There are also regional differences in terms of impact with some areas experiencing more adverse impact than others. There is also differential impact of conflict on individuals and social groups. Our study showed that in some areas and with some groups the success rate is more and this is due to various factors ranging from their capacities, experiences and overall destruction in the region as a whole. The poor and the vulnerable groups are the most affected and their war experience, damage to property and levels of trauma if far greater than those belonging to well-to-do social groups. There are war widows, displaced people and ex-combatants who have very different war time experience from each other and also from those who generally from upper social strata. Therefore, it is not possible to make microfinance engagement in post conflict environment without taking these complexities and diversities into account. Thinking of a uniform strategy is not possible and may be unproductive. These two variables in combination make several potential target groups with different capacity levels. The Table 2 gives a broad classification of the potential targets groups, their features and potential for success through microfinance initiatives.

Table 2: Different Target Groups, their Strengths and Weakness and Potential for MF Success

Target Group	Characteristics				Potential for MF Success
	Trauma	Skills	Capacities	Opportunities	
Refugees	Extreme	Vary	None	None	None
Resettled	Recovering	Vary	Little	Little	Good
Rehabilitated Ex-Combatants	Recovering	Better but not necessarily useful	Less	Little or None	Good to very good
War Widows	High	Little	Little or None	Little or None	Least potential for success
Other Female Headed HHs	Little or Recovering	Little	Little	Moderate to High	Better than war widows
Not affected but in the Conflict Area	None or very little	High	High	High	Very High

In the conflict affected Northeastern region, there are several distinct groups of potential beneficiaries with different needs, skills and capacities. The opportunities available to them are also different. The message there is that microfinance initiatives need to consider these circumstances and develop their intervention strategies accordingly. The package therefore needs to be a tailor made one to meet the differential needs of planned target group. Provision of credit alone will not guarantee that the recipients of credit use scarce capital in productive manner. Credit-plus services that include mainly the services that would assist entrepreneurs and the self-employed in developing their businesses are provided with, or prior to, the provision of key financial services. These services are increasingly being recognized as an important component of microfinance intermediation as they are associated with the viability and sustainability of the enterprise. These findings are consistent with Remenyi (2002), Colombage, Ahmad, & Chandrabose (2008) and Herath et al. (2016) highlighted that there is a significant difference between households who received credit with credit-plus services and those that received credit without credit-plus services on income increases. Credit-plus services benefitted the households to improve their level of income by the investment projects. The viability and sustainability of enterprises will in turn ensure financial viability and sustainability of the relevant microfinance institutions. Moral issues apart, there is also the question that microcredit is the best support for some groups. The following model outlines possible interventions with particular attention to the above complexities (Table 3).

Table 3: Different Vulnerable Groups and Possible Interventions Strategies

Target Group	Intervention Strategy			
	Credit only Strategy	Credit-plus Strategy	Social Funds of MF	Financial Relief Strategy
Refugees				√
Resettled		√	√	√
Rehabilitated Ex-Combatants	√	√		
Female Headed HHs		√	√	
War Widows			√	√
Not affected but in the Conflict Area	√	√		

The needs to endorse groups and other social mechanisms for the useful delivery of microfinance services have long been recognized. Relevance of groups for microfinance interventions are in two main areas. First, they are means of achieving objectives, namely, to harness social capital/resources in effective and positive manner. Second, they are also basis of planning interventions. This second role of groups is important any intervention by microfinance initiative but it become particularly relevant in post conflict environment for its built in complexities.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Though the North and East of the country had a vibrant agriculture based economy and a developed credit culture supported by a range of institutions, large scale microfinance engagement is primarily a post war phenomenon. Although it is early to make a comprehensive assessment the available secondary information and our field observations show that microfinance initiatives in the region are making an impact on the livelihood improvement of clients. The impact however is in varying degrees with certain areas and groups showing evidence of receiving more beneficial impacts on some communities compared to others. It also showed very high involvement of women and those women who are active in generally the ones who can be called empowered, namely, those from groups above the very poor and those who have comparatively better educational levels. Another interesting feature of successful microfinance venture groups display high level of support role played by husbands and also high levels of community cohesion. Another feature of the ongoing microfinance initiatives is that the relative concentration of successful ventures in areas that were relatively free of conflict. These include main towns, except a few like Kilinochchi and Mullaitive and rural areas that had been liberated before the final phase of the war and remained under government control for a long period. There are two reasons for this. First, in urban areas there is better market and also access to financial services and other facilities are high. There are as not being subjected to fighting directly there is less damage to infrastructural facilities, or having remained under government control for a longer period there is such facilities have been rebuilt. Second, other adverse conditions such as market distortions, lack of people with skills and reduced social capital, etc., caused due to population shifts/displacement of people is less felt in these areas.

Microfinance strategies have both encouraged and also created other intangible benefits such as cross ethnic cooperation with organized microfinance activities in multiethnic neighborhoods. This is a very common occurrence in Eastern region. This cooperation is found to be having a multiplier and outward expanding effects. When the neighborhood group is multiethnic unit the market also becomes that of multiethnic clientele and suppliers too. In a post conflict environment, conflict has not affected all in a region equally. There are also regional differences in terms of impact with some areas experiencing more unfavorable impacts than others and the impact of conflict on individuals and social groups also could be different. This study showed that in some areas and with some groups benefitted from microfinance more. This is mainly due to various factors ranging from their capacities, experiences, knowledge and overall destruction in the region as a whole. The poor and the vulnerable are the most affected and their war experience, damage to property and levels of trauma if far greater than those belonging to well-to-do social groups. There are war widows, displaced people and ex-combatants who have very different war time experience from each other and also from those who are generally from upper social strata. Therefore, it is not possible to make microfinance intervention in post conflict environment without taking these complexities and divergence into account.

Northeastern region in Sri Lanka is not a monolithic entity. There are several distinct groups of potential clients with different requirements, abilities and capacities. The economic and income earning opportunities available to them are also different. Therefore, the microfinance intermediaries need to be taking into consideration these conditions in high priority and design their intervention strategies accordingly. The microfinance package needs to be a tailor made one to achieve the multiple requirements of intended target groups. Provision of credit alone will not guarantee that the recipients of credit use scarce capital in a productive manner. Credit-plus services would assist entrepreneurs and the self-employed in developing their businesses are provided with, or prior to of key financial services. Apart from moral issues, there is also the question whether microcredit is the best support for some groups. It is necessary to endorse groups and other social mechanisms for the useful delivery of microfinance services which have long been recognized. Relevance of groups for microfinance interventions are in two major areas. First, they are means of achieving objectives, namely, to harness resources in effective and positive manner. Second, they are also basis of planning interventions. This second role of groups is important any intervention by microfinance initiative but it become particularly relevant in post conflict environment with its built in complexities.

References

Bernal-Garcia. (2008). Post-Conflict Microfinance and Social Reconciliation: Overcoming Barriers through Process Mitigation. *Standford Journal of Microfinance*, 1(3).

Chambers, R. (1995). Poverty and Livelihoods: Whose Reality Counts? Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Cheran, R. (2007). Transnationalism, Development and Social Capital: Tamil Community Networs in Canada. In G. Luin & K. Sailajah (Eds.), Organizing the Transnational: Experience of Asia and Latin American Migrants in Canada (pp. 277-305). Vancouver: The UBS Press.

Christen, R. & Drake, D. (2002). Commercialization of Mocrofinance. In D. Drake & E. Rhyne (Eds.), Commercialization of Microfinance: Balancing Bussiness and Development. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.

Claessens, S. (2006). Access to Financial Services: A Review of the Issues and Public Policy Objectives: The World Bank.

Colombage, S. S., Ahmad, A. & Chandrabose, A. S. (2008). Effectiveness of Microfinance in Reducing Rural Poverty: A Case Study of Selected Districts Sri Lanka. *VISTAS, Journal of Humanities and Social Seinces,* 4, 1-37.

Daley-Harris, S. & Zimmerman, J. (2009). Microfinance Does not Usually Serve the Very Poor, for Whom it Can Represent a Rout into Debt rather than Away Out of Poverty *Enterprise Development and Microfinance,* 20(2), 79-85.

Doyle, D. (1998). Microfinance in the Wake of Conflict: Challenges and Opportunities. Microenterprise Best Practices (MBP) Paper. Retrieved from www.mbp.org website:

GTZ. (2008). Outreach of financial Services in Sri Lanka, A Look at Demad-Side from a Microfinance Perspective, Sri Lanka Colombo: German Development Cooperation, Ministry of Finance and Planning.

GTZ. (2010). Promotion of the Microfinance Sector Operational District Profile. Colombo: GTZ.

Herath, H. M. W. A. (2015). Impact of Microfinance on Poverty Reduction: Evidence from Sri Lanka. *Modern Sri Lanka Studies A Journal of the Social Sciences,* 6(1), 79-102.

Herath, H. M. W. A., Guneratne, L. H. P. & Sanderatne, N. (2016). Impact of microfinance on women's empowerment: a case study on two microfinance institutions in Sri Lanka. *Sri Lanka Journal of Social Sciences,* 38(1), 51-61.

Littlefield, E., Morduch, J. & Hashemi, S. (2003). Is Microfinance an Effective Strategy to Reach the Millennium Development Goals? Focus Note 24. Washongton DC: CGAP, Wold Bank.

Lock-Desallien, R. (1996). Review of Poverty Concepts and Indicators Technical Support Document: UNDP.

Marconi, R. & Mosely, P. (2006). Bolivia during the Global Crisis(1008-2004): Towards a Macroeconomics of Microfinance. *Journal of International Development*, 18, 237-261.

Meehan, D. & Jennifer, M. (1999). Working Towards Institutional Financial Self-Sufficiency while Maintaining a Commitment to Seving the Poorest families. *Joural of Microfinance,* 1(1), 131-192.

Morduch, J. (2000). The Microfinance Schism. *World Developmwnt,* 4(28), 617-629.

Muneer, S., Ali, A. & Ahmad, R. A. (2017). Impact of Financing on Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) Profitability with Moderating Role of Islamic Finance. *Information Management and Business Review*, 9(2), 25-32

Noreen, S. (2011). Role of Microfinance in Empowement of Femal Population of Bahawalpur District. Paper presented at the International Conference on Economics and Finance Research, IPEDR. http://www.microfinancegateway.org/p/site/m//template.rc/1.9.53772

Otero, M. & Rhyne, E. (1994). The New World of Microenterprise Finance. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Rappaport, J. (1986). Collaborating for Empowerment: Creating the language of mutual Help In R. H. Boyte (Ed.), The New Populiss: The Politics of Empowerment. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Remenyi, J. (2002). Microfinance: A Tool for Poverty Reduction. *Sri Lanka Journal of Agrarian Studies,* 10(1), 52-69.

RIMHI. (1999). Guatemala: Never Again! The Official Report of the Human Rights Office, Archiocese of Guatemala. Maryknoll, New York.

Sarvanathan, M. (2007). Economy of the Conflict Region in Sri Lanka: from Embargo to Repression. Washington: East West Centre.

Sebstad, J. & Monique, C. (2000). Microfinance, Risk Management and Poverty. Washington DC: USAID.

Shaw, J. & Matthew, C. (n.d). Risky Business in Bougainville: Implementing Microfinancein Post-Conflict Environments. RMIT University: International Develoment Programme, Melbourne.

Whitmore, E. K. P. (1988). Participation, Empowerment and Welfare. *Canadian Review of Social Policy*, 22, 51-60.

Wilson, T. (2001). Microfinance during and after Armed Conflict: Lessons from Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique and Rwanda. Durham, UK: Springfield Centre.

Wimalaraja, I. & Cheran, R. (2010). Empowering Diasporas: The Dynamics of Post War Transnational Tamil Politics Burghof Occational Paper. Berlin: Bughof Peace Support.

Wlliams, A., Uch, V. & Soeng, V. N. (2001). Post-Conflict Microfinance in Cambodia. Durham, UK: Springfield Centre.

Woller, G. M., Christopher, D. & Warner, W. (2001). Where to Microfinance? *Microcredit and Development Policy,* 1(1).

World-Bank. (2002). Wold Development Report. New York: World Bank.

Journal of Social and Development Sciences (JSDS)
Vol. 9, No. 2, June 2018 (ISSN 2221-1152)

Continental Migration Trends: Its Implications from an African Perspective

Daniel N Mlambo
University of Zululand, KwaDlangezwa, South Africa
mlambo1@ymail.com

Abstract: Migration is witnessed throughout the world, this is even true for a third world continent such as Africa, where individuals tend to move from one place to another propelled by diverse push and pull factors. This paper brings forward the degree of migration movements in Africa. Additionally, it seeks to understand the impact(s) of migration within the continent. It argues that migration in Africa is not a new phenomenon as it has been witnessed since colonialism often as a result of forced migration. However, post the colonial era, Africa has observed an upsurge of migration movements both documented and undocumented. This is manifested by the fact that Africa has remained an underdeveloped continent coupled with vast economic hindrances including unemployment, political instability, low growth rates, terrorism and corruption. In this vein, individuals move from place to place for better economic opportunities for themselves particularly to Western, Eastern and Southern African countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Botswana, South Africa, Ivory Coast, Angola, Rwanda and Namibia. The paper concludes by outlining that if Africa is to limit and manage the ever-growing migration movements, then African heads of states should possibly improve their border patrol security, enhance rural agriculture and improve rural service delivery programmes. Moreover, to implement robust, well monitored and managed policies that intend to support and complement the policies of the African Union (AU), regional bodies and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) with regards to African migration.

Keywords: *Migration, Africa, development, push, pull*

1. Introduction

Human migration is witnessed globally, this has been the case for centuries and mainly driven by various factors which include among other things lack of basic education opportunities, poverty and famine just to name a few. Internationally in 2017, there were an estimated 258 million migrants both in developed and developing countries (United Nations, 2017). By narrowing this to Africa, migration is not a recent development, individuals here have moved from place to place as a means of searching for better livelihood opportunities even before Europeans segregated and had their footprints within the continent through colonialism. In this sense, and particularly from the 1990s, Africa has often been referred to as the continent on the move, largely due to the enormous numbers in migration movement's (legal, illegal, and asylum, seekers) taking place from this time to date (De Haas, & Flahaux, 2016). During colonialism, migration existed, however, here, forced migration was predominance through slavery practices (Falola, & Usman, 2009). In this time, individuals were displaced to as far as Europe and other African countries, therefore, migration was prominent as a result of labour migration to industrial and mining areas, construction work and farms driven as a result of cheap labour practices (Bilger, & Kraler, 2005). However, as Shimeles (2010) argues, while colonialism played a significant role in current African underdevelopment, to this day, most African states have retained close relationships with their erstwhile colonizers. If not migrating within Africa, individuals from Francophone states find it easier to travel to Belgium or France[6] while those from Anglophone states tend to travel to English speaking countries.

Nonetheless, in Africa, most migration movements have and still take place within the continent. The continent is mainly manifested by two types of migration internal and external[7]. As a result, Africa witnesses both voluntarily and involuntarily migration patterns, which includes the migration movements of refugees[8], undocumented migrants, nomads, seasonal and labour migrants (Adepoju, 2004). Diverse drivers and

[6] Nevertheless, this kind of international migration is predominantly taken by more affluent individuals, those who know or have close ties with other individuals in these countries and in some cases students who are pursuing their tertiary studies abroad.
[7]Internal migration is movement within the same geographical location (i.e. movement within ones country which may include rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to rural and urban to urban), while external migration is movement across ones country's borders i.e. moving from Mozambique to South Africa (Ellis, 2007; Singh, & Khan, 2017).
[8] Globally in 2017, Africa at 0.50 percent, had the highest number of refugees and asylum seekers (United Nations, 2017).

prevalent circumstances such as low wages, poverty, economic crisis, food insecurity, unstable political structures, low Gross Domestic Products (GDP) and unemployment have gradually increased current migration movements in Africa post-colonialism. While migration often leads to brain drain[9] and an exodus of skilled individuals, it is relatively hard to track migration trends in Africa as in most cases these are undocumented and informal. The following section aims to broadly define the term migration. The subsequent sections delve into the available scholarly literature pertaining to migration trends in Africa. This is done by unpacking the causes of migration, factors that make individuals move and what pulls them to other regions and/or countries. The last sections conclude on what has been observed pertaining to migration in Africa and also offers possible recommendations on how Africa can perhaps deal with the high rate of current continental migration moving forward.

Migration: What's in the Meaning? What do we mean and what does this term entail from a broader perspective? According to Muzumbukilwa (2007) migration as a terminology has been defined extensively (both continentally and internationally) from policymakers, government officials, political scientists, historians and geography scholars who in their view offer various types[10]and meanings of this term. Therefore, it tends to mean different things to different people. In general terms, migration is normally defined as the movement of individuals from one place to another either internally or internationally and is often driven by the motive to equip themselves with better economic opportunities (Kok, 1999). On the other hand, Guild (2009) asserts that migration refers to cross-border movements of individuals, while Lee (1970) in his definition describes migration as a change in residence or boundaries crossed. Rubenstein and Bacon (1990) in their view see migration as a change in one's location on a permanent basis. However, for the purpose of this paper, I will utilize Kok's definition of migration as it is widely used in literature pertaining to migration movements from a global perspective.

2. Literature Review

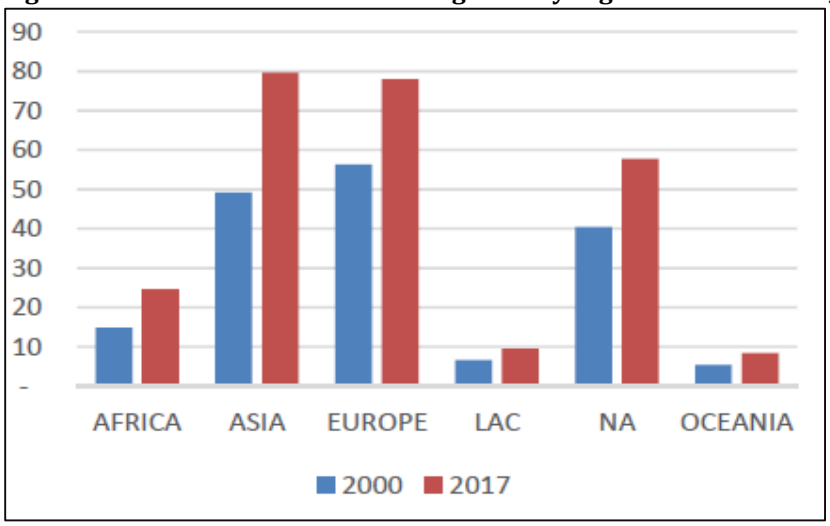
Migration drivers in Africa: An Overview: Migration has over the past few decades become a hotly contested issue not only in Africa but from a global standpoint and academic literature. This is attested to the fact that it brings with it immense and varied issues that include amongst others brain drain, brain gain, human rights, xenophobia and human trafficking just to name a few (Doyle, 2004). From an African viewpoint, migration can be understood from the framework of the historical and political evolution of African states (Adepoju, 1998). The continent since its freedom from respective European colonizers has witnessed an increase of intra-regional and intra-continental migration trends both internal and external with the former being the most observed accounting for 80 percent of migration movements (United Nations, 2017). However, when talking about African migration movements, men seem to be the first in mind, nonetheless, over the years there has been a high rise in women migration. In Africa from 1990 to 2017, there has been an upward trend from 39.6 percent to 44.5 percent in female migration movements[11] (United Nations, 2017) often as a result to uplift their own economic advancements. According to the United Nations (2017) in Africa, from 2000 to 2017, there has been a 67 percent increase in migration (see figure 1) from 15 million to 25 million, most of these taken by individuals who fall within the working-age bracket of (20 to 64 years).

While migration movements are witnessed throughout the African continent, it is, however, more noticeable and predominant in Western, Eastern and Southern African[12] countries including South Africa, Botswana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Rwanda, Ghana, Namibia and Angola just to name a few (Agadjanian, 2008; Mlambo, 2017; United Nations, 2017). These are often referred to as major countries of destination primarily because they are viewed as economic hubs in Africa and between them pull an influx of migrants from neighbouring

[9] This refers to the loss of skilled individuals from third world or developing countries to those that are more developed (Docquier, 2006).
[10]These include among others economic migration, political migration, clandestine migration, seasonal migration and selective migration.
[11] However, women in their quest to migrate tend to face higher risks in relation to human trafficking, rape and violence which often leads to sexual exploitation.
[12] Globally, Ivory Coast, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and South Africa feature amongst the top twenty countries or areas hosting the largest number of migrants (United Nations, 2017).

countries[13]due to their relatively robust economies and level of infrastructural development (Mlambo, 2017). In this vein, and while some of these have been mentioned elsewhere in this paper, one cannot talk about migration without mentioning the push and pull factors (see table 1) that ultimately drive people to migrate with the view of seeking greener pastures elsewhere.

Figure 1: Number of international migrants by region of destination, 2000-2017 (millions)



Note: NA refers to Northern America, while LAC refers to Latin America and the Caribbean.
Source: See United Nations (2017).

Table 1: Showing push and pull factors of migration

Push Factors	Pull Factors
Lack of employment opportunities	Better employment opportunities
Conflicts	Stable security
Terrorism	Low levels of crime
High levels of crime	Better governance structures
Poor governance structures	Better health care system
Poor health care system	Better education system
Poor education system	Opportunities for youths
Lack of opportunities for youths	Better quality of life
Lack of service delivery	Better service delivery
Economic instability	Economic stability

Source: Digbyet al. (2001).

As a result, Brown (2015) asserts that these aforementioned factors contribute substantially to making people want to move elsewhere often contributing to the surge in legal and illegal migration movements. However, Mlambo (2017) in his analysis, opines that migration is a two-fold phenomenon, to him, whether legal or not, it may bring with it vast benefits for both countries (sender and receiver). Moving forward and from his view, a migrant may bring with him/her needed skills otherwise not available in the country of destination. Hence, migrants may as a result of employment send capital to their country of origin, hence, contributing to continental financial flows. Nevertheless, it is negative in the sense that a country may lose people with needed skills and as a result of this, another country may acquire these individuals with these skills for their own development and economic growth. As a result of this, some countries rely on skilled migrants as a means to improve the scarcity of skilled labour (United Nations, 2017). Karaguezian & Verdier-Chouchane (2014) emphasize that migration may also be a burden not only for the migrant but in most cases also for the receiving country. This is because the migrant may want to sustain himself/herself in that

[13] These include but not limited to those from Benin, Togo, Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Lesotho, Burundi, Gabon, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

particular country and may go as far as searching for employment in the informal sector and as a result further contributing in the expansion of these informal sectors in that specific country. With that said, Njuguna (2016) offers the sentiments that migration has undoubtedly contributed in slowing the pace of African development, contributed to further rising unemployment levels, congestion and rapid rise in urbanization mostly as a result of rural to urban migration.

With the view of tackling this ever-rising African migration trend, the establishment of continental migration frameworks from the African Union (AU) such as the migration policy framework together with the African common position on migration and development shows the seriousness and determination to limit the rate of migration movements (Abebe, 2017). This is further attested to the migration related targets that were included in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's). Of importance here, is target 10.7, which outlines the need for all countries to simplify systematic, safe and accountable migration of individuals through robust and well-managed migration policies (United Nations, 2017).

3. Methodology

This paper adopts a qualitative methodology by relying on secondary sources to collect required data on the topic under study. The researcher exploited relevant published works from books, journals, newspapers, published and unpublished articles such as dissertations and thesis together with credible and reliable online sources of applicable organizations dealing with and/or monitoring migration in Africa. These included the most recent, credible and reliable migration publications from the United Nations that provided the study with recent data on current global migration trends. The dependence on secondary sources enabled a robust and wider clarification of the topic under investigation. All data retrieved was subjected to comprehensive qualitative analysis through the use of content analysis. Content analysis is a systematic approach to qualitative data analysis that identifies and summarises message content. In essence, it makes use of acute reflection and analysis of primary and secondary data collection. It refers to the analysis of books, brochures, written documents, transcript, news reports, conference reports and visual media (Neuendorf, 2002). This method assisted in analysing and reacting to articles from diverse sources.

African migration: The Way Forward: Migration is a huge task to curb not only in Africa but globally. This is notwithstanding the fact that coming up with solid migration blueprints requires the extensive task of mobilizing various stakeholders, sponsors, government support and much-needed capital. A question that may then arise here is, how (if possible) can African states come up with a robust remedy to limit this high rate of migration phenomena. Nevertheless, I argue that perhaps the following measures should be introduced by African heads of states as instruments to perhaps limit and regulate the high levels of intra-continental migration movements. However, these policies should (if probable) correlate with those of other African countries, continental organizations and regional organizations in their fight against migration.

Improve border patrol services: As a result of diverse socio-economic structures in most African countries, not all states are migrant receivers, however, countries such as South Africa, Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast Namibia and Botswana are. Hence, while border services are tasked with the observation and control of border movements, in most cases within the African context these are sometimes severely affected by corruption, unavailability of human resources, weak or unavailability of robust security structures and at times required technological services (Magidimisha et al., 2018). In this regard, African countries should implement vast resources to further strengthen their weak borders. This entails fighting border corruption from government officials, police, having sufficient security services at border gates and involving regional bodies such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), The East African Community (EAC) and others in smoothing as assisting in regional and continental migration movements. While these alone may not stop nor limit migration movements particularly those that are undocumented, it may however, play a pivotal role in the facilitation, tracking and managing of migration movements.

Increase support for rural agriculture: According to Chitonge (2015) in most geographical areas within Africa, agriculture plays a vital role in generating income for individuals as this in most cases is their source of income and livelihood. Thus, African heads of states should design and implement policies that ought to

enhance and promote rural agriculture so individuals can through agricultural practices further sustain themselves and their families. This may in turn support small and emerging farmers and co-operatives that are involved in agricultural activities and may limit the rate of rural to urban migration in order to acquire better employment opportunities and income.

Improve rural service delivery: Lack of basic service delivery is also of concern in many African states, this is shown by the huge service delivery protests in some African states. Hence, African countries should undoubtedly improve their rate of service delivery programmes especially to those individuals situated in rural settings. These services include but not limited to healthcare systems, basic infrastructure and education facilities. While some of these may create temporary or seasonal employment opportunities, they may however also assist in rural to urban migration.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

This paper has explored the implications of continental migration from an African perspective. It has argued that migration in Africa is not a new occurrence and has been witnessed here since the colonial era through forced migration. However, in recent years, particularly post-colonialism, it has gradually become a complex phenomenon driven by diverse and varied components. This is particularly true for Africa as a result of its uneven development patterns, low GDP, unemployment, poverty, political instability and lack of economic opportunities. A significant amount of this migration takes place within the continent often driven by the desire to acquire better economic prospects especially to Western, Eastern and Southern African countries such as Ivory Coast, Nigeria, South Africa, Botswana and Rwanda. Thus, migration has forever been an increasing trend in Africa and often hard to track and maintain. While at times it is beneficial to other countries as a result of acquiring skilled individuals, it has however further slowed down the pace of African development, contributed to urbanization and congestion mostly driven by undocumented migrants. Africa is the least developed continent and with modern rates of high migration (mostly undocumented), this seems as if it will further impede on its development and economic growth endeavours moving forward.

This paper thus recommends that African leaders should perhaps try and improve their border patrol services, support rural agriculture and improve rural service delivery programmes. These initiatives could perhaps both in the short and long run (if properly implemented and monitored) limit migration movements. In this respect, those thinking of migrating could perhaps think differently as a result of (1) migration security at border gates would be tightened and strong (2) those based in rural areas would be generating income from agricultural activities, receiving government support and ultimately individuals would have access to much-needed services like basic education, clinics and needed infrastructure. The paper further recommends that African heads of states must implement more vigorous, well monitored and managed policies, these should (if possible) align or complement those of continental institutions such as the AU and African regional bodies such as the SADC, EAC, ECOWAS and others. The working together of African states, continental institutions and regional bodies may further support and complement the goals of the SDG's with regards to African migration moving forward.

References

Abebe, T. T. (2017). Migration Policy Frameworks in Africa. Retrieved from, https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/ar2.pdfAccessed 6 April 2018

Adepoju, A. (1998). Linkages between internal and international migration: The African Situation. Retrieved from, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/1468-2451.00151 Accessed10 April 2018

Adepoju, A. (2004). Trends in International Migration in and from Africa in Massey, D. S. & Taylor, J. D. (Eds). (2004). International Migration: Prospects and Policies in a Global Market. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Agadjanian, V. (2008). Research on International Migration within Sub-Saharan Africa: Foci, Approaches and Challenges. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 49(3), 407-421.

Bilger, V. & Kraler, A. (2005). Introduction: African Migrations: Historical Perceptions and Contemporary Dynamics. Retrieved from, https://stichproben.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/p_stichproben /Artikel/Nummer08/03_Introduction.pdf Accessed 19 March 2018.

Brown. E. (2015). Drivers of irregular migration in North Africa. Retrieved from, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08968ed915d622c0001df/HDQ12711.pdf Accessed 19 March 2018

Canagarajah, S. (2017). *The Routledge Book of Migration and Language*. New York, Routledge.

Chitonge, H. (2015). Economic Growth and Development in Africa: Understanding Trends and Prospects. New York, Routledge.

De Haas, H. & Flahaux, M. L. (2016). African migration, trends, patterns, drivers. *Comparative migration studies*, 4(1), 1-25.

Digby, B., Ferretti, J., Flintoff, I., Owen, A. & Ryan, C. (2001). Global Challenges. Oxford, Heinemann Educational Publishers.

Docquier, F. (2006). The Brain Drain. Retrieved from, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228394436_The_brain_drain Accessed 1 April 2018

Doyle, M. W. (2004). The Challenge of World Wide Migration. *Journal of International Affairs*, 57(2), 1-5.

Ellis, A. F. (2007). Causes, Aftermaths of the Economic, Political and Cultural Migration in the Area of the Caribbean and Central America During the XX$^{\text{th Century}}$. Paris, Publibook.

Falola, T. & Usman, A. (2009). *Movements, Borders and Identities in Africa*. Rochester, University of Rochester Press.

Guild, E. (2009). *Security and Migration in the 21st Century*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Karaguezian, C. & Verdier-Chouchane, A. (2014). Taking Africa's Irregular Migrants into Account: Trends, Challenges and Policy Options. *African Development Bank*, 5(1), 2-15

Kok, P. (1999). The definition of Migration and it Application: Making sense of recent South African cases and survey data. *South African Journal of Demography*, 7(1), 19-30.

Lee, E. S. (1970). A Theory of Migration in Demko G. J, Ross, H. M. & Schrell, G. A. (1970). (Eds). *An* Introduction to Population. Archives Books, New Delhi.

Magidimisha, H. H., Khalema, N. E., Chipungu, L., Chirimambowa, T. C. & Chimdza, T. L. (2018). Crisis, Identity and Migration in Post-Colonial Southern Africa. Springer International Publishing, Switzerland.

Mlambo, V. H. (2017). Cross-border Migration in the Southern African Development Community: Benefits, Problems and Future Prospects. *Journal of Social and Development Science*, 8(4), 42-56.

Muzumbukilwa, W. (2007). The Impact of Government Migration Policies on Foreigners known as AMAKWEREKWERE in South Africa. Masters Dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal. South Africa.

Neuendorf, K. A. (2002). *The Content Analysis Handbook*, *1st Edition*. United States of America, Sage Publications.

Njuguna, E. (2016). Government Measure Aimed at Curbing Rural-Urban Migration in Africa. Retrieved from, https://soapboxie.com/world-politics/GOVERNMENT-MEASURES-AIMED-AT-CURBING-RURAL-TO-URBAN-MIGRATIONAccessed 7 March 2018

Rubenstein, J. M. & Bacon, R. S. (1990). The Cultural Landscape. An Introduction to Human Geography. Prentice Hall of India, New Delhi.

Shimeles, A. (2010). Migration Patterns, Trends in Policy Issues in Africa. Retrieved from, https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Procurement/Project-related-Procurement/WORKING%20119%20word%20document%20AA.PDFAccessed 26 March 2018

Singh, S. B. & Khan, S. (2017). Migration Dynamics in Western and Southern Africa. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 26(2), 79-87.

Sinha, B. R. K. (2005). Human Migration Concepts and Approaches. Retrieved from, http://www.mtafki.hu/konyvtar/kiadv/FE2005/FE20053-4_403-414.pdfAccessed 10 April 2018

Talani, L. S. & MacMahon, S. (2015). Handbook of the International Political Economy of Migration. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. (2017). International Migration Report 2017. http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population /migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2017.pdf Accessed 22 May 2018

United Nations, Department of Economics and Social Affairs, Population Division. (2017). Trends in International Migration Stock: The 2017 Revision. http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/populationfacts/docs/MigrationPopFacts20175.pdf Accessed 21 May 2018.

Journal of Social and Development Sciences (JSDS)
Vol. 9, No. 2, June 2018 (ISSN 2221-1152)

The Role of Moral Outrage on the Impeachment of Garut Regent in 2012-2013

Nur Hidayat Sardini
Department of Politics and Government, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia
nhsardini@gmail.com

Abstract: Moral and political are two things that cannot be separated. The marriage of a regent in Garut regency, Indonesia, with an underage girl eventually leads to community action, where people demand the regent to resign from his position as a regional head. It was not even four days of marriage the regent had divorced his young wife via a short message from his own mobile phone. Therefore, the people of Garut suddenly expressed their wrath through a large-scale demonstration which pushedthe Local House of Representative immediately to process the regent's removal. This research utilized a qualitative approach with a case-study method, the data in this research relied on the practice of in-depth interviews, observations, and documentaries. This research succeeded to observe that the general factor which underlying the action of demonstration in Garut which demanded the resignation of the regent was caused by the political climate change of democratization in the national level which also impacted Garut Regency. The national political-climate change increased the unconventional public participation in Garut and provided political sphere for non-state actors to establish political-involvement balance between state actors and non-state actors themselves. In other hand, the specific underlying factor on this case is the regent's behavior which was judged as the act of dishonorable humiliation on women's dignity, especially his speech in some national television channels. The power of this study lies on its novelty, filling in lubrication and study originality, towards the moral and ethical behavior as the new object on Social Movement.

Keywords: *Moral, Garut, Social Movement, Ethical Behavior, and Moral.*

1. Introduction

The common paradigm of Indonesian places a leader as a perfect figure in society. The leaders in Indonesia were taken as the patron, while the people were considered as the clients in the kind of vertical leadership which is the typical of patrimonialism (Jones, 2013). However, the structure was not automatically running without certain terms and conditions, especially if the leader is considered to have a deviant character, such as corruptive behavior (Santoso et al., 2014); as it was reflected in one of Indonesian proverbs, "The just king is the adored; the despotic king is the opposed". This proverb told that if the leaders behave politely, then the leaders will be respected. Otherwise, the leaders showing inappropriate behavior to their people hence would be condemned even opposed consequently by their people. The practice of leadership universally showed that the leaders were demanded to prioritize their people's needs rather than their own needs. They should demonstrate a certain degree of involvement, commitment, and performance in front of their people. The leaders were those who could successfully reveal their fascinating personal image. They should also be seen as those who have no mistake publicly, especially in front of his own people (Kouzes, & Posner, 2016). The concept of Sundanese political culture stated that the leaders are figures who 'kudu hade gogog hade tagok' who should speak righteously and behave favorably, without ignoring assertiveness on wrong things (Kurniasih, 2015).

Subsequently, in Sundanese leadership, the leaders should uphold the values of devoting purely for the sake of their people's interest (Hakim, 2012). On the eyes of Sundanese, which was contained on Sanghyang Siksa, the leaders should have obtained certain qualifications which were called as Parigeuing dan Dasa Pasanta, possessing a quality and quantitative behavior in a sense of their interaction with their people, with no rigid and authoritarian condition, and uphold the principle of silih asih, silih asah, dan silih asuh – as a key method for keeping everything in harmony strengthening the support of Sundanese to the highest in the structure (murbawisesa), served only to the powerful (ngawula kanukawasa), and the unity of people and the king / god (ngawula gusti, raja) (Heryana, 2014). The leadership a la Sundanese lies on the three (3) basic teachings, one of which is to be able to fulfill the set of Sundanese values (Nyunda). In the concept of nyunda, a leader was expected to unite with his people sincerely (ngumawula ka wayahna), a non-bad-behaving figure (teu ningkah), a non-arrogant figure towards others (teu adigung kamagungan), a non-self-excitement lover (teu paya diagreng-agreng), a wise and just person (agung maklum sarta adil), and a figure who avoided

corruptions (cadu basilat). Specifically, an ideal Sundanese women leadership values are righteousness, kindness, independence, and keeping her honor (Surya, 2010).

The history of the relations between leaders and their followers are more complex than as people think about. The dynamics of the relations depend on the law of interest between them. Historically, in the context of the relations, the followers are placed as the most aggrieved one because of their powerlessness. On the contrary, there are actually some leaders being guided by the political interest of their people, with a certain condition that the leaders should behave in accordance with the social moral values when they are exercising their power. As a fragment of system and the loss of leadership's direct control, the pressure to coordinate in the fragmented environment will become higher. While the people's expectation becomes higher, the burden of the leaders in some ways becomes higher too (Haus & Sweeting, 2006). This article looks at public success in deposing regional heads who are considered to have deviated from moral and ethical values. Disappointment of the community then increased because of the attitude of the regent who acted emotionally in responding the demonstration.

In the Sundanese culture the leader is a respected person, but on the other hand a leader must also be able to provide good attitudes and examples. In other words, the demands of the community that demanded Aceng HM Fikri derived from his position as a regent is a reaction in order to maintain the local values and culture. Thousands of mass from various elements of student organizations, non-governmental organizations and community organizations in Garut held a demonstrationthat demand Aceng HM Fikri to resign from his position as Garut Regent. People criticize the attitude and deeds of the Garut Regent who does not respect the dignity of women by marrying a girl and divorcing her through a short message on a cell phone[14]. In this article, the research object comes from the common assumption that the leaders could be deposed by their own people through a massive resisting social movement. The demonstrators behaved violently, expressing their moral outrage towards the regent who is considered to be unethical and immoral since the regent's marriage with an under-age little girl from his own people.

2. Literature Review

This research aimed to illustrate the social movement in Indonesia, especially in the era of Reform which had successfully preceded the era of Soeharto ruling Indonesia more than three decades (1965-1998). Indonesia in New Order was primarily established with three main political actors, Soeharto (the highest ordination on political structure), the Army (Tentara Nasional Indonesia), and Golongan Karya (Golkar) as a subordination of state's power. For more than three decades, the New Order of Indonesia was becoming the most dominating actor in Indonesian National Politics, compared with other powers, such as non-governmental organization (Mietzner, 2013). The New Order regime produced not only political repressiveness and power business, but also political dictation on other social-culture regulations. With the fall of the New Order of Soeharto caused by the organized social movement initiated by primarily University Students, the political form of the state lost its relations with other two pillars, the state's power on political repressiveness and Golkar as Soeharto's political instrument (Aspinall, 2013). The landmark of Indonesia political constellation in post-Soeharto era was marked with the fall of State's hegemony. The social movement of Garut's people outrage was a post-hegemony movement. Furthermore, the social movement was successful to obtain their political purpose, according to the idea of success' measurement of Gamson (2015).

According to Kioupkiolis (2018), social movements tended to illustrate mass hysteria. Finding a particular form, and merely expressed the so-called righteousness in the era of democratization in a certain country. The rise of the concept of social resistance came from an assumption that social dialectics urged interactions of complex social process. One of the object which seldom to scrutinize was the matter of moral authority, social agents, and social structure in society. While some scholars have asserted that oligarchs are in control of Indonesia's democratic institutions and procedures (by being able to sponsor or directly control political machines that protect their interests), others have described postauthoritarian politics as an ongoing and

[14]"Masyarakat Garut Demo Tuntut Aceng Fikri Mundur[Garut community Conduct Demonstration Demanding Aceng Fikri for Backward]." Source: http://www.rmol.co/read/2012/12/04/88258/Masyarakat-Garut-Demo-Tuntut-Aceng-Fikri-Mundur-

mostly evenly balanced contestation between oligarchic and nonoligarchic forces (Mietzner, 2014). Similarly, Hikam (1990) proposed a concept of 'moral outrage' in a context of the origin of social resistance. He argued, in every social life, there was a 'natural morality'. In its development, society constructed social rules and social norms to obey as the social contract. Through this morality, each individual in a society to establish a social contract to legitimate social formations which had been developed before.

In a broader sense, social formations were born from the success of each individual to build social power, resulting dominating and dominated groups. In this social formation, there established social system, values system, political system, and other systems. Therefore, Hikam added, as long as it was about social obedience and resistance, it would depend on the ability (in my humble opinion, more appropriate to be said as 'willingness') from the individuals having created social formations and in the forms of social structures and social system to demonstrate imperative morality which had been agreed the social contract (Hikam, 1990). In the aspect of interaction, coordination, and social communication between the ruler and the ruled, the concepts of evaluation were born from one party to others. From the evaluations, it often produced social tension, especially in the context of social justice and social morality issues. With regard to the issue of Hikam's 'social contract,' if the leader still had an ability (willingness) to protect their own people, to maintain social peace and order, it would mean that the leader still committed on the agreed social contract. As the compensation, the people had social responsibility to obey the regulations. The mutual obligation between the ruler and the ruled should be met since each party was in commitment on agreed social contract. Hikam's concept triggered the following concept, 'obedience' and 'resistance'.

With regard to the social justice and morality, the evaluative relations should logically consequenced two things. First, 'moral obedience' was the result social willingness on following the leader who upheld social justice and moral values consistently. Second, 'moral outrage' was the result of unjust and immoral leader's violation on the agreed social contract (Hikam, 1990). Those action commited by the demonstrators placed irrational ways as well. Quoting Olson, in social movements, actvists commonly aspired protests through certain ways which was normally considered as 'collective irrational behavior' (Porta & Diani, 2015). In the context of Garut's people outrage, some women stripped their panties and draped it to the picture of the Regent. Subsequently, they paraded it at the street around the office of the Regent. The demonstrators were genuinely fascinating, clamorous, and satisfied with what they had done. In the end, they burn the panties-draped picture together. This study theoretically had contributed on some aspects of the study field of social movement. The Garut's social movement had a similar type with political protests on other third-world countries which were in the middle of political transition from authoritarianism to democracy, especially on the contemporary protest movement in non-western states, with some differences like the involvement of religion-base primordialism values on the wave of demonstrations (Fominaya, 2014).

In political transitional state like Indonesia, the movement of Garut's people's outrage could be seen as the movement to uphold the values of democracy for the sake of democratization (Tilly, & Wood, 2013). It was also perceived as inevitable process on obtaining national democracy (Santos & Avritzer, 2005). But, technically, in the real field, the form of this kind of outrage simultaneously was part of participative democracy through social expectations on more than the realization of civil and political rights in this liberal democracy (Glasius, M., & Pleyers, G., 2013). Another contribution from this people outrage was a feeling on finding, sensing, and self-identifying on local morality upholding human dignity. In the Garut's social resistance, an under-age lady was married by one of the high-rank official in local power structure, and furthermore was divorced not more than four days after the marriage with a disgraceful manner (he sent a divorcing message via short message service). Being inspired with Arbatli & Rosenberg (2017) on human dignity as an aspect of social movement, the social movement on Garut's people outrage was the point that I wanted to proposed as a type of people outrage's social movement based on ethics and human dignity.

3. Methodology

The research method used in this paper was the qualitative approach. This approach itself was a research procedure to gather, to organize, to perceive, to analyze, and to present systematically, so the research could deem the research problem contextually and illustrate perfectly what really happened. This research was also to utilize the case study method. The focus on this research was a contemporary phenomenon and

furthermore is a deviant with other cases in history (Yin, 2018). Yin's argument emphasized on systematic procedures to understand the case in this research which was the Garut moral outrage toward their leader who was considered to be unethical and immoral since their Regent's marriage with an under-age girl being blown up. The techniques for gathering the data in this research relied on the practice of in-depth interviews, observations, and documentaries. The primary source in this research relied highly on the informants which have choosen by purposive technique. The location of this research is on the area of Garut Regency.

However, being adjusted with the process of data collecting, this research was also conducted at Bandung, Bogor and Jakarta from January 2014 until August 2015. Heretofore, the study of local leader's impeachment had been being dominated by the law studies with the focus on regulation of leader's impeachment and formal juridical review, while the study on impeachment with the perspective on social movement and politics in accordance had not existed yet. Thus, this research was intended to fill the rubrication's gap on social movement and politics by taking Local Leader's impeachment as the research object, in the context of ethical and moral behavior as the new object on Social Movement study.

4. Findings and Discussion

Garut's People Outrage: The scandal of flash marriage of Garut's Regent, Aceng Fikri, and Fanny Octora with its divorcement which was considered to be uncommon by Garut's people commenced being blown up four to five months after the marriage which was held in July 14, 2012. The public just knew the shameful scandal when a women activist uploaded a photo in a Facebook group account namely "Gosip Garut". This photo quickly was shared rapidly via social media and then became the hot news in Garut. The large-scale public broadcasting stimulated negative reactions from considerable groups from Artists, Political Observers, Politicians, Local and National Officials which, in the essence, condemned the deviant behavior of the regent. The public was disappointed because the leader instead of becoming social role model behaved unethically and immorally towards their own way people. The open mass resistance of Garut's people towards the immoral Regent just commenced in November 25, 2012 – six (6) months after the Regent's marriage in July 14, 2012. In the commemoration of International Women Day, considerable Garut women activists condemned highly the behavior on the Regent towards their people, especially the women[15]. Fanny Octora, the name of the woman who was married by the Regent without being registered in national administrative, report what she experienced with the immoral Regent to The Center of Integrated Service on Women and Children Empowerment in Garut (Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak Kabupaten Garut)[16].

In the very beginning, the Regent did not consider too much every single reproach to him. Instead of giving an answer as the expression of responsibility, the Regent analogized that the marriage was not quite different from a common transaction. A national television channel broadcasted his statement of the analogy which triggered especially the outrage of Garut's people and stimulated more reproaches from national figures towards him. It also encouraged Fanny to accuse him and hand her case to a Non-Governmental Organization, namely Gerakan Masyarakat Bawah Indonesia (GMBI) in November 26, 2011[17]. In 29th of November 2012, a legal aid agency, GERAK, reported a case of their client to the National Commission on Women and Children Protection of Indonesia (Komisi Nasional Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak Indonesia) in Jakarta[18]. Since the report to KPPA, the shameful scandal of this Regent became a national issue in which the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono ordered Minister of Home Affairs to send a fact finding team for this particular case[19]. On 2nd December of 2012, religious figures, Islamic boarding schools, non-governmental organizations, academics, businessmen, youth, students, and social influencers conducted a meeting.

No fewer than forty-nine (49) civil organizations stated criticism to the immoral Regent. Aside of establishing an opposing platform namely Garut Savior Committee (Komite Penyelamat (KOMAT) Kabupaten Garut), they

[15] In-depth Interview with Ari Maulana, 19thof March 2015
[16] In-depth Interview with Widjadja, 18thof March 2015
[17] In-depth Interview with Saepudin, 10thof November 2015
[18] In-depth Interview with Permana, 19thof March 2015
[19] In-depth Interview with Suparman, 25th of March 2015

also declared "Limbangan Resolution" containing (1) To support totally legal efforts of Fany Octora and her Lawyer for the sake of Justice; (2) To urge the DPRD Garut to exercise their rights to pose a vote of no confidence towards the Regent; and (3) To urge the DPRD Garut to soon propose the Regent's impeachment to Minister of Home Affair[20]. A day after KOMAT establishment is declared, the yard of DPRD Garut's hall is crowded with a thousand of demonstrator who were religious figures, students, and santris (Islamic students) throughout Garut. This huge demonstration was organized by one of the joining NGOs, Gerakan Masyarakat Bawah Indonesia (GMBI). The demonstrators were giving orations and shouting anti-Regent words.

They urged DPRD to soon impeach the regent from his position on the spot. Some of the elite demonstrators proposed to every single member of DPRD Garut to sign a draft of Regent's impeachment. However, some of them were not eager to sign the draft. Those rejecting member of DPRD Garut quibbled that the impeachment of the Regent should obey the mechanism of the law. The rejection from some of the member of DPRD Garut just angered the people more and more. Some of the demonstration frontmen forced to come to the working room of DPRD and proposed the impeachment draft. Since not all of the members of DPRD were in their room, the frontmen initiated to pick up every single member of DPRD. A rumour of DPRD's rejection on Regent's impeachment, was soon heard by the demonstrator in front of the yard of Garut's Regent Office – not too far from the secretariat of Garut's DPRD. In front of the Regent's office, the number of the demonstrator was not fewer than those conducting demonstration in front of DPRD Garut. Understanding that their political demand was rejected by DPRD, the demonstrator became more violent. Some of the demonstrators forced to enter the office of the Regent. However, the apparatus of Satuan Polisi Pamong Praja (Satpol PP) captured all of them. Local media report illustrated a thrilling situation of Garut at that time. The demonstrators and the police were pushing each other at that time in front of the Regent's office. The head of GMBI, on behalf of the demonstrator, negotiated with the head of Satpol PP Suherman in order that the demonstrator could be allowed to enter the office of the regent.

The total number of the demonstrator was more than the number of the police at that time which resulted that the demonstrator could enter the office successfully. According to media report, the number of the demonstrator was not more than 10.000 people[21], but the claim of the head of GMBI was more than 15.000 people[22]. Practically, the demonstrators were dominating policemen in the yard of Regent's office. However, the head of Satpol PP asked the demonstrator not to enter the official residence of the Regent. Being violently, the demonstrator did not consider the demand from the head of Satpol PP at all which meant they did enter the official residence of the Regent. At that time, they tried to seek every symbol of the Regent. Nevertheless, it seemed that they did not find what they were looking for. They quickly moved to the office of the Regent. Even though the head of Satpol PP reminded them that official residence of the Regent could be considered as the national symbol, the demonstrator did not consider it for twice. Finally, the field coordinator of demonstration penetrated the office of the Regent and found the inauguration photo of the Regent in 2009, after pushing angrily some policemen keeping the front Regent's official residence[23]. The head of Satpol PP was powerless facing the resentful behavior of demonstrant. They also brought the picture frame outside and showed it to the waiting angry demonstrator. It made the demonstrator shouted anti-Aceng louder and louder.

In an interesting scene of the demonstration, there was a woman stripping her panties and spontantly draped it to the frame. Consequently, they paraded the draped-panties-picture of the Regent while shouting loudly, "This is the symbol of Aceng!", "Infatuated for Panties", "Aceng's no more than Panties", "Long live Panties!", "This should close the Regent's mouth", "Depose Aceng!", and many more[24]. In the end, they burned the picture of the Regent in the middle of a street. To fulfill the demand of the demonstrator, DPRD Garut finally established a special-task team for processing the impeachment of the Regent, Aceng HM Fikri with regard to

[20] In-depth Interview with Romli, 19th of March 2015. Check the Document of Limbangan, 2nd of December 2012

[21] Radar Garut, 5th of December 2012

[22] In-depth Interview with Permana, 25th of March 2015

[23] Ibid.

[24] In-depth Interview with Yousef, 18th of May 2015, and In-depth Interview with Saefullah 25th of March 2015.

the case of flash unregistered marriage and his statement on the analogy of marriage with a transaction which was deemed to hurt the heart of women. The limited DPRD assembly finally decided to depose Aceng and furthermore established the special-task team for processing the impeachment of the Regent. The head of the DPRD stated that DPRD had agreed to the demand of Garut's people and would run the mechanism on Aceng's impeachment in accordance with the law[25]. After a full day of 4th of December 2012, there was a long lobby between DPRD and the demonstrator. Twenty-nine (29) out of forty-nine (49) members of DPRD, agreed to sign on the impeachment draft as it was said on the document of "Berita Acara Penyampaian Aspirasi Usulan Pemberhentian Bupati Garut" which the researcher got from the head of GMBI Garut[26].In the plenary assembly of DPRD on 21st of December, they unanimously to follow up this case to the Supreme Court (Mahkamah Agung).

On 22nd of January 2013, the Supreme Court investigating the case of Aceng Fikri resolved on the Resolution No. 01.P/Khs/2013 on 22nd of January 2013, bracing the Resolution of DPRD Garut No. 30 year 2012 on 12 December 2012 about the View of DPRD Garut on the Allegation of Ethics Violation and the Breaking Laws committed by Aceng Fikri as the Regent of Garut based on the provision No. 29 verse 4 the Law No. 32 Year 2004 had fulfilled the requirement for impeachment[27].

Underlying Factors: The success of the demonstrator to depose the Garut's Regent should not be understood as a single phenomenon, but it should be analyzed comprehensively with the bigger issues such as Indonesian political constellation at that time. This is regarding to the great political shift from authoritarianism to democracy in Indonesia. The Garut's social movement on the case of Aceng Fikri should not be possible in the era of Soeharto's New Order. It should be ensured that the leader of New Order would counter all of the people's aspirations and the people's dissatisfaction manifested with such demonstrations like the case of Garut's Social Movement deposing their own Regent through repressive ways and involved military apparatus (Lee, 2015). After the fall of Soeharto's regime on 21st of May in 1998 which was replaced with the era of B.J. Habibie, Indonesia just entered a new phase which was more democratic than before. The resignation of Soeharto in 1998 diminished a huge political resistance on democracy (Emmerson, 2001). The leadership shift thus resulted on inevitable consequence of the end of military domination in Indonesia national politics (Crouch, 2010), centralistic (Lane, 2014) and oligarchic (winters, 2013) state a la New Order. On the other hand, Indonesia just entered a more democratic (Mietzner, 2006), decentralistic (Aritenang, 2016) and pluralistic national political constellation, which was known more as the era of Reform. Soeharto resigned from 32-years-in-power President because of the political pressure from Reform movement which mainly was initiated by University students.

President Habibie, the superseding President, did not have many options except to fulfill the political demands of the demonstrator in the Reform Movement. Under Habibie's regime, Indonesia entered the era of flux and reflux of political relations between state and non-state actors. It was totally different since in the era of New Order, State was the only dominating actor in the realm of national politics. However, in the era of post-Soeharto the power of non-state actors raised drastically, stealing the power of Indonesia renewing form of the state. Subsequently, the amendment of 1945 Indonesia Constitution was the part of the non-state actors as national political balancer (Horowitz, 2013; Indrayana, 2008), at once it also became the form of success on establishing new patterns in the most contemporary Indonesia politics. In a sense of local and national government relations, President Habibie made a policy which loosened local government to run their autonomy as large as possible except some certain policies like monetary, fiscal, region, foreign and law enforcement policies. In a broader context, the government provided public sphere to express public's aspirations through social organization or as an individual to sue the government (Hadiz, & Robison, 2014). With this politics of decentralization, the pendulum of political power was not focused only to the national government, as practiced in the New Order Era. After all, the local government became a new battle field for an obvious dynamics of politics.

[25]The Document of Report on Aspirations to Garut's Regent Impeachment, 4thof December 2012.

[26]The Treaties on Special-Task Team of DPRD Garut, 5thof December 2012
[27]The Resolution of DPRD Garut No. 19 Year 2012

Factors on the Impeachment of Garut's Regent: Indonesia post-Soeharto was a hybrid of the concept of oligarchy and complex democracy, but somehow was stable to establish political structure responding public participation (winters, 2011). Even though, there was a political dynamic in locals because of the decentralization, but the political actor was dominated mainly by the oligarchy, the old political actors from New Order era who was willing to possessed the political power and did not share equal chance to non-state actors because of the scarce extractive resource to organize power for the local strategic position (Fukuoka, 2013). The power transition from Soeharto's New Order to the era of Reform was mainly formed by the significant roles of the low class of society. Those roles were manifested by some actions which significantly deposed the regime of New Order. As the consequences, there were an ample of national news reporting demonstrations and the birth of some pressure groups and print media (Aspinall, & Mietzner, 2010). At the same time, the application of the decentralization strengthened the power of local popular groups which did not have vertical relations with the national government. The former political dynamic in local government, which was mainly only a little pressure subsequently transformed to be a massive pressure. This transformation was merely the respond of the met interest between the national elites and local elites which gave a birth to limited social movements targeting certain purpose.

It was Emerson's argument (2001) saying that the local political dynamics were caused primarily by the detachment of national government with military in the context of national-local relations in Indonesia. The strong enough New Order institutions had been reformed and adjusted with the spontant conditions which could affect significantly local political pattern. In Garut regency, the dynamics of political participation were increasing. This was marked with the increasing considerable number of demonstration mainly conducted by non-state actors. The political history of Garut was the experimental history of grand ideologies in local realm with the basic characters of Garuts which civilized more than centuries ago. The Reform's contributions to Garut were the loosening of public sphere, the civil's freedom climate, the freedom of mass media, and the political fearlessness or worriness on expressing different opinions, which could be summarized as the process of democratization. The political climate of the freedom of expression was genuinely not possible to practice in the New Order era. The concrete measurement to measure political dynamic in Garut's regency in the era of Reform was the rapid rise of demonstration.

The data from General Directorate of the Unity of Nations and Politics (Directorate Jenderal Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik) showed that, from 2009 to 2013, the number of demonstration in Garut tended to increase. In the year of 2009, there conducted 72 times of demonstration, 102 times in 2010, 146 times in 2011, 99 times in 2012, 36 times in 2013. According to the data from DPRD Garut, since 2009 to 2013, there was at least 455 times demonstration. However, those actions almost ended up compromising dialogues with one of the member of DPRD Garut. The demonstrations to DPRD Garut were 146 times. If one year was 365 days, it meant that one-day people conducted demonstration and one day was free, and the day after tomorrow, they re-demonstrated[28]. According to the data of the Police of Garut, along 1998 to 1999 and 2000 to 2012, there was a huge demonstration when Garut's people demonstrated to depose President Soeharto as well. The waves of these demonstrations were equal with other locals in Indonesia, 51 times of demonstrations. In the year of 2000 to 2012, there were 43 demonstrations in Garut. However, that number increased to be 300 (three hundred) times in 2005[29]. The demonstrations in post-New-Order Garut were mainly driven by religion issue.

According to our informant, the issues to be demonstrated varied from the household issues, the increasing price of electricity, the protests on evictions, the protest on the cadger re-arrangement, up to the protest on the broken public facilities which became the responsibilities of provincial government and Garut's government. Nevertheless, the hugest demonstration conducting for weeks targeted the Regent Aceng Fikri (2012-2013) was encouraged with the success on the former Regent of Aceng, Agus Supriadi (2007, his actual period was on 2004-2009, and deposed a Local Secretary, Iman Alirahman. The political constellation as illustrated above, in the context of democratization, was seemed to be similar in Hong Kong in recent years in

[28]Refined data from DPRD Garut Secretariat Year 2009-2013, also In-depth Interview with the Head of Kesbangpol Garut Suparman, 25th of March 2015.

[29] Data from Polres Garut Year 1998-2012, complemented with In-depth Interview with AKP Saefullah, 25th of March 2015

which the phenomenon of the increasing political participation went along with the political protests of Hong Kong's people to the government of China, concurrently with the transformation of political structure and national economy development. The surfaced protests were perceived as the pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong (Cheng, 2014). The political symptom in Garut and Hong Kong strengthened a postulation from Hibbs which stated that resisting regimes stimulated collective action from their people, which he defined as "aggressive political participation". In this aggressive political participation, there came anti-regime which was perceived by the people as norms and laws violations (Hibbs, 1973).

Precipitating Factors: The revelation of the Regent's flash marriage made Garut's people organize collective resistance on the Regent, Aceng Fikri. The four-day marriage and the Regent's divorcement via short message service were not reflecting how a good leader should behave. Instead of protecting their people, the Regent shamefully behaved immorally and unethically towards their people through his inappropriate speech. Therefore, according to our informants, the outrage of the people of Garut to their Regent was primarily triggered by their regent's behavior itself. Aside, the Regent's immoral statements broadcasted nationally just encouraged the opposing movement faster. How Aceng Fikri married and divorced his wife was a significant issue to cause Garut's outrage. The marriage was not registered in the Office of Religion Affair (Kantor Urusan Agama, KUA), which was perceived as the violation of the formal marriage law. On the other hand, how the Regent divorced his wife violated the social norms of Garut. Whereas, the religion reference (Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah) glorified the polygamous marriage with a condition that the man should uphold his wife's' dignity. One of our informants agreed on the concept of polygamy because it was allowed on the Al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah but did not agree on such Regent's polygamy and divorcement which instead broke the teaching of Islam. Our informant questioned, "What kind of logic the he used to marry only four days and divorced in such manner?". In addition, from another informant, the triggering factor of Garut's people outrage was the manner of the regent itself which was willing to share his controversial statements[30]. The people's outrage was a response towards the act of law violations. The people of Garut considered that the affair of the Regent's flash marriage was a destructive act on the moral existence of Garut generally. While the wrongdoings committed by the Regent and the DPRD firstly did not put attention on it, then the people of Garut conducted an organized social resistance whose purpose was on protecting the existence of Garut's moral values. Therefore, the people's outrage was one of the instruments from social mechanism framework committed by Garut's people to condemn inappropriate behavior of the ordination of the running political power[31].

The Garut's people outrage towards their Regent was perceived as the responsibility of Garut's on the moral contract created in the moment of the campaign on Local Election in 2008 resulting Aceng Fikri as the actor to win the Garut's legitimate political power. In the eyes of Garut's people, the revelation of the scandal was the form of the regent's inconsistency on obeying the contract of moral values between him and the people. The expression of people's outrage was a form of responsibility on the violation of social contract which encouraged the social resistance to him[32]. An important point on social contract stated that the leader should protect the people of Garut supporting him on the local election. As the consequence, the people submitted their loyalty to their Regent firstly in the context of the election which further on the government's policies[33]. The social loyalty was the manifestation of moral obedience, the Garut's obedience judging consistency of the Regent. On the other hand, as the time goes by, the Regent was judged to violate the social contract, and then the people of Garut conducted social resistance and social disobedience as the manifestation of people's outrage. In the case of the Garut's Regent, the people of Garut considered that what the Regent did had harassed the people. Fanny, her parent, and her family, reported the scandal to some of non-governmental organizations and law enforcing institutions since they felt to be treated arbitrarily by the Regent[34].

According to one of women activists, who were actively involved on the social movement on the Regent's impeachment, the people of Garut would not obey Aceng Fikri because he did not reflect the exemplary

[30] In-depth Interview with Romli, 19th of March 2015
[31] In-depth Interview with Syahidin, 20th of April 2015
[32] In-depth Interview with Widjadja, 18th of March 2015
[33] In-depth Interview with Romli, 19th of March 2015
[34] In-depth Interview with Permana, 19th of March 2015

character (akhlakul karimah). Furthermore, she added that the power should be in the hand of respected people, so that the people of Garut would honor and obey his orders. She boldly put it into sentences, "How the people would follow the order of the boss who loves to play women (awewek), immoral, and broke the law? Do not expect that the government would run well and would ponder the interest of the people if the leader did not pose to be an exemplary for his people[35]. As the assembly went on, there were some noisy colored the forum. The contra-Aceng groups did not obey the regulation of the assembly and for many times were reproved by the head of the assembly as demonstrated with the scene of when spokesperson of PKB and Gerindra fraction expressed their opinion. In the very beginning, those two fractions were seemed to be inverse from the demand of the demonstrators and their colleagues in parliament[36]. However, the plenary assembly of DPRD considered that the process of the Regent's impeachment to the Supreme Court, for (1) Allegation of Ethics Violation and the Breaking Laws committed by Aceng Fikri as the Regent of Garut in Accordance with the Laws; (2) DPRD had found the information, data, facts on the allegation of violation of the Law No. 1 Year 1974 article 2 verse (2), article 3, article 4, article 5 jo Government Law No. 9 Year 1975 article 41 letter b and article 39 verse (1) and the Law No. 32 Year 2004 article 27 verse (1) letter e and f, and article 110 verse (2) committed by AcengFikri as the Regent of Garut; and (3) DPRD Garut stated their view on the Resolution of DPRD No. 30 Year 2012[37].

5. Conclusion

The moral outrage of Garut's people leading up to the impeachment of Garut's Regent in the Year of 2012-2013 is the expression of Garut's people struggle to the immoral and unethical Regent with regard to his flash marriage and how he divorced his ex-wife. Through the demonstration, the masses suppress the Local House of Representatives (DPRD) of Garut Regency to process and recommend impeachment of the Regent by firstly denounce the regent to the Law Enforcement Institution and prosecute him with applicable law. The actions and demands of the masses then ultimately succeeded in making the regional heads to terminate his position in the middle of the period. The underlying factors on the Garut's people outrage resulting the impeachment on the Regent of Garut in the year of 2012-2014 was part of the democratization caused by the political structural transformation and the government, strongly affected in the regency of Garut. Therefore, it dynamized and increased political participation unconventionally and urged the DPRD to fulfill the demand of the resentful people. While, the precipitating factor on this case was the Regent's statements in the media broadcasted many times which was judged to be immoral and unethical in a sense of four-day marriage and how he divorced his wife.

Reference

Arbatli, E. & Rosenberg, D. (2017). Non-Western Social Movements and Participatory Democracy: Protest in the Age of Transnationalism. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Aritenang, A. F. (2016). The Impact of State Restructuring on Indonesia's Regional Economic Convergence. Singapore: ISEAS.

Aspinall, E. & Mietzner, M. (2010). Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, Institutions, and Society. Singapore: ISEAS.

Aspinall, E. (2013). The Triumph of Capital? Class Politics and Indonesian Democ- ratisation. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 43(2), 226–242.

Cheng, J. Y. S. (2014). New Trends of Political Participation in Hong Kong. Hong Kong: City University Hong Kong.

Crouch, H. (2010). Political Reform in Indonesia after Soeharto. Singapore: ISEAS.

Emmerson, D. (2001). Indonesia beyond Soeharto: Negara, Ekonomi, Masyarakat, Transisi. Jakarta: P.T. Gramedia Pustaka Utama dan The Asia Foundation Indonesia.

Fominaya, F. C. (2014). Social Movements and Globalization: How Protests, Occupations, and Uprising Are Changing the World. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

[35] In-depth Interview with Komariah, 25th of March 2015
[36] In-depth Interview with Fahmi, 26th of March 2015
[37] The Note on DPRD GarutAssembly, 26th of December 2012

Fukuoka, Y. (2013). Oligarchy and Democracy in Post-Soeharto Indonesia. *Political Studies Review*, 11(1), 52-64.

Gamson, W. A. (2015). Defining Movement Success, in Goodwin, J., and James M. Jasper (eds.). The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts Third Edition. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.

Glasius, M. & Pleyers, G. (2013). The Global Moment of 2011: Democracy, Social Justice, and Dignity. *Development and Change*, 44(3), 547–567.

Hadiz, V. R. & Robison, R. (2014). Ekonomi Politik Oligarki dan Pengorganisasian Kembali Kekuasaan di Indonesia. *Prisma*, 33(1).

Hakim, M. L. (2012). Etika Kepemimpinan Sunda: Dialektika Agama dan Nilai-Nilai Filosofis Sunda. Disertasi Program Studi Religious Studies Program Pasca Sarjana. Bandung: UIN Sunan Gunung Djati.

Haus, M. & Sweeting, D. (2006). Local Democracy and Political Leadership: Drawing a Map. *Political Studies*, 54(2), 267-288.

Heryana, A. (2014). The Traces of the Sundanese Leadership: The Teaching of the Tenets in Carita Parahyangan Manuscript (1580). *Journal Patanjala,* 6(2), 163-178.

Hibbs, D. A. (1973). Mass Political Violence. New York: Wiley.

Hikam, A. S. (1990). Perlawanan Sosial Teoritis dan Beberapa Studi Kasus. Jakarta: LP3ES.

Horowitz, D. L. (2013). Constitutional Change and Democracy in Indonesia. Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press.

Indrayana, D. (2008). Indonesian Constitutional Reform 1999-2002: An Evaluation of Constitution-Making in Transition. Jakarta: Penerbit Kompas.

Jones, T. (2013). Culture, Power, and Authoritarianism in the Indonesian State: Cultural Policy across the Twentieth Century to the Reform Era. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill N.V.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2018). Movements post-hegemony: how contemporary collective action transforms hegemonic politics. *Journal Social Movements Studies,* 17(1), 99-112.

Kouzes, J. M. & Posner, B. Z. (2016). Learning Leadership: The Fundamentals of Becoming an Exemplary Leader. San Fransisco: Wiley.

Kurniasih, D. (2015). Kepemimpinan Politik Orang Sunda, Majalah Ilmiah UNIKOM, 5.

Lane, M. (2014). Decentralization and Its Discontents: An Essay on Class, Political Agency, and National Perspective in Indonesia Politics. Singapore: ISEAS.

Lee, T. (2015). Defect or Defend: Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia. Baltimore and Singapore: Johns Hopkins University Press dan ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute.

Mietzner, M. (2006). The Politics of Military Reform in Post-Suharto Indonesia; Elite Conflict, Nationalism, and Institutional Resistance. Washington: East-West Center.

Mietzner, M. (2013). Money, Power, and Ideology: Political Parties in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia. Singapore: NUS Press, Nias Press, and Asian Studies Association of Australia.

Mietzner, M. (2014). Indonesia's 2014: How Jokowi Won and Democracy Survived. *Journal of Democracy,* 25(4), 111-125.

Porta, D. D. & Diani, M. (2015). *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Santos, B. D. S. & Avritzer, L. (2005). Introduction: Opening up the Canon of Democracy, in B. D. S. Santos (eds.), Democratizing Democracy: Beyond the Liberal Democratic Canon. London: Verso.

Santoso, L., Meyriswati, D. & Alfian, I. N. (2014). Corruption and Mentality: Cultural Obstacles in Combating Corruption in Indonesia. *Journal Masyarakat, Kebudyaan, dan Politik,* 27(4), 173-183.

Surya, P. (2010). Kepemimpinan Perempuan Bernilai Kesundaan," Manajemen Pendidikan, 02.

Tilly, C. & Wood, L. J. (2013). Social Movements 1768-2012. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Winters, J. A. (2013). Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia." JSTOR: Indonesia, 96,Special Issue: Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesian Politics 11-33. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5728/indonesia.96.0099.

Winters, J. A. (2011). Oligarchy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yin, R. K. (2018). Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods Sixth Edition. California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Journal of Social and Development Sciences (JSDS)
Vol. 9, No. 2, June 2018 (ISSN 2221-1152)

Poverty and Agricultural Productivity Growth Nexus in the Non-Plantation Agriculture in Sri Lanka

H.M.W.A. Herath
Department of Economics and Statistics, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka
ariyarathneherath@gmail.com

Abstract: Not only there is a close relationship between poverty and agriculture productivity but also agriculture is considered as a significant means of plummeting poverty in the long-term and in the short-term. While agriculture may not be central as the driver of economic growth in current global neo-liberal economic context it is generally accepted that the food security and livelihood development aspects for all still warrants developing agriculture, a situation that holds true for Sri Lanka too. Productivity in agriculture is determined by conditions in both the natural, socioeconomic and community factors. The productivity in the country's agriculture sector is rooted in the farming system, namely, the farm and the farmer/farm operator. These two units are in an interacting whole which makes property of one a quality of another. Small plot size, the existing tenure system, low levels of education and skills of farm operators and behavior of two patrons (government and traders) in the sector are the major backward determinants affecting to place in the farmer into a vicious cycle of poverty. This background does not help to generate a dynamic, risk bearing and enterprising farmers for the economy and this leads to low productivity and then the continuation of poverty of farmers. The lack of attentiveness of overall situation and lack of holistic approach to problems providing appropriate solutions to individuals are constraints in agriculture development. Solution is the hallmark of policies and interventions in agriculture. Present focus is also on subsistence-based model and the approach is piecemeal.

Keywords: *Farmer, Farm, Agriculture, Social Factors, Productivity*

1. Introduction

Though the contribution of agriculture value added to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)of the country is declining (which stood at 46.3 per cent in 1950 and 19.4 per cent in 2000 to 6.9 per cent in 2017) while the contribution of industry and services sectors increased over the same period, its role in the economy has not declined. The significant role of agriculture in the economy in spite of its diminishing contribution to economy is confirmed by the size of the agriculture lab our force which stood at 26.1 per cent in 2017(CBSL, 2017), almost thrice its share in the GDP. This heavy dependence of population on agriculture for living has important socio-economic consequences, especially in the politically sensitive areas of income poverty and food security. While agriculture may not be central as the driver of economic growth and development in current context, it is generally accepted that the food security and livelihood development aspects for all still warrants developing agriculture. This situation that holds true for Sri Lanka as well. Not only there is a close relationship between poverty and agriculture productivity but also agriculture is considered as a significant means of plunging poverty both in the long-term and in the short-term. It is claimed that historically, poverty reduction has been very closely related to agriculture, particularly to the rate of growth of agricultural productivity. In other words, it means that the countries that have increased their agricultural productivity have also achieved economic growth and the greatest reductions in poverty (DFID, 2004).

The affiliation between agriculture and livelihood development process is seen by development dialogue at present in relation to four major areas, namely, as impact on income generation (direct and immediate), cheaper food contributing to better food security, contributing to growth and generation of economic activity in other sectors and, stimulating and sustaining economic transition in an economy (DFID, 2004). Therefore, as a tropical agricultural society in nature, it is worthwhile to understand the importance and impact of non-plantation agriculture on poverty reduction in Sri Lanka and the socioeconomic factors affecting productivity in Sri Lanka's agriculture by focusing on the farm and the farmer. In addition, it is important to recognize the results, strengths and weaknesses of recent policy intervention process in agriculture sector under the neoliberal economic policy frame. This paper is divided into five sections. The first section is an introduction to the study including the objectives of the study. The second section provides a review of literature and the third section describes the analytical procedures. The fourth section is results and discussion which provides a description of the agriculture sector of Sri Lanka with a focus on its contribution to the economy and the

socio-economic situation of the people. This section also includes an assessment of the relationship between poverty and agriculture. Further, it analyzes the patterns of productivity in the agriculture sector of the country with reference to some key food crops in the non-plantation agriculture sector, and socioeconomic factors affecting productivity in relation to farm organization and farmers. The final section is the conclusions.

Objectives of the Study: Investigate the poverty and agriculture productivity nexus focusing on farm and the farmer. Examine the socioeconomic and community factors affecting productivity in Sri Lanka's non-plantation agriculture by focusing on the farm and the farmer.

2. Literature Review

In Sri Lanka, researchers point to stagnation and decline in the earnings and productivity in the agricultural sector during the past three decades and cite, in addition to adverse weather conditions, policy, market, attitudinal (social) and technology-related causes for this situation (Abeysekera, 2008). Although the early policy priorities with regard to agriculture altered later on with export agriculture receiving the support of the government in the 1980s the concentration was on increasing output, but not by enhancing productivity and producer earnings except in the case of introduction of new improved varieties (Gunawardana, & Somaratne, 2000). Increasing the cropland area by establishing new settlement schemes and rehabilitating old ones, crop diversification etc. were part of this new output centred strategies adopted by the government for the sector. However, an increase in agriculture production and productivity is not only a problem of quantity production but also a problem of total factor productivity. Poverty agriculture nexus can be elaborated with reference to another feature of agriculture productivity known as agricultural productivity gap. In all less developed countries agriculture's share of employment is higher than its share of the GDP which is also a feature of Sri Lanka's agriculture.

According to existing to studies, agricultural productivity gap is around a factor of four in developing countries, on average (Adamopoulos, & Restuccia, 2014; Gollin, Lagakos, & Waugh, 2012; Lagakos, & Waugh, 2013). This means that value added per worker is higher in the non-agriculture sector than in agriculture which results in drawing workers out of agriculture creating lab our shortages and also high lab our costs. This adversely affects the agriculture sector livelihood and income by subsidizing non-plantation agriculture in countries like Sri Lanka allowing it to be sustained at non-viable levels (World-Bank, 2009). It is also seen that certain types of off-farm employment opportunities that are considered as having better social status (Jayasena, 1998) and they by providing regular work and stable income attract the better educated and enterprising youth out of agriculture affecting its productivity even further. Agriculture also provides a ready solution to the problem of food security in poor households thus help alleviate poverty in the short-term. In the long-term agriculture help drive economic growth forward (Lewis, 1954)[38] through the long-term poverty reduction and livelihood development. Agriculture productivity therefore has been identified by many analysts as the single most important factor of achieving economic growth, employment creation and poverty reduction as well as a solution to food security issues.

Though the link between poverty reduction and growth in agriculture may be challenged by analysts of the Sri Lanka situation who would claim that Sri Lanka has, in spite of slow growth in agricultural productivity has achieved good results in poverty reduction, it cannot be denied that the long-term solutions to poverty is in economic growth and historically agriculture has played a very important role in overall economic growth and development (World-Bank, 2002). Agriculture driven growth and development model of classical economics today have gone out of fashion and the new debate questions the earlier views on economic development, particularly those on the link between agriculture and economic development (Hayami, & Ruttan, 1985; Mellor, 1986; Schultz, 1964). Further, economists no longer accept that economic development invariably ends poverty and most importantly poverty reduction has to wait till economic development is achieved. The literature reviewed above shows that there is a very strong relationship between poverty

[38]All cases of economic development from 18th and 19th century Europe and North America to late 20th century East Asia have been associated with agricultural development. However, the poorest economies today have failed to achieve agriculture driven take off to industrialization.

reduction or livelihood development of low-income categories and agriculture productivity improvement. Historically it was proved that initial stages of the development process in many developed countries, agriculture assisted in different ways for the development of other sectors such as industrial and manufacturing.

3. Methodology

The major data collection tools for this study were secondary sources and obtaining data from Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Agricultural farmers from villages in the nine provinces of the country were selected purposely to the FGDs. Altogether nine FGDs were conducted and which was conducted based on the land extent, quantity produced and a number of active farmers in each province. Accordingly, we have organized FGDs as one in each province for Central Province, North Central Province, Northern Province, Eastern Province, Uwe Province, North Western province, and Southern Province with paddy and vegetable farmers. Further, one in Sabaragamuwa Province and one in Western Province with vegetable farmers were also conducted. All FGDs were conducted in informal settings, often in a residence of a household. This method was used in obtaining both farm and farm operator (farmers) data and information for the analysis of farmer's perception regarding issues related to productivity, socioeconomic issues, strengths and weaknesses of existing systems and practices in the regions. Around 50 individuals were presented in all of the FGDs. Secondary sources such as reports of Department of Census and Statistics (DCS), Central Bank of Sri Lanka (CBSL), The World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and Department of Agriculture etc. were utilized where necessary.

Productivity is the efficiency in converting inputs or a combination of inputs into the output and is defined as a ratio between output volume and input volume. Productivity is measured by an indicator which is a fraction, the numerator of which is a measure of output and the denominator is a measure of input indicator (Szabo, 2003). Productivity indexes measure changes in the efficiency with which inputs are transformed into outputs (Adamopoulos, & Restuccia, 2014). Agricultural productivity is a reference to overall efficiency of production and has been defined by several scholars with reference to their own views and disciplines (Dharmasiri, 2010). Yield per unit (lab our and land) is a popular indicator for its ease of calculation. In this study we take the yield per unit of land and value of yield per unit of lab our as indicators of productivity considering the importance of land and lab our in determining productivity and also for data availability. Paddy farming in Sri Lanka receives special reference as the biggest player in terms of its share in the GDP, food security and the families involved.

According to the Department of Agriculture there are around 1.8 million families in the paddy sector cultivating around 870,000 hectares of paddy annually[39]. Productivity however is not determined by inputs alone. There are other external factors in different countries and different societies. The efficiency of converting inputs into output is intervened by these external factors in more or less. In agriculture, these external factors can be categorized into three broad sets as follows; The factors in the natural world such as weather, soil condition and climate. The factors in the social, psychological and community world such as relationships, behavior, attitudes and beliefs. The factors in other socioeconomic and structural such as income poverty, level of education, availability of extension services and inputs. The efficiency which decides the rate of conversion is both socioeconomic, political and behavioral factors related. This is because neither technology nor any other input becomes part of the production process without decisions of people involved whose decisions are influenced by the social contest. Better seed and crop varieties, pesticide or fertilizer can improve productivity only if farmers decide to use them.

In other words, inputs are the necessary but not sufficient conditions of productivity and efficiency. Establishing causal relationships between socioeconomic determinants is not an easy task as socioeconomic phenomena are vague and inconsistent by nature. Therefore, in this analysis the attempt is not to seek for causal connections but to identify possible influences in broad contexts in which multiple determinants are in operation interacting with each other. Socioeconomic factors are treated not as determinants but as

[39] Information given in the website of the Department of Agriculture.
http://www.agridept.gov.lk/index.php/en/crop-recommendations/808, Accessed on September 23, 2014

contributors to the output and outcome. In the analysis we examine the role of socioeconomic, community and psychological determinants in productivity focusing on the two main elements in the farming system, namely, the farm and the farmer. In what follows therefore we shall examine the socioeconomic background of the farm organization and related operations and the socioeconomic nature of the farmer and the impact of these two on productivity.

4. Results and Discussion

Agriculture Sector in Sri Lanka: Though the share of agriculture in the GDP has been falling at a steady rate the majority of the population of Sri Lanka still lives in rural areas with little change over the last several decades and agriculture is the mainstay of the rural economy. At present the contribution of Sri Lanka's agricultural sector in the GDP is the lowest in the South Asian region[40] and is comparable to that of the middle-income countries in South East Asia. In terms of the size of the agricultural labor force as against size of the sector in the economy Sri Lanka is closer to South East Asian countries than to those of South Asian countries (Table 1). The share of agriculture in the GDP in 2017 was 6.9 per cent and agricultural lab our force in the country was 26.1 per cent in 2017 (CBSL, 2017).

Table 1: The Share of Agriculture in the GDP and the Agriculture Labor Force in some Selected Counties in South and South East Asia 2012.

Country	Share in GDP	Labor Force
Thailand	11.4	38.9
Philippines	12.7	32.1
Malaysia	12.0	12.6
Indonesia	14.7	35.1
Pakistan	26.0	45.3
Nepal	36.8	n.a
India	17.5	48/9
Bhutan	16.5	62.2
Bangladesh	18.3	47.5
Afghanistan	27.3	n.a
Sri Lanka	11.0	31.0

Source: Economic and Social Statistics of Sri Lanka 2014, Central Bank of Sri Lanka

In the non-plantation agriculture sector food crops dominate with paddy cultivation making the biggest contribution to the GDP. Its share is only 10 percentage points below the combined contribution of three plantation crops (Table 2). The combined contribution of all food crops (paddy and other food crops) is only little less than two third of the agricultural GDP however if one takes other food crops of which a significant portion is consumed domestically as food the food production in the agriculture sector moves above two thirds of the GDP.

Table 2: Share of Agricultural GDP in 2012 (Excluding Forestry and Livestock).

Crop	Product Volume (000)	Percent
Tea, Rubber and Coconut	66,704	27.2
Paddy	43,596	17.8
Minor Export Crops	11,507	4.7
Other Food Crops	111,722	45.6
Other Agricultural Crops	11,535	4.7
Total	245,064	100.00

Source: Economic and Social Statistics of Sri Lanka 2014, Central Bank of Sri Lanka

[40] Maldives is not considered as its land does not support regular agriculture and crop production.

Non-plantation agriculture in Sri Lanka is divided into three climatic zones which are the wet zone, the intermediate zone and the dry zone which consists of over 75% of the land area support food crops through widespread irrigation facilities. In terms of production the agriculture of Sri Lanka is divided into two major sectors as domestic traditional (food crops mainly) agriculture and plantation (commercial export crops) agriculture. Domestic traditional agriculture with the aim of producing food for consumption has a history of more than 2000 years while the commercial crops except the coconut were introduced to the country by the British colonial administration. Coconut though is considered plantation crop has been in the domestic agriculture for centuries. With the establishment of dry zone colonies/settlement schemes a new component primarily aimed at paddy production was added to the agriculture sector of the country. In addition, shifting cultivation called Chena cultivation also plays a role in the country's agriculture as a subsistence level food producer in the dry zone. Chena cultivation is practiced by farmers on mainly encroached crown land.

Table 3: Extent of Land under Different Crop Varieties2012

Crop Variety/Land Use Type	Extent Cultivated (Ha)	Percentage
Paddy	977,561	46.22
Vegetable and tubers	85,663	4.0
Fruits	85,066	4.1
Other Field Crops	130,297	6.1
Plantation Crops	716,320	33.9
Minor Export Crops	119,862	5.7
Total Extent	2,114,739	100.0

Source: The Department of Agriculture and Central Bank of Sri Lanka Various Reports

Apart from the plantation agriculture which produces mainly for export (except for coconut) the other major player in the country's agriculture in terms of both the extent cultivated and volume produced is paddy. Other agricultural produce are the vegetables and fruits and a number of crops known generally as field crops and seasonal crops. The land area covered by the different crops is given in Table 3. Of the agriculture produce except for the plantation agriculture, the produce from other sources is used mainly for domestic consumption. Except for the small quantities that exported on unscheduled basis almost all of the paddy production is consumed locally and so is the consumption of fruits and vegetables. A part of the Minor Export Crops is also used by the local consumers. For instance, in 2012 of the total production of 25,637 MT of pepper and 16,087 MT of cinnamon the country exported only 14, 637 MT and 10,532 respectively. For the same year of the total production of 555 MT of cardamom only 10MT, which is only 2 per cent of the production was exported the same year (CBSL, 2013). Therefore, agricultural sector is not only important for Sri Lanka as a food producer. Though the exports from Sri Lanka have shifted to industrial products in the recent years agricultural produce still make a significant contribution to the country's export earnings (Table 4).

Table 4: Agricultural Exports Earnings, Sri Lanka (Rs. Bn.)

Product	2004	2005	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Tea	74.9	81.5	136.2	162.8	164.9	180.4	199.5	212.6	182.0
Rubber	5.2	4.7	11.3	19.6	22.8	15.7	9.2	5.9	3.6
Coconut	11.5	11.4	18.6	18.7	29.4	26.6	11.1	28.0	30.1
Other Agri. Crops	16.4	18.4	43.9	59.5	62.4	76.0	-	-	-
Total Agri. exports	108.0	116.0	210.1	260.6	279.5	297.7	-	-	-

Source: Annual Reports, Various Years, Central Bank of Sri Lanka and Sri Lanka Custom.

As the above Table 4 shows the export earnings from agricultural produce have increased by nearly three times during the past 8 years with some products displaying even bigger increases. What is noteworthy in this context is the near five times increase in the export earnings of other agricultural crops indicating that not only agricultural exports are solid performers but also export of non-traditional (non-plantation) agricultural crops is establishing itself as a valuable player in the economy.

Poverty Agriculture Nexus in Sri Lanka: Not only there is a close association between poverty and agriculture based livelihood but also agriculture is considered as an important means of both reducing poverty in the long-term and alleviating it in the short-term. It is claimed that historically, rates of poverty reduction have been very closely related to agricultural performance – particularly to the rate of growth of agricultural productivity. This in other words means that the countries that have increased their agricultural productivity have also achieved economic development and the greatest reductions in poverty (DFID, 2004). The relationship between agriculture and poverty reduction is seen by development discourse today in relation to four areas, namely, as impact on income which is direct and immediate, cheaper food contributing to better food security, contributing to growth and generation of economic activity in the non-farm sector and finally inspiring and sustaining economic transition (DFID, 2004). The FGDs conducted in nine provinces specially the provinces in the Dry Zone of Sri Lanka revealed that if farmers had better harvest it was affected to enhanced their income and contributed to resolve the issue of food security.

These findings are consistent with the findings of (Xavier, Lin, Thirtle, & Wiggins, 2001), who claim that growth of agriculture reduced poverty through the creation of jobs on the land, linkages from farming to the rest of the rural economy, and a decline in the real cost of food for the whole economy. Sri Lanka's total population of 21.4 million the rural population is around 80% and the majority of it is engaged in agriculture as indicated by the large labor force (26.1%) engaged in agriculture (CBSL, 2017). The total agriculture holdings are 1,783,473 of which 1, 387, 521 are used for crops only agriculture (DCS, 2012). This indicates to a dependence on crop production on small land holdings and also dependence of a large segment of the rural population on agriculture. The average income of those who are engaged in agriculture is below that of workers in industry and service sectors (HIES, 2012/13). Average income of rural households is 2/3 of urban households (HIES, 2012/13). The poverty head count though has gone down between 1990/91 and 2009/10 overall the poverty level in the rural sector is still almost twice that in the urban sector, i.e. 5.3% and 9.2% (CBSL, 2013). Gini coefficient for household income was for rural sector and urban sectors were 47 and 51 respectively showing a marginally better income distribution in the rural sector.

This however is more an indicator of poverty rather than income equality. Further, rural household income distribution and poverty rates by sector for the country show poverty rate for agriculture sector to be 24.1% while the same for non-agriculture sector to be 16.4% with Sabaragamuwa, and Uva recording rates over 30% (World-Bank, 2012). Add these income differentials and poverty levels are the food security issues that are directly linked to poor levels of production and productivity in the agriculture sector. This dependence of a large population on agriculture, the levels of poverty among them and the socio-economic and also political consequences of this dependency naturally makes governments to pay attention to agriculture even if their policy focus is industry and service lead growth. Agriculture production affects not only income levels and through that poverty, but also food security. Declining food production in turn affects household consumption and supply of food resulting in food insecurity.

Food security is a major concern for the household of the agriculture sector in Sri Lanka with impact on aggravating the problems of poverty. A World Food Program report for April 2014 says that in Sri Lanka the three consecutive years of draught has resulted, among other things, in increased food insecurity doubling the numbers to 768,000 (World-Food-Programme, 2014). The conclusion one can draw from these is that the agricultural production needs improvement to address the problem of poverty in the agriculture sector. With heavy pressure on land suitable for agriculture in the country improvements in the production in the agriculture sector can be made only by increasing productivity. Discussions with farmers showed that during the dry seasons they are facing numerous difficulties and as a result, depend on either government subsidy or credit from money lenders in the informal money market.

The agricultural sector is the principal source of livelihood directly and indirectly to a vast majority of the population in all developing countries, especially those who live in rural areas. Both in low income countries and in many middle income countries (especially those who have achieved middle income status recently) agriculture provides livelihood for over 1/3 of their population (see Table 1). Incidentally these also are the regions where poverty is more pronounced. In Sri Lanka dependence of a large population on agriculture has largely remained unchanged in the recent years even though the share of agriculture in the GDP has been going down at a steady pace (Table 5). However, the plus side of this development in Sri Lanka is that despite

the declining share of agriculture in the GDP the value of agriculture has gone up again at a reasonable pace (Table 5).

Table 5: Share of GDP, Production Volume and Labor Force in Agriculture

Category/Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2017
GDP share (%)	12.0	11.9	11.2	11.1	6.9
Volume (Rs.000)	613,694	717,710	791761	833,477	-
Labor Force (%)	32.6	32.7	33.0	31.0	26.1

Source: Economic and Social Statistics of Sri Lanka 2014 and2017, Central Bank of Sri Lanka

As the Table 4 shows the value of agriculture production is on an upward movement and there is around 1/3 increase in the volume during the three-year period between 2009 and 2012. Add to that the labor force in the agriculture sector has remained almost the same up to 2012 but it was declined to 26.1 in 2017. This is an indication, though it does not establish a very conclusive trend, that there is improvement in the living standards in the agriculture sector meaning that the poverty situation in the agriculture sector has been changing for the better. Yet it is too early to conclude that the sector has been successful in providing a solution to poverty.

Pattern of Productivity in the Agriculture Sector: Non-availability of a comprehensive and dedicated dataset is a major constraint in understanding the issues of productivity in the agricultural sector of the country. The yield per unit of land[41] for some selected groups of crops, namely, plantation crops, paddy, minor exports crops, some field crops and some vegetable and labor productivity in between sectors is very important measures to evaluate the productivity of agriculture sector. Figure 1 shows that labor productivity in non-plantation agriculture sector is considerably low compare with other sectors in Sri Lanka in year 2014. This low productivity is the major determinant for getting rural farmers in to poverty and indebtedness. Labor productivity[42], as measured by GDP (in 2002 prices) per hour worked, increased by 6.1 per cent to Rs. 192.55 per hour in 2014 compared to Rs. 181.51 per hour in 2013. In 2016, it was increased up to 467.23 and little deceased in 2017 with Rs. per hour of 458.29 (CBSL, 2014, 2017). This increase was achieved across all three sectors in the economy. The highest labor productivity growth of 8.7 per cent was observed in the industry sector. The agriculture sector recorded a 4.3 per cent growth in productivity, while the service sector recorded a relatively low productivity growth of 3.4 per cent during the period 2013-14. However, it was increased more than 100 per cent during the period 2014-2016 in all three sectors (Table 6).

Table 6: Labor Productivity by Major Economic Sectors

Item	2013	2014	2016 (a)	2017(Q1-Q3) (a)
GDP at Constant (2002) Prices, Rs. Mn	3,266,041	3,506,664	8,167,563	6,206,968
Agriculture	352,583	353,709	644,262	461,010
Industry	1,016,886	1,132,892	2,399,285	1,862,046
Services	1,896,572	2,019,973	5,124,016	3,883,912
Labor Productivity, Rs. Per hour worked	181.51	192.55	467.23	458.29
Agriculture				
Industry	79.97	83.33	172.28	165.77
Services	214.70	233.28	504.55	479.42
	214.42	221.71	570.23	564.62

GDP at Constant (2010) Prices, Rs. Mn.
Source: Department of Census and Statistics, 2017; Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Annual Report 2014

[41] In developed countries the standard measurement productivity in the agriculture sector is Total Factor Productivity Index (Szabo, 2003). In Sri Lanka there however have been attempts by individual researchers to develop suitable indexes to measure agriculture productivity (Dharmasiri, 2010).
[42] Labor productivity was calculated using the total employment as the input measure and GDP as the output measure until 2013. In line with international guidelines the total number of hours worked is used as the measure of labor input since 2014.

Despite the fact that, the agriculture sector recorded a reasonable labor productivity growth, the level of labor productivity in the sector is the lowest, when compare with other sectors. Output per hour worked in the agriculture sector is less than half the value recorded by other two sectors, signaling that this sector needs further attention in terms of improving productivity. This is further important, as approximately 26 per cent of workers in the country are employed in the sector, contributing only to 7 per cent of the total output of the country, thereby leading to imbalances in terms of income distribution and inclusiveness of growth. It is also evident that workers in the agriculture sector are left with more idle work hours than those in the other two sectors. By the discussions with farmers it was found that this trend can be prominently observed during periods of crop damage due to adverse weather conditions. Initiatives should be taken to utilize such idle work hours to uplift the livelihoods of people who are engaged in the agriculture sector in order to improve the national output.

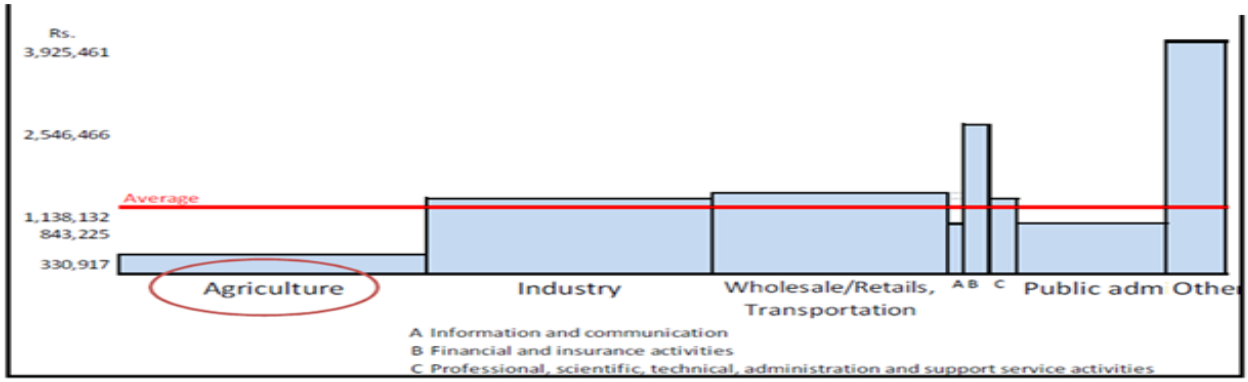
Promoting disease and weather resistant crop varieties and improved planting methods would further enhance productivity in the agriculture sector. Workers in the agriculture sector should be trained in skills that enable them to engage in employment in other sectors during idle periods. Group discussion with farmers highlighted that lack of extension services adversely affected to reduce production and productivity of resources used in farming. Though Sri Lanka's crop yields are poor and productivity growth is slow even by Asian standards they are not the only features of agricultural productivity of the country. An examination of the performance of individual crops and yields show that improvements are few and far between and that yields are highly volatile. In addition, there are significant yearly variations in yields within individual crops and also regional variations in yields. The yield data for selected years for selected field crops and yield data by year and producing region for paddy, big onion, potato and seasonal crops demonstrate the above variations and volatility.

They also show that except for a few crop varieties yield levels of others are stagnating (e.g. onion) and the yields of some varieties are even showing a downward movement (e.g. gingelli and black gram). Yearly fluctuations in yields are a common feature of all crops varieties while regional variation is widespread in paddy yields (Figure 3). There are some regional variations in yield of onion grown in Polonnaruwa District displaying lower yield compared to the yield in the other districts and also potatoes grown outside the upcountry recording lower yield. All these point to an unclear state with regard to productivity in the agriculture sector. Above yearly fluctuations of yields in individual crops can be accounted for by weather conditions to large extent. Paddy yields are highly sensitive to draughts and rains/floods[43] and so are many field crops that are cultivated during the Yala season. The lack of clear productivity increase needs explanation outside of forces of nature. This is where socioeconomic and community factors are relevant to understand the situation. Agriculture productivity is the indicator of conversion efficiency of inputs and therefore is an indicator of the performance of the sector.

In agriculture more than in many other production contexts several factors intervene in the process. These external factors include the conditions and forces of both the physical determinants and the socioeconomic determinants within which agricultural operations take place. On the part of the natural world there are variable and uncertain forces such as weather (rains, floods and draughts for example) and more static conditions such as ecology and environment (climate, soil etc.). On the part of the socioeconomic and community world there is a whole host of socioeconomic, cultural relations and the behavior and attitudes of different operators of which farmer is the main component. It is common among risk analysts in agriculture to view agricultural production as having sandwiched between natural risks, pertaining to natural world and social risks that are part of the social system and structure. Any attempt to understand the social and economic factors influencing agricultural production therefore should approach the problem of productivity from the direction of the socioeconomic systemic conditions. Socioeconomic system that constitutes the farm is therefore important to understand the socioeconomic factors influencing agricultural productivity.

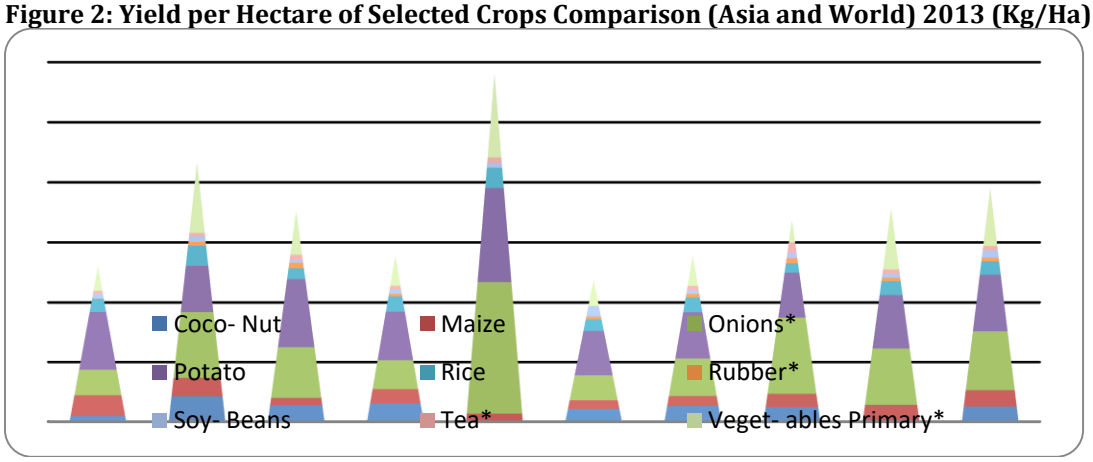
[43] Rain-fed paddy cultivation totally and even paddy under minor tanks to some extent is susceptible to adverse weather conditions. It is only paddy cultivated under major irrigation schemes escape adverse impact of bad weather.

Figure 1: Labor Productivity as Earnings (Rs.) and Labor Share by Sector (2014)



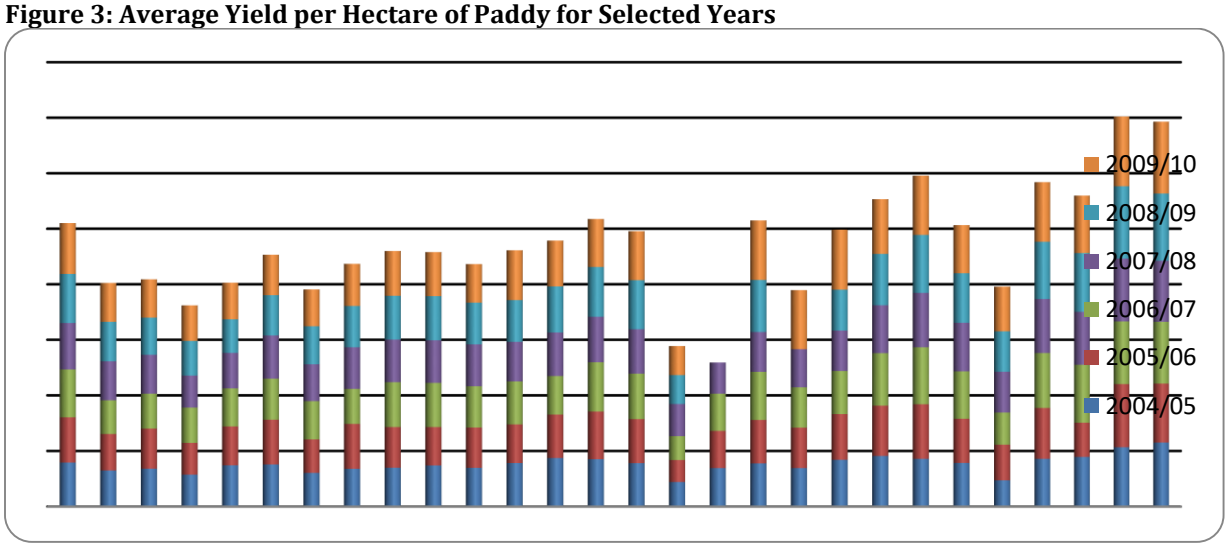
Source: Survey Findings, 2017/18.

Figure 2: Yield per Hectare of Selected Crops Comparison (Asia and World) 2013 (Kg/Ha)



Source: Food and Agricultural Organization, http://faostat.fao.org/
*Data for 2012

Figure 3: Average Yield per Hectare of Paddy for Selected Years



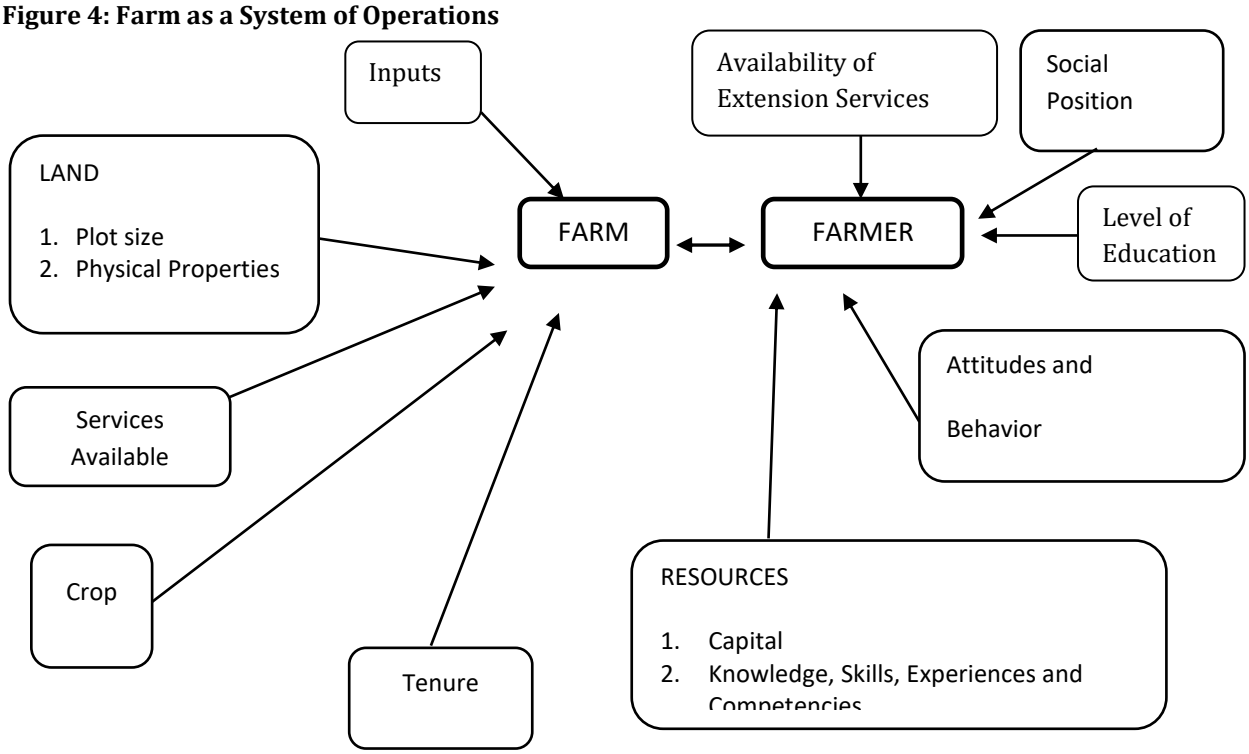
Source: (DCS, 2012).

Likewise, data on land productivity reveals that Sri Lanka's agricultural productivity is low compared to the major Asian producers and the world and Asian average productivity levels (Figure 2). It is also show that

except for rice and the three plantation crops, namely, rubber, tea and coconut, the country's productivity measured in terms of yield per hectare is below Asian and world average. Yield levels for comparable crops are far below those for China and Japan. Yields of coconut, maize, potato, rice and soybeans are below Indonesia and yields of maize, onion, rubber, soybeans and tea are below those in Thailand. The country is ahead in productivity only in comparison to South Asia. This situation needs to be considered in the overall context that Sri Lanka's growth rate of agricultural productivity is very low in the region (Figure 2)

Socioeconomic Factors Influencing Agriculture Productivity in Sri Lanka: The findings by FGDs confirmed that socioeconomic system that constitutes agricultural operations in Sri Lanka can be analytically viewed as consisting of two core components, namely, the farm and the farmer. Whatever the size of the operation, these two units exists though their form and relationships may differ depending on the scale of the operation. The farm is not just a piece of land with crops but an organized set of relationships and operations centered around a piece of land set out for certain agricultural activity aiming at a certain production. Productivity becomes part of this as a determinant of the level of production. Farmer on the other hand is the operator who works within these set of relationships to achieve the objectives of the given farm activity, namely, production of a given crop. As part of achieving production objectives productivity also becomes part of farmer's operations. The farm as a system of operations and relationships can be viewed as follows.

Figure 4: Farm as a System of Operations



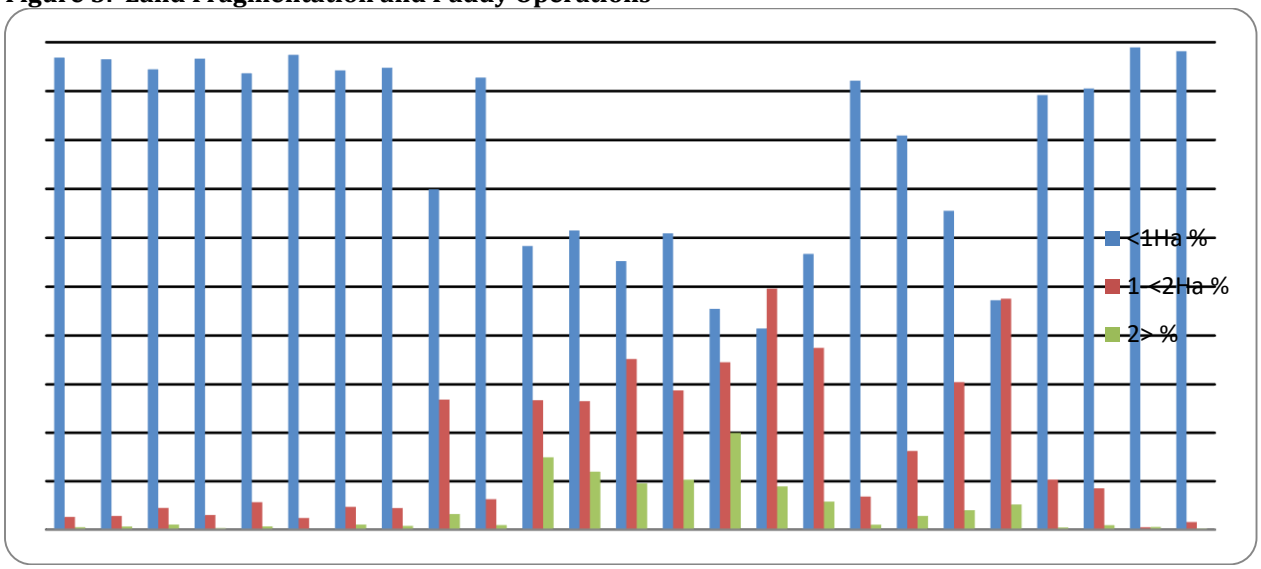
The above systemic view helps one to better understand the socioeconomic operations and relationship affecting the production process including productivity than viewing farm operations as separate activities. To help explain the farm production process and how the socioeconomic relationships in the above two components of the farm system affect agricultural productivity we propose to construct profiles of the two components. As stated earlier our concern is the non-plantation based farming system and the profiles are relevant to that context. This is consistent with findings of (Gamage & Damayanthi, 2012), suggests that farmer behavior with regard crop choice, land tenure, production infrastructure and markets etc. are important.

The Farm in the Non-Plantation Sector: Non-plantation sector agriculture dominates agricultural production in Sri Lanka in terms of both the extent of cultivated land area and the number of

farmers/operators. It is the principal producer of food crops, mainly for domestic consumption, and plays an increasingly important role. Commercial crop production in non-plantation sector targeting mainly a niche export market. These crops are officially known as Minor Export Crops which targeting both export and domestic markets. Provinces in Wet Zone Sri Lanka are dominant in cultivating these crops and discussions confirmed that these farmers are stable in income compare with those who cultivating in Dry Zone. The farm in the non-plantation agriculture sector is small in extent and on the basis of production levels and use can be divided into three types. In the first type are the farms that produce only for household consumption.

They are the smallest in extent of land with the farmers own these farms belong to the poorest segment in the community. The second type of farms is the ones that are able to produce a little excess over household needs, especially when the harvest is good, and the excess is sold in the market. However, these farms are not regular supplier to the market. The third category of farms produce primarily for the market and for the operators of these farms agriculture is an income generation activity not just a means of subsistence as for the farmers in the other two. A proportion of paddy farms in the Dry Zone belong and some specialized vegetable and filed crops farms, for example big onion and chili farms, are in the third category. One of the defining features of the farm in the non-plantation agriculture sector is land fragmentation and small plot size that are often not viable production units. The following table gives the distribution of paddy land by district and plot size (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Land Fragmentation and Paddy Operations



Source: (DCS, 2012)

The above table shows that except for the districts where there are new settlements established under either the old colony schemes or the Mahaweli Development Program in all other districts 90 per cent or more farms are less than1 hectare in extent. The land plots of more than 2 hectares are on average less than 1 per cent of the plots, again except in the new settlement schemes. Small plot size makes cultivation economically non-viable discouraging enterprising farmers from taking up agriculture. As well, (Silva, 1999) confirmed that small plot size in Dry Zones of Sri Lanka makes paddy cultivation economically non-viable. Fragmentation leading to small plot size is inevitable in the agriculture sector when the economy fails to absorb the new addition to the household. Small plot sizes though theoretically not possible in the new settlement schemes in the country as there are legal restrictions sharing of land by children through informal arrangements lead to de facto division of land. In the other parts of the country and in purana (old) villages in the Dry Zone where there are no legal restrictions on agricultural plots being divided subdivisions creating small agricultural land is normal practice.

The problem of decreasing land size is an issue highlighted by the World Bank says that from 1982 to 1993 agricultural land plots less than one acre increased from 42 per cent to 62 per cent(World-Bank, 2009).

According to this report there is a positive relationship between plot size and productivity in the districts for which data was analyzed (World-Bank, 2009). When size of the plot is getting smaller the land productivity is decreasing and this will lead to raise poverty. The second feature of the farm is land tenure which is of two types. In the Dry Zone settlement schemes, under both the Mahaweli Scheme and in the old Colony Settlements, there is a tenure type that prevents commercial transfer of land. Agricultural operators in the new settlements do not own their land as freehold and are prohibited from transferring their land to another party. This tenure type has been introduced to prevent land fragmentation but it has not succeeded in preventing land being either transferred or subdivided through informal deals. The second type of land tenure characterizing the farms is the one found in Dry Zone purana villages and in the villages in the rest of the country.

These farms are freehold land but often there is neither a legally partitioned plot nor a boundary marked by a formal survey. Boundaries are socially sanctioned boundaries for operational purposes. This latter form of tenure is a serious handicap in using land as collateral and also a problem affecting land transfer. Findings of (Silva, 1999) is consistent with these findings and highlighted that land tenure in the colonies especially does not help dynamic commercialization of farm operations.[44] As a result of these situations, findings of FGSs showed that farm operators cultivated their land just for only consumption purposes and not for the market. This background did not help to generate a dynamic, risk bearing and innovative entrepreneurs for the country to lead other sectors in the economy as in western economies. The farm is also resource poor unit, particularly in relation to three main areas. Farm households are poor which is reflected in the higher levels of poverty in the rural sector. As stated earlier, average rural household's income is about 1/3 less than that of an urban household. Poverty head count in the rural sector is twice that of the urban sector. Two other areas that reflect resource poverty is poor access, both physical reach due to poor transport facilities and road access and access to services.

The poor level of service access for agricultural services which has witnessed a marked deterioration in quality is a serious problem affecting the operations of farms in this sector. The other problem with regard to poor resources affecting the farm is low levels of education of farm operators (Figure 6) that makes farm short of personnel with skills and competence. This in consistent with the findings of (Jayasena, 1998), who claim that lack of skills and competencies is due to a combination of factors that includes better opportunities available in the other sectors that provide stable income, better work condition and social status that the farmers lack in the country. However, according to (Christiaensen, Demery, & Kuhl, 2011), cross-country econometric evidence indicates that agriculture is significantly more effective in reducing poverty among the poorest of the poor. The farm is also highly dependent on two patrons, namely, the government and the trader collector. The government is the principal supplier of service to the farm that include extension service and welfare delivery (which is a must in the context of high poverty levels and frequent incidents of crop damages by draught) and also the market of produce.

The local trader/collector who has now effectively taken over the market from the government who once had the monopoly is expanding into other service areas, especially into the supply of inputs creating a vicious circle of credit based dependency[45]. Of these two patrons dependency on the government is perhaps inevitable and also is beneficial from a welfare point of view. It however has created a farmer with dependence mentality who expects the state come out and helps in everything. Lack of services, especially, government services resulted in farmers to rely on services. The weakened extension service mentioned earlier also has been indirectly responsible for this dependency between the farm operations and the trader. who confirmed that there are multiple pathways through which increases in agricultural productivity can

[44]However, there are informal land transfers resulting in farm owners (Wanigaratne, 1995) in the new settlement schemes. These farmers are mainly from the local bureaucracy and white collar employees who interested in agriculture(Hettige, 1984; Moore, 1985).

[45]Farm inputs are supplied by the trader on the promise that the output is sold to him only. Price of the products bought and inputs sold and the credit and the interest rates are decided by the trader.

reduce poverty, including real income changes, employment generation, rural non-farm multiplier effects, and food prices effects. Further, it shows that barriers to technology adoption, initial asset endowments, and constraints to market access may all inhibit the ability of the poorest to participate in the gains from agricultural productivity growth.

Farmer in the Non-Plantation Crop Sector: Several of the features described under the farm setting are relevant to understand the farmer/farm operator in Sri Lanka's non-plantation sector. Through the FGDs in all provinces, it was found that the average farmer is a person operating at subsistence level. He is more often than not indebted and for that reason short of capital even for essential farm related expenses, both a reflection of widespread poverty in the sector. He is also below average educated, short of skills and competencies. Poor education and lack of skills and competencies coupled with tradition has also made him into a risk-averse individual, a quality that is not helpful in creating an enterprising farm operator. He is also often a part-time farm operator engaged in farming along with at least one other livelihood activity, often agriculture labor. All these negative features of the farmer are due to a combination of factors that include poverty, poor levels of education, attitudinal and behavioral traits and social position and beliefs. These findings are inconsistent with (Schneider, & Gugerty, 2011).

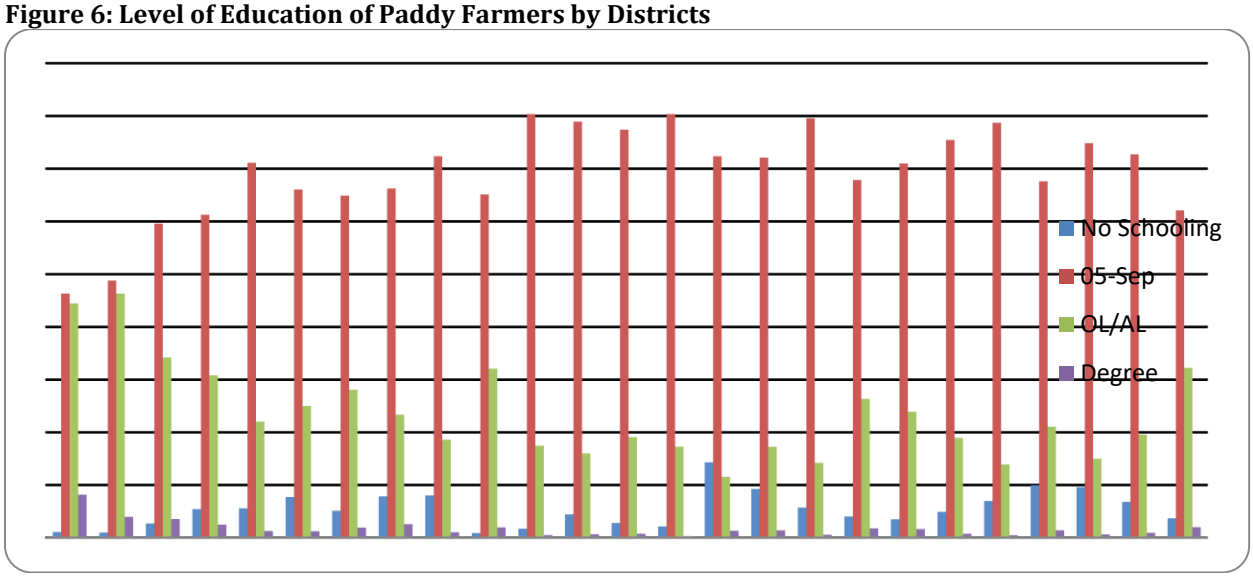
The Figure 6 gives the level of education among paddy farmers which can be taken as an indicator of all small farmers/agriculture operators in the country. What is revealing in the data is very high percentage of people with no schooling at all. The percentage of people with no schooling among paddy farmers in sixteen districts is higher than the percentage of people with no schooling in the rural sector which 3.9 (HIES, 2012/13). Similarly the percentage of people with OL/AL qualifications is lower among agricultural producers in districts, except Colombo, Gampaha and Kalutara and Kandy, than the same percentage for the rural sector which is 26.8 per cent(HIES, 2012/13). Overall 80 per cent of the farmers have an education only up to grade 9 (only 5 years of education) making a vast majority of farmers are school dropouts by the country's standards. The farmer with a below average education is a result of several factors. First, the poor educational facilities available in farming communities do not offer either incentives or opportunities for children in the farm to complete their education.

Second the needs of agricultural households, for example the need to help as family labor, often disrupt education of children often making them to completely abandon education half way. Third the attraction of employment opportunities created in the industry and service sectors under the new economic policies. These finding are in consistent with (Laxman, Clement, & Tisdell, 2000), who stated that even the few educated to abandon farm work for jobs that better paying and carry better social status leaving the poorly educated to remain in the farm. The result of all these is a poorly educated youth to engage in agriculture. The youth from farming communities taking up opportunities outside has several other percussions. It has resulted in a new class of youth who have a regular job with a better and stable income who are fortunate to work in a "prestigious environment" in the eyes of the farming youth. They are the envy of the village not only for the above but also because they do not labor in the field covered with mud. These employment opportunities with easy access to farms provide poverty stricken farmers an alternative source of employment without them completely taking away from the farm.

This allows farmers to continue cultivation work as well creating part time farmers. Survey finding by (Ranaweera, 1998; Weeraheva & Abeygunawardhana, 1987) also support these findings who claim that while pat-time employment helps poor farmers to supplement their income it also results in a farmer who is not dedicated to agriculture. A farmer who is doubling up as an agricultural laborer for example has divided priorities and obligations it is the farm that gets neglected. Off farm employment for the majority of the poor farmers today, mainly because it pays better, has become the main livelihood activity. According to the finding of FGDs, it was revealed that Sri Lankan farmers on average derive 40 per cent of their income from off farm employment and there is large number of part-time farmers in the Dry Zone. These off farm opportunities were lead to reduce productivity both directly and indirectly in agriculture sector because poor farmers were attracted by easy gain in short-term by off farm employments. They have brought new styles, mannerism and attitudes in to the farm and these are influencing the youth even more to be out of their dirty work than even before. Lack of interest and young people leaving farm for number of reasons have resulted in higher levels of participation of elderly people in farming (Silva, 1999) further aggravating the situation. The

farmer in this sector is typically a part-time farm operator which is primarily result of poverty in the farming household and of farm employment opportunities available with in and around farming communities.

Figure 6: Level of Education of Paddy Farmers by Districts



Source: (DCS, 2012).

This has created a group of young people with aspirations outside of the farm and waiting to be out of it at the first opportunity. The social push for non-farm employment comes not only from the peers who are employed outside but also from those who are their family members. The urban based employment not only has created a youth who is "modern" as against "backward farmer" it also has created a new class of families, the families of the youth employed outside. These families want their other children to follow the path of those who are urban employed. For example, in Central, Western and North Central Provinces young ladies who have factory work prefer their partner to be someone who is not a farmer, someone she can introduce to her associates/colleagues. Same with the sister who wants brother to match her new status. All this one way or other contribute to deprive farm of enterprising people.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Productivity in agriculture is determined by condition in both the natural factors and the socioeconomic factors. In examination of influence of socioeconomic factors analysts traditionally treat conditions that exist in the socioeconomic determinants in isolation. This factor based analysis of productivity though has its advantages also has limitations. Its main disadvantage is its failure to understand the interconnectivity and mutually reinforcing nature of socioeconomic issues. Size of the agricultural plots and tenure system has created many negative impacts on farmer and the productivity in the sector. Small plot size makes cultivation economically non-profitable discouraging innovative farmers from taking up agriculture. When size of the plot is getting smaller the land productivity is decreasing and this affecting to increase poverty. The existing form of tenure system is a serious handicap in using land as collateral and also a problem affecting land transfer. Land tenure in the Dry Zone colonies does not help dynamic commercialization of farm operations. Consequently, farm operators cultivated their land just for only consumption purposes and not for the market. This background does not help to generate a dynamic, risk bearing and enterprising farmers for the economy. The poor level of agricultural extension services were affected badly to deteriorate the quality of the operations and low productivity of farms.

The other problem with regard to poor resources affecting the farm is low levels of education of farm operators that makes farm short of personnel with skills and competence. These situations lead to low productivity and then prolongation of poverty. The farmer is also often a part-time operator engaged in farming along with at least one other livelihood activity, often agriculture labor. All these unconstructive

features of the farmer are due to a combination of factors that include poor levels of education, attitudinal and behavioral traits and social position and beliefs affects low productivity and persistence of poverty. The result of all these is a less educated youth to engage in agriculture. All these one way or other contribute to deprive farm of enterprising people. Lack of interest and young people leaving agriculture for number of causes have resulted in higher levels of participation of elderly people in farming further infuriating the situation. The non-plantation farm is also highly dependent on two patrons, namely, the government and the trader. The government is the supplier of service to the farm that includes extension service and welfare delivery. The local trader who has gradually taken over the market from the government who once had the monopoly is expanding into other service areas, especially into the supply of inputs creating a vicious circle of credit based dependency. Of these two patrons dependency on the government has created a farmer with dependence mentality who expects the state come out and helps in everything.

The trader affecting to place in the poor farmer in to vicious cycle of poverty with dependency at all stages of farm operation. The study found that the conditions affecting productivity in the non-plantation agriculture sector is rooted in the two core components of the farming system, the farm and the farmer. They are two units in an interacting whole system which makes property of one a quality of another. Poverty which is a property of the farm makes a farmer who is short of capital for even essential farm related expenses. Factor based analysis of socioeconomic influence on productivity leads to neglecting essential connection of farm and farmer leading to incorrect understanding of the problem. Correct understanding of a problem is essential for proper development intervention and policy making for development. Therefore, issues connected with farm and farmer can be avoided only if we understand the complex interactions and dependencies in the farming system. The lack of attention to overall situation and lack of holistic approach to problems providing suitable solutions to individuals are constraints in agriculture development. Solving is the hall mark of policies and interventions in agriculture. Present focus is also on subsistence based model and the approach is piece meal. Equality based poverty alleviation may be politically safe and even beneficial but economically contradictory with liberal economic model.

References

Abeysekera, T. (2008). Performance of Sri Lanka's Agriculture Sector: Problems and Policy Issues. Paper presented at the Second Annual Research Forum of SAEA, 2008: Plenary Session. http://www.pgia.ac.lk/socs/saea/program2008/plenary/terance.pdf

Adamopoulos, T. & Restuccia, D. (2014). The size distribution of farms and international productivity differences. *American Economic Review*, 104(6), 1667-1697.

CBSL. (2013). Annual Report 2013: Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Colombo.

CBSL. (2014). Annual Report 2014: Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Colombo.

CBSL. (2017). Annual Report 2017: Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Colombo.

Christiaensen, L., Demery, L. & Kuhl, J. (2011). The (evolving) role of agriculture in poverty reduction—An empirical perspective. *Journal of development economics,* 96(2), 239-254.

Critical Factors Hampering Agricultural Productivity in Ethiopia:The Case of Northern Ethiopian Farmers (2007).

DCS. (2012). Agriculture Census 2012: Department of Census and Statistics, Colombo, Sri Lanka

DFID. (2004). Agriculture, growth and poverty Reduction: Agriculture and Natural Resource Team 2004, UK Department of International Development (DFID).

Dharmasiri, L. M. (2010). Measuring Agricultural Productivity Using the Average Productivity Index (API). *Sri Lanka Journal of Advanced Social Studies,* 1(2), 25-44.

Gamage, D. & Damayanthi, M. K. N. (2012). Major Dimensions of Contemporary Small Holder Agriculture in Sri Lanka: HART, Colombo.

Gollin, D., Lagakos, D. & Waugh, M. (2012). The agricultural productivity gap in developing countries. Quarterly Journal of Economics forthcoming.

Gunawardana, P. J. & Somaratne, W. G. (2000). Non-Plantation Agricultural Economy of Sri Lanka: Trends, Issues and Prospects, *Sri Lankan Journal of Agricultural Economics,* 3(1), 15-45.

Hayami, Y. & Ruttan, V. (1985). Agricultural Development: An International Perspective. Revised and expanded edition: Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.

Hettige, S. (1984). Power and Prestige: Emerging Patterns of Social Inequality in a Peasant Context: Colombo: Ministry of Higher Education.

HIES. (2012/13). Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2012/13: Department of Census and Statistics, Colombo, Sri Lanka

Jayasena, W. G. (1998). Rural Youth and Peasant Agriculture in Sri Lanka. In S. Hettige (Ed.), Globalization, Social Change and Youth: Centre for Anthropologic, Colombo.

Lagakos. & Waugh, M. E. (2013). Selection, agriculture, and cross-country productivity differences. *American Economic Review,* 103(2), 948-980.

Laxman, W. D., Clement, A. & Tisdell. (2000). "Introduction" in Laxman, Weligamage. D and Clements A. In Tisdell (Ed.), Sri Lanka's development since independence: socio-economic perspectives and analysis: New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Lewis, W. A. (1954). Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labor: The Manchester School 22.

Mellor, J. W. (1986). Agriculture on the Road to Industrialization. In J. P. L. a. V. Kallab (Ed.), Development Strategies Reconsidered: New Brunswick, NJ: Overseas Development Council.

Moore, M. P. (1985). The State of Peasant Politics in Sri Lanka: London: Cambridge University Press.

Ranaweera, N. F. C. (1998). Fifty Years of Agriculture in Sri Lanka. In A. V. d. S. Indraratne (Ed.), Fifty Years of Lanka's Independence: A Socio-economic Review: Sri Lanka Institute of Social and Economic Studies, Colombo.

Schneider, K. & Gugerty, M. K. (2011). Agricultural productivity and poverty reduction: Linkages and pathways. *Libraries Test Journal*, 1(1), 56-74.

Schultz, T. W. (1964). Transforming Traditional Agriculture: New Haven: Yale University Press.

Silva, K. T. (1999). No Future in Farming? The Potential Impact of Commercialization of Non-Plantation Agriculture on Rural Poverty in Sri Lanka: Kandy: Centre for International Community Health Studies and Colombo: Sri Lanka-German Technical Cooperation.

Szabo, P. (2003). Agricultural productivity indicators, Hungarian Statistical Review Hungarian Statistical Review 2014.

Wanigaratne, R. D. (1995). Informal Tenure Conditions in Irrigated Settlements in Sri Lanka: A Review of Empirical Research Evidence.

Weeraheva, J. P. & Abeygunawardhana. (1987). Diminishing Profits of Paddy Production. Economic Review, Nov/Dec 1987

World-Bank. (2002). Wold Development Report. New York: World Bank.

World-Bank. (2009). Sri Lanka Agriculture Commercialization: Improving Farmers' Income in Poorest Regions: Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Sector Unit, The World Bank.

World-Bank. (2012). World Development Report. New York: World Bank.

World-Food-Programme. (2014). Sri Lanka - Rapid Drought Impact Assessment: Food Security and Livelihoods Affected by Erratic Weather, April 2014.

Xavier, I., Lin, L., Thirtle, C. & Wiggins, S. (2001). Agricultural productivity growth and poverty alleviation. *Development policy review,* 19(4), 449-466.

Journal of Social and Development Sciences (JSDS)
Vol. 9, No. 2, June 2018 (ISSN 2221-1152)

Misunderstandings of Capability Approach: Towards Paradigm Pluralism

Sylvain K. Cibangu
Loughborough University School of Business and Economics
Richard Morris Building, Loughborough, UK
fscib@uw.edu

Abstract: Capability approach figures among the most prominent approaches of social science disciplines. One reason for this is that in a world plagued by daunting inequalities and repressions the term capability presents a whole host of potentials. Another reason is that the failures or shortcomings encountered in development studies the last several decades have created something of a vogue for capability approach both in academia and industry. In the meantime, however, capability approach represents one of the most misunderstood and misused approaches of modern day times. One most pervasive misunderstanding or misuse comes with the idea that capability approach is unable to provide a definite, exhaustive list of capabilities nor to achieve measurable units of development. This idea is further compounded by the fact that Sen (1999, 2009) himself the originator of capability approach has invariably dismissed the discussions concerned with list and measurability. The present paper aimed to highlight the core nature of capability approach, while dispelling the misunderstandings surrounding it. Content analysis was conducted to appraise how capability approach was presented. Sen works were thus perused in light of a wider social science literature, with a focus on methodology. This is mainly because development studies is an interdisciplinary field. In so doing the paper was able to reposition capability approach as an interpretive, qualitative approach. It was thus realized that authors continue to misuse and view capability approach through the lens of quantitative research. It was also realized that interpretivism is by no means defined or evaluated based on the ability to supply a list of specific items and the measurability thereof. The paper suggested some paths for future research.

Keywords: *Capability, measurement, operationalization, framework, positivism, interpretivism, paradigm*

1. Introduction

A casual Google Scholar search reveals an explosive rise in the bodies of knowledge relative to development studies, with capability approach becoming an approach of choice. In effect, one line of work that has been gaining momentum

> is scholarship over the last several decades concerning "capabilities," spearheaded by Amartya Sen's and Nussbaum's writings… Capability scholars emphasize that an individual's income, or some other measure of her material resources, is an inadequate indicator of her quality of life. (Adler & Fleurbaey, 2016, p. 2)

As noted in this statement, with its emphasis on individual freedoms or quality of life, capability approach appeals to countless individuals and organizations. To that effect, capability approach is found to be a multipurpose and multidisciplinary approach (Robeyns, 2017). At the same time, however, Adler and Fleurbaey (2016) cautioned, "it is our firm conviction that real progress in the [methodological] tools we use for designing policy [on capabilities] requires a *wider methodological range* [emphasis added]" (p. 17). It is increasingly apparent among critics that one-size-fits-all methodology is counterproductive if not destructive; capability approach literature should not be an exception. Particularly worth noting is the recognition that, as Chiappero-Martinetti, Budd and Ziegler (2017) reminded us, "capability approach has… emerged as a critique of traditional conceptions and measurements of economic development" (p. 141). It is the nature of capability approach to not just call into question the idea of development, but even more so to challenge the methodologies spurring the concept measurement.

Although awareness about methodological discussions has been raised since early critical accounts of capability approach (Alkire, 2002, 2005a, b, 2007, 2008, 2010a, b, c; Alkire & Black, 1997; Alkire, Qizilbash, & Comim, 2008; Qizilbash, 2006; Robeyns, 2005, 2009), subsequent conversations have had little to no effect in ways of engaging in or following up on capability approach relations with or contributions to research

methodology scholarship (Adler & Fleurbaey, 2016; Alkire, 2016; Hirai, Comim, & Ikemoto, 2016; Loots & Walker, 2016; Qizilbash, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2016; Robeyns, 2016). Such a methodological stalemate has also been exacerbated by the fact that to no small degree development studies is enmeshed in discussions of and contributions to evaluations and measurements of development impacts (Bamberger, 2000; Engel, 2017; Holland & Campbell, 2005; Johnson & Rasulova, 2017; Mayoux & Chambers, 2005; van der Mark, Conradie, Dedding, & Broerse, 2017; Skovdal & Cornish, 2015; Vicari, 2014). This has resulted in positivism and its tenets being *imperial(istic)* and toxic in capability approach scholarship as well as development studies. More strikingly, capability approach literature has seen an emphasis being laid on not only improving measurement but expanding or outlining lists of capabilities (Nussbaum, 1997, 2000, 2003, 2006a, b, 2011), domains of capabilities such as education, business, health, community, etc. (Ibrahim, 2006, 2017; Enderle, 2013; Venkatapuram, 2011, 2014; Walker & Unterhalter, 2007) as well as topics of human behaviours such as emotion, shame, fear, forgiveness, etc. (De Herdt, 2008; Nussbaum, 2013, 2014, 2016).

Despite unremitting calls for a distinction between capability approach and quantitative research philosophy (Adler & Fleurbaey, 2016; Alkire, 2002; Nussbaum, 1997, 2000, 2006b; Sen, 1960; Simon et al., 2013), a conflation of positivistic, quantitative, or lab-like views with capabilities has persisted (Hirai, 2017; Hirai, Comim, & Ikemoto, 2016; Robeyns, 2016). Little wonder that the specifics of qualitative research methodology and their relations with and centrality in capability approach as well as the unmanipulated real world of the *researched* have been shunned. As Alkire (2016) explained, the demand for measurement is one of the most embattled pressures put on capability approach. This is largely because "a resource-based [or any kind of] measure is not value free" (Alkire, 2016, p. 618). Yet, the role of researchers is not (just) to manipulate, control and measure (the capabilities of) the researched or others, but rather to immerse themselves in and/or unveil the real world (experiences) of the researched. Indeed, qualitative research is a research that "will no longer accept the notion that one group of people can 'know' and define (or even represent) 'others'" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018c, p. 33).

Research that pursues positivistic or measurement agendas is less likely to be critical/analytical. Positivistic research is noted for its "simplification, reification and abstraction" (Fukuda-Parr, Yamin, & Greenstein, 2014, p. 107) induced by quantitative research. As Denzin and Lincoln (2018c) insisted, structures of inequality or oppression cannot be legitimated or bypassed if researchers claim to make the world a better place. As Lindlof and Taylor (2011) suggested, failure to discuss the methods governing research can render the researcher complacent with or contributive to the structures of dominations. More specifically, "without a clear sense of the epistemological and ontological commitments of those who work within the field [such as development studies], much is blurred" (Clandinin, 2016, p. 11). Most work produced on capability approach hardly discusses methodological underpinnings, giving free rein to misunderstandings and wrong expectations. Few analysts dispute (Robeyns, 2017) that capability approach has been dogged by fixed misunderstandings. Methodological discussions should not be kept on the back burner, "never should research start by choosing a method before considering… *what theoretical frameworks [or worldviews] to draw on* [emphasis added]" (Hansen & Machin, 2013, p. 6). One cannot best select and implement capability approach without digging deeper into the worldviews or methodologies beneath it.

For simplicity sake, this paper focused primarily on Sen capability approach. While capability approach was technically established in the 1980s and 1990s with Sen (1981, 1982, 1984a, b, 1985a, b, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999) systematic departure from the notion of development based on abstract metrics to that of development seen as expansion of substantive freedoms, it has risen to fame in the early 2010s with the upsurge of inequalities within and between nations as well as the continual inefficiencies of and debates over development indexes needed for the measurement and eradication of global poverty (Alkire et al., 2015; Lange & Klasen, 2015; OECD, 2011). Indeed, the various challenges encountered in the implementation of *The Millennium Development Goals* (2000) and more particularly in the newly adopted *Sustainable Development Goals* (2015) have brought capabilities in greater focus.

Objectives: One objective of this paper was to inquire into the core nature of capability approach needed to avoid the misunderstandings that have been plaguing this approach. As Sen (2009) clarified, "it is important to emphasize certain specific features of this approach that should be clarified at the outset, since they have sometimes been misunderstood or misinterpreted" (p. 232). Sen (2009) went on saying, "capability approach

is a general approach, focusing on information on individual advantages, judged in terms of opportunity rather than a specific 'design' for how a society should be organized" (p. 232). To preempt misunderstandings, capability was proposed as a worldview or underlying approach shedding light on the range of opportunities made available to individuals or societies.

Importance of the study: The importance of the study undertaken in this paper lies in the idea that "capability approach is a field that is *notoriously prone to misunderstandings*, in part because of its interdisciplinary nature, but also because the terminology differs somewhat between different authors [emphasis added]" (Robeyns, 2017, p. 19). As noted earlier, that capability approach is susceptible to misunderstandings was clearly denounced by Sen (2009) himself. One reason that authors have a penchant for misunderstanding capability approach might be the popularity of the approach. While moves towards eliminating misunderstandings around capability approach have been made in capability approach literature (Alkire, 2016; Robeyns, 2017), a focus on the methodological discussion of capability approach proves to be thin. As explained above, this paper was making a contribution by looking into capability approach from the perspective of methodological worldviews, namely qualitative vs quantitative paradigms. For an advanced discussion of paradigms, Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2018) analysis is recommendable. This is because research tends to be guided by "a paradigm … a common set of methodological assumptions or a particular epistemology" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018d, p. 97). Just like any scholarly approach, capability approach entails a set of methodological underpinnings that authors need to be aware of, while doing research on capability. Without a look into and control over methodological assumptions, capability approach literature becomes an essential tool for positivistic imperialism.

Clarification of terms: Four terms were central to this paper and thereby needed clarification. First, methodology was understood in this paper as the foundational philosophy, paradigm, philosophical system, background, or leading worldview along the lines of which a given research was consciously or unconsciously designed and implemented. As Denzin and Lincoln (2018a) wrote, "paradigms represent belief systems that attach the user [researcher] to a particular worldview" (p. 12). Research presupposes a philosophical system under which the researcher determines the research and its priorities. Second, method was a particular strategy used to apply one or more dimensions of a research. A method could be interchangeable with or at least conducive to a research's paradigm. This was because a method was a function or manifestation of the paradigm or worldview espoused. Third, development entailed an expansion of the freedoms needed for an individual to live a better and fuller life (Sen, 1999, 2009, 2012). Thus, development involved a fuller human actualization of concerned individuals. Fourth and last, capability (Sen, 2009, 2012) embraced the range of abilities or opportunities needed by a person in order to live a better and fuller life. While the word capability could be used in the singular – as was the case in this paper – it was a fundamentally plural concept due to the multifarious nature of human actualization. The idea being, not one capability supplanted the complex endeavour of social human fulfillment. Also to clarify, this paper took interpretivism and qualitative research as interchangeable (details below). For consistence sake, the paper used the word interpretive, qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018a, b, c) to indicate interpretivism. The rest of the present paper is organized into three sections: (1) literature review, (2) method, and (3) results and discussion – along with a conclusion and recommendation section.

2. Literature Review

Just like anything else, research does not grow out of the vacuum. Two foundational worldviews have come to characterize the methodological background in and from which scholarly work is completed, that is: positivism and interpretivism. Exposure to or awareness of positivism is indispensable in part because "the positivist and post positivist paradigms provide the backdrop against which these other paradigms and perspectives operate" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018d, p. 98). On no account is capability approach immune from underlying methodological assumptions.

Worldviews or paradigms: Positivism is a worldview marked by knowledge that is predictable, indisputable and positive – regardless of contexts. Positivism has received an array of appellations, such as logical positivism, empiricism, rationalism, solipsism, Cartesianism, welfarism, etc. Proponents of positivism

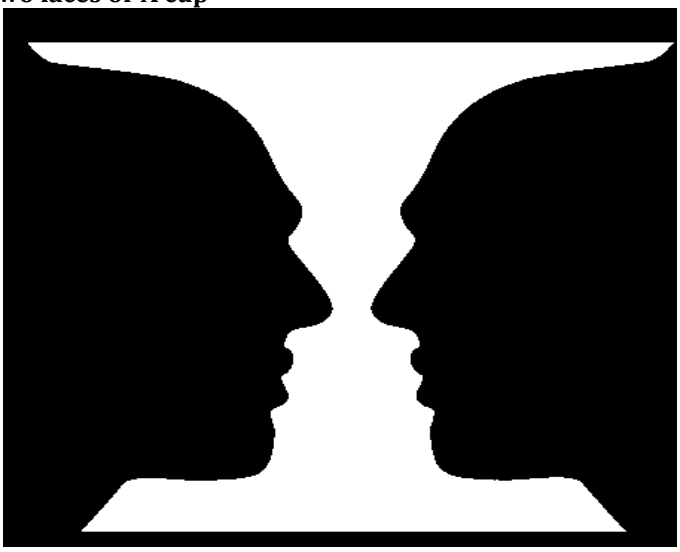
(Habermas, 1968/1971)[46] hold that scientific knowledge is acquired by way of experiment and observation, independently from human values, opinions, contexts, feelings and the like. As Friedman (1999) wrote, the concept verifiability also called predictability or replicability is what gives meaning to scientific propositions. The concept positivism came to prominence with the book of the 18th –19th century sociologist Auguste Comte (Comte, 1848/1998) written about positivism. In this book, social science inquiry was designed to produce positive or indubitable propositions in the same manner as inquiry conducted in natural sciences. The book at least the concept positivism was further brought into vogue by Durkheim (1895/1982) with his consideration of sociology as social physics. So science was believed to replicate and entail indubitable facts, in lieu of opinions, feelings, emotions and experiences. As Van der Tuin (2013) elucidated, "when I refer to positivism, its *totalizing epistemological ideal* should be kept in mind, that is, it should be remembered that its goal is to produce universal truths that stem from allegedly *disembodied researchers* [emphasis added]" (p. 101). Because knowledge was believed to be replicable or predicable, it was implemented from one context to another, irrespective of location and time. The totalizing or totalitarian idea is the idea that knowledge produced by researchers is applicable to and representative of all individuals or units irrespective of contexts, experiences and local or personal particularities. In more ways than one, positivism is at odds with capability approach.

The second underlying research worldview after positivism is commonly called interpretivism, but sometimes termed interpretativism or interpretationism (Collier & Elman, 2008; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018a, b, c; Eberle, 1999). Interpretivism has grown to embody a constellation of trails, depending on where the emphasis is being placed, such as phenomenology, discourse analysis, hermeneutics, constructionism, Marxism, historicism, etc. Interpretivism gained popularity with the adjective interpretive, which came from an English translation of the German phrase "*verstehende Soziologie*" (Weber, 1921/2002, p. 8) literally meaning: understanding sociology (details below). Understanding sociology was a sociology proposed by German sociologists Max Weber (1864-1920) and George Simmel (1858-1918) with the goal to understand individuals from their own perspectives (Simmel, 1908; Weber, 1949, 1921/2002). It bears mentioning that Marx (1845/1978) used the verb to interpret as the task of philosophers (or researchers) when he said "Die Philosophen haben die Welt nur verschieden *interpretiert*, es kömmt drauf an, sie zu *verändern* (Philosophers [researchers] have only *interpreted* the world in different ways, it is important to *change* it (emphasis in original)]" (p. 7). The task of researchers to interpret the world is incomplete without changing it. Thus, understanding social research was suggested to change the world by reversing the traditional top-down social research wherein individuals and their societies were regarded as passive and second-hand witnesses, based on a deductive, context-free and distant approach of the researcher. Clearly, interpretive social research presupposes, as Denzin and Lincoln (2018b) underlined, "the avowed humanistic and *social justice commitment* to study the social world from the *perspective of the interacting individual* [emphasis added]" (p. xvi). Unsurprisingly, the changing or transforming features of interpretive social research are nothing less than the gist of capability approach. Positivism and interpretivism affect research and its design more than usually reported and thought. As Bates (1999) elaborated, researchers are encouraged to be aware of the worldviews underlying research and methods thereof. This statement is not too far away from situations where the worldviews beneath research evolve into ironclad stereotypes with authors becoming unreceptive to and unaware of one another.

Properties of worldview: As Denzin and Lincoln (2018a) elicited, "if paradigms are overarching philosophical systems denoting particular ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies one cannot move easily from one to the other" (p. 12). As they affect research, worldviews carry specific properties, of which two most important bear consideration. First among the properties of worldview is the fact that two worldviews cannot be seen or adopted at the same time. This is due to the nature of human brain in that one cannot focus on two separate points at the same time. The best illustration of this is with the world-famous Rubin vase (see Figure 1) -- presented by Danish psychologist Rubin (1915, pp. 30-31). The picture illustrates the inability of humans to focus on two separate dots simultaneously. The interpretation of the picture depends on the view taken by the researcher.

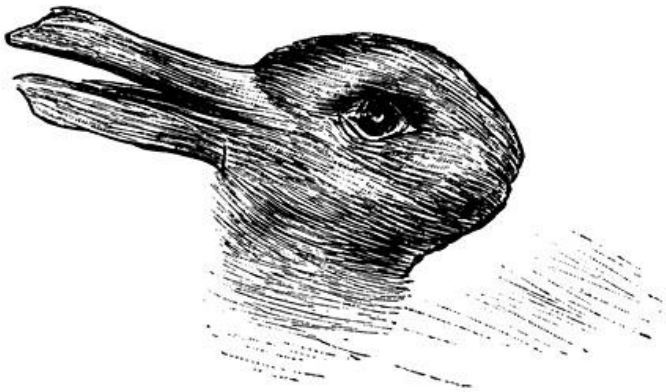
[46] It bears clarifying that although Habermas is not a positivist, he provided one of the best explanations of positivism (1968/1971, pp. 65-186). Equally worth clarifying is the idea that post-positivism is not the same as positivism (see Morgan 2007, p. 61).

Figure 1: Rubin Vase: Two faces or A cup



The second property of worldview has to do with the phenomenon that there is no such thing as clean worldview. Every worldview comes with or derives from a specific background, direction, or angle. One example is with the rabbit-duck picture (Jastrow, 1901, pp. 283-295; Figure 2)[47] -- popularly attributed to Wittgenstein (1953/1958, p.194) -- which can be seen either as a duck or as a rabbit, depending on the direction or background of the viewer or researcher.

Figure 2: Duck-rabbit picture



This means that the angle inflicted to research is not a matter of a good vs bad researcher. The extent to which the distinct properties of a worldview affect a person's reasoning has been confirmed by Guba and Lincoln (2005) when they posited that while positivism and interpretivism cannot be confounded, they have each seen a surge of diversity in the methods or lines of thoughts adopted. Still, diversity does not signify lack of distinction. In fact, Guba and Lincoln (1988) employed the concept water and oil to explain the dyad positivism and interpretivism in the sense that they can very well overlap, based on the research being done, but overlap is not the same as confusion or equivalence. All research is uncertain, since research is dependent on the methods adhered to, contexts involved and worldviews held. For example, Heisenberg (1927, 1930/2001) described scientific knowledge with German words as strong as *Ungenauigkeit*, *Unbestimmtheit* and *Unsicherheit* -- all of which connote the idea of uncertainty, indeterminacy, inexactness, inaccuracy, or imprecision.

[47] Advanced analysis reveals that the rabbit-duck picture arguably originated in an anonymous German article published around the turn of the 19th century (*Welche Thiere,* 1892, p. 147).

Misunderstandings about paradigms: Reviews of social science materials display a number of misunderstandings attributed to positivism and interpretivism. This is largely because each worldview or paradigm has its own history and attendant interpretations of what science or research entails.

Positivistic knowledge. While positivism has had a significant impact on research across scientific disciplines, it is beset with misunderstandings, of which three most dominant bear attention here. The first dominant misunderstanding surrounding positivism is the belief that positivistic knowledge is certain – hence the word positive. Yet, what characterizes scientific knowledge is relativity or contextuality. As Popper (1963/2002) contended, "*the criterion of the scientific status of a theory is its falsifiability, or refutability, or testability* [emphasis in original]" (p. 48). This confirms a principle foundational to positivism yet often forgotten that science does not seek absolute concepts. Most pertinently, regarding scientific or positive knowledge, Comte (1830) one of the founders of positivism placed an emphasis on "*l'impossibilité d'obtenir des notions absolues* [the impossibility to obtain absolute concepts]" (p. 4). Positivism is not (about) absolutism. As Bridgman (1927) stated, "all our knowledge is relative" (p. 25). This is not saying that research cannot provide valuable knowledge, but that relativity is the lynchpin of scientific knowledge. As Wallach (2015) noted, "physicists talk in terms of probabilities and uncertainties, *not absolutes* [emphasis added]" (p. 4). This aspect of physics defeats the widespread belief that "qualitative research may be viewed as soft science" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018a, p. 11) and quantitative research as hard science (Hammersley, 2013, Smith, 1998, 2005a, b). This is because "situated knowledge … is located within a historically specific culture. Scientific knowledge is no exception" (Smith, 1998, p. 4). Scientific research is characterized by contextuality or relativity.

The second misunderstanding related to positivism centres around the universality of knowledge. Universality implies the idea that knowledge is applicable and predicable from context to context, regardless of the particularities dealt with. One direct consequence stemming from the disregard of particularities is with endogeneity. Put simply, endogeneity is a paramount theory of quantitative research (Reeb, Sakakibara, & Mahmood, 2012) premised on the belief that a sample's findings or conclusions ought to account for the variability internal or endogenous (hence endogeneity) to the larger population, in connection with the topic or phenomenon being investigated. Endogeneity is variedly called sampling error or "*sample representativeness,* meaning that when the process of selecting the sample has been performed properly, the sample will often have characteristics similar to those of the population [emphasis in original]" (Sotos et al., 2007, p. 101). However, most studies of quantitative or positivistic research tend not to report the accuracy of a given sample in reference to the larger population, giving rise to a rampant misunderstanding. The misunderstanding results in all investigated data and ensuing conclusions being treated as if they were an accurate reflection of the larger population, which for development studies covers 6 billion plus inhabitants, the world population. This is because endogeneity leads to the error of confusing statistical significance with practical significance also known as the law of large numbers. In other words, "people confuse the sample and the population distributions, believing that any sample must be very similar to the population, regardless of its size and therefore extrapolating the *law of large numbers* [emphasis in original]" (Sotos et al., 2007, p. 101) or proportions found in selected sample. Capability approach measurements and indeed any measurements should reflect the variability of the global or larger population if they claim to be quantitative studies.

The third and last misunderstanding associated with positivism is concerned with the belief that positivism yields rationality or rational knowledge. Because of this, another word used to designate positivism is rationalism. Nonetheless, scores of critics have dismissed the rationality or claimed reason of positivism. For example, Marx (1867/1977) showed rationality to be a function of the manipulation of the poor by individuals being in power whereas Horkheimer and Adorno (1947/1972) used instrumental or manipulated reason to indicate the flaws of reason and of its claims to enlightenment and progress. Of interest here is the etymology of the English term rationality. Rationality springs from the Latin word *ratio*, which is akin to the Greek word *λόγος* [*lógos*] (Lewis & Short, 1879; Liddell & Scott, 1843/1996). Although both terms were characterized as infallible or set-in-stone entities in the Enlightenment era they are not as rational as commonly believed. For example, apart from the idea of reason, *logos* denote instances such as fable, story, tale, expression, opinion, conversation, chitchat, prose, speech, etc. -- things that Enlightenment champions (see Bacon, 1620/1889; Descartes, 1637/1987) decidedly regarded as unsuited to rational knowledge. Equally, besides reason, the Latin term *ratio* stands for affairs, business, matters, interests, etc. Obviously,

fables and interests can betoken some of the most irrational endeavours of social reality. In brief, as part of their prime meanings, *logos* and *ratio* contain irrational items such as feelings, opinions, interests, etc.

Interpretivistic knowledge. Interpretivism has been receiving recognition among researchers (Denzin, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018a, b, c, d), but it has also been the object of three most recurrent misunderstandings. The first most recurrent misunderstanding involving interpretivism or interpretivistic knowledge revolves around the subjective vs objective binary, with interpretivism being depicted as subjective and positivism as objective. While interpretivism aims to peer deep into the subjective or lived dynamics of the phenomenon under study, it is not reducible or equivalent to subjectivism. This is because the utmost purpose of qualitative inquiry is "to discover *patterns* that are hidden in the details [emphasis added]" (Patton, 2015, p. 11). In fact, the purpose of interpretivism is to unearth the systematic patterns lingering beneath the lived experiences of a given phenomenon or topic. Moreover, it is widely accepted that the divide objective vs subjective, realistic vs unrealistic, inductive vs deductive, factual vs sensual and the like is a misleading rendition of both positivism and interpretivism (see Babbie, 2016; Bryman, 2016; Bryant, 2017). The most vivid description of this debate can be found with French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss (1978/1995) notable remark, when he said,

> The real gap, the real separation between science and what we might as well call mythical [subjective] thought … occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At that time, with Bacon, Descartes, Newton, and the others… it was thought that science could only exist by turning its back upon the world of senses… whereas the real world was a world of mathematical properties which could only be grasped by the intellect and which was entirely at odds with the false testimony of the senses. (pp. 5-6)

In no unclear terms, Lévi-Strauss (1978/1995) continued,

> Contemporary science is tending to overcome this gap and… more and more the sense [subjective] data are being reintegrated into scientific explanation... Take, for instance, the world of smells. We were accustomed to think that this was entirely subjective, outside the world of science. Now the chemists are able to tell us that each smell or each taste has a certain chemical composition and to give us the reasons why subjectively some smells or some tastes feel to us as having something in common. (pp. 6-7)

As articulated in the above statements, sensory or sensual data are proven not only to be entirely scientific, but to be the object of scientific explanation and formula. Popper (1994/1996a) repudiated the idea of social sciences regarded as a manifestation of subjective phenomena devoid of realism and objectivity. Popper (1994/1996a) propounded that objective knowledge or fact is not an end in and by itself, nor an accomplishment found or enshrined in an individual researcher, but a combination of independent, physical and objective entities, such as institutions, venues, bodies of literature, communities, associations, etc. that criticize or confirm a researcher's suggested theories or concepts.

Most importantly, the English term objective derives from the Latin verb *objicere*, which is composed of two particles: *ob*, meaning: with, alongside, by; and *jacere*, standing for: to expose, present, throw, bring forth, etc. (Lewis & Short, 1879). Object typifies something being exposed, it does not signify the idea of absolute propositions or truths. Equally, the English term subjective springs from the same Latin word (*jacere*), with the prefix *sub*, meaning in front, before, there, etc. Subject carries the same meaning of setting something in front, exposing, bringing forth, etc. In no way does the etymology display an idea of absolutist or infallible proposition or truth. Scientific, objective, or subjective knowledge is by definition expository or open not locked or closed. Indeed, according to Comte (1830), a seminal figure of positivism, positive knowledge can very well include and apply to social phenomena. To preempt a misrepresentation of scientific knowledge, Comte (1830) clarified,

> *La philosphie positive, dans laquelle je comprends l'étude des phénomènes sociaux aussi bien que de tous les autres, désigne une manière uniforme de raisonner applicable à tous les sujets sur lesquels l'esprit humanin peut s'exercer* [positive philosophy (or scientific knowledge), in which I include the study of social phenomena as well as of all other kinds of phenomena, indicates a uniform manner of thinking applicable to all subjects that the mind can deal with]. (p. viii)

As noted in the statement above, social phenomena are not incompatible with or unfit for scientific, certain knowledge.

The second recurrent misunderstanding alluding to interpretivism, after the subjective/objective dichotomy, hinges on the belief that interpretivism cannot provide generalizable results, or plainly put, a qualitative researcher is unable to generalize. Foregrounding the role of generalization in qualitative research, Yin (2014), a prominent figure of research method, recently specified that interpretivists or qualitative researchers can shed light on the theory and principles under study by using or offering analytic generalization. Thus, with analytic generalizations or to use an expression of Seddon and Scheepers (2015) "inductive generalizations" (p. 37), interpretivists can -- as they usually do – yield conclusions and recommendations with resonance or applicability well beyond the case or context at hand. It follows that defining generalizability as the equivalent or monopoly of numbers is the same as limiting the complexity of reality to numbers. More clearly, Yin (2014) described generalizability with the idea of lessons learned. In fact, interpretivistic work embodies a wealth of lessons learned needed for a better understanding of the world in which we live. Some authors have proposed terms such as resonance (Mason, 2002; Tracy, 2010, 2013) or transferability (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018a).

Still other authors (Roy et al., 2015) have portrayed the findings garnered in qualitative research as findings that are "portable, moving from … one specific context out toward… other contexts" (p. 255). It is thus inescapably acknowledged that qualitative research can yield generalizable or portable findings. The concept lessons learned presupposes that qualitative researchers regard generalizability as the process of learning from prior research to improve the world and the knowledge thereof. The reason being that social scientists seek to gain a deeper understanding of people from an in-depth experience of a few individuals. Qualitative social research is research with a deeper general understanding (i.e., generalization), an understanding that sheds light on events, individuals and societies across contexts. The goal is to "help counter the view that generalization beyond the immediate evidence and the case is impossible in qualitative research" (Bryman, 2016, p. 399). A deeper understanding of one phenomenon or individual can very well illuminate other individuals across the larger population or wider society.

The third and last misunderstanding pertaining to interpretivism holds that numbers, graphs, tables and the like are not germane to interpretivistic knowledge, but rather they are exclusively designed for quantitative, positivistic knowledge. To put it another way, "descriptive [qualitative] data [is that] which can be observed, but not measured. It can include text, images, sound, etc. but not numerical/quantitative values" (Guijt, 2014, p. i). Thus, it can be said that in quantitative inquiry numbers, tables and graphs are used to identify and illustrate the extent to which the reached findings or conclusions represent the larger population. However, with a purpose to supply deeper and thicker knowledge about that which is being studied, "qualitative researchers use semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival and phonemic analysis – *even statistics, tables, graphs, and numbers* [emphasis added]" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018a, p. 12). More specifically, an interpretive researcher employs visuals, that is: numbers, tables, graphs, pictures, audios, etc. with the goal not to generalize findings to the larger population, but rather "to ensure an *in-depth understanding* of the phenomenon in question [emphasis added]" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 5). By and large, quantitative visuals seek to determine the extent to which a research's findings reflect the larger population whereas qualitative visuals seek to enhance the understanding of the phenomenon under study.

3. Methodology

This paper undertook a content analysis of literature to take stock of ways or patterns in which capability approach was regarded. To this effect, using Google engine, the paper performed thematic analysis to "search for themes or patterns" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 2) located in capability approach body of works. For focus purposes, collected themes or patterns were identified along the lines of concepts most dominant in capability approach literature, such as capability, functioning, freedom, opportunity, life, development, and welfare. Equally, the concepts method, worldview, paradigm, and research were searched in wider social science materials to best situate and focus on the paper's key aim. Collected themes provided a state-of-the-art picture of how capability approach was being treated. Armed with these patterns, the paper examined Sen

works with an eye on methodological underpinnings to diagnose the existing conditions of capability approach.

4. Results and Discussion

This section seeks to reposition capability approach. The positions vindicated above have set the stage for a deeper discussion of concerned literature in the hopes of repositioning capability approach. To this effect, two steps are taken: background and criticisms.

Background: A better understanding of capability approach can be gained by looking at its background. While capability approach as an approach has not gripped the attention of authors till the 2000s (Nussbaum, 2000, 2003, 2006a, b), it hearkens as earlier back as several decades ago in1959 when Sen defended his doctoral dissertation (Sen, 1960). Indeed, Sen (1960) raised important methodological issues crippling the field of development economics, when he remarked that the tendency of researchers and policy makers to make statements in broad strokes about the development of nations require a rethink of the methods used. More than half a century after Sen statement, renowned methodologist Patton (2015) advocated for research with "emphasis on in-depth understanding of specific cases" (p. 53). Without doubt, interpretive, qualitative research was a leitmotiv preoccupation of Sen since early on. However, this fact tends to escape the attention of authors interested in or familiar with capability approach. For example, Sen (1960) highlighted that the social and cultural heterogeneity alternatively dubbed variability or contextuality is key to a deeper understanding of individuals and their societies. This remark has been underestimated not only in research method and development literature as seen earlier but also in capability approach materials. Capability approach undertakes a radical departure from a means-centric orientation to one of fuller human realization (Sen, 2012). Instead, researchers prefer numbers or abstract indicators of local particularities. Consequently, Sen (1960) warned, "in fact, it is not quite clear what one means by the physical quantity of capital since the producer [of] goods and their products are both quite heterogeneous" (p. 17).

Put differently, the quantity of capital (or development or wellbeing) does not represent the variability proper or endogenous to a society and its members. Such a warning by Sen continues to reverberate to this day among critics of quantitative research. Most pertinently, Cosgrove, Wheeler and Kosterina (2015) bemoaned the "hegemony of quantification" (p. 17) seen in most social science materials. So, as explained above, quantification ought to reflect the variability of the larger population. This is the context in which the idea of capability has come to be a core tenet of capability approach. Capability approach "has to take a direct interest in the *lives* [emphasis added] that people are actually able to lead" (Sen, 2012, pp. 102-103) or live. Capability approach is more about the quality of people's life than the quantity, quantification, or simplification of it. Capability approach bears ample testament to the idea that capabilities are not so much about the things distributed, purchased, possessed, amassed, enjoyed, or accessed, as they are about life lived fuller and better. This implies that a society's worst-off individuals have the actual ability to live fuller and better lives. By the same token, this requires a researcher's sustained attention to and rendition of locales and particularities. One key in ensuring that research dovetails with selected locales and corresponding particularities is to allow for broader choices or capabilities among individuals in order for a nation's members to live fuller and better lives. This is what Sen (1979a, b, 1999, 2009, 2012) endeavoured to do for much of his life.

As Nussbaum (2003) argued, although growth indicators or numbers can be beneficial they do not increase our understanding of what a society's individuals are actually able (to choose) to be and accomplish under day-to-day circumstances. The core nature of capability approach is best encapsulated in the definition of qualitative research. A key idea worth a closer look and yet often bypassed is the idea that capability approach amounts to qualitative research. As is apparent throughout this paper, there is a vast mass of hitherto untapped imperial evidence showcasing how capability approach squarely fits in with qualitative research. One compelling illustration is with the definition of qualitative research. As Erickson (2018) delineated,

> Qualitative research seeks to discover and to describe narratively what particular people do in their everyday lives… From Latin, *qualitas* refers to a primary focus on the qualities, the features, of entities

> to distinctions in kind --- while the contrasting term, *quantitas*, refers to a primary focus on differences in amount… The qualitative researcher first asks, "What are the kinds of things (material or symbolic) to which people in this setting orient as they conduct everyday life?". The quantitative researcher first asks, "How many instances of a certain kind [of things] are there here?". (p. 36)

As observed above, needless to say that capability approach rests on and engages with the quality of life that people are able to live in everyday life. As Sen (2009) posited,

> Capability approach focuses on human lives, and not just on the resources people have, in the form of owning – or having use of – objects of convenience that a person may possess. Income and wealth are often taken to be the main criteria of human success. By proposing a fundamental shift in the focus of attention from the *means* of living to the *actual opportunities* a person has, the capability approach aims at a fairly radical change… It also initiates a very substantial departure from the means-orientation [emphasis in original]. (p. 253)

As shown in the above explanation, quality of life distinguishes capability approach from an approach with a vested interest in the quantity of things cherished par excellence in quantitative research. The idea for qualitative research is, as Erickson (2018) added, to "be describing everyday life from the points of view [or accounts] of those who lived it" (p. 40). Life lived and defined from the perspectives of those concerned is another potent description of qualitative research, namely interpretive, qualitive research. As presented earlier, the word interpretive has served as a modifier of qualitative research, in the aftermath of the school of social research called *verstehende Soziologie* created by German sociologists Simmel (1908) and Weber (1921/2002).

Since in German the verb *verstehen* is also synonymous with the verb *interpretieren* (see Duden, https://www.duden.de), *verstehende Soziologie* stands for *interpretierende Soziologie* [interpreting Sociology], with the latter being most commonly rendered as interpretive sociology. "It is not possible to chronologically and semantically distinguish Simmel from Weber in their usage of the term interpretive sociology, since they each presented significantly similar and contemporary insights of the term" (Cibangu, 2012, p. 105). Because capability approach seeks to give an account of and shed light on everyday life lived by the poor from the perspectives of the poor, it comes down to interpretive, qualitative research. The notion of interpreting sociology being "*durch Verstehen Andrer und Verstanden werden* [through understanding of others and being understood]" (Simmel, 1908, p. 674) bears out the idea of presenting and relating to the points of view of those being researched.

Criticisms: As indicated earlier, while capability approach has its origins in Sen doctoral dissertation in 1959 (Sen, 1960), it has not been explicitly discussed till the 2000s. Indeed, since the 2000s, three dominant criticisms have been voiced on the subject of capability approach: (1) operationalization of capabilities, (2) list of capabilities, and (3) theoretical framework. First, the operationalization of capabilities (Alkire, 2016; Anand, Santos, & Smith, 2009; Jacobson, 2016; Kleine, 2010) is the idea that capability approach should be expressed in the form of concepts that can be measured by researchers. These concepts are called operational definitions or operational concepts because they represent a set of activities or operations characterizing the relations observed between selected variables in a given experiment or research. Thus, the central question becomes "how do we measure capabilities?" (Anand, Santos, & Smith, 2009, p. 284). While the issue of capabilities operationalization has surfaced since the early stages of capability approach, it has not been discussed within the methodological paradigm of positivism in which it is rooted. This paper was filling this gap by resituating the concept operational definitions within the paradigm of positivistic, quantitative research because capability approach corresponds to interpretive, qualitative research. As a matter of fact, attempts to operationalize capabilities not only have displayed limited results, but they have met with increasing resistance even among quantitative researchers.

As Anand, Santos and Smith (2009) acknowledged, "there remain areas of application where further questions could be devised, but the questions developed and analyzed to date nonetheless illustrate which *economic statistics* the capabilities approach requires for *its operationalization within quantitative empirical work* [emphasis added]" (p. 303). As stated in this remark, operationalization of capability is nothing less than

the positivistic, quantitative paradigm being applied behind the façade of capability approach. As Kuklys (2005) articulated, capability approach is founded on a paradigm or philosophical foundation that is different from that of welfare economics wherein much of the conversation about operationalization takes place. To explain, operational definition is a concept inherited from positivistic arenas with the goal to measure or manipulate a unit of analysis in a lab or lab-like environment and thus produce replicable propositions. As Nobel-Prize physicist Bridgman (1927) stressed, "*all results of measurement are only approximate*… Any statement about numerical relations between measured quantities must always be the subject of *the qualification that the relation is valid only within limits* [emphasis added]" (p. 33). As is clear from the observation above, measurement just like positivism described earlier cannot and should not lay claim to certainty. However, by immersing themselves in reality, interpretive, qualitative researchers seek not a manipulation or distortion of reality, but rather a deeper, thicker understanding of it.

The totalitarian pursuit of measurement seen in capability approach literature (details above) is challenged by the variability of the world and people within and beyond experiment. As Jacobson (2016) corroborated, "given that capabilities and functioning may vary across social circumstances, *measures must vary* [emphasis added]. Some researchers are frustrated by the flexibility of this approach" (pp. 797-798). Therefore, the operationalization of capability approach exhibits two major shortcomings. On the one hand, the operationalization of capability approach amounts to nothing but the incorporation of capability approach into the paradigm of positivistic, quantitative research. While such an endeavour might have merits, it betrays the hallmark of capability approach seen throughout Sen writings. Indeed, scores of capability approach analysts have been calling for a broader methodological range within capability approach literature (Adler & Fleurbaey, 2016). On the other hand, the operationalization of capability approach falls short of tackling endogeneity, more precisely the ability of any quantitative research to accurately represent the variability of the larger population from which a research's sample has been derived. While the discussions homed in on the statistical relations between capability indicators or between capability and well-being variables (Anand, Santos, & Smith, 2009) might be beneficial, they should match up to the standards of quantitative research, namely the ability of any sample to duly represent the variability of the larger population.

Sure enough, one of the leading champions of measurement involving capability approach is Alkire (2016). In a cogent conclusion, Alkire (2016) warned that it is not the nature of capability approach to measure or preselect capabilities. It follows from this that capability approach is by definition an *open-ended, non-totalitarian, or flexible* approach -- something which falls entirely within the lead feature of interpretive, qualitative inquiry. As Patton (2015) asserted, qualitative approach has at its core the openness of inquiry allowing open-ended questions or interviews and open eyes and minds to enable the researcher to investigate reality the deepest. It is time to liberate capability approach from the dominion of positivistic paradigm. It is time to invest research efforts and resources in "the value of methodological breadth" (Adler & Fleurbaey, 2016, p. 17) or variety. Only then can capability approach spawn new spaces and voices of capabilities. As Denzin and Lincoln (2018b) maintained,

> It is once again time to move forward into an uncertain, open-ended utopian future. It is time to open up new spaces, time to decolonize the academy, time to create new spaces for indigenous voices, time to explore new discourses, new politics of identity, new concepts of equity and social justice, new forms of critical ethnography, new performance stages… We must renew our efforts to honor the voices of those who have been silenced by dominant paradigms. (p. x)

As noted in the statement above, the idea that capability approach does not measure or cannot be measured is nothing less than a single space and thus a misleading view of the approach. Most interesting is the fact that in defending the idea of measuring well-being using capability approach, the term space is proposed. Indeed, Alkire (2016) "argues that well-being and its lack should be measured in the space of capabilities… and so affirms the powerful ongoing relevance of capabilities as a *space* for the evaluation of well-being at the present time [emphasis added]" (p. 616). As described above, space connotes the idea of flexibility, movability, openness, or freedom needed to apply and reflect capabilities and particularities in wide-ranging contexts.

The second dominant criticism raised against capability approach, after that regarding the operationalization of capabilities, has to do with the list of capabilities or to borrow a poignant description of Simon et al. (2013)

"a comprehensive or appropriate general set of capabilities" (p. 188). Perhaps the most known list of capabilities proposed to date is that of Nussbaum (1997, 2000, 2006a, b), which is composed of ten central capabilities: (1) life, (2) bodily health, (3) bodily integrity, (4) senses, (5) emotions, (6) practical reason, (7) affiliation, (8) other species, (9) play, and (10) control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2006b, pp. 76-78).

Nevertheless, despite her staunch campaign for a comprehensive list of capabilities, Nussbaum (1997, 2000, 2006a, b) clarified that any specific list of capabilities ought to allow for openness or multiple applicability, all of which in fact is the hallmark of interpretive, qualitative research and of capability approach. The observation resonates well with Sen (2004) apt response to the idea of listing capabilities, when he declared,

> It would be *a mistake to build a mausoleum for a "fixed and final" list of capabilities usable for every purpose and unaffected by the progress of understanding* [emphasis added] of the social role and importance of different capabilities. The problem is not with listing important capabilities, but with insisting on one predetermined canonical list of capabilities, chosen by theorists without any general social discussion or public reasoning. To have such a fixed list, emanating entirely from pure theory, is to deny the possibility of fruitful public participation on what should be included and why. (p. 77)

As explained above, contextuality defeats the reason behind the list of capabilities. If capabilities are contingent on locality, there is no apparent reason for imposing or proposing a selected, universal, or context-free list of capabilities in order for capability approach to become an approach. As Kleine (2013) argued, "reduction in complexity is particularly evident in quantitative studies [of capability approach] using aggregate data. Qualitative research may be in a better position to mirror the approach's complexity" (p. 29). Quantitative applications of capability approach undermine the complexity and richness of the approach.

The third and last dominant criticism made about capability approach refers to theoretical framework. This criticism consists in the "fundamental question that Sen's approach does not fully answer: how do individual and collective choice relate to each other?" (Kleine, 2013, p. 28). It is believed that, as Kleine (2013) expounded, capability approach does not have a theoretical framework. Thus, by supplying capability approach with a framework, a capability approach researcher is likely not only to preserve the open-endedness of development practice, but more specifically to ensure the choices of the individuals involved in the process. This requires not just a framework, but a critical, flexible framework. As Denzin and Lincoln (2018b) specified, "a critical framework is central to this project. It speaks for and with those who are on the margins" (p. x).

Critical framework comes from a research method that liberates individuals from hegemonic positivism. To this effect, some critics have been advocating for "a wider conceptual framework" (Diga & May, 2016, p. 2). A wider conceptual framework is a framework in which no one paradigm has the monopoly of what and how to operationalize and frame research and its concepts. Despite stern remarks that capability approach is no way a quantitative research method, as noted earlier, the rate of attempts to quantify the fundamental concepts of capability approach has rocketed. As Nussbaum (2006b) postulated, quantitative measurement would not do justice to the complexity and open-mindedness of capability approach. Most rightfully, after crafting the framework designed to fix or complement capability approach, Kleine (2013) called for more in-depth work about the proposed grand framework of capability approach in order to avoid "a 'one-size-fits-all-(more or less)' approach" (Kleine, 2013, p. 205). As is now clear, a grand framework of capability approach, although attractive, clashes not only with research method principles but with capability approach itself. Perhaps to make matters worse, the proposed framework (Kleine, 2013, p. 44) lacks Nussbaum (2006b) ten central capabilities, let alone a concept as vast as structure listed on the framework – to take just one example – comprises only five elements. This point validates Popper (1994/1996b) warning about framework -- a warning found in his well-known book published on *The Myth of Framework* that states that a grand framework is unlikely to lead to a productive discussion since participants tend to be more allegiant to the framework than they are sensitive to reality or contextuality.

Popper (1994/1996b) expanded on the idea that a framework is a function of contextuality. What contextuality does is that it brings into the research process different sensitivities, different nuances, different lenses, different sediments, etc. that render the gained knowledge deeper, thicker, or to use a preferred word

of Husserl (1913/2002) sedimented. Sedimented knowledge is knowledge that goes past mere layers to include deposits, traces, curves, turns, dots, holes, etc. that in the course of time have made the bedrock or foundation of a structure or phenomenon. In sum, efforts towards an operationalization of capability approach, an exhaustive list of capabilities and an all-encompassing framework of capability approach are all but concepts cherrypicked from positivism with the goal to subsume capability approach under the hegemony of quantification or quantitative research. For example, phenomenology is an approach well-known for its interpretivistic distinctive feature, but researchers do not ask nor expect Husserl (1913/2002) the founder of phenomenology to do things such as to (1) operationalize phenomena, (2) present a comprehensive list of phenomena, and (3) craft an all-encompassing theoretical framework regarding phenomena. The same is true of many if not all interpretive authors and their central concepts, such as Ricoeur (1969) and the concept meaning, Marx (1867/1977) and social class conflict, Bourdieu (1986) and social capital, Foucault (1969/1972) and discourse, etc. Nor do researchers require the aforementioned interpretive schools of thought to present recipes for statistical, quantitative measurements of their respective concepts and arguments thereof. To be clear, if none of these and similar authors of interpretivism are not blamed, for example, for being unable to operationalize the central concept of their line of thought, it is thus unfair and indeed unproductive for researchers to demand that capability approach do the things that are not demanded of others.

Perhaps one best way around the temptation of paradigmatic or methodological imperialism endemic in capability approach circles is to use mixed method, a method in which capability approach can keep its inalienable nature of interpretivism. That "one of the main critiques against the [capability] approach is the difficulty of its operationalization" (Ibrahim, 2014, p. 15), cannot be blamed on capability approach but rather on a broader methodological problem wrecking statistics and more precisely positivism. The idea being, "not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted" (Cameron, 1963, p. 13). This is because "capabilities need to be built from the bottom-up" (Ibrahim, 2017, p. 197). Bottom-up refers to contextuality, and numbers are abstractions if not distortions of the myriad sensitivities embedded in contextuality. In a study unrelated to capability approach – which shows that this is not a problem of capability approach, Miles, Huberman & Saldaña (2014) affirmed that numbers (or measurement units so to speak) are all but one aspect of details among myriads that make up the layers and contours beneath participants' reality. This confirms the premier feature of capability approach, which questions the methodologies being used about development. In this sense, "this [capability] approach outlines the purpose of development to enlarge opportunities for people and facilitate an environment where people can enjoy what they value in life" (Tiwari, 2017, p. 185).

While tremendous success has been accomplished across disciplines in ways of conceptualizing development as a fuller expansion of substantive freedoms, the methodologies via which capability approach is being implemented have yet to be conducive to pluralism and ensuing openness, creativity, or flexibility. This is because in recent decades, as Denzin and Giardina (2017) stipulated, "the emphasis on metrics and deliverables has never been more prevalent" (p. 3). Paradigm pluralism is a privileged tool in gaining a deeper understanding of modern day (development) problems and making the world a better place. In fact, the last decades have seen an increased awareness vis-à-vis the multidimensionality of development indexes and policies (Alkire et al., 2015). Yet, multidimensionality that does not involve research paradigms is incomplete if not corrosive. For most capability approach literature regards methodology as a mere exposé of specific statistical details such as the relations between selected indicators of capabilities and those of functioning, and vice versa. Thus, capability approach scholarship is bedeviled by grievous blind spots as to how on the one hand a sample represents the larger population (global diversity), and how, on the other hand, research paradigms are discussed to ensure or enhance the interpretive, qualitative cachet of capability approach.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Although capability approach has been gaining ground among social science experts of differing persuasions, it has met with a number of deep rooted criticisms. Three chief criticisms often aired against capability approach are that it lacks (1) a recipe of operationalization, (2) a list of capabilities, and (3) a comprehensive theoretical framework. Notwithstanding implacable calls for broader methodological space from within

research method venues in general and capability approach literatures in particular, discussions of statistical minutiae such as those over capability indicators and functioning indicators have proliferated, and positivism has prevailed in capability approach outlets. This paper took capability approach back to its interpretivistic roots rather than rehashing positivism. Curiously enough, the conclusions or clarifications made by Sen and by his detractors about the criticisms leveled against capability approach result in the emphasis being placed on the idea of openness or contextuality, an earmark of qualitative research.

For a long time, capability approach has been resisting deportation from its native land of interpretivism, shall I say, leaving attempts of capability measurements trapped in a vicious cycle. It is because discussions of research method have been given little to no attention among capability approach analysts that misjudgments vis-à-vis capability approach have abounded. The blame if any for the pitfalls associated with measurement ought to be directed at the paradigm looming behind a given research and its processes, and not at capability approach. This paper was not denying the necessity of discussions concerned with operationalization and similar concepts. Rather the paper was recommending that such discussions ensure paradigm pluralism as well as the interpretive, qualitative feature of capability approach. It was also recommended that authors engage with methodological underpinnings of capability approach literature bearing in mind how positivism was/is subtly influential if not tyrannical. Without a discussion on and exposé of methodological underpinnings, capability approach will act as a springboard for positivistic agenda.

References

Adler, D. M. & Fleurbaey, M. (2016). Introduction. In M. D. Adler & M. Fleurbaey (Eds.), The Oxford handbook of well-being and public policy (pp. 1-18). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Alkire, S. (2002). Valuing freedoms: Sen's capability approach and poverty reduction. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Alkire, S. (2005a). Why the capability approach? *Journal of Human Development*, 6(1), 115-135.

Alkire, S. (2005b). Subjective quantitative studies of human agency. *Social Indicators Research*, 74(1), 217-260.

Alkire, S. (2008a). Choosing dimensions: The capability approach and multidimensional poverty. In N. Kakwani, Nanak, & J. Silber (Eds.), The many dimensions of poverty (pp. 89-119). New York, NY: Palgrave-MacMillan.

Alikre, S. (2008b). Using the capability approach: Prospective and evaluative perspectives. In F. Comim, M. Qizilbash, & S. Alkire (Eds.), The capability approach: Concepts, measures and applications (pp. 26-50). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Alkire, S. (2010a). Instrumental freedoms and human capabilities. In S.L. Esquith & F. Gifford (Eds.), Capabilities, power, and institutions (pp. 18-32). University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Alkire, S. (2010b). Human development: Definitions, critiques, and related concepts. Development Program Research Paper 2010/01 Retrieved from UN Development Program sitehttps://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6248643.pdf

Alkire, S. (2010c). Development: A misconceived theory can kill. In C.W. Morris (Ed.), Amartya Sen (pp. 191-220). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Alkire, S. (2016). The capability approach and well-being measurement for public policy. In M. D. Adler & M. Fleurbaey (Eds.), The Oxford handbook of well-being and public policy (pp. 615-644). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Alkire, S. & Black, R. (1997). A practical reasoning theory of development ethics: Furthering the capabilities approach. *Journal of International Development*, 9(2), 263-279.

Alkire, S., Foster, E. J., Seth, S., Santos, E. M., Roche, M. J. & Ballon, P. (2015). Multidimensional poverty index: Measurement and analysis. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Alkire, S., Qizilbash, M. & Comim, F. (2008). Introduction. In F. Comim, M. Qizilbash, & S. Alkire (Eds.), The capability approach: Concepts, measures and applications (pp. 1-25). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Anand, P., Santos, C. & Smith, R. (2009). The Measurement of capabilities. In K. Basu & R. Kanbur (Eds.), Arguments for a better world: Essays in honor of Amartya Sen (1, 283-310). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Babbie, R. E. (2016). The practice of social research (14th ed.). Boston, MA: Cengage.
Bacon, F. (1889). Novum organum (edited by T. Fowler, 2nd ed.). Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press. (Original work published 1620)
Bamberger, M. (2000). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research in development projects. Washington, DC: World Bank.
Bates, J. M. (1999). The invisible substrate of information science. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science,* 50(12), 1043-1050.
Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J.G. Richardson (Ed.), Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education (pp. 57-60). New York, NY: Greenwood Press.
Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 3(2), 77-101.
Bridgman, W. P. (1927). The logic of modern physics. New York, NY: Macmillan.
Bryant, A. (2017). Grounded theory and grounded theorizing: Pragmatism in research practice. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Bryman, A. (2016). Social research methods (5th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Cameron, W. B. (1963). Informal sociology: A casual introduction to sociological thinking. New York, NY: Random House.
Cibangu, K. S. (2012). Qualitative research: The toolkit of theories in the social sciences. In A. López-Varela (Ed.), Theoretical and methodological approaches to social sciences and knowledge management (pp. 95-126). London, UK: InTech.
Chiappero-Martinetti, E., Budd, H. C. & Ziegler, R. (2017). Social innovation and the capability approach: Introduction to the special issue. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 18(2), 141-147.
Clandinin, J. D. (2016). Engaging in narrative inquiry. New York, NY: Routledge.
Comte, A. (1830). Cours de philosophie positive: Tome 1er. Les préliminaires généraux et la philosophie mathématique. Paris: Bachelier.
Comte, A. (1998). Discours sur l'ensemble du positivisme. Paris: Editions GF. (Original work published 1848)
Cosgrove, L., Wheeler, E. E. & Kosterina, E. (2015). Quantitative methods: Science means and ends. In I. Parker (Ed.), Handbook of critical psychology (pp. 15-23). New York, NY: Routledge.
De Herdt, T. (2008). Social policy and the ability to appear in public without shame: Some lessons from a food relief program in Kinshasa. In F. Comim, M. Qizilbash, & S. Alkire (Eds.), The capability approach: Concepts, measures and applications (pp. 458-488). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Denzin, K. N. (2014). Interpretive autoethnography (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Denzin, K. N. & Giardina, D. M. (2017). Introduction: Qualitative inquiry in neoliberal times. In N.K. Denzin & M.D. Giardina (Eds.), Qualitative inquiry in neoliberal times (pp. 1-16). New York, NY: Routledge.
Denzin, K. N. & Lincoln, S. Y. (2011). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin. & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), The Sage handbook of qualitative research (4th ed., pp. 1-19). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Denzin, K. N. & Lincoln, S. Y. (2018a). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, (Eds.), The Sage handbook of qualitative research (5th ed., pp. 1-26). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Denzin, K. N. & Lincoln, S. Y. (2018b). Preface. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, (Eds.), The Sage handbook of qualitative research (5th ed., pp. ix-xx). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Denzin, K. N. & Lincoln, S. Y. (2018c). Locating the field. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, (Eds.), The Sage handbook of qualitative research (5th ed., pp. 27-35). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Denzin, K. N. & Lincoln, S. Y. (2018d). Paradigms and perspectives in contention. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, (Eds.), The Sage handbook of qualitative research (5th ed., pp. 97-107). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Descartes, R. (1987). Discours de la méthode: Pour bien conduire sa raison et chercher de la vérité dans les sciences (Texte et commentaire par Etienne Gilson). Paris: Vrin. (Original work published 1637)
Diga, K. & May, J. (2016). The ICT ecosystem: The application, usefulness, and future of an evolving concept. *Information Technology for Development, 22*(sup 1), 1-6.
Durkheim, E. (1982). The rules of sociological method: And selected texts on sociology and its method (W.D. Halls, Trans.). London, UK: Macmillan. (Original work published 1895)
Eberle, T. S. (1999). Die methodologische Grundlegung der interpretativen Sozialforschung durch die phänomenologische Lebensweltanalyse von Alfred Schütz. *Osterreichische Zeitschrift fürSoziologie*, 24(4), 65-90.

Enderle, G. (2013). The capability approach as guidance for corporate ethics. In C. Luetge (Ed.), Handbook of the philosophical foundations of business ethics (pp. 675-691). New York, NY: Springer.

Engel, S. (2017). Shame, poverty and development studies. *Journal of International Development, 29*(8), 1215–1226.

Erickson, F. (2018). A history of qualitative research in social and educational research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, (Eds.), The Sage handbook of qualitative research (5th ed., pp. 36-65). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Foucault, M. (1972). The archaeology of knowledge (A.M. Sheridan, Trans.). London: Tavistock. (Original work published 1969)

Friedman, M. (1999). Reconsidering logical positivism. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Fukuda-Parr, S., Yamin, E. A. & Greenstein, J. (2014). The power of numbers: A critical review of Millennium Development Goal targets for human development and human rights. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities,* 15(2–3), 105-117.

Guba, G. E. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1988). Do inquiry paradigms imply inquiry methodologies? In D. Fetterman (Ed.), Qualitative approaches to evaluation in education (pp. 89-115). New York, NY: Praeger.

Guba, G. E. & Lincoln, S. Y. (2005). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), The Sage handbook of qualitative research (3rd ed., pp. 191-215). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Guijt, I. (2014). Participatory approaches, methodological briefs: Impact evaluation 5. Florence, Italy: UNICEF.

Habermas, J. (1971). Knowledge and human interests (J. J. Shapiro, Trans.), Beacon Press, Boston, MA. (Original work published 1968)

Hammersley, M. (2013). The myth of research-based policy and practice. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hansen, A. & Machin, D. (2013). Media and communication research methods. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Heisenberg, W. (1927). *Über den anschaulichen Inhalt der quantentheoretischen Kinematik und Mechanik. Zeitschrift für Physik,* 43(3-4), 172-198.

Heisenberg, W. (2001). Die physikalische Prinzipien der Quantentheorie. Berlin: Spektrum. (Original work published 1930)

Hirai, T., Comim, F. & Ikemoto, Y. (2016). Happiness and human development: A capability perspective. *Journal of International Development, 28*(7), 1155-1169.

Holland, J. & Campbell, R.J. (2005). Contexts and challenges for combining methods in development research. In J. Holland & J.R. Campbell (Eds.), Methods in development research: Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches (pp. 1-18). Rugby, UK: ITDG.

Horkheimer, M. & Adorno, W.T. (1972). Dialectic of enlightenment (J. Cumming, Trans.). New York, NY: Continuum. (Original work published 1947)

Husserl, E. (2002a). Die Idee des Phänomenologie und phänomenologischen Philosophie. Aller Teile: Allgemeine Einführung in die reine Phänomenologie (6 Aufl., unveränd. Nachdr. der 2. Aufl. 1922). Tübingen, Germany: Max Niemeyer. (Original work published 1913)

Ibrahim, S. (2006). From individual to collective capabilities: The capability approach as a conceptual framework for self-help. *Journal of Human Development*, 7(3), 397-416.

Ibrahim, S. (2014). The capability approach: From theory to practice—rationale, review and reflections. In S. Ibrahim & M. Tiwari (Eds.), Capability approach: From theory to practice (pp. 1-28). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ibrahim, S. (2017). How to build collective capabilities: The 3C-Model for grassroots-led development. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities,* 18(2), 197-222.

Jacobson, L. T. (2016). Amartya Sen's capabilities approach and communication for development and social change. *Journal of Communication, 66*(5), 789-810.

Jastrow, J. (1901). Fact and fable in psychology. London, UK: Macmillan.

Johnson, S. & Rasulova, S. (2017). Qualitative research and the evaluation of development impact: incorporating authenticity into the assessment of rigour. *Journal of Development Effectiveness,* 9(2), 263-276.

Kleine, D. (2010). ICT4What? Using the choice framework to operationalize the capabilities approach to development. *Journal of International Development, 22,* 674-692.

Kleine, D. (2013). Technologies of choice: ICTs, development, and the capabilities approach. Cambridge, MA: MIT.

Kuklys, W. (2005). Amartya Sen's capability approach: Theoretical insights and empirical applications, studies in choice and welfare. New York, NY: Springer.

Lange, S. & Klasen, S. (2015). How the new international goal for child mortality is unfair to Africa (again). Center for Global Development Working Paper 407.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1995). Myth and meaning: Cracking the code of culture (with a new foreword by W. Doniger). New York, NY: Schocken Books. (Original work published 1978)

Lewis, T. C. & Short, C. (1879). A Latin dictionary: Founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary: Revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Liddell, G. H. & Scott, R. (1996). A Greek-English lexicon (9th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press. (Original work published 1843)

Lincoln, S. Y., Lynham, A. S. & Guba, G. E. (2018). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln, (Eds.), The Sage handbook of qualitative research (5th ed., pp. 108-150). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lindlof, R. T. & Taylor, C. B. (2011). Qualitative communication research methods (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Loots, S. & Walker, M. (2016). A capabilities-based gender equality policy for higher education: Conceptual and methodological considerations. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 17(2), 260-277.

Marx, K. (1977). **Capital: A critique of political economy** (B. Fowkes, Trans.). New York, NY: Vintage Books. (Original work published 1867)

Marx, K. (1978). These über Feuerbach. In Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim Zentralkomitee (ZK) der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion (KPdSU), Karl Marx Friedrich Engels Werke (Vol. 3, pp. 5-7). Berlin: Dietz Verlag. (Original work published 1845)

Mason, J. (2002). Qualitative researching (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mayoux, L. & Chambers, R. (2005). Reversing the paradigm: Quantification, participatory methods and pro-poor impact assessment. *Journal of International Development,* 17(2), 271–298.

Miles, B. M., Huberman, A. M. & Saldaña, J. (2014). Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Morgan, L. M. (2007). Paradigms lost and pragmatism regained: Methodological implications of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(1), 48-76.

Nussbaum, C. M. (1997). Capabilities and human rights. *Fordham Law Review*, 66(2), 273-300.

Nussbaum, C. M. (2000). Women and human development: The capabilities approach. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Nussbaum, C. M. (2003). Capabilities as fundamental entitlements: Sen and social justice. *Feminist Economics*, 9(2-3), 33-59.

Nussbaum, C. M. (2006a). Education and democratic citizenship: Capabilities and quality education. *Journal of Human Development,* 7(3), 385-395.

Nussbaum, C. M. (2006b). Frontiers of justice: Disability, nationality, and species membership. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nussbaum, M. (2011). Creating capabilities: The human development approach. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Nussbaum, M. (2013). Political emotions: Why love matters for justice. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Nussbaum, C. M. (2014). Introduction: Capabilities, challenges, and the omnipresence of political liberalism. In F. Comin & M. Nussbaum (Eds.), Capabilities, gender, equality (pp. 1–16). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Nussbaum, M. (2016). Anger and forgiveness: Resentment, generosity, justice. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

OECD. (2011). Divided we stand: Why inequality keeps rising. Paris: OECD.

Patton, Q. M. (2015). Qualitative research and evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Popper, R. K. (1996a). In search of a better world: Lectures and essays from thirty years. New York, NY: Routledge. (Original work published 1994)

Popper, R. K. (1996b). The myth of framework: In defence of science and rationality. New York, NY: Routledge. (Original work published 1994)

Popper, R. K. (2002). Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge. New York, NY: Routledge. (Original work published 1963)

Pressman, S. & Summerfield, G. (2009). The economic contributions of Amartya Sen. In S. Pressman (Ed.), Leading contemporary economists: Economists at the cutting edge (pp. 66-98). New York, NY: Routledge.

Qizilbash, M. (2006). Capability, happiness and adaptation in Sen and J. S. Mill. *Utilitas*, 18(01), 20-32.

Qizilbash, M. (2011). Sugden's critique of Sen's capability approach and the dangers of libertarian paternalism. *International Review of Economics,* 58(1), 21-42.

Qizilbash, M. (2012). The capability approach: Its interpretation and limitations. In K. Gelber & F. Panzironi (Eds.), The capability approach: Development practice & public policy in the Asia-Pacific Region (pp. 9-22). New York, NY: Routledge.

Qizilbash, M. (2013). On capability and the good life: Theoretical debates and their practical implications. *Philosophy and Public Policy Quarterly,* 31(2), 35-42.

Qizilbash, M. (2016). Capability, objectivity and "false consciousness": On Sen, Marx and J.S. Mill. *International Journal of Social Economics,* 43(12), 1207-1218.

Reeb, D., Sakakibara, M. & Mahmood, I. P. (2012). From the editors: Endogeneity in international business research. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 43(3), 211-218.

Ricoeur, P. (1969). Le conflit des interprétations: Essais d'herméneutique I. Paris: Seuil.

Robeyns, I. (2005). The capability approach: A theoretical survey. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities,* 6(1), 93-117.

Robeyns, I. (2009). Justice as fairness and the capability approach. In K. Basu & R. Kanbur (Eds.), Arguments for a better world. essays for Amartya Sen's 75th birthday (pp. 397-413). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Robeyns, I. (2016). Capabilitarianism. Journal of Human Development and Capabilities, 17(3), 397-414.

Robeyns, I. (2017). Wellbeing, freedom and social justice: The capability approach re-examined. Cambridge, UK: Open Book.

Roy, K., Zvonkovic, A., Goldberg, A., Sharp, E. & LaRossa, R. (2015). Sampling richness and qualitative integrity: Challenges for research with families. *Journal of Marriage and Family,* 77(1), 243-260.

Rubin, E. (1915). Synsoplevede Figurer: Studier i psykologisk Analyse. Første Del [Visually experienced figures: Studies in psychological analysis. Part one]. Copenhagen, Denmark: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag.

Seddon, B. P. & Scheepers, R. (2015). Generalization in IS research: A critique of the conflicting positions of Lee & Baskerville and Tsang & Williams. *Journal of Information Technology,* 30, 30-43.

Sen, K. A. (1960). Choice of techniques: An aspect of the theory of planned economic development. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

Sen, K. A. (1979a). Utilitarianism and welfarism. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 76(9), 463-489.

Sen, K. A. (1979b). Equality of what. Retrieved from http://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/s/sen86.pdf

Sen, K. A. (1981). Public action and the quality of life in developing countries. *Bulletin of Economics and Statistics,* 43(4), 287-319.

Sen, K. A. (1982). Poverty and famines: An essay on entitlement and deprivation. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Sen, K. A. (1984a). The living standard. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 36(S0), 74-90.

Sen, K. A. (1984b). Resources, values and development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sen, K. A. (1985a). Well-being, agency and freedom: The Dewey lectures 1984. Moral information. *The Journal of Philosophy,* 82(4), 169-221.

Sen, K. A. (1985b). Commodities and capabilities. Oxford, UK: Elsevier Science.

Sen, K. A. (1987). The standard of living. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Sen, K. A. (1988). The concept of development. In H.B. Chenery & T.N. Srinivasan (Eds.), *Handbook of development economics* (Vol. 1, pp. 9-26).

Sen, K. A. (1989). Development as capability expansion. *Journal of Development Planning,* 19, 41-58.

Sen, K. A. (1992). Inequality re-examined. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Sen, K. A. (1993). Markets and freedoms: Achievements and limitations of the market mechanism in promoting individual freedoms. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 45(4), 519-541.

Sen, K. A. (1995). Rationality and social choice. *American Economic Review,* 85(1), 1-24.

Sen, K. A. (1997). From income inequality to economic inequality. *Southern Economic Journal*, 64(2), 383-401.

Sen, K. A. (1999). Development as freedom. New York, NY: Random House.

Sen, K. A. (2004). Capabilities, lists and public reason: Continuing the conversation. *Feminist Economics*, 10(3), 77-80.

Sen, K. A. (2009). The idea of justice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sen, K. A. (2012). Values and justice. *Journal of Economic Methodology*, 19(2), 101-108.

Sen, K. A. & Williams, B. (1982). Introduction: Utilitarianism and beyond. In A.K. Sen & B. Williams (Eds.), Utilitarianism and beyond (pp. 1-22). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Simmel, G. (1908). Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen derVergesellschaftung, Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig, Germany.

Simon, J., Anand, P., Gray A., Rugkåsa J., Yeeles K. & Burns T. (2013). Operationalizing the capability approach for outcome measurement in mental health research. *Social Science & Medicine,* 98, 187-196.

Skovdal, M. & Cornish, F. (2015) Qualitative research for development: A guide for practitioners. Rugby, UK: Practical Action.

Smith, J. M. (1998). Social science in question. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Smith, J. M. (2005a). Empiricism, idealism, realism. In: M.J. Smith (Ed.), Philosophy and methodology of the social sciences. Vol. 4: Reinventing the social sciences: Towards a post disciplinary future (pp. 319-367). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Smith, J. M. (2005b). Knowing, the known and knowledge of the social. In: M.J. Smith (Ed.), Philosophy and methodology of the social sciences. Vol. 4: Reinventing the social sciences: Towards a post disciplinary future (pp. xvii-xli). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sotos, C. E. A., Vanhoof, S., Van den Noortgate, W. & Onghena, P. (2007). Students' misconceptions of statistical inference: A review of the empirical evidence from research on statistics education. *Educational Research Review,* 2(2), 98-113.

Sustainable Development Goals. (2015). Retrieved from https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu=1300

The Millennium Development Goals. (2000). Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/millennium_summit.shtml

Tiwari, M. (2017). Exploring the role of the capability approach in social innovation. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 18(2), 181-196.

Tracy, J. S. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "Big-Tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry,* 16(10), 837-851.

Tracy, J. S. (2013). Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, and communicating impact. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

van der Mark, J. E., Conradie, I., Dedding, W. M. C. & Broerse, W. E. J. (2017). How poverty shapes caring for a disabled child: A narrative literature review. *Journal of International Development*, 29(8), 1187-1206.

Van der Tuin, I. (2013). Non-reductive continental naturalism in the contemporary humanities: Working with Hélène Metzger's philosophical reflections. *History of the Human Sciences,* 26(2), 88-105.

Venkatapuram, S. (2011). Health justice: An argument from the capabilities approach. Cambridge, MA: Polity.

Venkatapuram, S. (2014). Mental disability, human rights and the capabilities approach: Searching for the foundations. *International Review of Psychiatry,* 26(4), 408-414.

Vicari, S. (2014). The co-operative as institution for human development: The case study of Coppalj, a primary co-operative in Brazil. *Journal of International Development,* 26(5), 683-700.

Walker, M. & Unterhalter, E. (2007). The capability approach: Its potential for work in education. In M. Walker & E. Unterhalter (Eds.), Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education (pp. 1-18). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wallach, W. (2015). A dangerous master: How to keep technology from slipping beyond our control. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Weber, M. (1949). Critical studies in the logic of the cultural sciences: A critique of Eduard Meyer's methodological views. In E. Shils & H.A. Finch (Eds.), Max Weber on the methodology of the social sciences (pp. 113-188). New York, NY: The Free Press.

Weber, M. (2002). Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundniβ der verstehende Soziologie (fünfte, revidierte Auflage besorgt von Johannes Winckelmann). Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck. (Original work published 1921).

Welche Thiere gleichen einander am moisten, (1892). *Fliegende Blätter,* 17(2465), 147.

Wittgenstein, L. (1958). Philosophical investigations (with the German text, 2nd ed., G.E.M. Anscombe, Trans.). Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell. (Original work published 1953).