

**Final Report**

**Poverty and Food Security Survey**

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# Poverty and Food Security Survey

## *BASIC LITERATURE SURVEY*

### **1.1. Introduction to Poverty:**

It is pointed out that the poverty is a dismal condition in which individuals are deprived of bare minimum needs of the life. Developing countries are often described as poor countries as many individuals in those countries are unable to get the minimum requirements of the life. Therefore, the poverty is basically a problem of developing countries although developed countries are not fully immune to the poverty and related issues.

The material wealth, especially per capita income, is traditionally considered as a fairly accurate yardstick to determine the level of poverty in a country. Nowadays, however, it is widely accepted that the poverty is multi-dimensional and dynamic in character rather than a single income figure. Therefore, economic growth is not considered the only route to poverty alleviation of a country. Such aspects as distribution of income, income generating assets like land and cattle, vulnerability and human capital are taken into account in discussions of poverty.

A successful development, however, will not essentially confine to the poverty reduction and achieving of higher income level to meet only the basic requirements of life. It will encompass the improvement of living standards and access to needs of the advanced modern society. The final objective is the human development of the society. It is about much more than the rise or fall of national incomes. It creates an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests. Therefore, development is about expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value (UNDP, 2007). Development can be seen as shifting from ill-being to wellbeing (UNDP, 2006)

Sri Lanka is a developing country which suffers from a multitude of economic problems and poverty is perhaps the most burning issue of the country. It is pointed out that although Sri Lanka has made significant progress in improving the human capacity of its population and providing for their basic needs, the two areas where there has not been sufficient progress in the past are the reduction of poverty and the related sphere of malnutrition (SAARC Secretariat, 2006).

Absolute poverty is a widely applied concept to analyze the poverty occurrence in a country like Sri Lanka. It is perhaps the most suitable measure to estimate the impact of poverty in developing countries where the basic needs of the majority of people are still not met. The cost of a bundle of goods and services needed to guarantee the basic consumption level of a life is taken into account in estimating a poverty line. The cost basically covers the food expenditure needed to maintain recommended food energy intake plus modest allowance for nonfood goods.



The expenditure on foods generally shows a better correlation to food energy intake than the total household income/expenditure. In this case, it is not difficult to estimate the minimum cost of a food basket that provides the stipulated amount of calories.

“Studies have shown that besides the unemployed, those in absolute poverty are the working poor among whom are the landless laborers, small-scale farmers, plantation labor, small and cottage industry workers, casual labor, construction workers, petty traders and domestic workers, whose earnings are inadequate to meet basic needs. Women are the majority in virtually all these groups. In the rural sector they are unpaid family workers, agriculture wage labor or engaged in unviable micro-enterprises, or are low paid piece rate workers.” (ADB, 2004)

## **1.2. Definition of Poverty:**

There are, at least five clusters of meanings for poverty.

“The first is income-poverty or its common proxy consumption – poverty because income is difficult to measure and most of the times unreliable. This needs no elaboration. When many, especially economists, use the word poverty they are referring to these measures. Poverty is what can be and has been measured, and measurement and comparisons provide endless scope for debate.

The second cluster of meanings is *material lack or want*. Besides income, this includes lack of or little wealth and lack or low quality of other assets such as shelter, clothing, and furniture, personal means of transport, radios or television, and so on. This also tends to include no or poor access to services.

A third cluster of meanings derives from Amartya Sen, and is expressed as *capability deprivation*, referring to what we can or cannot do, can or cannot be. This includes but goes beyond material lack or want to include human capabilities, for example skills and physical abilities, and also self-respect in society.

A fourth cluster takes a yet more broadly multi-dimensional view of deprivation, with material lack or want as only one of several mutually reinforcing dimensions.

The fifth cluster illustrates poverty as ill-being, so that development as good change. Development thus can be seen as shifting from ill-being to wellbeing with equity, with interventions to enhance wellbeing possible at any of the five points. (UNDP, 2006)

“Poverty is a pronounced deprivation of well-being related to lack of material income or consumption, low levels of education and health, vulnerability and exposure to risk, and voicelessness and powerlessness.”(World Bank, 2002).

The work of Sen, for instance, has shown that there are dimensions of poverty other than income, such as human capabilities and social exclusion in access to services and powerlessness, and that economic growth per se without asset redistribution and provision of basic services cannot reduce poverty (Sen, 1981).

‘Poverty is hard to count, even harder to counter. It is a barrier between entitlement and access to income, employment, education, housing, health and basic necessities of life. Behind this barrier, the poor and weaker sections of the society are vulnerable to exploitation of various kinds including social discrimination.’(Basu, 2003) Poverty does not affect equally to all social categories even in developing countries. Vulnerable groups such as children, women, physically and mentally handicapped and low caste people, those living in marginal areas/lands such as remote isolated localities and shanties suffer most from poverty and related issues.

UN general assembly adopted the following definition for child poverty in January 2007. “Children living in poverty are deprived of nutrition, water and sanitation facilities, access to basic health-care services, shelter, education, participation and protection, and that while a severe lack of goods and services hurts every human being, it is most threatening and harmful to children, leaving them unable to enjoy their rights, to reach their full potential and to participate as full members of the society.”(UN, 2006)

In the case of Sri Lanka in 1970, 48 out of every 1,000 infants died at birth. By 2003, that number had been reduced to 11. Over this same period, average life expectancy at birth climbed from 67 to 74 years. Between 1980 and 2003, fertility rates declined from 3.5 to 2.0 births per woman. Primary school completion rates are at 100%, and Sri Lanka's literacy rates are on par with the more developed countries of the world.

Sri Lanka has shown the developing world how much a country with around \$960 per capita GDP a year can achieve in human and social outcomes, such as primary school enrollment and child mortality (which are two of the Millennium Development Goals). Despite this record, poverty remains a challenge for the country. The economy grew at a healthy rate over the past decade but failed to benefit the poor. 23% of people still live under the national poverty line.

Between 1990/91 and 2002 per capita consumption increased by 29% in real terms. The average consumption for the richest 20% of the population increased by 50%, while that for the poorest 20% it barely increased by 2%. Inequality between urban and rural areas has been also widening with residents in rural/remote areas being left out of benefits from economic development. Breaking the vicious cycle of poverty is a complex task; however, the first step for designing any effective poverty alleviation strategy is the understanding the ground reality.

It is practically impossible, even at a given point of time, to find a universally justifiable poverty definition to meet the every aspect of the all segments of a dynamic society. “There are a number of issues involved in defining and measuring poverty. Is it confined to *material* aspects of life, or does it also include *social, cultural* and *political* aspects? Is it about what *may be* achieved, given the resources available and the prevailing environment, or what *is actually* achieved? Should definitions and measurement methods be applied in the same way in all countries and used for comparisons? Are there “objective” methods, or are value judgments involved? What is the rationale for defining a poverty line? Should it be *absolute* as in the Millennium Development Goals and in most developing countries, or *relative* as in the rich OECD countries?” (UN, 2006)

Poverty definitions and measurements have important implications for targeting of poor people and implementing of poverty reduction policies and also taking measures to

prevent poverty occurrence in the future with the changing requirements of a dynamic society. Poverty definitions and measurements should reflect the needs of a dynamic society rather than confining to fundamental requirements of an individual/household at a given point of time.

**1.2.1 Definition of an Official Poverty Line (if an official poverty line of Rs.1, 526 in year 2004 is adjusted):**

Sri Lanka’s National Poverty Line is based on an income level below which people are defined as poor. This income level requires buying the basic necessities of life i.e. food, clothing, housing and satisfying their most important socio-cultural needs. This poverty line reflects the subsistence minimum. The poverty line changes over time and it varies by regions and locations. Official national poverty line is determined by a country’s government. The poverty line is set by the national government to define who is living in poverty. The official poverty line is adjusted annually using the Colombo Consumers Price Index (CCPI).

**Table 01  
Official Poverty Line**

<b>Year</b>	1990-91	1995-96	2002 (Base Year)	January 2006	August 2006
<b>Official poverty line (Rs.)</b>	475	833	1423	1928	2083

Source: Department of Census and Statistics-2006

In addition to the national poverty line, there is an international poverty line calculated by the World Bank. A person is considered poor if he or she lives in a household whose daily income or consumption is less than \$1 per person (1985). Although this poverty line is useful for international comparisons, it is impossible to create an indicator of poverty that is strictly comparable across countries. The level of \$1 a day per person is close to national poverty lines in low-income countries but considerably lower than those in high-income countries. For comparing poverty levels across middle-income countries international poverty lines of \$2, \$4, and \$11 a day per person are considered to be more appropriate (World Bank: 2000). It is a common practice that as countries become better off, they raise the poverty line. European Union, for example, defines poor as those whose per capita income falls below 50 percent of the median income (Vidayratne, S and Tilakaratne, 2003)

It is widely known that a number of poverty lines had been constructed for Sri Lanka in the past by different agencies and researchers. As a result of this, policy makers were confused, which poverty line should be accepted. To settle this problem, an official poverty line for Sri Lanka was introduced in June 2004 by the Department of Census and Statistics involving local stakeholders as well as international donor agencies based on the information gathered for Income and Expenditure Survey 2002. This indicates a person needs an average expenditure of LKR. 1423 per month to fulfill the basic requirements in 2002. This poverty line is being updated using Colombo Consumer Price Index (CCPI) to reflect the impact of inflation (DCS and MFP, 2006). Accordingly current national poverty line is fixed at Rs2083 in August 2006.

**Table 02**  
**Official Poverty Line by District and Poverty Headcount Ratio by District**

District	Official Poverty Line by District		Poverty Headcount Ratio by District	
	2002 (Base year)	2006 (August)	1990/91 (%)	2002 (%)
<b>Sri Lanka</b>	<b>1423</b>	<b>2083</b>	<b>26.1</b>	<b>22.7</b>
Colombo	1537	2250	16.0	6.0
Gampaha	1508	2208	15.0	11.0
Kalutara	1523	2229	32.0	20.0
Kandy	1451	2125	36.0	25.0
Matale	1395	2041	29.0	30.0
Nuwara Eliya	1432	2104	20.0	23.0
Galle	1466	2145	30.0	26.0
Matara	1395	2041	29.0	27.0
Hambanthota	1338	1958	32.0	32.0
Kurunagala	1352	1979	26.0	25.0
Puttalam	1423	2083	22.0	31.0
Anuradhapura	1380	2021	24.0	20.0
Polonnaruwa	1366	2000	24.0	24.0
Badulla	1409	2062	31.0	37.0
Moneragala	1366	2000	34.0	37.0
Ratnapura	1451	2125	31.0	34.0
Kegalle	1437	2104	31.0	32.0

Source: Department of Census and Statistics-2006

### 1.2.2. Definition of a Food Poverty Line (if a food poverty line of Rs. 973 is adjusted):

The "food poverty line" estimates the expenditure level necessary to purchase a minimum essential number of calories on the basis of a typical diet in a country (and region). This is usually considered a line for extreme poverty since non-food essentials are not included.

It is customary to measure the food poverty line in terms of amount of money spent monthly on food expenditure required per person to achieve basic nutritional requirement for good health. Nutritional requirements differ from individual to individual depending on the age, sex, and activity status of the individual. These also vary from country to country depending on factors such as race, climate etc. The Sri Lankan norms for different groups of population are calculated by the Medical Research Institute (MRI) of Sri Lanka.

The calculation of a food poverty line for Sri Lanka started in 1995/96 and the value in terms of amount of money was LKR. 591 for the period under consideration. It was estimated by applying the following formula.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Food Poverty Line (FPL)} &= \text{Cost of 1000 kilocalories} * \text{Calorie norm} * \text{time period} \\ \text{FPL for the year 1995/96} &= \text{LKR.}9.70 * 2.030 * 30 \end{aligned}$$

= LKR. 591

Subsequently an Income and Expenditure survey was conducted by the Census and Statistics Department in 2002 and in that report the food poverty line was estimated at LKR 1423. The index has not been calculated thereafter.

### **1.2.3. Definition of an Extreme Poverty in Sri Lanka:**

According to the Census and Statistics Department a definition of an extreme poverty in Sri Lanka is not available. But various researchers have defined ultra Poor and Extreme Poverty in the following manner. Those who are ultra poor, if their calorie intake is less than 80% of the required level even if 80% of his income is spent on food.

This poor category is also described as extreme poor or hardcore poor of a country. It is an absolute poverty line which is fixed as real value over time and space. Extreme poverty is the most severe state of poverty, where people cannot meet basic needs for survival, such as food, water, clothing, shelter, sanitation, education and health care (Sachs:2005).

The international extreme poverty line measurement is set at \$1 a day. It is accepted as the working definition of extreme poverty in low-income countries. Many people in low-income countries live on less than \$1 a day. The global extreme poverty line for middle income countries is \$2 or more a day.

Extreme poverty line is a consumption based poverty line. Income or consumption related indicators come to the center, when there is a choice to estimate monetary measures of poverty. It is pointed out that the information on consumption obtained from a household survey is detailed enough. The household consumption is considered as a better indicator for poverty measurement than income since the former may be better measured than income. It may better reflect a household's ability to meet basic needs and its level of wellbeing.

Large family size, large dependency ratios, household head with low or no schooling, lack of assets/lands, wage laborers, high incidence of widows, fewer number of working days, heavy burden of chronic disease, and disable persons in the family, many of ultra poor not receiving assistance, pessimistic about the escaping of poverty etc. are the causes of extreme poverty.

Solution to extreme poverty has to be a multi pronged strategy using the market mechanism or government/NGOs interventions such as providing income generating assets, inputs or productive jobs after training in the areas of fisheries, agriculture, poultry and livestock, small business, income-generation activities, education and health sectors.

The following initiatives indicate some of the program/projects implemented to reduce extreme poverty in Sri Lanka

- Rehabilitation and construction of rural irrigation systems
- Other regional infrastructural development schemes i.e. electricity and roads

- Special credit schemes to promote local products
- Agricultural extension services
- Integrated rural development projects
- Agricultural input subsidies and guaranteed prices
- Agro-based industries
- Regional industrial promotion zones
- Expanding of rural marketing network
- Mega investments projects in remote areas
- Decentralization of administration to local level

Referring to UN millennium development goals, the following alternative poverty indicators are applied to examine the extreme poverty and hunger in Sri Lanka by the Department of Census and statistics.

i. Poverty headcount ratio; ii. Poverty gap; iii. Share of poorest quintile in national consumption; iv. Prevalence of underweight children under five years of age (CDS, 2006: 15-46)

For international comparison the poverty line is set at 1 US\$ a day. In addition to that national governments also set official poverty lines. The proportion of population whose income is less than the national poverty threshold is known as the poverty headcount ratio ((DCS and MFP, 2006).

The poverty headcount ratio (percentage of population below the national poverty line) in Sri Lanka has declined from 26.1 in 1990 to 22.7 in 2002. Assuming a liner tend, poverty can be expected to fall to 19.0% by 2015. It is considerably higher than the target of 13%. Therefore, Sri Lanka is not in a position for achieving the millennium development goal target of halving poverty as measured by the headcount ratio (DCS: 2006).

### **1.3. Regional Poverty Alleviation Policy:**

“Wage employment has been found to be a critical strategy for women to move out of poverty (Gunatilake 1999) and to be empowered if they control the resources they generate. (Jayaweera and Sanmugam 2001). While poverty alleviation programs have not significantly reduced poverty, income transfers by women employed in export processing zones or in migrant domestic labor have enabled families to come out of absolute poverty. However, experience in Sri Lanka and elsewhere has shown that low wage, labor-intensive employment cannot assist upward socio-economic mobility.” (ADB, 2004).

The urban sector has seen a rapid improvement and has already exceeded the national target of poverty reduction. In rural areas, while there is a steady decline, that the pace is too slow to meet the target. The estate sector, in contrast to urban and rural sectors, has experienced a rising trend in income poverty, especially among the male headed households. Geographically, provinces and districts that are more urban have reached lower level of poverty than others. Uva and Sabaragamuwa provinces have the highest poverty levels with over one third of the population below the poverty line (DCS, 2006a).

**Table 03**  
**Poverty Headcount Ratio by National and Sector Wise**

Sector	Survey Period		
	1990-91(%)	1995-96(%)	2002(%)
<b>Sri Lanka</b>	<b>26.6</b>	<b>28.1</b>	<b>22.7</b>
Urban	16.3	14.0	7.9
Rural	29.4	30.9	24.7
Estate	20.5	38.4	30.0

Source: HIES- 1990-91, 1995-96, 2002, Department of Census and Statistics

The headcount index shows that Siyambalanduwa DS division in Monaragala district is the poorest DS division in Sri Lanka. Rideemaliyadda, Meegahakivula, and Kandaketiya DS divisions in Badulla district and Mundel and Kalpitiya DS divisions in Puttalam district are ranked in that order as the next poorest DS divisions in the country (DCS, 2006b)

**Table 04**  
**Percentage of Poor Households based on the Official Poverty Line by Province**

Province	1990/91	2002
Western	15.6	9.2
Central	25.8	20.8
Southern	24.7	23.6
North Western	21.6	22.3
North Central	20.4	18.1
Uva	27.0	31.8
Sabaragamuwa	26.8	28.9

**Source: Department of Census and Statistics-2006**

In case of dedicated poverty reduction strategies, Sri Lanka has a long history. The Janasaviya, the first official dedicated poverty reduction program was implemented during the 1989-1994 period. It was replaced by *Samurdhi* in 1995 by the newly elected government in 1994 as a new national poverty reduction strategy. A separate line ministry called 'Ministry of *Samurdhi*' was also established along with the inauguration of the new program to implement its strategies successfully. The program has been in operation over the past 11 years. At present 1.9 million beneficiary families are dependent on the *Samurdhi* movement. The Government has allocated LKR. 2,160 million to the Sri Lanka *Samurdhi* Authority (SLSA) to implement its proposed programs in 2007. At present 46 per cent of the country's total population received *Samurdhi* relief although the poverty ratio is below this level.

Gamidiriya, the World Bank sponsored program is aimed at promoting Community Development and Livelihood Development Project to alleviate rural poverty. The program is being implemented by the government of Sri Lanka. It is implemented using the Community Driven Development (CDD) approach. The objectives of the projects are to empower the village community by transferring decision making power and control over resources to them; building their ability to engage in participatory appraisal, priority setting, planning, management of implementation, monitoring and evaluation of their

programs; enabling them to negotiate access to resources and services from the various service providers in a transparent and accountable and cost effective manner; building accountable and demand-responsive local government; and linking village communities with the organized private sector and local level development partners. The World Bank has approved a grant of US\$ 51 million for the implementation of the first phase in four years and has indicated that it will provide support to the tune of US\$ 181 million for the full 12 year implementation, on successful attainment of targets at the end of second year. (Gemidiriya Foundation).

The development policies of the newly elected government in 2005 are guided by Mahinda Vision towards a new Sri Lanka. This policy emphasizes the diversion of additional resources to economically backward areas, especially the 100 poorest Divisional Secretariat Divisions through various projects and programs. This program consists of improving infrastructural facilities in remote rural areas as well as better coordination of the implementation of development programs and higher community participation (SAARC Secretariat, 2006).

The new government of the President Rajapaksha reintroduced the fertilizer subsidies, guaranteed prices for rice production, higher duties for certain imported food items to promote rural development and poverty alleviation, especially the areas which critically depend on agriculture. Remote areas of the country still depend on agriculture as the main source of income.

“The objective of poverty reduction should ideally be addressed by allocating funds on regionally equitable basis. ... due priority should be given to the poorer provinces when allocating funds for new agricultural activities. Accordingly higher allocations are to be channeled to Uva and Sbaragamuwa by having more new activities... the poverty criterion is also valid in channeling investment funds to the plantation sector.” (Department of National Planning, 2006)

“The highest percentage of (96.6 percent) of agricultural household is reported for Thanamalvila DS division of Moneragala district while 7 more DS divisions have more than 90.0 percent. These are Mahavilachchiya (95.1percent) and Kebithigollewa (90.6 percent) of Anuradhapura district, Siyambalanduwa (95.1 percent), Madulla (93.5 percent) and Medagama (92.2 percent) of monaragala district, Rideemaliyadda (95.0 percent) of Badulla district and Nawagattegama (90.7 percent) of Puttalam district. ... The highest percentage of (93.8 percent) agriculture households with highest share of income from agriculture activities is reported for Thanamalvila DS Division of Moneragala district...” DCS, 2006b

National poverty reduction and growth strategies of Sri Lanka implemented in past few years concentrated on pro poor growth by involving the poor in productive economic activities, satisfying their basic needs, minimizing the sharp regional disparities in wealth creation and poverty, reforming of existing poverty alleviation projects/programs, and ensuring the net transfer of resources to poor(SAARC Secretariat, 2006).

The *Samurdhi* program is aimed at small scale rural infrastructure development, tank rehabilitation, and agriculture development. These activities have been promoted through special programs, as well as line ministries. ((SAARC Secretariat, 2006). The program emphasizes grass root level decision making process and participatory development



approach. Identifying of projects to meet local requirements is crucial in this endeavor. With the help of Samurdhi animators, economic development projects based on specific family needs, skills, assets and other abilities of participating families, are identified. Beneficiary families are especially encouraged to engage in infrastructural developmental activities of their own choice from planning to monitoring of the project implementation. Part of the fund requirements are provided under the *Samurdhi* Economic Infrastructure development programs for community infrastructure projects. The balance is raised by community participation through financial, material and free labor.

### **1.3.1 Reason for the Region with Rained Cropping and Livestock Farming System (the rain fed mixed farming system) to have high poverty prevalence:**

Land is the most important asset for farming households since they derive their main income from crop cultivation. Land scarcity and the ownership of fragmented parcels of unproductive land are two of the major reasons for the high incidence of poverty in the rural areas. The extent of rural poverty in the country largely depends on the level of economic activities of the rural sector. Economic activities of most of the rural areas are mainly related to agriculture which, in turn, depends largely on the availability of arable land. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that rural poverty is related to the availability of arable land which is the primary source of income in most of the rural households in Sri Lanka. Landlessness and the prevalence of smallholdings are the common characteristics of rural poverty.

It is estimated that some 70 per cent of rural families live in the wet zone which has only 30 per cent of the total available land. Ninety-one per cent of wet zone tenants cultivate holdings of less than two acres. In that area, soil erosion and fragmentation resulting from partition have created severe problems. Because of joint inheritance of minimal plots, land owners often have the right to cultivate the land only once in two or three years. Nearly 11 per cent of households are absolutely landless and 42 per cent own less than four hectares, amounting to about only 7.1 per cent of the total land. They are, therefore, functionally landless.

It is pointed out that Sri Lankan agriculture faces two challenges i.e land fragmentation and inadequate irrigation. The former is especially relevant to the wetter low land while the latter to drier parts of the country. The estimated total land area of Sri Lanka is approximately 6.56 million hectares.

It is estimated that the arable land extent of the country is nearly 2.9 million hectares. This represents about 45% of the total land area of the country. The current per capita land availability of the country is estimated to be 0.3 ha. This shows a decreasing trend of the per capita land availability with the growing population. The land ownership pattern in Sri Lanka shows a special characteristic compared with many other countries. Parental lands are divided among children, so that plots of land owned by rural farmers are too small to be economically viable. The plots are also getting smaller and smaller through the growing population and process of fragmentation.

Throughout the history the land use pattern in Sri Lanka has been the cultivation of rice in low marshy lands, and shifting (Chena) cultivation and the homesteads in the high lands. This land use pattern is known as *Hen, wathu, Kumburu* in vernacular language.

The paddy lands provide the staple food rice while slash and burn cultivation provides dry grains, pulses, oil seeds, vegetables and condiments. Homestead consists of house, water well and perennial trees such as fruit and coconut. The livestock was a complementary source to the main paddy cultivation. It is pointed out that about 44% of the agricultural lands are sparsely used. This means that there remains a great potential for these lands to be properly developed. There are also some unutilized lands in the country. Two thirds of these unutilized lands are in the drier zone which suffers from water shortage.

In addition to that such factors as non-specialization of production, using of traditional methods, poor quality of products, lack of quality fodder and high breed animals, low market prices for products, poor land management and soil erosion and reduction of the land fertility have also led to the high poverty prevalence in the rain fed mixed farming system in Sri Lanka.

### **1.3.2 Policy for Poverty Alleviation and Food Security in the Region with the Rain Fed Mixed Farming System:**

To alleviate poverty in agricultural sector, improving the land and labor productivity is being emphasized, especially in food production. Removing of the existing policy and regulatory constraints such as poor farming practices, fragmentation of land holdings, inefficient use of water, lack of access to formal credit, and quarantine constraints on import of good planting material are important in this endeavor (SAARC Secretariat, 2006).

Some of the steps taken to alleviate poverty and improve the food security in these regions could be listed under a few headings.

- Improving the infrastructure facilities such as roads, electricity, drinking water, and agricultural tanks etc.
- Promotion of I/NGOs to engage in poverty alleviation projects
- Providing foods and other essentials by the government during disaster periods.
- Promotion of industries and services
- Land re-distribution programs
- Forest resource management
- Promotion of perennial crop cultivation
- Water resource management
- Introduction of new agricultural products
- Coastal resource management
- Fisheries development
- Promotion of agro based industries
- Self employment programs
- *Samurdhi* poverty alleviation program
- Free midday meals, text books, and uniforms for school children

“Poor infrastructure, particularly in the rural sector, has been identified in the Poverty Reduction Strategy as a factor that has stymied efforts to reduce poverty. Lack of easy access to main roads, regular transport, electricity, communications, and markets have resulted in the marginalization of remote rural communities who are thus excluded from the benefits of economic development.”(ADB, 2004).

“The agriculture and food security policy will focus on rational allocation of land, improvement of productivity and non-conversion of non-marginal land to other uses. This envisages the expansion of the agriculture sector to ensure self-sufficiency in food.” (Department of National Planning 2006).

Food imports in Sri Lanka have decreased from 47% to 16% in the last two decades, reflecting greater food self-sufficiency. However, about 30% of the households in the country live in absolute poverty (ESCAP, 1997). In this poverty nexus, the women's situation is more precarious. The female share of earned income is only half that of the male share (UNDP, 1997). Many of the women on plantations are anemic due to chronic malnutrition (Matsui, 1989). Rural women make a significant contribution to the household food security. Women play a key role in determining seed combinations for the short duration and of drought-resistant crops like coarse grains, grain legumes, oil crops and vegetables grown in the highlands or Chena (shifting) cultivation. As the success of crop depends upon the vagaries of nature, in order to minimize food shortages, women take complete charge of cultivating coarse grains, especially Kurakkan, right from the seed sowing to harvesting, threshing and storing. Even a modest harvest of coarse grains during a bad year would ensure minimal food and nutrient requirements for the survival. Coarse grains have always been women's crops as they are of high nutritional value; rich in protein and mineral content, and their intake prevents malnutrition. In the tribal society, women are the master conductors of the entire operation in Chena cultivation (Kumar, 1998). Rural women's knowledge of about food values of different plants available in the forests, their collection and processing has been of great importance to meet food requirements in the family during drought. Women's crucial involvement in home gardening is very important, not only for meeting family needs but also to earn cash income in the farm household.

‘Ensuring food and nutrition security has emerged as one of the priority requirements in improving living standards of the population. A majority of Sri Lankan population lives in rural areas and a significant number of them do not have access to nutritionally adequate and safe food. Even if sufficient food is available at the national level, household food security will not be guaranteed if some households are unable to obtain their basic food requirements, It has also been revealed that access to food, affordability, and utilization in the rural sector are generally poor. Inadequate knowledge of nutritional values, low income levels, post harvest losses, issues in preservation, and storage have probably aggravated this situation.’ (Department of National Planning, 2006).

### **1.3.3 Policy for Poverty Alleviation Focusing on Women in the Rain Fed Mixed Farming System:**

Female headed households have seen a rapid improvement in poverty levels compared to male headed household (DCS: 2006). Despite their routine domestic work, women are very actively involved in agricultural production. Women's contribution to subsistence production (farm and income-generating activities) is counted as unpaid family work. In fact, 56% of the women work as unpaid family workers (UNDP, 1997). Rural women's participation in post harvest operations is very high. They constitute more than 50% of the total work force involved in post harvest operations. They perform various tasks, for example harvesting, cleaning, drying, grain storage, etc. Parboiling of paddy is exclusively women's work. Rural women are also significantly involved in post harvest

operations in maize and pulse grains (Sayeed, 1992). The following are some of the policies that aimed at poverty alleviation of women in the rain fed mixed farming system.

“High life expectancy juxtaposed with lack of assets and other resources has driven the increasing numbers of elderly women in low-income families to destitution. Social protection programs need to be addressed to meet their need for shelter, financial support, and geriatric care.” ADB, 2004.

“While women in the major communities have, in theory, equal inheritance rights with men, women have unequal access to and control of productive assets such as land and housing in practice. The allocation of state land in settlement areas and village expansion programs over 7 decades has reduced poverty by increasing the asset base of the poor. However, this pro-poor program has had a gender-differentiated impact as women in settlements have been deprived of their land rights through the inheritance schedules in the Land Development Ordinance of 1935. ... Land rights are crucial to reducing rural women’s vulnerability to poverty or even destitution, and is an issue to be addressed urgently. ” (ADB, 2004)

Some of the areas that can improve the living conditions of women are given below.

- Micro credit for self employment
- Training programs for self employment
- Forming of women’s chambers
- Enhancing marketing networks for women’s products
- Develop women friendly community and social infrastructure
- Target livelihood improvement for women headed households
- Ensuring of gender issue in training programs

‘A gender difference in poverty is a consequence of gender inequality in the labor market. Labor is a major asset of women in the context of their lack of access to other economic resources and women’s labor inputs are crucial for the survival of families in poverty. While there has been some degree of feminization of the labor force in recent years in specific occupations, female unemployment rates have continued to be double those of men over 3 decades, underemployment is endemic among women workers in agriculture and local industries, and gender inequalities are wide in economic returns to their labor.’ (ADB, 2004)

#### **1.3.4 Methods of Poverty Alleviation and Food Security Assistance in the Region Where Civil War is Occurring:**

Food security could be described as a situation in which people do not live in hunger and fear of starvation. Throughout the developing world millions of men, women and children are in chronically hungry due to extreme poverty. Similarly millions of people are denied of food security due to varying factors including natural and manmade factors. Poverty and food security are interlocked social and economic issues. These are also at the root of many political and socioeconomic problems in developing countries. As population expands rapidly in many developing countries, the ability to provide basic necessities, especially the food, is threatened.

It is pointed out that the food security exists when all people, at all times, have access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Poverty is a major contributory factor for food insecurity and sustainable progress in poverty eradication is a critical factor to improve access to food. Conflict, terrorism, corruption and environmental degradation also contribute significantly to food insecurity. Increased food production, including staple food, must be undertaken to reduce the food insecurity. (FAO: 1996).

Free education, health, free text books, school uniforms are provided by the government even to war affected areas. Those are mainly concentrated on investment in human capital. Substantial investment in certain areas of war torn northern and eastern provinces are not possible due to disturbances. Public funds are channeled to develop infrastructure in areas under government control and recently liberated areas.

It is quite clear that the conflict has disrupted agriculture, livestock, food distribution and work patterns, resulting in a lack of basic services such as transport, health and education in civil war affected areas. In addition to that, women and children have also been affected to an extent, with women and children becoming increasingly vulnerable to harassment, misuse, and abuse. Children and women, ex soldiers with disabilities and orphans are undernourished or malnourished and most of the youth are unemployed. Similarly, social and economic infrastructure is destroyed considerably.

Government of Sri Lanka is not in position to expand its national poverty reduction and welfare programs to LTTE controlled areas effectively. This is even true with border villages in the northern and eastern parts of the country. Even the little relief goes to those areas finally ends up with wrong hands since the civil administration is weak and law enforcement agencies are ineffective. I/NGOs such as OXFAM, CARE, GTZ and REDCROSS, are operating in such areas in supplying food and health facilities in addition to community rehabilitation, shelter and livelihood development with great difficulties. News items suggest that many people are coming out of rebels controlled areas to government controlled areas, especially in the Eastern province of the country. International assistance is required urgently to provide with them not only relief but also rehabilitation programs as the growing refugee problem in this province is beyond the absorption capacity of the government of Sri Lanka.

### **1.3.5 Method of Poverty Alleviation and Food Security Assistance in the Tsunami Hit Region:**

The tsunami, the greatest ever single damage faced by Sri Lanka, struck along thin but long coastal area stretching over 1,000 square kilometers, or two thirds of the country's coastline on 26 December 2004. The estimated overall economic damage to Sri Lanka stands at \$1 billion. A large proportion of damages concentrated in housing, tourism facilities, fisheries, water supply and drainage systems, fishing facilities and boats, schools, community service facilities, telecommunication systems, and transportation.

It is estimated that over 35,000 lives perished and another 443,000 people were displaced by the tsunami. Post tsunami estimates suggest that about 88,500 houses were damaged; of which more than 50,000 were completely destroyed. The tsunami also damaged 24,000 boats, about 70% of the fishing fleet of the country, and 11,000 businesses. The

economic nerve center of the country, Colombo city, and its port, and surrounded industrial facilities were miraculously saved.

A substantial investment has been made in roads, by roads, shelter, water and electricity supply, education, health, regaining of livelihood in tsunami affected areas, especially in areas where peace and normalcy prevail. A free weekly ration through cooperative societies was given to tsunami affected families for uninterrupted supply of food. This was in addition to food and other supplies of I/NGOs and other local organizations.

The programs implemented to support Tsunami victims included,

- Rehabilitation of infrastructural facilities
- Grants and loans to regain lost livelihoods
- Providing of shelter and house utensils
- Rehabilitation of costal belt and fishing harbors
- Compensation for damaged properties
- Promotion of self employment
- Strengthened the community organizations
- Promotion of rolling funds and women entrepreneurship development
- SME loans
- Rehabilitation and promotion of tsunami affected tourist resorts

Regaining of the lost livelihood of affected communities is one of the major challenges of post tsunami reconstruction and rehabilitation exercise. The government of Sri Lanka is receiving funds from a number of bilateral and multilateral sources in this endeavor. The Japan Fund for Poverty Reduction (JFPR) has become one of the major sources. It provided two separate US\$2 million grants through the ADB to provide temporary income opportunities to tsunami-affected people through cash for work program, and the second one to provide electricity and water supplies facilities to tsunami affected households.

#### **1.4. Issues and Measures in Government Policy Related to Poverty Alleviation and Food Security Issues.**

Poor infrastructure facilities have been identified as seriously impending poverty reduction and rural development and contributing to the unequal distribution of development in Sri Lanka. Public investment has been raised in the field of infrastructure at national and regional level to address these issues. The maintenance and rehabilitation of the existing road network, construction of high ways, restructuring of state bus service, upgrading and construction of railway lines, increasing access to drinking water and sanitation facilities, providing of electricity facilities, and developing of port and airport facilities (SAARC Secretariat, 2006).

##### **1.4.1. Issues Relating to Government Policies**

In framing and implementing government policies it is essential to take following issues into consideration.

- Identifying of real poor
- Identifying and prioritization of poverty reduction strategies
- Targeting of poverty reduction goals
- Maintaining a proper delivery mechanism

- Management and administration capacity development
- Budgetary constraints
- Keeping balance between long and short term policies
- Maintaining a peaceful environment in the country
- Labor market related issues

#### **1.4.2. Measures Emanating from those Policies**

- Maintaining a proper and real-time data base
- Poverty assessment and prioritizing
- Preparing of action and activity plans taking into account national and regional requirements.
- Formulating a transparent mechanism with the cooperation of all stakeholders
- Providing training for management and administration skills
- Proper project evaluation and evaluation of public policy impacts
- Awareness programs and establishment of peace societies
- Market oriented vocational training through the private sector participation

#### **1.5. Policy Measures for Poverty Alleviation and Food Security:**

The *Samurdhi* could be considered as the prime national level poverty alleviation program in Sri Lanka. This program is aimed at improving the nutritional status of poor communities by providing direct financial assistance and implementing programs to enhance their income level. It was estimated that some 1,864,058 families were receiving *Samurdhi* benefits by the end of 2004 while 155,048 and 103,967 families were receiving benefits from the dry ration and nutrition programs respectively under the *Samurdhi*. In addition to this various other initiatives such as *Janapubudu* for income generating projects, Social Mobilization Program to empowering rural communities, *Gemipubudu* programs to provide basic infrastructure facilities for remote villages, and housing programs to support the construction of houses for poor families were under the *Samurdhi* (Central Bank, 2005).

Principal strategies used to alleviate poverty are listed below.

- Public work programs
- Infrastructural development strategies
- *Samurdhi* program
- Agricultural insurance and credit schemes

Several major poverty reduction programs have been developed to improve the asset-base and purchasing power of the poor in Sri Lanka such as Janasaviya and its successor *Samurdhi*. The *Samurdhi* Program with an expenditure of nearly 1 percent of GDP and a beneficiary group of almost 2 million households is the largest poverty reduction program of the country. It consists of three major components as (1) income transfers which provide consumption support and a compulsory insurance scheme to deal with expenditures related to marriages, death, etc. (2) Community development investment in economic and social infrastructure, agriculture nutrition and small enterprises. (3) Compulsory and voluntary savings schemes that fund financial institutions and variety of lending. (SAARC Secretariat, 2006).

Gamaneguma (village advancement) program was introduced by the new government that came into power under the leadership of current president of Sri Lanka in 2005. Infrastructure development at village level is given a high priority under the program as the first step to village advancement. The program accepts that the economic development initiatives would fail, if infrastructure facilities are not available. The smallest regional level administration, the *Pradeshiya Sabha (regional council)*, has a major role to play in the implementation of this program. The government allocates funds for every *Pradeshiya Sabha* under the program while the local political leaders and government officials use these funds for development projects in their respective areas. Suitable projects are identified with the community participation. The program is aiming to cover 4000 villages by the end of 2007 and to cover the entire island within a few years time. Gamaneguma and Maganeguma (road advancement), both in arm in arm focused attention to develop the national road network to facilitate better transport sector for the masses. *Mahinda Vision*, the political manifesto of the new government maintains that the final objective of the government plan is to usher the country through prosperous and peaceful era.



# Poverty and Food Security Survey

## *SURVEY ON THREE SELECTED PROJECTS*

### **A. Project One: Samurdhi Program**

#### **2.1.1. Introduction**

It is a well known fact that the succeeding governments of Sri Lanka have sought to reduce poverty through a number of complementary programs. Universal free education and health services, outright grants, consumer and producer subsidies, target infrastructure development, rehabilitation of dilapidated irrigation schemes, and land redistribution are some of the programs implemented. Since the political independence up to the 1970s, the priority was given to the state formulated poverty reduction approaches with a higher commitment to universal provision of basic needs and services for poor mass. However, policies centred on such social welfare programs had a little or no clear conceptualisation of long-term poverty reduction. In the 1980s and 1990s witnessed a marked shift in popular welfare policies and greater emphasis was made on poverty reduction strategies.

*Janasaviya* (1989-1994), the first official dedicated poverty reduction program in Sri Lanka, came into effect in 1989. The dual objectives of this programme envisaged short-term income-supplementation and long-term employment creation to enhance welfare. The programme promoted human capital development, income generation activity and infrastructure development with a view to increasing the asset base of the poor. *Janasaviya* had such components as provision of low interest rate credits; food security by providing monthly food ration; infrastructure development and small-scale entrepreneurship development

The *Janasaviya* was replaced by *Samurdhi* in 1995 by the newly elected government as a new national poverty reduction strategy. A separate line ministry called 'Ministry of *Samurdhi*' was initiated along with the inauguration of the new program to implement its strategies successfully. The program has been in operation over the past 11 years. At present 1.9 million beneficiary families are dependent on the *Samurdhi* movement. In addition to that there are 1039 *Samurdhi* Banks established throughout the country. Moreover, over 2.3 million people have become the shareholders of the *Samurdhi* bank societies. They have invested LKR.2966 million within the *Samurdhi* banks.

The Government has allocated LKR. 2,160 million to the Sri Lanka *Samurdhi* Authority (SLSA) for implementing its proposed programs in 2007. At present 46 per cent of the country's total population receive *Samurdhi* relief whereas only 23 per cent of the population was under the poverty line according to the Censes and Statistics Department. However, the irony is that the program still misses a large portion of the poor in the

country. It is reported that the selection process of the program is going to be changed from the May of 2007. The new selection process devised on the basis of experience gained from the 'Gemi Diriya' program, beneficiaries are likely to be selected by an association comprising the priests of the village temples/churches, Grama Niladhari (village/grassroots level administration officer), village school principals and Samurdhi development officers at a meeting attended by the villagers.

It is maintained that under the new selection process only the deserving will receive the *Samurdhi* relief. This will help reduce the number of *Samurdhi* beneficiaries to a more realistic 30 per cent of the population.

### **2.1.2. Administrative Structure of *Samurdhi***

At national level, Ministry of *Samurdhi* and Poverty Alleviation is the top decision making body. A special body called *Samurdhi* Authority of Sri Lanka was created to oversee the day to day business of the program. District Secretary and District *Samurdhi* officer act as the coordinators of each activities/programs at district levels. The responsibility of such programs/activities at divisional level comes under the Divisional Secretary and the Divisional *Samurdhi* officer.

The grass root level of the *Samurdhi* is the village beneficiaries' committee under an animator (*Samurdhi Niyamaka*). A village may have one or more such committees depending on the size of village population and number of poor families. Four or five such committees are under the supervision of an official called *Samurdhi* manager. *Samurdhi* project and regional societies' managers are above him. They are responsible to district secretary and district *Samurdhi* officers.

The animator is a full time official at grass root level and he/she is trained to conduct surveys in the village using a structured questionnaire to ascertain the income level of each family and to identify the required beneficiaries for the welfare component of the program. He is entrusted to undertake five clearly defined areas of activities:

- i. To conduct family profile surveys to determine the number of families in need of welfare;
- ii. To identify community projects that will address the economic and social needs of the village and provide employment opportunities on a casual basis;
- iii. Forming small groups of beneficiaries who will then be encouraged to participate in small savings and credit activities in the village;
- iv. Encouraging and assisting persons to undertake self-employment projects;
- v. Implementing of nutrition, health and other relevant programs.

### **2.1.3. Objectives of *Samurdhi* Program**

The broad objective of the *Samurdhi* program as stated in the *Samurdhi* Act of 1995 is to integrate youth, women and disadvantaged groups into economic and social development activities and to promote social stability and alleviate poverty. Accordingly the main objective of the program, the poverty reduction by ensuring participation of the poor in the production process is paramount. Implicit in the strategy is the enhancement of the health and nutritional status of the poor. The declared main objectives of the program are;

- i. Broadening opportunities for income enhancement and employment;
- ii. Organizing youth, women and other disadvantaged sections of the population into small groups and encouraging them to participate in decision-making activities and developmental processes at the grassroots level;
- iii. Assisting persons to develop their latent talents and strengthening their asset bases through productive employment;
- iv. Establishing and maintaining productive assets to create additional wage employment opportunities at the rural level.

#### 2.1.4. Major Projects of *Samurdhi*

The *Samurdhi* program consists of three major components. The first one is provision of a consumption grant transfer (food stamp) to eligible households that lead to work requirements. It is estimated that this component claims 80 percent of the total *Samurdhi* budget. The second component of *Samurdhi* is a savings and credit program carried out through *Samurdhi* banks and entrepreneurial and business development loans. *Samurdhi* authority manages and supervise the functions of *Samurdhi* banks while the People's Bank and Bank of Ceylon distribute loans. The third component of *Samurdhi* is rural infrastructure development.

**Table 05: *Samurdhi* Projects**

<b>Welfare Component</b>	<b>Savings and Credit Program</b>	<b>Rural Infrastructure Projects</b>
The welfare grant	Initiation of <i>Samurdhi</i> banks and their network	Identification of rural infrastructure requirements
Insurance scheme for health and other urgent family requirements	Collect savings from <i>Samurdhi</i> recipients	Rural infrastructure development carried out by the local communities
Social Development Programs focusing on the aged destitute, drug addicts and handicapped etc.	Collecting savings from other villagers.	Projects such as environmental protection, youth training, nutrition projects
Instant relief program	Formulating of credit schemes	<i>Gemi Pubuduwa</i> (Village awakening)
Food security for poor people.	The accelerated loan scheme	<i>Gemi Asiriya</i> (Village Splendor)
<i>Diriya Piyasa</i> for poorest of the poor	Easy micro loans for members without securities	<i>Jana Pubudu</i> (People awakening)

#### 2.1.5. Strengths of the Program

The program addresses some core issues faced by poor people.

- i. Food security and high nutritious level for the poor.
- ii. Promotion of savings
- iii. Community participation
- iv. Capacity development of recipients
- v. Family focused activities rather than individuals
- vi. Promotion of livelihood activities
- vii. Identifying of vulnerable groups

Various community development and empowerment programs are being implemented in Sri Lanka. The *Samurdhi* Program is one of the best programs introduced for community development. It is estimated that about 2 million families directly benefited from the *samurdhi* program by 2005. This program is directly aimed at improving the nutritional status of the poor community and providing financial support. Among many other projects, '*Jana Pubuduwa*' and '*Gemi Pubuduwa*' are two projects conducted by the Sri Lanka *Samurdhi* Authority, to empower rural communities and provide basic infrastructure facilities to the remote villages. It also provides supports to construct houses for poor families (<http://www.unescobkk.org>).

#### **2.1.6. Weaknesses of the Program**

The program contains some salient weaknesses as well.

- i. Political interferences and weak selection process
- ii. Encouraging the dependency culture among recipients
- iii. Inefficient delivery through co-operative societies
- iv. Higher administration cost
- v. Poor targeting with nearly twice as many households receiving the grant.
- vi. Unclear exit criteria
- vii. Cultivation of dependency syndrome

It is pointed out that to reduce vulnerability among the poor people, social welfare programs have to target the needy people. These programs should ensure a minimum level of consumption, especially in response to income shocks. *Samurdhi* program, however, has excluded about 40 percent of households in the poorest consumption quintile, while 44 percent of the total budget is spent on households from the top three quintiles. It is estimated that about 2 million families received *Samurdhi* transfers in 2005. It was close to 45 percent of the total population of the country. The average monthly *Samurdhi* grant given in 2005 was LKR. 393 per household, which translated to less than \$1 per capita per month for a typical family of four in Sri Lanka (World Bank, 2007).

### **B. Project Two: *Gemidiriya* Program**

#### **2.2.1. Introduction**

*Gemidiriya*, a Community Development and Livelihood Development Project, is one of the recognized projects in poverty reduction and rural development in Sri Lanka. The literary meaning of *Gemidiriya* is 'audacity of the village'. It was started in 2003 as a result of successful performance of its pilot project by the Village Self-Help Learning Initiative (VSHLI), conducted in *Pollonnaruwa* District, North Central province in 1999. The VSHLI was launched by the International Development Agency of the World Bank as a pilot project with the Japan Social Development Fund and *Mahaweli* Restructuring and Rehabilitation Program in 1999. Since the beginning of this project, the World Bank has been the main financial supporter and it has agreed to provide facilities amounting to US\$ 181 million for a period of 12 years. A grant of US\$ 51 million was given at the inception for the first phase of four years, started in 2004. Financial assistance to plan the second phase of this project was also given.

### **2.2.2. Objective of the Program**

Major objective of this project is to build “Economically and Socially Empowered Rural Communities” in Sri Lanka. To achieve this objective, rural communities are empowered to form, strengthen and maintain an institutional mechanism leading to self-determination, planning, resource mobilization, implementation and evaluation of efforts towards community development and livelihood improvement of the rural poor.

The long-term objective of the project is to support Government of Sri Lanka’s strategy of reducing rural poverty and promoting sustainable and equitable rural development through better access of the poor to basic social and economic infrastructure and essential services. It is also expected to support for productive activities; and the development of policies, rules, systems, procedures and institutional arrangements that would allow the government to transfer funds directly to communities and provide them with technical and other support on a demand-driven basis.

### **2.2.3. Structure of the Project**

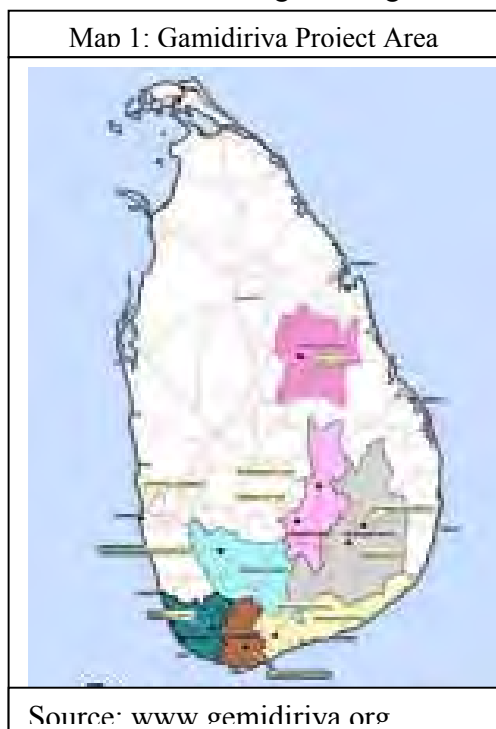
This project functions as an autonomous body in the Ministry of *Samrudhi* and Poverty Alleviation, government of Sri Lanka at its beginning. As ministerial portfolios changed during the last few years, it has been in with different poverty related authorities/ministries. It is currently functioning as an autonomous under the Ministry of Nation Building and Plantation Infrastructure Development. The project now comes under the *Gama Neguma* (Village improvement) program in the *Mahinda Chinthanaya* (Philosophy of Mahinda), the development blue print of the new government of Sri Lanka.

At its inception in 1999 this was implemented as a Community Development and Livelihood Improvement Program which was designed to assist the implementation of the Government main Poverty Alleviation Strategy, *Samurdhi*. During the last two years the project has recorded a steady progress and today it covers 535 villages in a few selected districts. Through its Micro Finance (MF) scheme, the project would cover one thousand villages by the end of 2007.

Figure 1: Administrative and Organizational Structure



In the first phase of the first five years it is expected to cover the communities of Uva, Southern Provinces and Ratnapura District of Sabaragamuwa province to build accountable and self-governing local institutions and to manage sustainable investments.



In this context, (i) devolving decision making power and resources to community organizations; (ii) strengthening selected local governments which demonstrate responsiveness and accountability to rural communities; (iii) working with federations of village organizations, the private sector and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on economic empowerment to increase the size and diversity of livelihood options were major strategic approaches under this project.

By absorbing important development experiences in India and Brazil, Gamidiriva project has developed its own institutional and conceptual framework, in which “GEMI DIRIYA Wheel for Village Self-Development” and The GEMI DIRIYA Golden Rules, are in the center of the wheel signifying its importance, are identified. These Golden Rules display 10 steps

to make up the full wheel. Missing any of the steps the wheel gets stuck and cannot march village development towards self-sufficiency ([www.gemidiriya.org/](http://www.gemidiriya.org/)).

1. Every one must work as a team and contribute time, money and labor to plan and implement GEMI DIRIYA activities to improve the living conditions in their village.
2. Community members must learn to manage their affairs by themselves in a sustainable manner and be self-reliant to reduce dependence on others.
3. Community members have full freedom in their decision-making process and management of financial resources, and hence must be responsible and accountable for all their actions.
4. GEMI DIRIYA Program is built on the principle of trust among all the villagers and between the village community and other partners. Any breach of trust can result in cancellation of funds and support.
5. Development is a gradual step-by-step process and community members must plan what community members can afford and successfully manage.
6. Treat the funds provided under GEMI DIRIYA as community members own funds. Realize that, if community members can avoid wastage of funds, Community members will be able to take up more programs for the village.
7. Everybody should have access to all the information related to village development activities. Any misuse of GEMI DIRIYA funds by anybody in the village shall be immediately reported and punished
8. It is community members' responsibility to ensure that, all members of the village, especially those who need support the most, like the landless, the women, the unemployed youth etc. are involved in the development process and equally share the benefits of development
9. Community members must strive to complete implementation of development activities as per planned time schedules, maintaining national standards and specific quality, so that Community members become eligible to receive subsequent installments of project funds.
10. Seek timely support from GEMI DIRIYA partners like, Divisional Facilitation Team, Divisional Coordinators, Divisional Community Facilitators, Line Department Officials NGOs etc., before problems and issues grow to unmanageable proportions

#### **2.2.4. Gemidiriya Projects**

The pilot project started implementation at the end of 1999 in 3 villages. By the end of 2004 it had expanded to cover 30 villages with 8634 poor families. In 2006, 500 villages were expected to cover by this project and it would be expected to reach 1000 villages at the end of 2007. The project has now extended its operation into 535 villages as having planned earlier. Nearly a half a million people live in the *Gemidiriya* villages that spread over seven districts in Sri Lanka. Around 360,000 family members in 71,000 households could form 11,847 self-help groups in these 535 villages in 54 DS divisions in seven districts. For last two years, total saving of these groups rose to LKR. 46 million. Around 99% out of these savings were invested within these *Gemidiriya* villages themselves. Investments in these villages increased from LKR. 142 millions to LKR. 225 millions for last two years with more than LKR 11.2 million of interest income.

**Table 6: *Gemidiriya* Progress and Achievements**

	Target	Progress	Achievement rate%
Village communities	500	535	107%
People companies	500	535	107%

All these successful performance could be seen due to the improvement of *Gemidiriya* village economic activities and due to maintaining of a high repayment rate of loan receivers. The repayment rate is more than 99%. The major components and sub-components of this project could be summarized as below:

**Table 7: *Gemidiriya* Activities and outcomes/benefits**

Components/ Sub-components	Activities	Outcomes/benefits and their proxy indicators
Increasing income and improving livelihoods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Action plans; form and strengthen village institutions and empower decision making ability; supplementary resource assistance;</li> <li>▪ Strengthening local authorities</li> <li>▪ Increasing the size and diversity of village economic opportunities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Increased saving to LKR. 46 million</li> <li>▪ Increased investment to LKR.225 million</li> <li>▪ Improve interest receipts to LKR. 11.2 million</li> <li>▪ 99% repayment rate of loans of villagers</li> </ul>
Institutional development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Facilitate and support develop village community companies/organizations (more than 50% women participation)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 360,000 family members in 71,000 households could formed 11,847 self-help groups in these 535 villages in 54 DS divisions in seven districts</li> <li>▪ More than 93% of poorest of poor got memberships (e.g. 92% in Badulla, 95% in Monaragala and Hambanthota, 94% in Galle etc)</li> <li>▪ More than 80% of households became stakeholders in 405 village organizations</li> </ul>
Infrastructure projects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Development of infrastructure facilities (74 multi-purpose building, 109 roads, 42 drinking water projects, 10 irrigation projects, 22 sanitation projects, 15 culverts and 14 other infrastructure projects)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 256 sub-projects were started ant total costs was Rs. 100 million</li> <li>▪ 65 sub-projects were implemented by now</li> </ul>
Livelihood Improvement Support Fund	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Providing financial supports</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 179 Village Organizations (VO) receive first installment, 38 VOs got the second and 5 VOs got the third</li> <li>▪ Rs. 512 million released to</li> </ul>



		above 514 village organizations
One-time grants to the poorest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Grants is provided to the poorest in the villages only one time without tough repay conditions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 6,848 individuals were identified in 508 VOs and 4,147 have already started income generating activities</li> </ul>
Skill development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Improve the skills and capacity of village communities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 2,255 youths were given Rs. 24.37 million with a grace period</li> </ul>
Business partnerships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Development of business networks and partnerships</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Develop partnerships with 18 business organizations</li> </ul>
Microfinance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ SME sector is encouraged</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Formed 11,847 small groups</li> <li>▪ Rs. 142 million loans</li> </ul>
Community professional training centers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Professional development among villagers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Training programmes for 8,822 small groups</li> </ul>
Community pilot radio programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Communication development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Technical setting has been developed</li> </ul>

### 2.2.5. Strengths of the Program

- i. Empower poor people and help them build a sense of community control.
- ii. Deviating from dependency syndrome
- iii. Qualified beneficiaries selected by the community itself
- iv. Flexible exit criteria
- v. No political interferences
- vi. High women and youth participation
- vii. Adhere to cost sharing principle to common capital and infrastructure development
- viii. Abundant labor resources and voluntary works
- ix. Stakeholder supports
- x. Demand-driven development activities

### 2.2.6. Weaknesses of the Program

- i. Lack of political blessing in a highly politicized society
- ii. Poor administrative coordination
- iii. Overlapping with other similar projects
- iv. Community demand driven projects do not essentially reflects long term national interests of the country.
- v. Not willing to decentralize to village level by the existing administration.

## **C. Project Three: SANASA PROGRAM**

### **2.3.1. Introduction**

It is reported that the British colonial government of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) formed the first Thrift and Credit Cooperatives Societies (TCCS) in 1906. It was largely to help wealthier families involved in plantation agriculture and other economic activities of the modern sector of the economy. The excessive lending rates charged by local moneylenders, especially the *Chetties*, who were the professional Indian money lending communities of the country, was the immediate cause of forming these TCCS. In those days these societies were controlled by elites of the country and the system flourished and by 1940 the movement had around 1000 societies throughout the country.

The Consumers' Cooperative Societies (CCS), the most popular form of cooperative movement of the island, and the Cooperative Agriculture Production and Sales Societies (CAPSS) were introduced during the Second World War by the colonial government, especially to meet the growing scarcity of essential food items during that period. The role played by the TCCS began to decline gradually as a result of these new societies. The situation of TCCS was further deteriorated with the establishment of Multi Purpose Cooperative Societies (MPCS) in each Assistant Government Agents Division in 1957 and also with the incorporation of People's Bank in 1961. The MPCS were expected to operate, in addition to its merchandising, marketing and input supply functions, as village level banks providing credits, mobilizing savings, and plying a catalytic role in stimulating the overall development of the area. The People's Bank, in its part, played the role of thrift and credit cooperative societies, especially through its rural banking arm, in addition to its conventional banking practices. Evidences suggest that up until late 1970s TCCS had been a neglected component of the national cooperative system in Sri Lanka.

Initiatives were taken in 1978 to revitalize the TCCS by a few cooperative leaders. SANASA (abbreviation of the Sinhala name '*Sakasuruwam Haa Nayaganudenu Pilibanda Samupakara Samithiya*'), the Thrift and Credit Cooperative Movement emerged along with this resurgence of cooperative movement of Sri Lanka. The country was moving from an administered economic system to a market economy during the period. The vacuum created by the market economy for the SME sector of the economy was a fertile ground for the expansion of cooperative societies such as SANASA.

The apex body of the SANASA cooperative movement is the national Federation of Thrift and Credit Cooperatives Society of Sri Lanka (FTCS). It is estimated that the society has a membership of 7,400 primary societies serving nearly 20% of population in the country at present. It is maintained that this is the only financial co-operative network which extends services to all provinces and districts in the country. Moreover, the 856,000 members of the movement cut across all ethnic communities and the religious groups of the country. Given the average family size in the country, it is estimated that the SANASA services benefit a total population of over 3 million people.

SANASA has been deliberately (though not exclusively) and successfully targeted at the poor, including women, who made up over 50 per cent of the membership by 1990. An increasing number of the primary societies are formed exclusively for the poorer members of communities. Most of the poor members otherwise rely on informal sources of credit and have been unable to obtain loans from official banks. SANASA loans have been particularly useful for small farmers by enabling them to be free from moneylenders who charge exorbitant interest rates. Apart from regular agricultural investment, other loans tend to be for diversification, for example adding a new crop, or for the poorest, and especially women, to begin an income-generating activity such as poultry-rearing or petty trading.

### **2.3.2. Administrative Structure**

The SANASA has a three-tier structure as primary societies at village level, district unions at district administrative level and a national federation. Savings, membership fees and elected representation go up the hierarchy of the society. The highly autonomous village level primary societies vary in size from groups of 20 members to several hundred members. In a socio-economic point of view the membership varies from the poorest through middle income and mixed groups. These societies again vary in functions from unpaid staff to societies running with mini bank type paid staff.

Records suggest that the primary societies typically pay 10 to 14 per cent interest on deposits while charging 18 to 24 per cent on loans. The interest rates are up to 5 per cent per month on much sought after instant small loans taken for a very short period. The former interest rate on loans is more or less similar to the deposit and lending rates of the formal banking sector while the latter is more similar to the lending rates of the informal sector of the economy. Those who seek loans must have a savings account and have two guarantors before a loan is granted. Although the organizational structure is built on a network of partnerships between members and primary societies and district unions, the key strength of the movement is that societies at each level are fully autonomous.

### **2.3.3. Objectives of SANASA**

The vision of SANASA is to strengthen and develop backward communities through its services. Bringing all communities under one umbrella is a prime objective of the society. Since its inception, SANASA has been a unifying force for regions ravaged by civil war. Disaster management is also a part of its objectives. In the immediate days following the Tsunami, SANASA was on the ground delivering basic aid, such as shelters, food and clothing and also providing comfort to grieving families.

### **2.3.4. Major Projects of SANASA**

The SANASA group includes the SANASA Development Bank (SDB), All Lanka Mutual Assurance Organization (ALMAO), SANASA Producer Consumer Alliance (SANEEPA), SANASA Engineering and Development Company (SEDCO), and SANASA Educational Campus.

#### **2.3.4.1 SANASA Development Bank (SDB)**

SANASA development Bank is a limited liability company with 26 customer units (branches and extension centers) island wide to cater to its customers. It was incorporated in 1997 as a limited liability company focusing on micro finance. The mission of SDB is to serve as the prime credit institution of the Thrift and Credit Cooperative Societies (TCCS). Its primary objective is strengthening the SANASA movement to evolve as a sustainable rural credit institution and to improve the living standards of the rural poor, by providing credit and other support for self employment projects.

To achieve its objectives, the SDB is strengthening the SANASA primary societies to become sustainable rural credit institutions which are capable of raising the income level of the poor through sustainable approaches. It is also aiming at establishing a sound development bank equipped with the capacity to provide a range of financial and complimentary services, focusing special attention on facilitating access to financial services and business advisory services for the poor. The SDB is also aiming at developing and extending the outreach of rural financial markets. The SDB credit lines serve rural communities and farm and fishing households by increasing their access to financial services including savings and credit.

SDB conducts capacity building programs for the SANASA primary societies. It also conducts training programs in areas such as entrepreneurship, and business management for its customers. By virtue of its objectives, profit is not the sole motive of SDB like many other formal financial institutions in the country.

Overall deposits of the SDB grew by an impressive 51 percent in 2006. Special deposit schemes for senior citizens, minors and women were instrumental in attracting new depositors despite an aggressive deposit mobilization campaign staged by the other formal sector banks and the financial institutions in the country. The profit before tax of the bank was Rs. 58 million in 2005 and it shot up to Rs. 125 million for the year ending December 31, 2006.

#### **2.3.4.2 All Lanka Mutual Assurance Organization (ALMAO)**

Insurance is not widely practiced among low income categories in the country. ALMAO is a micro insurance movement and it offers coverage for its members for disability, hospitalization, and death. The insurers also can get the full benefits at maturity. It has become an insurance promotion arm to insure less underprivileged households of the society. ALMAO's insurance premium structure is well adapted to a larger target group across the society, with monthly premium ranging from LKR 10 to 100 (US\$0.1 to US\$1). The maximum value of the insurance policy varied from LKR 3000 (US\$30) to LKR 50 000 ( US\$500). ALMAO is also offering services to the SANASA societies such as loan protection, life savings, property and health insurance for employees. In 1998, it started a brokering subsidiary through which it serviced the movement with all types of insurance available in the local market, in particular insurance for three-wheelers and motor cycles.

#### **2.3.4.3 SANASA Producer Consumer Alliance (SANEEPA):**

One of the greatest difficulties experienced by the SME sector of Sri Lanka is marketing of its products. Fortunately one of the main pillars of SANASA development projects is

marketing. It reflects the movement's mission which focuses on finding and developing markets for producers. Marketing is critical to the movement's success; especially in the modern globalised economy where small producers are being relegated to a secondary role. To market the products produced by the members of the primary societies and other organizations, SANASA initially organizes small producers into groups to increase their bargaining power, as well as take steps to link producers and consumers through the primary societies.

In 1996, SANASA established its Producer Consumer Alliance Ltd (SANEPA). It is a community-controlled institution that solves its members' production and marketing problems. Such activities as technology transfer, marketing, business consulting services and information sharing are provided to achieve this goal. It is recorded that, in the marketing field SANEPA has forged partnerships with wholesalers, exporters, and developmental marketing agencies, to improve links between local, national, and global markets. In addition to that SANEPA also arranges for short-term loans directly from SDB to purchase produce for resale to wholesalers in urban centers. As a result of SANEPA's involvement; the producer is able to get a higher price for his products in the local market. It also arranges for the goods to be shipped to a buyer, and makes a profit by adding a mark-up. Alongside these marketing efforts, local clusters of primary societies have opened up brick-making factories, carpentry shops, and retail outlets for local goods and produce. Moreover, SANEPA offers English and computer classes for underprivileged people; operate paddy mills; and purchase agricultural inputs in bulk to distribute among members at a lower price.

#### **2.3.4.4 SANASA Engineering and Development Company (SEDCO)**

This is an offshoot of SANASA program. It is pointed out that one of the most innovative moves by the SANASA was to initiate this consultancy service in 1998. This is funded by the SANASA movement itself. SEDCO hires professionals with technical and financial expertise to give advice to members of primary societies and other rural residents who have no access to such knowledge and services. This helps underprivileged people to engage in new areas with better future prospects rather than engaging in traditional economic activities. Members who want to start or expand small businesses in rural areas, creating employment and income for themselves and others, can consult SEDCO. Furthermore, SEDCO accepts equity shares for its payment in the enterprise. This not only provides incentives to invest in new areas in backward areas of the country but also ensure the success of the business. Income from the portfolio of enterprises it assists helps SEDCO to pay staff salaries and to expand its services to new areas as well as new ventures.

#### **2.3.4.5 SANASA Educational Campus**

The SANASA Educational Campus is the education, training and research wing of the Federation. The campus that commenced its activities in 1986 is now located in on a fifty acre site in Kegalla. The campus is expected to develop the human resources that required for strengthening the civil society. This would finally facilitate to establish a new society envisioned by the SANASA movement based on cooperative principles and values. It designs and offers training programs in areas such as conflict resolution, strategic planning, leadership, organizational analysis, new marketing strategies and

formulation of business plans. Besides conducting its regular courses, it also conducts tailor-made programs for different clienteles.

#### **2.3.5. Strengthens of the SANASA**

- i. Addresses core issues of the weakest groups of the society
- ii. Self funding and fund raising through society itself
- iii. Proper linkages among its projects
- iv. Training and awareness given to the members
- v. Autonomy given to the primary societies and district unions
- vi. Maintaining its independence dealing with Sri Lanka government and international organizations

#### **2.3.6. Weaknesses of the SANASA**

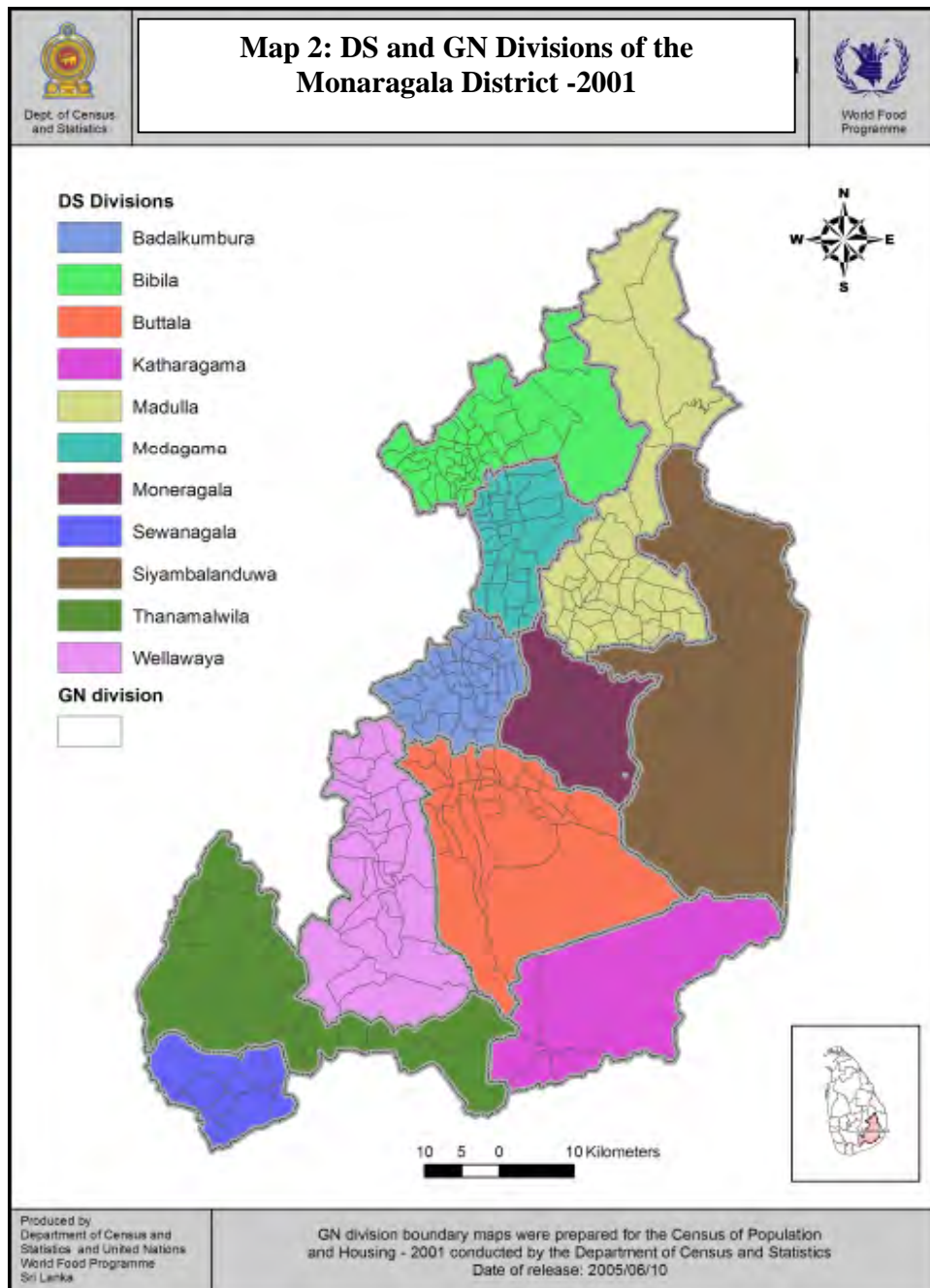
- i. Lack of political support
- ii. Top administration is concentrated among a few individuals
- iii. Under utilization of opportunities offered by the market
- iv. No sustainable link with the large scale private firms
- v. Lack of proper monitoring system at grass root levels

# Poverty and Food Security Survey-3

SURVEY ON TWO UNDERPRIVILEGED FARMING VILLAGES

## Case Study I:

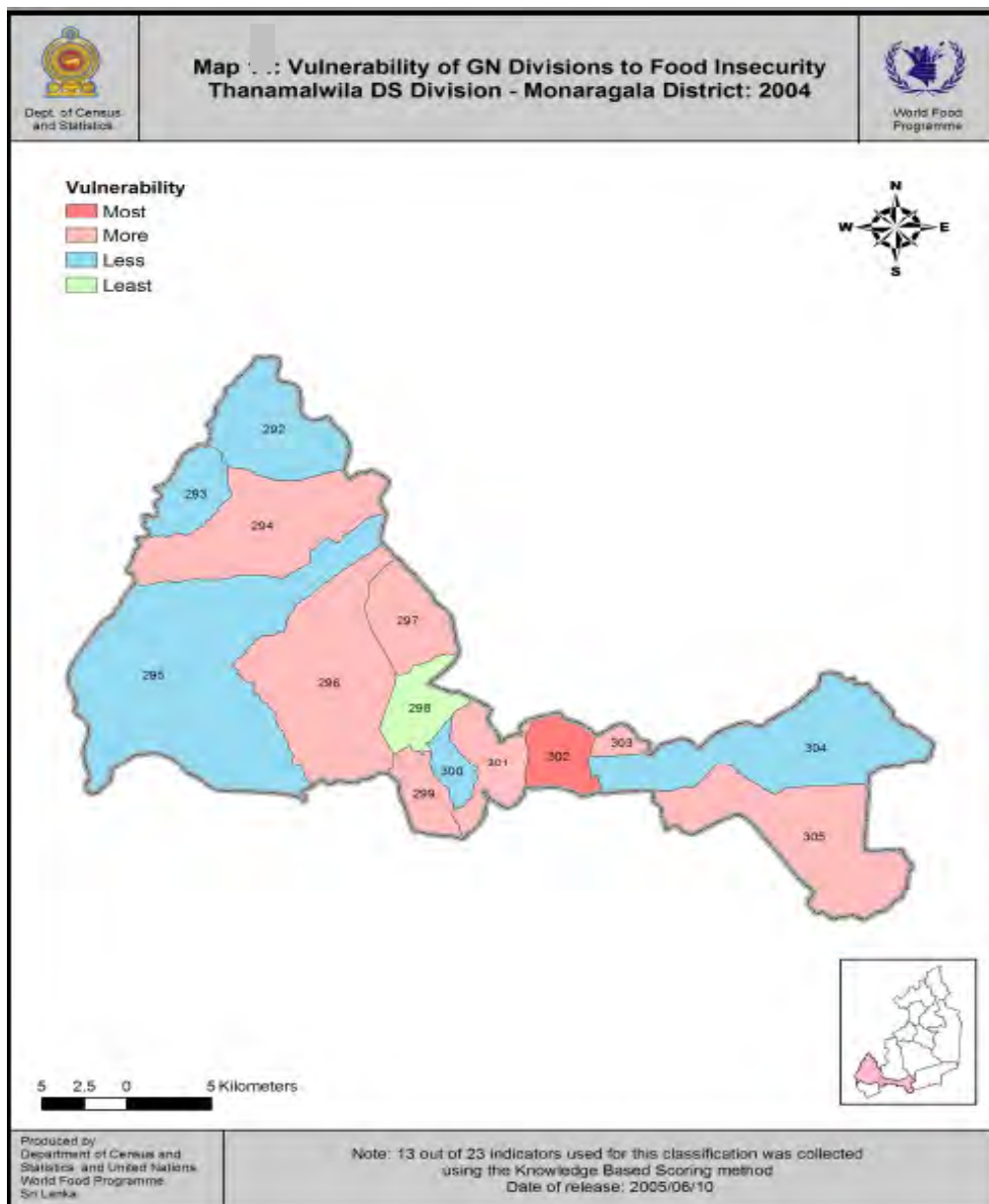
*Mahawewa Village in Tanamalvila DS Division, Monaragala District*



### 3.1.1 Introduction

The main objective of this survey is to collect information on poverty and food security of two underprivileged villages. This part of the report covers Mahawewa village of Moneragala District. This village was selected under the conditions given by the TOR of this study. Accordingly, this is a rain fed mixed farming village and is located in Mahawewa Grama Niladhari (GN) Division of Tanamalavila DS division, Monaragala District, Uva Province. Monaragala is one of the poorest districts in Sri Lanka. The selected GN division consists of three villages namely Kalawelgala, Kivulagama, and Mahawewa.

Map 3: Food Insecurity and Vulnerability of the GN Divisions, Thanamalvila DS division





### 3.1.2 Methodology

A stratified random sampling method was used to select Mahawawa village. Both primary and secondary data were collected. Secondary data were mainly collected from Thanamalwila DS office and from the relevant GN office. In addition, various publications were also used. Primary data was collected using two approaches. First, a focus group interview with the major stakeholders of the village was conducted. Second, a household survey for 15 households in total, 5 poor class households, 5 middle class households and 5 rich class households were among them. Several food security indicators have been used in this study: Some of them are: (a) a household's access to cereals over a year (measured by the number of months in which a household can feed its members adequately) at the time of the survey and five years before the survey, (b) the change in a household's food consumption (cereal and non-cereal) in the preceding five years, (c) a household's ability to cope with lean seasons within a year, and (d) its ability to cope with major food crises.<sup>8</sup> In terms of the conceptual framework discussed earlier, the first two indicators measure the level of food acquirement and changes therein, while the last two refer to shocks to acquirement. Through the household survey, it was possible to gather information about the basic information of the villages, conditions of education and health, public infrastructure facilities, farming and other income earning activities of the villages, nature of cultivation, and other socio and economic information including social capital and household structure.

### 3.1.3 Mahawawa Village

Mahawewa is predominantly a rural, rainfed agriculture village. It is the newest village compared to the other three villages belonging to Mahawewa Grama Niladhari division. More than 85% of cultivable land is directly or indirectly used for agricultural activities. Size of the village extends around 5 square kilo meters. The village was established in 1958 as a settlement.. The current population in Mahawewa is 885 persons. The village consists of 210 households.

Table 8:  
Demographic Characteristics

Demographic Information	Mahawewa
Total population	885
Male (%)	52
Female (%)	48
Age structure (%)	100
Less than 18	33
19- 35	24
36- 60	32
More than 60	11
Disable population	62
Level of education (%)	100
No formal education	0
Less than O/L	85
O/L qualified	9
A/L qualified	5
Degree level	1

Source: Thanamalwila DS Office

Male population represents 52% of the total population and the rest 48% by female population. Active age population shows highest representation in the total population of the village. More than

85% of the people in the village have got their education below GCE O/L. This is the main reason for high unemployment rate among the youths in the village. Essential infrastructure facilities and services are not accessible for the majority of the villagers. More specifically, there is no electricity for 48% of villagers, and no permanent housing facilities for 76% of the total population. Most institutions offering public services are far away from the village community. Public transport service is available only for 2.5km distance of the village.

Table 9: Basic Infrastructure facility

	Mahawewa	If available then the distance from village
Electricity (available household %)	52	-
Water (available household %)	86	-
Road network	Satisfied	-
Toilet (satisfactory level %)	63	-
Permanent house (%)	24	-
Health Center	1	2.5 km
Hospitals	No	-
Primary School	1	9 km
Montessori	2	2 km
Community center	Yes	1 km
Police station	No	-
Market center (retailed trade)	Yes	6 km
Bank	No	-
Communication center (facility)	Yes	19 km
Public transport	Yes but only 2.5 km	-
Religious center	Yes	0.5-1 km
Co-operative shop	Yes	0.5-2 km

Source: Thanamalvila DS Office

Agriculture sector is the dominant but stagnating sector of the economy in the village. More than 80% of the employed population of the village are engaged in farming and/ or employed as casual labourers. Around 49% of villagers get a monthly income of less than Rs. 1500 and around 90% of the population earns an income of less than Rs. 4500 per month.

Table 10: Income and sources of Income

	Mahawewa
Monthly income (SLR) (%)	
Less than 1500	49
1501 – 4500	44
4501 – 10000	7
More than 10000	0
Total farming income (SLR)	45000
Occupation (% of total employment)	100
Farmers	30
Self-employment (construction industry)	2
Self-employment (other sectors)	7
Teachers	1

Private sector employee	2
Daily wage earners (casual labourers)	30
Pensioners	0
Unemployment	28

Source: Thanamalvila DS Office

This village is one of the hardest suffered income poverty villagers in the Monaragala district. The physical capitals and property belonged to this community shows why they are engulfed in the poverty cycle.

Table 11: Assets belonging to the Villagers (number of units)

	Mahawewa
Van	1
Lorry	0
Push Bicycle	200
Motor Bicycle	10
Tractors (4 wheels)	1
Tractors (2 wheels)	3
TV	101
Washing machine	0
Pest control machine	16

Source: Thanamalwila DS Office

As in many other places, social capital belonging to this community can also be categorized into several groups. Namely they are:

- Farmers' associations
- Samudhi society
- Women society
- Funeral aid society
- Children society

However, except for the funeral aid society, other societies are not functioning at their fullest capacity to develop the living standards of the village community.

#### 3.1.4. Major issues related to economic development in the village

The major problems faced by the villagers could be highlighted as below:

- Lack of a continuous supply of water throughout the year,
- Inadequate supply of electricity facilities and other infrastructure facilities,
- Issues relating to the ownership of the land,
- Lack of new technology and know-how
- Poor health facilities and other sanitary facilities,
- Lack of road network and developed market facilities,
- Increasing trends in unemployment and lack of opportunities to increase human resource development
- Rapid out-migration of labour from the village

As the village mainly depends on agricultural activities, the major problem for them is the scarcity of water supply for their cultivation operations.

Table 12:  
Resource Base in Mahawewa Village

Resources	Indicators
High Land (acres)	585
- Cultivated	312
- Cultivable	273
Paddy Land (acres)	311
- Cultivated	39
- Cultivable	273
Irrigated water tank (unit)	1 (500)
Mineral resource	Available
Forest (acres)	500
Cows (unit)	593
Population	885
Labor Force (%)	56
Household (unit)	210

Source: Thanamalwila DS Office

### 3.1.5. Food Security and Poverty

Tangible and intangible resources are most important determinants of level of food acquirement. The key strength which belongs to the village is the availability of land. Cultivation is the main source of income. Major cultivation is paddy. Livestock is also a major livelihood activity in this community. The table clearly shows that the village has a greater amount of uncultivated paddy lands. This amount is relatively higher than the other two villages in the GN division. Manpower is not a barrier but lack of water, insufficient use of modern technology and know-how and poor marketing facilities are the main problems. Besides the scarcity of water for cultivation, shortage of drinking water in the drought period in this village, as in many other areas in the Monaragala district, has become a recurring problem. Depletion of the supply in the regular water sources during the recent past and the ill effects of using tube well water for drinking purpose due to the presence of hardness and soluble fluorides, subject the poor people in the area to severe hardships.

Though land is more than available, major issues in this context is lack of legal ownership for these uncultivated but cultivable lands. In addition, a lack of a production component, an exchange component, and a transfer component are few other major issues in this context. These villagers do not have capacity to employ modern technology and therefore they cultivate on low quality

lands. Since their daily wage rate, and, because of that their monthly incomes are relatively very low, they are poor in exchange components.

The average income of these households is about 4500 SLR. In spite of having government sponsored Samurdhi benefits, the lack of cash income creates the problem of transfer. These households are poor in both the endowments as well as the entitlement mapping, which together demonstrate poor level of food acquisitions.

### **3. 1.6. Women enrolment and food security**

The level of food utilization basically depends on women's time constraints and storage facility. The level of food utilization depends on preparation of food and food storage. Any programs that focus on women's income-earning activities would reduce their time availability for preparing food. But one of the advantages of these families is that the other female family members assist in the preparation of food. Since poor women are already hard pressed for time, any further demand on their time will oblige them either to spend less time on domestic chores, including food preparation ,or child-care activities. Establishment of child-care and sick-care centers can save womens' time, and then the extra time can be used for preparing good food. These households lack food storage facilities, which hampers the ability to improve and to maintain the level of food utilization. Whichever option the poor women choose, it will compromise the quality of food utilization because the proper utilization of available food depends on both the time constraint and the health constraint faced by women.

The net effect of establishment of self-employment projects for women on food security may still be positive, given the potentially positive impact on food acquisition, since family income, particularly female income, increases with such projects. But the point that needs to be emphasized here is that interventions aimed at increasing incomes may fail to yield the full potential in terms of household food security unless they include components that ease the time and health constraints faced by women.

However, any improvement in women's access to resources can contribute to household food security in a variety of ways. First, greater access to productive resources such as credit, agricultural inputs and markets can improve food security by improving entitlement mapping. Second, greater access to resources such as electricity and water can help economize on women's time, which can then be devoted to either income-earning activities or to more domestic works including better care in food utilization. Third, greater access to health-care facilities and greater access to water can raise the health status of women, and this, too, can contribute to household food security by enabling women to become more engaged in both income-earning and domestic activities. Finally, to the extent that greater access to resources removes some of the socioeconomic constraints on women and thereby enables them to gain greater control over decision-making within the household, it should contribute to household food security.

The increased production of crop was generally associated with a higher degree of food security. This is not really surprising since higher income should improve a household's ability to acquire food no matter whether the income is derived from subsistence or cash crops. The ability to cope with shocks to food acquisition depends on the degree of diversification in household income and the scope of consumption-smoothing. These households have little chance to diversify their income since they basically do not have a second source of income and they mainly depend on

paddy cultivation, which highly depends on weather conditions. As table 5 shows, a few has a second source of income. For consumption smoothing, it requires a good household resource base (which is relatively poor in these households –table 2), access to capital, and social capital/network. The village is rich in social capital/networks. The household survey reveals that relatives and friends provide the immediate assistance to the affected families in the village. The assistance may be in the form of mitigating a shortage of a staple food, shortage of cash for daily living expenses, shortage of agricultural man power, or consultation and advices.

### **3. 1.7. Issues related to poverty and food security of the village**

1. Water shortages
2. Elephant-man conflict
3. Crop damages by pests and animals
4. Lack of agricultural extension services
5. Unavailability of marketing facilities
6. Lack of opportunities to improve the capacity of human resources
7. Poor road and transport facilities
8. Lack of financial and material support for agriculture development
9. Over dependency on government and external grants/aid and Dependency Syndrome

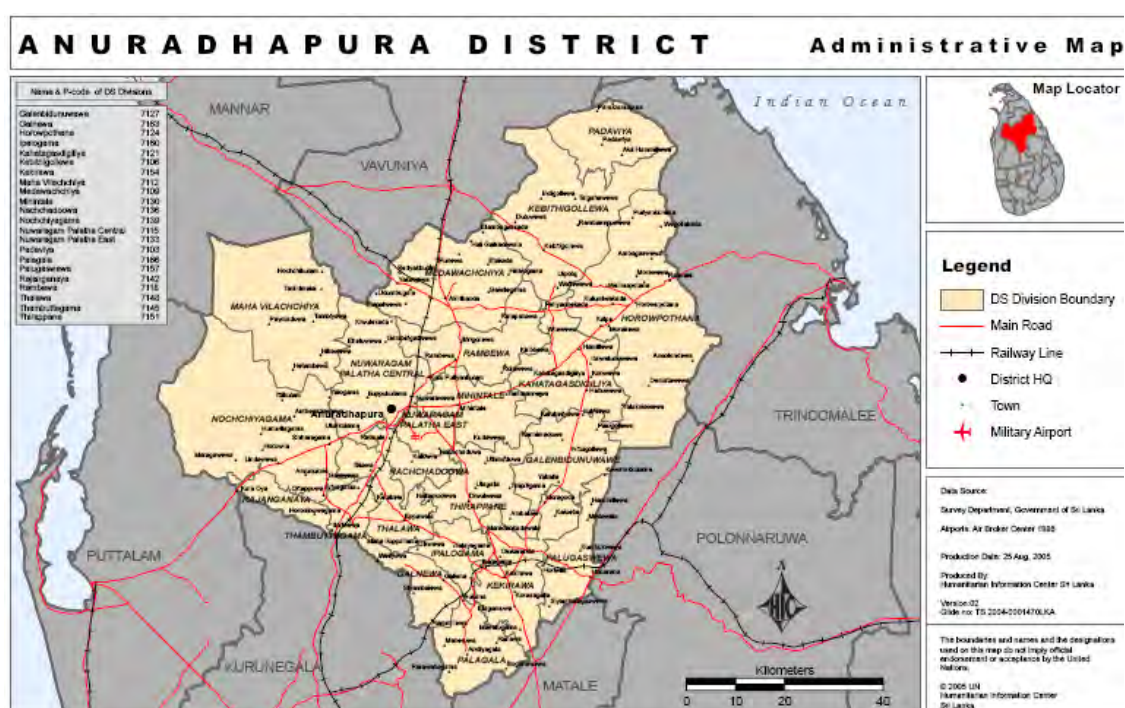
## Case Study II:

### *Medawewa Village in Kebitigollewa DS Division, Anuradhapura District*

#### 3.2.1. Introduction

Anuradapura district (7,128 km<sup>2</sup>) is one of two districts which belong to the North Central Province in Sri Lanka. The district is economically not developed and not densely populated. It is located in a dry tropical climate. Agriculture is the predominant sector in the district.

**Map 4: Anuradhapura District**



Source: [www.humanitarianinfo.org/srilanka/mapcentre/](http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/srilanka/mapcentre/)

#### 3.2.2. Objective of the study

The main objective of the survey was to collect village and community level information on current situation, issues, and measures concerning poverty alleviation and food security in an underprivileged farmer's village.

Madawewa village has been selected under the conditions and suggestions given by the TOR of this study. It is a village located in Kabathigollawa Divisional Secretary Division in Anuradhapura district. It has a mixed farming system. This village is a war affected village and it has been affected by terrorist activities since 1990.

This village belongs to Gonamariyawa GN division that comprises four villages, namely Madawewa, Kolobandawawa, Guruhalmillawa and Gonamariyawa villages.

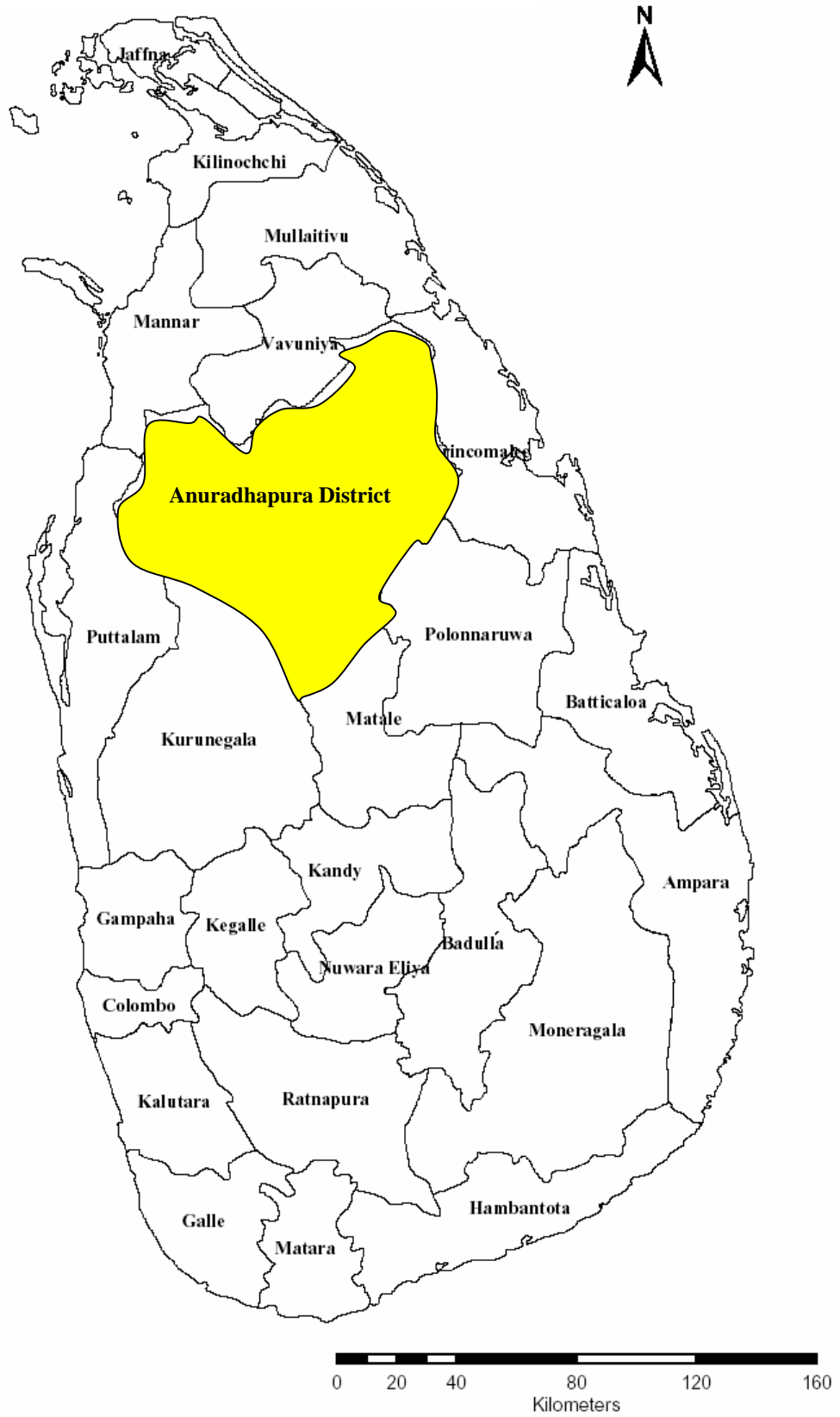
### **3.2.3. Methodology**

A stratified random sampling method has been used to select Madawewa village. Both primary and secondary data were collected. Secondary data were mainly collected from Kabathigollawa DS office and from the relevant GN office. It is important to note herewith that the villagers left the village in many occasions because of terrorist attacks on various occasions. Therefore accuracy and continuity of the information can not be seen in some important secondary sources. In addition, various publications were used. Primary data was collected by using two major approaches as described in the previous case study. First, a focused group interview with the major stakeholders of the village was conducted. Second, a household survey of 15 households in total, 5 poor class households, 5 middle class households and 5 rich class households was conducted.

Several food security indicators have been used in this study: Some of them are: (a) a household's access to cereals over a year (measured by the number of months in which a household can feed its members adequately) at the time of the survey and five years before the survey, (b) the change in a household's food consumption (cereal and non-cereal) in the preceding five years, (c) a household's ability to cope with lean seasons within a year, and (d) its ability to cope with major food crises.<sup>8</sup> In terms of the conceptual framework discussed earlier. The first two indicators measure the level of food acquirement and changes therein, while the last two refer to shocks to acquirement. The study team gathered information about the basic conditions of the village, conditions of education and health, public infrastructure facilities, farming and other income earning activities of the villages, nature of cultivation, and other socio and economic information including social capital and household structure.



**Map 5: Anuradhapura District in Sri Lanka**



### 3.2.4. Socio-economic background of Madawewa Village

Madawewa is predominantly a rural dry zone rain-fed agricultural village. It has 2 minor irrigation water tanks (there are 15 irrigation water tanks in Gonamariyawa GN division). The total population of the village is 512 in 99 households. 55% out of the total population is male and the balance are female. Nearly 100% of community members are Sinhalese and also Buddhists. More than 90% of cultivable land is directly or indirectly used for agricultural activities. Most of these lands are used for cultivation of paddy. Size of the village extends around 4 square kilo meters. The history of the village goes as far back as to the time period of King Dewanampiyathissa.

The majority of the villagers are poor according to the national level poverty line. More than 44% of the total population in the village is Samurdhi beneficiaries.

Around 70% of total population belongs to the labor force. The dependency ratio is nearly 38% and when the level of unemployment is added to this dependency ratio it becomes to around 55%. Availability of land per person in the village is 2-3 hectares. Most of these lands do not have legal titles.

More than 78% of total population have only less than GCE O/L education. Significant proportion of the community could not get secondary education due to the presence of war situation. Though 98% of total population represents the elementary school enrolment rate, elementary school graduation is less than 88%.

Various economic activities generate income in the village. The labor force participation rate in the village is little more than 55% of population. More than 80% of community income is derived from agriculture and 10% by livestock raring. Nearly 85% of agriculture activities are centered on paddy production as well. Vegetable is the other main component of the agriculture production in the village. Brick industry consists around 5% of village income. Emigrant workers contribute more than 6% of the total income of the village population. Most of these immigrant workers find employment outside the village but within the country. This includes casual and temporary work outside the village. In addition, more than 57 youths are employed in security services and work outside the village. Only 4 persons have gone abroad for employment while 4 persons have found employment in the public sector.

Table 13:  
Demographic Characteristics

Demographic Information	Mahawewa
Total population	512
Male (%)	55
Female (%)	45
Disable population	8

Source: Kabathigollawa DS Office

Inadequate infrastructure development facilities and public services is a major stumbling block preventing the socio-economic development in the village. There is no public transport service available to the village, especially after the Kabathigollawa bomb blast in a bus. More than 30% of the families have no electricity facilities. Though 95% of the villagers have water facilities, majority of villagers are facing health problems due to the non availability of pure drinking water. 33% of

total population has no permanent housing facilities. Facilities for the public health, education, market and banking services are very poor.

Table 14: Basic Infrastructure facility

	Mahawewa	If available then the distance from village
Electricity (available household %)	70	-
Water (available household %)	95	-
Road network	Not satisfied	-
Toilet (satisfactory level %)	80	-
Permanent house (%)	67	-
Health Center	No	-
Hospitals	No	-
Primary School	No	-
Montessori	1	In the temple
Community center	Yes	In the temple
Police station	Yes (police guard centers)	-
Market center (retailed trade)	No	-
Bank	No	10 km
Communication center (facility)	Yes	-
Public transport	No (not in the village inside)	1 km
Religious center	Yes (1 temple)	0.5-1 km
Co-operative shop	Yes	2 km

Source: Kabathigollawa DS Office

Around 50% of villagers get a monthly income of less than LKR. 1500 and around 90% of population's income is less than LKR. 4500. More than 70% of total expenditure out of the family income goes to the basic food requirement.

The physical capital and property belonging to this community shows why they are enmeshed in the vicious circle of poverty.

Table 15: Assets belonging to the Villagers (number of units)

	Mahawewa
Van	1
Lorry	0
Push Bicycle	250
Motor Bicycle	9
Tractors (4 wheels)	2
Tractors (2 wheels)	7
TV	80
Washing machine	0
Pest control machine	3

Source: Kabathigollawa DS Office

As in many places, social capital belonging to this community can also categorized into several groups. Namely they are:

- Farmers' associations
- Samurdhi society
- Women society

- Death Donation society
- Buddhist society
- Children society

However, the performance of these societies, except in the case of Death Donation Society, depends largely on the external support and grants.

### **3.2.5. Major issues related to economic development in the village**

The major problems faced by the villages could be highlighted as below:

- Threat of terrorist attacks
- Inadequate supply of electricity facilities and other infrastructure facilities,
- No improvement to the irrigation facilities
- Problems related to land titles
- Poor access to new technology and know-how
- Poor health facilities and other sanitary facilities,
- Inadequate road network and developed market facilities,
- Increasing trends in unemployment and lack of opportunities to develop human resources
- Out- migration of labour from the village

Because this village mainly depends on agricultural activities, the major problem for the inhabitants is the scarcity of water supply for their cultivations throughout the year.

### **3.2.6. Food Security and Poverty**

The key strength of the asset base in the village is the availability of land. Cultivation is the main source of income. Major cultivation is paddy. Livestock is also a major livelihood activity in this community. The village has a greater amount of uncultivated but cultivable lands. Manpower is not a barrier but lack of water, insufficient access to modern technology and know-how and imperfect marketing facilities are the main constraints.

The major hindering factor which affects the use of these lands for cultivation is the security threat posed by the war situation in the northern parts of the island.. Recently several measures have been taken to improve the security situation in the village.

Another major issue which prevents the use of cultivable land is lack of legal ownership for these lands to the villagers. Majority of these lands belong to temples and to the wildlife department of the government of Sri Lanka.

Furthermore, insufficiencies in terms of a production component, an exchange component, and a transfer component are a few other major issues in this context. These villagers do not have the capacity to use modern technology due to poor access to formal credit facilities and on top of that they cultivate in low quality lands. Since the daily wage rates of the casual labourers are low and therefore their monthly incomes are also low they are unable to benefit from exchange components.

Besides the problems arising from the scarcity of water for cultivation, drinking water shortage during the drought periods within this village, as in the many other villages in the Anuradhapura district, has become a frequent problem. Depletion of the supply of water in the regular water sources during the recent past and the ill effects of using tube well water for drinking purpose due

to the prevalence of hardness and soluble fluorides, subject the poor people in the area to severe hardships.

### **3.2.7. Other key issues related to food security in the village**

1. Crop damages done by pests and animals
2. Lack of a marketing center and market facilities
3. Lack of opportunities to improve the capacity of human resources
4. Poor road and transport facilities
5. Lack of financial and material support for agricultural development
6. Over dependency of government and external grants/aid and Dependency Syndrome



## Appendix 1: Food Security: A conceptual Framework

In its current format, poverty often determines the level of household or individual food security. Food security is the availability of an adequate supply of food for an active and healthy life. It is not the availability of basic foods such as rice and wheat alone. Food security should mean the capacity to obtain the required quantum of food with sufficient level of nutrition. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), food security exists, '*when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life*' (FAO 1996). Food security at its minimum level includes: (a) the ready availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods, and (b) an assured ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways (e.g., without resorting to emergency food supplies, scavenging, stealing, or other coping strategies).

A food security analysis is, in many respects, similar to a poverty analysis. Not only do the two have many common areas of analysis but also the approaches to the analysis are frequently similar. Both require, firstly, some means by which the welfare or poverty or food security of each household/individual can be measured and compared, and secondly, some agreed poverty line or food poverty line by means of which households can be classified as poor or food insecure. Both analytical approaches seek to understand the sources of household food insecurity and poverty

When measuring household food security, one should look at the following kinds of household conditions, events, behaviors, and subjective reactions (Bickel *et al* 2000):

- . Anxiety resulting from the insufficient household food budget or food supply to meet basic needs;
- . The experience of running out of food, without money to obtain more;
- . Perceptions by the respondent that the food eaten by household members was inadequate in quality or quantity;
- . Adjustments to normal food use, substituting fewer and cheaper foods than usual;
- . Instances of reduced food intake by adults in the household, or consequences of reduced intake such as the physical sensation of hunger or loss of weight; and
- . Instances of reduced food consumption, or consequences of reduced intake, for children in the household.

Food security has been discussed in several levels of attainment; namely, global food security, regional food security, national food security, and most importantly household and individual food security. Food security at the national level does not necessarily ensure food security at the household or individual level. "A household is food secure when it has access to the food needed for a healthy life for all its members (adequate in terms of quality, quantity and culturally acceptable minimum), and when it is not at undue risk of losing such access" (ACC/SCN 1991). More specifically, food security is an essential part of the broader concept of nutrition security. A household can be said to be nutritionally secure if it is able to ensure a healthy life for all its members at all times. Moreover, there is both a short-term and long-term aspect of food security. The short-term problem, which is also known as transitory food insecurity, may occur when any household as a result of crop failure, seasonal scarcities, temporary illness or unemployment among the productive members of the household or perhaps an emergency need for a large cash expenditure, fails to obtain a nutritionally adequate diet. The long-term problem, which is also known as chronic food insecurity, occurs when a household is steadily unable to obtain the food requirements of its members over a long period of time marked by continuous, temporary blips of good and bad moments.

Food insecurity in a household can be noticed as a combination of two distinct problems: a problem of *acquisition* and a problem of *utilization*. Acquisition refers to the ability of a household and its members to acquire enough food through production, exchange or transfer. A household that has the capacity to *acquire* all the food it needs may not always have the ability to *utilize* that capacity to the fullest. For instance, busy housewives, particularly in the medium income households, may not have time to prepare the best nutritious foods. In some cases, the reason would be the inadequate basic infrastructure facilities. A household can be said to be food secure only if it is secure in terms of both the acquisition and the utilization of food.

### **Determinates of Food security**

The identification of determinants of food security is rather problematic. As discussed before, the classification of food security can be identified within the two set of problems: acquisition and utilization. The basic question is how to improve and to maintain the level of acquisition and the level of utilization. Determinants can be examined as the ability to cope with shocks to acquisition and utilization. Hence, broadly, there are four classifications of determinants:

- (1) Determinants of the level of food acquisition
- (2) Determinants of the level of food utilization

- (3) Determinants of ability to cope with shocks to acquirement
- (4) Determinants of ability to cope with shocks to utilization

### **Determinants of the Level of Food Acquirement**

The literature discusses different levels of determinants. Following the work of Amartya Sen, the first two determinants of the level of acquirement can be identified as the *endowment set* and *entitlement mapping*. The endowment set and entitlement mapping together determine a household's ability to acquire food. The endowment set comprises all the resources a household owns or over which it has rights, whether legal, or conventional. The resources include both tangible resources as well as intangible resources. By using these resources, a household can acquire food either *directly* through production, or *indirectly* through exchange and transfer. The richer the endowment set, the better the access to food.

Entitlement mapping refers to the rate at which the resources of the endowment set can be converted into food. The literature identifies three main components of entitlement mapping: a *production component*, an *exchange component*, and a *transfer component*.

### **Determinants of the Level of Food Utilization**

As noted earlier, a household's food security level would depend on both acquirement as well as utilization. The utilization of food encompasses both preparation and storage. Differences in the quality of preparation or storage will yield different levels of food security given the same level of acquirement.

It is strongly believed that the most important determinant of food utilization is women's time constraints since often women prepare foods. Poor as well as middle class women are severely pressed for time. In the Samurdhi beneficiary families, it was found that, counting the time devoted to production-related work, market transactions and domestic chores, wives worked for more than 16 hours a day, compared with their husbands' 8-9 hours (Premaratne and Liyanaarachchi, 2004). Moreover, the difference can not be explained entirely by the addition of domestic work, as women seem to spend more time on productive activities also. The extreme demand placed on women's time may not only ruin their health, but it may also have an adverse affect on family welfare and food security.

For these reasons, anything that eases women's time constraints has the potential to improve the food security of households, especially that of young children, quite apart



from improving the quality of life of the women themselves. Thus, measures to improve access to electricity and water shorten the process of food preparation and provide alternative child-care facilities, as well as the care facilities of the old and the sick persons in the household should all be seen as contributing towards household food security.

The other determinant of utilization level concerns the facilities for food storage within the household. In most rural households, however, the storage facilities are woefully inadequate, resulting in substantial losses both in the quality and the quantity of food. Improved facilities for food storage would raise the level of a household's food security given any level of acquirement.

### **Determinants of Ability to Cope with Shocks to Acquirement**

Shocks to acquirement can come from several sources, including crop failure, unemployment, higher cost of food, and so on. Some households are better able to cope with these shocks than others. The determinants of coping ability can be classified as follows: determinants that reduce fluctuations in income and determinants that reduce fluctuations in consumption given the fluctuation in income.

The most important determinant within the first category is the degree of diversification of a household's livelihood strategy. The degree of diversification differs from one household to another depending on household resource constraints and the constraints and opportunities presented by the external environment. In general, the greater the degree of diversification, the greater is the ability to cope with temporary shocks to acquirement. Therefore when analyzing poverty and food security at household level, it is essential to understand the degree of diversification of a household's earning strategy.

The second category, namely, the consumption-smoothing, refers to *the ability of a household to maintain the normal level of food consumption in the face of an income shock*. An essential element in this category is the household's asset base. A household with several assets can more effectively maintain its consumption level by disposing of some of these assets. The value and liquidity of assets are important determinants of a household's ability to cope with shocks to acquirement.

Further, the nature of the credit market is an equally important factor. Since poor households do not have easy access to the formal banking sector, they rely on the micro-credit market, which includes moneylenders, friends, relatives, neighbors and NGOs. Social capital plays a crucial role in accessing the micro as well as informal credit market.

### **Determinants of the Ability to Cope with Shocks to Utilization**

Since women play an essential role in ensuring the proper utilization of food, shocks to the ability of women to play this role are some of the determinants. For example, a wife's sudden illness is such a shock. The ability to cope with these shocks depends on two sets of factors: the availability and the quality of women's health-care facilities and the existence of a support network that can provide help to women in the performance of domestic chores.

The first determinant is to some extent an external phenomenon, depending as it does on the willingness and ability of external agencies to provide the right kind of health-care facilities. But it is also largely a phenomenon *internal* to the household. Anything related to housewives' health-shocks can affect the ability to cope with shock to utilization, and then food security.

The second determinant, namely, support for women in the performance of domestic chores, is largely dependent on the household's make-up: whether there is more than one woman in the home, especially if other females are children, and the extent to which the household can draw on the support of an extended family. But social actions may also have a role to play by raising men's consciousness so as to help them become more willing to provide support in the performance of domestic chores, not only for the sake of the women, but also for the sake of the protection of the household's food security.

**Table 1: Determinants of Food Security**

1. tangible resources	- Land, animals, machinery, water resources, trees, forests, and common property resources,
2. Intangible resources	- Household's labour power and the rights attached to membership in a community
3. Production components	- Technology of food production - Quality of lands
4. Exchange components	- Wage rate
5. Transfer components	- Social security benefits
6. degree of diversification	- Second (other) sources of income
7. Scope for consumption smoothing	- Household asset base - Access to capital - social capital/ networks

8. Women's time constraints	- Reproductive responsibility - Access to basic infrastructure facility (water, electricity etc)
9. Storage facility	-Refrigerator
10. external phenomenon	- External health facilities - health care facility (e.g: child, old and, sick-care center)
11. Internal phenomenon	- Women status within the household
12 Household structure	- Number of female members in the household

With regard to the first-order determinants of food acquirement, information has been collected on endowments (of households and of women), the degree of diversification in livelihood structures and women's control over household decision-making. No quantitative information has been collected on the other two determinants, entitlement mapping and the scope for consumption-smoothing. However, both should play an important role in any interpretation of the observed effects of market integration and project participation on household food security.

Although the study has not collected any direct information on the **quality** of food utilization, it has collected data on one set of determinants, namely, women's time constraints.

The analytical framework seeks to understand the sources of household food insecurity and poverty (e.g. low incomes, low labor market participation, time and education constraints, and possibly poor health), the correlates of poverty and food security (e.g. low levels of food consumption, expenditure patterns balanced towards food and starchy staples consumption, poor housing, poor access to public services, few assets), and the consequences of these in terms of vulnerability and exposure to risk (e.g. dependence on dry land agricultural production as the principal income source, market dependence and vulnerability to adverse price movements) and in terms of human capability outcomes (e.g. nutrition and health status, education and skills, and living standards).

## Appendix 2: Analysis of Sample Survey Data

### Introduction

The main aim of this section is to present a profile of food security of rural households. Two villages from Monaragala and Anuradhapura were selected for the sample survey. They are Mahawewa village from Thalamalwila Divisional Secretariat (in Monaragala district) and Medawewa village from Kebithigollewa Divisional Secretariat (in Anuradhapura district). Both villages are equal in terms of level of income and income-earning activities, but Medawewa is a war-hit area. To conduct the household survey, 5 rich households, 5 middle income households, and 5 poor households were randomly selected in each village with the help of *Grama Niladari*. The analysis includes basic characteristics of the sample, including the composition of the sample, a profile of the rural households, which were covered in the sample survey. The following information was gathered through face-to-face personal interviews.

1. A basic profile of the households
2. A profile of households' agricultural activities, including the nature of livestock, types of crops that they grow, nature and problems of the crop cultivation.
3. A profile of social capital

### A Profile of the Households

The characteristics of the households in the sample include such as household size, household heads' profile, and household composition. With regard to the gender distribution of the household head, there are only 3 female headed households in the sample. Average age of the household head is 47 years in Mahawewa, and 46 years in Medawewa. Table H1 displays the details on the characteristics of the households. Table H1 reveals that these families are mainly engaged in agricultural activities.

**Table H1: Sample Survey- Household Profile**

	Monaragala (Mahawewa)				Anuradhapura (Medawewa)			
	Poor	Middle	Rich	Total	Poor	Middle	Rich	Total
Ethnic group –Sinhala	5	5	5	15	5	5	5	15
Religion-Buddhist	5	5	5	15	5	5	5	15

<b>Household head</b>	4	4	5	13	5	5	4	14
Male	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1
Female		48	40	47	47	48	44	46
Age (average, year)	51							
<i>Occupation (head)</i>		4	1	9	5	3	2	10
Agriculture	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Housekeeping	1	1	4	5	-	2	3	5
Others	-							
Household Size (average)	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	4
<i>Gender (other family members)</i>								
Male	5	11	5	21	6	9	3	18
Female	6	3	7	16	4	3	11	18
<i>Occupation (family members)</i>								
Student	5	4	6	15	8	7	12	27
Agriculture	3	6	-	9	1	5	-	6
Housekeeping	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-
Work abroad	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
Others	2	1	3	6	1	1	-	2

Source: Household Survey, 2007

One of the advantages that these families have is that the other female family members assist for preparing food. As mentioned earlier, given a certain basic level of food acquirement, food security at household level depends on the level of food utilization. as the utilization of food includes both preparation and storage. Differences in the ability of preparation yield different levels of food security given the same level of acquirement. Other female members in a household will definitely add extra weight on the food security since the other female-family members always help for preparing food. However, the quality of preparation is also equally important for food security. The quality of preparation of food basically depends on the basic infrastructure facility such as water, electricity, the availability of kitchen utensils etc., and the time availability of women. Hence, policy makers should consider those directions when designing development policies.

## A profile of Households' Agricultural Activities

The household members covered in the sample survey are rarely engaged in livestock activities. From this information, it is very difficult to get a clear picture on the livestock activities and their contribution to food security and poverty. Table H2 exhibits the profile of livestock of these households. From the information gathered through face-to-face personal and the group interviews, the area is not self-sufficient in terms of livestock products. This factor adversely affect the levels of food security and, then poverty, at household levels.

**Table H2: Livestock Activities in the Two Villages**

	Monaragala (Mahawewa)				Anuradhapura (Medawewa)			
	Poor	Middle	Rich	Total	Poor	Middle	Rich	Total
Cattle	1	1	2	4	-	1	1	2
Poultry	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
<b>Farming Method</b>	-	1	2	3	-	1	1	2
Long-term pasture	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Daily pasture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Use bam	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	-
<b>Traded Product</b>	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1
Milk								
Meat								

Source: Household Survey, 2007

As was mentioned before, these families depend largely on the agriculture sector for their living. Results reveal that more than 90 percent of the households cultivate more than one crop (Table H3). The greater is the degree of product diversification, the greater is the ability to cope with temporary shocks to food acquirement. Therefore, when analyzing poverty and food security at household level, it is essential to understand the degree of diversification of a household's earning strategy.

The main resource belong to both villages is the availability of land. Further, as displayed in table H3, paddy cultivation is the main source of income. But still the two villages have comparatively large extents of uncultivated lands; relatively speaking Mahawewa has the highest percentage of uncultivated lands. They also have adequate amount of manpower though they lack skills and better education. Therefore, unemployment is the major problem faced by these villages, which has a direct impact on their food security and, indeed, the poverty.

**Table H3: Agriculture Profile**

	Monaragala (Mahawewa)				Anuradhapura (Medawewa)			
	Poor	Middle	Rich	Total	Poor	Middle	Rich	Total
<i>Diversification</i>	1	1	1	3	0	0	1	1
One crop farming	3	4	1	8	5	5	4	14
More than one crops								
<i>Agriculture workforce</i>	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	0
1 person	1	3	2	4	4	4	4	12
2 persons	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	3
more than 2 persons								
Area of land owned (acres)	0.75	1.75	2		1.5	1.2	2.3	
Area of land cultivated	0.40	0.90	1.6		1.4	1.1	1.7	
<i>Production (Kg)</i>								
Paddy (major)	250	1000	1500		1050	1320	1200	
Other crops (minor)	100	160	300		580	338	950	

Source: Household Survey, 2007

Another important feature of the sample is that more than 80 percent of the agricultural production in these households is used for daily consumption purposes. Results reveal that though some of the households sell a small percentage of their production, it does not mean that they are self-sufficient in food. Table H4 presents the purpose, methods, and problems of agricultural production. About 90 percent of seeds used in the cultivation are own seeds. They buy fertilizer and agricultural chemicals from the nearby market. Though tractors are used as agricultural machinery, all of them are rented. Only one household covered in the survey, in Medawewa area, has a four-wheel tractor. Use of machinery is very important for increasing productivity. The policy implication is obvious: use of new agricultural machinery should be encouraged.

**Table H4: Agriculture –Purpose, Methods, and Problems of Production**

	Monaragala (Mahawewa)				Anuradhapura (Medawewa)			
	Poor	Middle	Rich	Total	Poor	Middle	Rich	Total
Purpose of crop harvested								
Daily consumption	2	2	2	6	4	3	2	9
Marketing purpose	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Both purposes	2	2	-	4	-	1	1	2
Input-Own								
Seed	4	5	2	11	4	4	4	12
Input- acquired externally								
Seed								
Fertilizer	2	3	2	7	3	4	5	12
Chemicals	1	2	2	5	3	3	3	9
Use of machinery								

Tractors	2	3	1		5	5	5	
Harvesting machines					5	5	5	
Problems (major crops)								
1. Difficulty in obtaining good quality seed	2	2	1		5	4	4	
2. Poor land fertility	1	1	-		2	4	5	
3. Lack of arable land	2	3	1		4	4	4	
4. Lack of fertilizer	-	-	-		3	4	5	
5. Lack of manpower	-	-	1		-	2	3	
6. Lack of livestock power	-	-	-		1	1	-	
7. Lack of agricultural machinery	1	3	2		2	2	2	
8. Elephant damage	2	2	1		-	-	-	
9. Damage done by the war	1	2	-		-	-	-	
	-	-	-		5	5	5	
<i>Possible method to increase productivity</i>								
1. Improved seed	3	3	1		4	5	5	
2. Organic manure	3	1	1		4	5	5	
3. Chemical fertilizer	2	4	1		1	1	2	
4. Pesticide chemical	2	-	-		-	2	2	

Source: Household Survey, 2007

When considering the farming operations in the two areas, these households face a number of problems such as difficulty to obtain good quality seeds, lack of arable land, lack of fertilizer, damages done by animals particularly elephants, and damages done by the war. Medawewa is a war-affected area. These people badly suffer from the atrocities created by the war. They have lost their arable lands, their houses, and their self-confidence. These factors, particularly area specific factors, should be taken into account when designing policies and programs, since those factors are highly important in maintaining food security.

The study observed the possible methods and the measures to employ in increasing food production. In Mahawewa, one of the major problems is inadequate supply of water. Therefore, the provision of a continuous supply of water is one of the most significant measures that should be taken into account. Though the war situation adversely affects the whole country, Medawewa people, particularly farmers, badly suffer from the ill-effects of the war. The government should provide necessary protection for these farmers. Otherwise, there will be no hope of ensuring food security for them.

### **A profile of Social Capital**

Social capital plays a crucial role for providing food security in these areas. This section analyzes the nature of social capital and the impact of social capital on the food security



in the surveyed areas. The common associations and social organizations in the areas are Samurdhi society, Farmers' Association, Death Donation society, and Rural Development Society. As Shown in table H5, all of the households covered in the survey belong to at least one of the community associations/societies.

**Table H5: Social Capital**

	Monaragala (Mahawewa)			Anuradhapura (Medawewa)		
	Poor	Middle	Rich	Poor	Middle	Rich
Membership (No. of association)						
0	-	1	-	-	-	-
1	3	1	3	-	-	-
1-3	2	3	2	5	5	5

Source: Household Survey, 2007

Further, the nature of the credit market is an equally important factor. Since poor households have limited access to the formal banking sector, they rely mostly on the micro-credit market, which includes friends, relatives, and neighbors. Social capital play a crucial role in accessing the micro as well as informal credit market.

**Table H6: Mutual Aid Association for Assistance**

	Monaragala (Mahawewa)			Anuradhapura (Medawewa)		
	Poor	Middle	Rich	Poor	Middle	Rich
Shortage of stable food	5	4	5	5	5	5
1. Assistance form relative	5	2	3	5	5	5
2. Loan from relative	3	1	4	3	4	4
3. Loan from association	1	1	1	4	4	4
4. Loan from friend	1	1	3	3	3	4
5. Purchase On loans	1	-	-	-	-	2
Shortage of living expense	5	4	5	5	4	5
1. Assistance form relative	5	4	2	4	3	4
2. Loan from relative	1	1	3	2	2	3
3. Loan from association (microcredit)	1	2	2	3	3	3
4. Loan from friend	1	1	2	5	4	4
Shortage of manpower	-	1	2	1	2	-
1. Assistance from relative	-	1	2	1	2	-
2. Mutual aid with relative	-	1	-	1	2	-
3. Mutual aid with friend	-	-	-	1	1	-
Consult daily difficulties						
1. Family members	3	1	2	3	5	2
2. Relative	-	-	1	-	2	1
3. Neighbors	2	3	2	1	1	3

Source: Household Survey, 2007

Rural people strongly depend on their social networks. As has been displayed in table H6, these people rely on relatives and friends for immediate assistance like shortage of food, shortage of living expenses, and shortage of manpower etc.

As noted above, the common problem faced by the villagers in both districts is shortage of water. Since the main source of income of these households is farming activities, continuous supply of water is essential for them. Therefore, shortage of water directly impacts on food security, and, thus, poverty. Moreover, each of these two districts faces its unique problems. Medawewa is highly war-affected area. The war has distorted their houses, income-earning sources- agriculture-, and their livestock. Therefore, the war has a negative impact on food security. On the other hand, Mahawewa farmers reveal that elephants destroy their crops. Those factors highly affect the level of food acquirement. Low level of food acquirement leads food insecurity and poverty. When analyzing food security and poverty, and designing necessary policy for alleviating them, those specific factors should be taken into account by the concerned people..

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**Annexure 1: List of respondents of the interviews held for the survey of underprivileged farmer's villages in Mahawewa and Madawewa villagers**

<b>Que. No</b>	<b>Name of the Respondent</b>	<b>Village Name</b>	<b>Poverty Level</b>	<b>Name of the Surveyor</b>
1.	V.G.H. APPUHAMI	Mahawewa	Rich Class	N.A. Siril
2.	M. PREMADA	Mahawewa	Rich Class	N.A. Siril
3.	A.K PRIYANTHA	Mahawewa	Rich Class	N.A. Siril
4.	D.K. SUGATHADASA	Mahawewa	Rich Class	N.A. Siril
5.	V.G.N SANTHA	Mahawewa	Rich Class	N.A. Siril
6.	V.K. BABANONA	Mahawewa	Middle Class	N.A. Siril
7.	K.R KARUNADASA	Mahawewa	Middle Class	N.A. Siril
8.	S. PODINONA	Mahawewa	Middle Class	N.A. Siril
9.	V.P PREMARATHNA	Mahawewa	Middle Class	N.A. Siril
10.	K.L.A SUNIL	Mahawewa	Middle Class	N.A. Siril
11.	L.G. BALAMAHATTHAYA	Mahawewa	Poor Class	N.A. Siril
12.	A. PIYASENA	Mahawewa	Poor Class	N.A. Siril
13.	M. WIJEPALA	Mahawewa	Poor Class	N.A. Siril
14.	L.A. ABEYPALA	Mahawewa	Poor Class	N.A. Siril
15.	L.A.R.V. KUMARA	Mahawewa	Poor Class	N.A. Siril

<b>Que. No</b>	<b>Name of the Respondent</b>	<b>Village Name</b>	<b>Poverty Level</b>	<b>Name of the Surveyor</b>
1.	V. MALLIYA	Madawewa	Rich Class	Ranathunga
2.	K.K SANTHILATHA	Madawewa	Rich Class	Ranathunga
3.	P. SUSIL	Madawewa	Rich Class	Ranathunga
4.	A.A. PIYASENA DIAS	Madawewa	Rich Class	Ranathunga
5.	P DAYARATHNA	Madawewa	Rich Class	Ranathunga
6.	L KARUNARATHNA	Madawewa	Middle Class	Ranathunga
7.	B. CHANDADASA	Madawewa	Middle Class	Ranathunga
8.	W.A. SUMANASIRI	Madawewa	Middle Class	Ranathunga
9.	R. RANASINGHE	Madawewa	Middle Class	Ranathunga
10.	T. JAYASUNDARA	Madawewa	Middle Class	Ranathunga
11.	B. KARUNATHILAKA	Madawewa	Poor Class	Ranathunga
12.	E.M. R.EKANAYAKE	Madawewa	Poor Class	Ranathunga
13.	L. ABEYRATHNA	Madawewa	Poor Class	Ranathunga
14.	A.G. SOMAPALA	Madawewa	Poor Class	Ranathunga
15.	W. SIRIPALA	Madawewa	Poor Class	Ranathunga

**Annexure 2: List of discussions with key informants at divisional/village level for the survey of underprivileged farmer's villages in Thnamalwila and Kabathigollawa DS divisions**

1. Divisional Secretary and Additional Divisional Secretary, Thanamalwila	Thanamalwila DS Office	06.03.2007	Information about Thanamalwila DS division, Mahawewa GN division and information and the issues about poverty and food security in the DS division
2. Grama Niladari (see the questionnaire GS 1) and Samurdhi Officer in Mahawewa GN division	Mahawewa Village	06.03.2007	Information about Mahawewa GN division
3. Divisional Secretary and Additional Divisional Secretary, Kabathigollawa	Kabathigollawa DS Office	09.03.2007	Information about Kabathigollawa DS division, Madawewa GN division and information and the issues about poverty and food security in the DS
4. Grama Niladari (see the questionnaire GS 1) and Samurdhi Officer in Madawewa GN division	Madawewa Village	09.03.2007	Information about Madawewa GN division
5. Chief priest	Mahawewa Village	06.03.2007	Information about Mahawewa GN division
6. Chief priest	Madawewa Village	09.03.2007	Information about Mahawewa GN division



**Annexure 3: List of discussions with key informants at national level for the survey of underprivileged farmer's villages in Thnamalwila and Kabathigollawa DS divisions**

Key informants and/or group discussions	Place or Institutions	Date	Area of information gathered
7. Director of Gamidiriya	Samurdhi and Nation Buiding Ministry	20.02.2007	Information about the Gamidiriya Project and its specifications compared to other poverty evaluation project
8. Deputy of Samurdhi Commissioner	Samurdhi and Nation Buiding Ministry	18.02.2007	Information about Samurdhi programme
9. Three local politicians (at Pradeshiya Sabha) in Madawewa and Magawewa	In villagers	07.03.2007 and 09.03.2007	Information about poverty and food security issues
10. Dr. R.M.K. Ratnayake 11. Secretary	Ministry of Trade, Consumer Affairs and Cooperatives	08.02.2007 and 14.02 2007	Information about Poverty and Food security policies
12. Dr. Frederick Abeyratne 13. National Programme Officer	United Nations Development Programme(UNDP)	19.01 2007	Poverty and Food Security Issues
14. Mr. K.G.Thilakaratne	Census and statistics	22.01.2007	Information on poverty lines

**Annexure 4: List of group discussions with village communities for the survey of underprivileged farmer's villages in Mahawewa and Madawewa villages**

15. Household based survey for 15 households (see attached questionnaires)	Mahawewa Village	07.03.2007	Information about poverty and food security issues in each selected household
16. Household based survey for 15 households (see attached questionnaires and the list of the respondents)	Madawewa Village	10.03.2007	Information about poverty and food security issues in each selected household
17. Group discussion with community members in Madawewa Village (see the attached list of community participation)	Madawewa Village	10.03.2007	Information about Madawewa village putting special attention on poverty and food security issues
18. Group discussion with community members Mahawewa Village (see the attached list of community participation and the list of the respondents)	Mahawewa Village	07.03.2007	Information about Mahawewa village putting special attention on poverty and food security issues

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## 第 1 部 基本的な文献調査

### 1.1 . 貧困とは何か

貧困は、人間が生活に最低限必要なものまで奪われてしまう状態である。途上国の多くの方が生活に最低限必要なものを得られていないことから、途上国は貧しい国であるとしばしば述べられている。そのため、先進国も貧困およびそれに関連した問題から完全には解放されていないものの、基本的に貧困は途上国の問題となっている。

一人当たりの収入は、一国の貧困のレベルを決定するための正確な基準であると考えられている。しかし、今日では、貧困は収入を示す数字というよりも、多元的かつ流動的という考えが一般的である。したがって、経済成長がその国の貧困緩和への唯一の道筋であるとはされていない。また、貧困の議論においては、収入の分配、土地や家畜といった収入を産み出す資産、脆弱性、および、人的資本といった側面も考慮されている。

しかし、生活の基本的必需品だけを満たすために高収入を達成するということは根本的貧困の削減を意味しない。貧困削減とは生活水準の向上と、かつ、現代社会のニーズを満たすことである、最終目的は、社会における人的発展である。これは、国家の収入の増減よりもはるかに大切なものである。これは、人々が、持てる潜在能力を活かし、かつ、自身のニーズおよび関心と合致した生産的で創造的な生活環境を創り出すものである。したがって、発展とは人々が、価値を見出せる生活を営める選択肢を拡大することである（UNDP、2007年）。発展は、不幸な状態から幸福な状態に移ることであると見ることができる（UNDP、2006年）。

スリランカは多くの経済問題を抱えている途上国であり、貧困は恐らく同国の最も緊急な問題であると思われる。スリランカは、国民の人的能力の改善および国民の基本的ニーズへの対応においては著しい進歩を遂げたが、十分な改善がなされなかったとされる2分野が貧困削減および栄養失調であることが指摘されている（SAARC事務局、2006年）。

絶対的な貧困は、スリランカのような国における貧困の発生を分析するために適用されている概念である。これは、おそらく途上国における貧困の影響を図るための最も適した目安であると思われる。貧困ラインの算出にあたっては、生活の基本的消費レベルを維持するための物品およびサービスの費用が考慮される。この費用は、基本的に食料エネルギー摂取量を維持するために必要な食料への支出および食料以外の物品に対する

支出も含まれている。

全般に、食料への支出は食料エネルギー摂取量と密接に関係している。このため、規定されたカロリーを供給するための最低費用を推定することは困難ではない。

「諸研究が示したことは、絶対貧困にある人々が、失業者に加えて、貧困労働層（ワーキング・プア）であり、その中には、土地のない肉体労働者、小規模農家、大規模農園の肉体労働者、小規模および家内工業の労働者、建設労働者、小商人、ならびに、家庭内労働者がおり、彼らの稼ぎは、基本的ニーズを満たすのに十分でないことである。これらの全てのグループにおいては、女性が大多数を占めている。農村において、女性は、無給の家族労働者、農業の賃金労働者であるか、零細企業に従事しているか、または、低賃金の歩合制労働者である」（ADB、2004年）。

## 1.2 . 貧困の定義

貧困には、少なくとも5つの分類がある。

第一の意味は、収入貧困であるが、収入は測定するのが困難であり、また推定したとしてもほとんどの場合に信頼できないからである。多くの経済学者が貧困という言葉を使用する時、彼らは収入を目安にして貧困は測定することができるとし、議論を呼んでいる。したがって収入貧困という言葉の代わりに消費貧困という言葉が使われている。

第二の分類は、「物質的な不足または欠乏」である。これは、収入に加えて、富がほとんどないこと、さらに、避難所、衣服、家具、交通の手段、ラジオまたはテレビもないこと、各社会サービスへの利用が全くないか、ほとんどないことも含むことが多い。

意味の第三の分類は Amartya Sen 氏から導かれたもので、「可能性の剥奪」と表され、我々にできること、または、できないこと、成れるもの、または、成れないものに言及している。これは、物質的な不足または欠乏を含むが、それを超えて、例えば技能と肉体的能力、および、同様に社会における自尊心などの人間の能力を含むものである。

意味の第四の分類は、いくつかの相互に補強し合う次元の唯一のものとして、物質的な不足または欠乏とともに、剥奪というさらに広範に多元的な見解を取るものである。

第五の分類は、貧困を不幸として説明するものであり、そのため、発展は、良い状態への変化とみなされる。したがって、発展は、この五つの点のいずれにおいても可能な幸

福を強化するための介入を用いた、不幸から純資産を伴う幸福への移行として見る事ができる（UNDP、2006年）。

「貧困は、物質的収入または消費の不足、低いレベルの教育と健康、脆弱性とリスクへの露出、および、声を上げぬことと社会的な力のないことに関連した幸福の剥奪の宣告である」（世界銀行、2002年）。

Sen氏の研究によると、貧困には収入以外の側面があること、例えば、人間の能力、社会サービスからの社会的排除、社会的に影響力がないこと等が挙げられる。また、資産の配分と基本サービスの供給の伴わない経済成長は、貧困を削減できないとしている（Sen、1981年）。

「貧困は計測することが困難であり、ましてや対抗するのはより困難である。貧困は、権利の確保と、収入、雇用、教育、居住、保健、生活の基本的ニーズ確保との間にある障害となっている。係る状況において、貧困層は社会において社会的差別を含めた様々な搾取に脆弱となっている」（Basu、2003年）。貧困は、途上国においてさえ、全ての社会に等しく影響を及ぼしてはいない。子供、女性、肉体的または精神的な障害者と下層の人々、遠く隔絶された地区および小屋などの辺境地域／島に住む人々などは貧困にもっとも苦しんでいる。

2007年1月に、国連総会は、子供の貧困に対する以下の定義を採択した。「貧困状態にある子供は、栄養、水と衛生の施設、基本的な保健サービスの利用、避難所、教育、社会への参加および保護が奪われており、物品およびサービスの不足が全ての人々を苦しめているが、子供にとって最も脅威となり、その結果子供が自身の権利を享受すること、自身の潜在能力を発揮すること、および社会に参加することを不可能にしている（UN、2006年）。

1970年のスリランカの場合、1,000人の乳児のうち48人が出産時に死亡している。2003年までに、この数字は11人に減少した。また同期間において、平均寿命は、67歳から74歳に上昇した。1980年と2003年の間、出生率は女性一人当たり3.5人から2.0人に低下した。小学校就学率は100%であり、スリランカの識字率は世界の先進的な国々と同様である。

スリランカは、途上国に対して、年間一人当たりGDP約960ドルの国が、「ミレニアム開発目標」の2つである小学校入学率および子供の死亡率が改善できることを示した。この成果にもかかわらず、貧困は、同国にとっての課題となったままである。経済は、



過去十年にわたって健全なペースで成長したが、貧困層には恩恵を与えられなかった。人口の 23% は、未だに国家貧困ラインの下で生活しているのである。

1990/91 と 2002 年の間に、一人当たりの消費は 29% 上昇した。人口の最も裕福な 20% の平均消費は 50% 上昇した一方、最も貧困層の 20% では何とか 2% 上昇しただけであった。地方 / 僻地の住民が経済発展の恩恵から取り残されていることで、都市部と地方の間の不均等も広がってきているが、貧困の悪循環を断ち切ることは、複雑な問題である。しかし、有効な貧困緩和戦略を策定する第一歩は現実を理解することである。

躍動する社会の全ての部分を含む普遍的に正当な貧困の定義を見出すことは、特定の時点においてさえ不可能である。「貧困を定義したり測定したりすることには多くの要素が含まれる。貧困は、生活の「物質的な」側面に限定されるのか、または、「社会的、文化的および政治的な」側面も含むのか。貧困は、利用可能な資源および一般的な環境が与えられれば根絶できるのか。定義および測定方法は、同じ形で、全ての国において適用され、かつ、比較できるのか。または他に「客観的な」方法があるのか、価値判断も含まれるのか。貧困ラインを定義するためには何が論理的根拠となるのか。それは、「ミレニアム開発目標」のように「絶対的な」ものであるべきか、または、裕福な OECD 加盟国におけるように「相対的な」ものであるべきなのか。(UN、2006 年)。

貧困の定義および測定は、貧困層の特定および貧困削減政策の実施において重要な意味を持つ。また、社会のニーズの変化に伴って今後発生するであろう貧困の防止策を考える上でも大切である。貧困の定義および測定にあたっては、特定の時点での世帯の基本的なニーズに限定するよりも、むしろ社会のニーズを反映するべきである。

### 1. 2. 1 .「公式貧困線」の定義

スリランカの国家貧困線は、収入レベルのことであり、収入が同レベルを下回ると貧困と定義される。この収入レベルは、生活の基本的な必需品、すなわち、食料、衣服、住居を確保すること、かつ、国民の最も重要な社会文化的ニーズを満足させるもので、最低生活水準を反映している。この貧困線は年とともに変化し、かつ、地域毎に変動する。公式な国家貧困線は、国民の誰が貧困の中で生活しているかを定義するために国家の政府によって設定されている。公式貧困線は、「コロombo消費者物価指標 (CCPI) を使用して毎年調整されている。

表 01 : 公式貧困線

年	1990 ~ 91 年	1995 ~ 96 年	2002 年 ( 基準 年 )	2006 年 1 月	2006 年 8 月

公式貧困線（スリランカ・ルピー）	475	833	1,423	1,928	2,083
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出典：国勢調査統計局（2006年）

国家貧困線に加えて、世界銀行によって算出された国際貧困線がある。もし1日当たりの収入または消費が一人当たり1ドル未満である場合には、その人は貧困であると考えられる（1985年）。この貧困線は国際比較のためには有用であるが、各国に適用できる貧困の指標とすることは不可能である。なぜなら国民一人当たりの収入が1日1ドルのレベルは、収入の低い国における国家貧困線には近いものの、収入の高い国の国家貧困線よりは大幅に低い。収入が中程度の国では、国際貧困線が一人当たり1日2ドル～11ドルで設定することが適切であると考えられている（世界銀行：2000年）ように、国が裕福になるに連れて貧困線を高くしていくことは、一般的である。例えば、ヨーロッパ連合では、一人当たりの収入が全収入の中央値の50%より低く落ちた人々を貧困と定義している（Vidayratne, S、および、Tilakaratne、2003年）。

スリランカにおいては研究者等によって過去に多くの貧困線が設定されてきたことは広く知られているが、その結果、政策立案者はどの貧困線を使用すべきか混乱した。この問題を解決するために、2004年6月に、「2002年収入支出調査」のために国勢調査統計局によって収集された情報に基づいて、関係者ならびにドナーも交えて、スリランカのための公式貧困線を策定した。これは、2002年に基本的要求を満たすためには、一人当たり月当たり平均LKR. 1,423の支出を必要とすることを定めたものである。この貧困線は、インフレを反映するために「コロンボ消費者価格指標（CCPI）」を使用して更新されている（DCSおよびMFP、2006年）。これに従って、現行の国家貧困線は、2006年8月に2,083スリランカ・ルピーとされている。

表 02：地方別公式貧困線および地方別貧困人口比

地方	地方別公式貧困線		地方別貧困人口比	
	2002年(基準年)	2006年(8月)	1990/91年(%)	2002年(%)
スリランカ	1,423	2,083	26.1	22.7
コロンボ	1,537	2,250	16.0	6.0
Gampaha	1,508	2,208	15.0	11.0
Kalutara	1,523	2,229	32.0	20.0
Kandy	1,451	2,125	36.0	25.0
Matale	1,395	2,041	29.0	30.0
Nuwara Eliya	1,432	2,104	20.0	23.0
Galle	1,466	2,145	30.0	26.0

Matara	1,395	2,041	29.0	27.0
Hambanthota	1,338	1,958	32.0	32.0
Kurunagala	1,352	1,979	26.0	25.0
Puttalam	1,423	2,083	22.0	31.0
Anuradhapura	1,380	2,021	24.0	20.0
Polonnaruwa	1,366	2,000	24.0	24.0
Badulla	1,409	2,062	31.0	37.0
Moneragala	1,366	2,000	34.0	37.0
Ratnapura	1,451	2,125	31.0	34.0
Kegalle	1,437	2,104	31.0	32.0

出典：国勢調査統計局、2006年

### 1.2.2. 「食料貧困線」の定義

「食料貧困線」は、国（および、地域）の中での典型的な食生活に基づいて必要最低限のカロリー数を摂取するために必要な支出を推定したものである。これは、食料ではない必需品が含まれていないため、絶対貧困線であると考えられている。

基本的な栄養摂取量を満たすために、毎月費やされる金額に関して、食料貧困線を測定することが慣例となっている。栄養必要量は、個人の年齢、性別、および、活動状況によって個人間で異なり、また人種、気候などの要因によって各国間でも変動する。スリランカでの「食糧貧困線」は、スリランカの「医学研究機関（MRI）」によって算出されている。

スリランカに対する食料貧困線の算出は1995/96年に開始され、当時の価値でLKR. 591とされた。これは、以下の式を適用することによって推定されたものである。

$$\text{食料貧困線 (FPL)} = 1,000 \text{ キロカロリーのコスト} \times \text{カロリー基準値} \times \text{期間}$$

$$1995/96 \text{ の FPL} = \text{LKR. } 9.70 \times 2.030 \times 30 = \text{LKR. } 591$$

その後、2002年には国勢調査統計局によって「収入支出調査」が実施され、その報告書では、食料貧困線がLKR. 1,423と推定された。この指標は、その後は更新されていない。

### 1.2.3. スリランカにおける絶対貧困の定義

国勢調査統計局によれば、スリランカにおける絶対貧困の定義は明確ではない。しかし、様々な研究者が、以下の方法で「超貧困」および「極貧」を定義している。例えばある

人の収入の 80% が食料に費やされているとしても、カロリー摂取量が必要レベルの 80% 未満であれば、その人は超貧困とされる。

この貧困の状態は、国の中核的貧困としても捉えられ、時と場所を変えても適用できるものである。絶対貧困は最も深刻な状況であり、かかる状態では人々が食料、水、衣服、避難所、衛生、教育、および、保健などの生存のための基本的ニーズを満たすことができない (Sachs、2005 年)。

国際絶対貧困線の目安は 1 日あたり 1 ドルに設定されている。これは、収入の低い国では極貧の定義として認められており、実際に収入の低い国の多くの人々は、1 日あたり 1 ドル未満で生活している。なお、収入が中程度の国々に対する世界的な極貧線は、1 日あたり 2 ドル以上である。

絶対貧困線は消費に基づいた貧困線である。貧困の金銭的な目安を推定するための選択肢がある時には、収入または消費に関連した指標が中心になる。世帯調査から得られた消費に関する情報は指標を設定するのに十分詳細なものであることが指摘されている。世帯の消費は、収入よりも貧困の測定に適した指標と考えられている。なぜなら、消費は収入よりもより良好に測定することができるからである。また、基本的ニーズを満たすための消費は世帯の実態を的確に反映する場合もある。

極貧の原因としては、家族が多いこと、扶養家族が多いこと、世帯主の教育レベルが低いこと、資産 / 土地が不足していること、賃金労働者であること、高い寡婦が多いこと、労働日数が少ないこと、慢性疾病を抱えていること、家庭内に障害者がいること、超貧困の多くが支援を受けていないこと、貧困から抜け出すことに見通しがたっていないこと等である。

極貧の解決策は、漁業、農業、家禽、家畜、小規模ビジネス、収入創出活動、教育、保健等において研修を受けた後に、資本や投入資源、職業の機械を提供することなど、市場メカニズムを活用するか、政府 / NGO が介入する等多岐にわたる戦略でなければならない。

以下は、スリランカにおいて絶対貧困を削減するために実施されているプログラム / プロジェクトの例である。

- ・ 地方の灌漑システムの改修および建設
- ・ 電気および道路の地方インフラ開発計画

- ・各地の生産物を振興するための貸付制度
- ・農業普及サービス
- ・総合的開発プロジェクト
- ・農業投入に係る補助金および価格の保護
- ・農産物の振興
- ・地場産業振興特区の設置
- ・地方市場ネットワークの拡大
- ・遠隔地域での巨大投資プロジェクト
- ・地方分権化

国連ミレニアム開発目標を参照すると、スリランカの絶対貧困の状況を調べるために、以下の代案の貧困指標が活用できる。

i . 貧困人口比、ii . 貧困格差、iii . 国家消費における貧困層の占有率、iv . 5 歳未満の子供の体重不足の蔓延 ( CDS、2006 年、15 ~ 46 頁 )

収入が貧困の公式貧困線以下である国民の割合は、貧困人口比として知られている ( DCS および MFP、2006 年 )

スリランカの貧困人口比は、1990 年の 26.1 から 2002 年の 22.7 に低下した。この傾向が続くと仮定すると、貧困は 2015 年までに 19.0% に低下すると予想できる。したがって、スリランカは、貧困人口比の観点から言うとミレニアム開発目的の数値目標を達成できない ( DCS:2006 )

### 1.3 . 地域貧困緩和政策

「雇用して賃金を払うということは、女性が貧困から脱するための重要な戦略として見出され ( Gunatilake、1999 年 ) もし女性が産み出す資源を女性が支配することができれば、女性は力を持つことができる ( Jayaweera および Sanmugam、2001 年 ) 貧困緩和プログラムが貧困削減を達成できなかった一方で、輸出加工地区または移住者向けの労働市場に雇用されている女性が収入を得て各家庭が絶対的な貧困から脱することを可能にしたケースもある。しかし、スリランカでは低賃金の労働集約的雇用であるため、社会経済を上向きにさせることができないとされている」 ( ADB、2004 年 )

都市部門は急速な改善を見せ、かつ、貧困削減の国家目標を既に超えている。一方、地方では確実に低下しており、目標は到底達成できない。都市および地方とは対照的に、

エステート地区（大規模プランテーションのある地区）では、特に男性が率いる世帯において、収入貧困層が増えている。地理的には、より都市化された州および県に貧困層が多い。Uva 州および Sabaragamuwa 州は、最高の貧困レベルであり、人口の 3 分の 1 を超える人々が貧困線を以下で生活している（DCS、2006a）。

表 03：全国および部門別貧困人口比

部門	調査期間		
	1990～91（％）	1995～96（％）	2002（％）
スリランカ	26.6	28.1	22.7
都市部	16.3	14.0	7.9
地方	29.4	30.9	24.7
エステート地区	20.5	38.4	30.0

出典：HIES - 1990～91、1995～96、2002、国勢調査統計局

人口比率指標では、Monaragala 地方 Siyambalanduwa が、スリランカでは最貧の地区で、Badulla 地方の Rideemaliyadda、Meegahakivula、および、Kandaketiya の地区、ならびに、Puttalam 地方の Mundel および Kalpitiya の地区は、同国で次に最貧としての位置づけられている（DCS、2006b）。

表 04：公式貧困線に基づく貧困世帯の省別百分率

省	1990 / 91	2002
西部	15.6	9.2
中央	25.8	20.8
南部	24.7	23.6
西北部	21.6	22.3
北中央部	20.4	18.1
Uva	27.0	31.8
Sabaragamuwa	26.8	28.9

出典：国勢調査統計局、2006

スリランカの貧困削減戦略は長い歴史を持っている。最初の貧困緩和戦略である Janasviya プログラムは、1989～1994 年の期間に実施され、その後、1994 年に新しく発足した政府によって 1995 年に新しい戦略である *Samurdhi* が策定された。また、この新戦略を円滑に実施するために「*Samurdhi* 省」と呼ばれる独立した省も、新設された。このプログラムは過去 11 年間にわたって実施された。現在、190 万の家庭が *Samurdhi* から恩恵を受けたとされている。政府は、2007 年にスリランカ *Samurdhi*

事業団(SLSA)に LKR. 21 億 6 千万を割当て、戦略に基づいた活動を推進した。現在、同国の総人口の 46%が *Samurdhi* 救済金を受け取っているが、貧困比率はこのレベル(46%)より低い。

世界銀行が支援しているプログラムである Gamidiriya プログラムは、地方の貧困を緩和するための「地域社会開発および家畜開発プロジェクト」に狙いを定めている。このプログラムは、スリランカ政府によって実施され、「コミュニティ主体の開発(CDD)」手法を取り入れている。このプロジェクトの目的は、資源に対する意思決定の権限および資源管理を地域社会に一任することと、地域社会におけるプログラムの住民参加型評価、優先順位の決定、計画立案、プログラム監理および、備に参画するための地域社会の能力を向上させることと、地域社会が、透明かつ説明可能かつ費用対効果のある方法で、資源およびサービスを提供すること、住民のニーズに応じられるかつ説明責任の果たせる地域政府を構築することと、さらに、村落地域社会を民間部門や援助機関とつなげることによって、村落地域社会に権限を与えることである。世界銀行は、4 年後までの第 1 段階の実施に対して 5 千百万米ドルの無償援助を承認しており、また 2 年目の終了時における評価において目標値が達成されていたことから、全 12 年間の実施に対して 1 億 8 千百万米ドルもの金額を提供する用意のあることも示している(Gemidiriya 基金)。

新しく選出された政府による新しいスリランカのための 2005 年開発政策は「Mahinda ビジョン」と呼ばれている。この政策は、経済が停滞している 100 の最貧地区への追加支援を行って様々なプロジェクトおよびプログラムの実施に重点を置いている。このプログラムは、遠隔地域のインフラ施設の改善、ならびに、開発プログラムの実施と地域社会の参加が主な内容である(SAARC 事務局、2006 年)。

Rajapaksha 大統領の新しい政府は、特に農業に依存している貧困地域での地方開発および貧困緩和を促進するために、肥料への助成金、コメ生産に対する保証価格、特定の輸入食料品目への課税を再導入した。同国の遠隔地域は、未だに主な収入源として農業に依存している。

「貧困削減の目的は、理想的には、地域的な平等を基本として資金を割当てるべきである・・・新しい農業活動に基金を割当てる時は、より貧困な州に高い優先順位が与えられるべきである。これに従って、より高い割当額が Uva および Sbaragamuwa に流れ、より多くの新しい活動が実施できるようになる・・・大規模農園(プランテーション)への投資を行うことによって貧困緩和に資することができる」(国家計画立案局、2006 年)。

「農家世帯における貧困の割合は Moneragala 地方 Thanamalvila で 96.6%、さらに以下の 7 つの地区では 90.0% を超えている。それらは、Anuradhapura 地方 Mahavilachchiya ( 95.1 % )、Kebithigollewa ( 90.6 % )、Monaragala 地方 Siyambalanduwa ( 95.1% )、Madulla ( 93.5% )、Medagama ( 92.2% )、Badulla 地方 Rideemaliyadda ( 95.0% )、ならびに、Puttalam 地方の Nawagattegama ( 90.7% ) である。・・・農業からの収入が世帯収入である割合は、Moneragala 地方 Thanamalvila で 93.8% と報告されている。・・・」(DCS、2006b)

過去数年に実施されたスリランカの成長と貧困削減戦略は、貧困層を生産的な経済活動に関与させること、貧困層の基本ニーズを満足させること、富の創出および地域的不均衡を最小に抑えること、現行の貧困緩和プロジェクト/プログラムの見直し、ならびに、貧困層への資源の再配分を確実にすることによる貧困層に焦点を置いた成長に注力していた (SAARC 事務局、2006 年)。

Samurdhi プログラムは、地方の小規模インフラ開発、貯水タンクの改修および農業の開発を目標としている。これらの活動は、特別プログラムならびに系列の省庁を通じて行われている (SAARC 事務局、2006 年)。このプログラムは、草の根レベルの意思決定の過程および参加型の開発手法に重点を置いている。このプログラムでは、現場でのニーズを満たすためのプロジェクトを識別することが重要である。Samurdhi 担当者の支援を得て、家庭の特定のニーズ、資産、および、世帯の能力に基づいて経済開発プロジェクトが識別されている。受益家庭は、プロジェクトの計画立案からモニタリングまで従事することが奨励されている。資金の一部は、地域社会のインフラ整備に使われており、不足分は物質的および無償の労働提供によって地域社会から補填されている。

### 1. 3. 1 . 天水混合営農システム地域の貧困蔓延率が高い理由

農家世帯は耕作から主な収入を得ているため、土地は彼らにとって最も重要な資産である。土地が足りなく非生産的な土地を断片的に所有していることが地方における貧困の多い主な 2 つの理由である。地方貧困の程度は、地方の経済活動のレベルと連動している。また、地方のほとんどにおける経済活動は主に農業であり、耕作可能な土地を確保できるかに大きく依存している。そのため、地方の貧困が、主要な収入源である耕作可能な土地の有無に関連すると仮定することは、合理的である。土地のないこと、もしくは土地の区画が細かいことは地方の貧困の一般的な特徴である。

地方の家庭の約 70% が、利用可能な土地全体の 30% のみが耕作可能である湿地に住ん



でいると推定されている。湿地の住民の 91%は、2 エーカー未満の自作農地を耕作している。この地域では、土地を区画した結果として生じた土壌の侵食が深刻な問題をもたらしている。ただでさえ少ない農地を共同相続のするケースが多く、地主たちは 2~3 年に一回だけ土地を耕作する権利しか持たない。世帯のほぼ 11%は全く土地を持たず、42%は 4 ヘクタール未満を所有し、合計しても土地全体の僅か約 7.1%にしかない。

スリランカの農業は、2 つの主な課題は土地の分断化および不適切な灌漑であることが指摘されている。前者はより湿った低地、後者は乾燥地で問題となっている。

スリランカの土地の推定総面積は約 656 万ヘクタールで、その内耕作可能な土地は、ほぼ 290 万ヘクタールであると推定されている。これは、同国の土地の総面積の約 45% に当たる。現在一人当たりの利用可能な土地は 0.3 ヘクタールであると推定されている。この数字は、人口増加に伴って一人当たりの利用可能な土地が減少していることを示している。スリランカの土地所有のパターンは、親の土地を子供の間で分割するので、地方の農家が所有する土地の区画は、小さすぎて経済的に生存していくのは困難である。また人口増加によって土地は更に細分化されている。

歴史的に、スリランカの土地利用のパターンは、低い沼地でのコメの栽培、移動農業および高地における牧場であった。この土地利用のパターンは、現地の言語で Hen, wathu, Kumburu として知られている。沼地が主食のコメを供給する一方、焼畑式農業は乾燥穀物、豆類、脂肪種子、野菜、および、香辛料を供給し、牧場では果樹やココナツなどの多年生樹が栽培されている。なお、家畜は主となる稲作に対する補足的な食料源であった。また、農地の約 44%はほとんど使用されていないことが指摘されており、耕作可能な土地残っていることを意味する。また、その他にも未利用の土地があり、これらの未利用の土地の 3 分の 2 は、乾燥した地区にあり、水不足の被害を受けている。

これに加えて、生産を特定させないこと、伝統的農法、生産物の低品質、高品質家畜飼料と優良種家畜の不足、生産物の低市場価格、粗悪な土地管理と土壌の侵食、土地の肥沃度の低下などの要因も、スリランカの天水混合営農システム地域の貧困率が高い原因となっている。

### 1. 3. 2 . 天水混合営農システム地域の貧困緩和および食料安全保障政策

農業部門において貧困を緩和するためには、土地および労働生産性の改善が強調されている。そのために、貧弱な営農、土地の分断化、水の非効率的な利用、公的貸付制度の不備、農業資材の輸入に対する検疫などの現行の政策上、制約となっている事項の見直

しが重要である（SAARC 事務局、2006 年）。

農村での貧困を緩和し、かつ、食料安全保障を確保するために取られた措置の一部は、以下のとおりです。

- ・ 道路、電気、飲料水、および、農業貯水池などのインフラ施設の改善
- ・ I / NGO への貧困緩和プロジェクトへの参加推奨
- ・ 政府による災害期間中の食料および他の必要品の供給
- ・ 産業およびサービス業の振興
- ・ 土地の再配分
- ・ 森林資源の管理
- ・ 多年性作物の栽培の促進
- ・ 水資源管理
- ・ 新しい農業生産物の導入
- ・ 沿岸資源の管理
- ・ 漁業の開発
- ・ 農業に基づいた産業の振興
- ・ 自営手段の確保
- ・ *Smurdhi* 貧困緩和プログラム
- ・ 就学児童への昼食、教科書、制服の無償配布

「「貧困削減戦略」では、特に地方においてインフラの不備が貧困を削減するための制約となったとされている。幹線道路、定期的な交通機関、電気、通信、および、市場の不足が、遠隔地の辺境化をもたらし、経済発展の恩恵をもたらさなかった」（ADB、2004 年）。

「農業および食料安全保障政策は、合理的な土地の割り当て、生産性の向上、肥沃な土地を他の用途へ使用しないことに重点を置くべきである。これは、食料の自給自足を確実にするための農業部門の拡大につながる」（国家計画立案局、2006 年）。

スリランカの食料輸入は、食料自給自足率の向上を反映して、過去 20 年間に 47% から 16% に低下した。しかし、同国の世帯の約 30% は絶対的貧困において生活している（ESCAP、1997 年）。この状況において、女性の地位は更に危機にさらされている。得られた収入の占有率を見ると、女性は男性の僅か半分である（UNDP、1997 年）。大規模農園の女性の多くは、慢性栄養失調のために貧血である（Matsui、1989 年）。地方の女性は世帯の食料安全保障に対して大きな貢献をしている。女性は、高地または焼

畑農業で生育される粗粉、豆類、油料作物、および、野菜など短期で早魃に強い作物の種子の組合せを決定するにあたり重要な役割を果たしている。収穫は自然条件に左右されるため、女性は粗粉の種蒔きから収穫、脱穀、保管まで、栽培を一環して担当している。収穫が低い年でさえ、粗粉はある程度収穫でき、結果として生存のための最小限の量と必須栄養は確保できる。なぜなら、粗粉は蛋白質およびミネラルの含有量が豊富で栄養価値が高く、かつ、摂取することで栄養失調が防止できるからである。部族社会では、女性が焼畑栽培の全作業の熟練監督者である（Kumar、1998年）。森林で利用可能な植物の識別、それらの収集、および、加工についての地方女性の知識は、早魃時の家族の食料の必要量を満たすために非常に重要であった。園芸への女性の関与は、家族の必要な食糧を満たすだけでなく、農家世帯で現金収入を得るためにも、非常に重要なものとなっている。

「食料および栄養の安全保障を確保することは、国民の生活水準を向上させるうえで、優先的な必要事項の一つである。スリランカ国民の多数は地方に住み、大多数が、栄養面で適切かつ安全な食料を利用できていない。たとえ、十分な食料が国家レベルで確保されたとしても、一部の世帯で基本的な食料を得ることができなければ、世帯の食料安全保障は保証されない。地方での食料の獲得、食料を購入する財力、食糧の利用が全般に困難であることも明らかにされている。栄養に関する知識、低収入、収穫後の損失、保管方法の問題がこの状況を悪化させたと思われる」（国家計画立案局、2006年）。

### 1.3.3. 天水混合営農システムにおける女性に焦点を置いた貧困緩和政策

女性が率いる世帯は、男性が率いる世帯と比較して、貧困レベルの急速な改善を示した（DCS、2006年）。女性は、恒常的な家事に加え、農業生産に積極的に従事している。生計のための生産（耕作および収入を産み出す活動）への女性の貢献は、賃金不払いの家庭内労働として計算されている。事実、女性の56%が賃金不払い家庭内労働者として働いている。地方の女性の収穫後の作業への参加率は非常に高い。彼女たちは、収穫後の作業に従事する全労働力の50%以上を占めており、収穫、乾燥、穀物の保管などの様々な仕事をこなしている。コメの湯通しは独占的に女性の仕事である。地方の女性は、トウモロコシおよび豆類の収穫後作業にも従事している（Sayeed、1992年）。以下は、天水混合営農システムにおける女性の貧困緩和を目的とした政策の一部である。

「資産および他の資源の不足に加え、平均寿命が延びたことによって、低収入家庭の人数は増加し、特に老人女性を困窮へと追い立ててきた。避難所、資金援助、老人介護等の社会的な保護プログラムが実施される必要がある」（ADB、2004年）。

「理論的には、地域社会の女性は、男性と等しい相続権を有する一方、現実では、土地および家屋などの資産の獲得および分配は女性にとって不利となっている。70年にわたって行われた国有地の割り当ておよび村落拡大のプログラムは、貧困層の資産を増大させることによって、貧困を削減した。しかし、1935年の「土地開発条例」の相続スケジュールを通じて女性が土地の権利を剥奪されたなど、このプログラムは性差別的影響を及ぼした。・・・土地の所有権は、地方女性の貧困および脆弱性を削減するために重要であり、かつ、緊急に対処されるべき課題である」(ADB、2004年)。  
女性の生活状態を改善できる支援の一部を以下に掲げる。

- ・ 自営のための信用貸付
- ・ 自営のための研修プログラム
- ・ 女性会議所の設立
- ・ 女性による生産物のための市場開拓ネットワークの強化
- ・ 女性に優しい地域社会と社会インフラの開発
- ・ 女性が率いる世帯のための生計改善
- ・ 研修プログラムにおけるジェンダーへの取り組み

「貧困における性差は、労働市場での性別上の不平等と関連している。女性が他の経済活動に従事するのが難しいで、労働は女性の主要な収入源であり、女性の労働への投入は、貧困家庭の生存のために非常に重要なものである。特定の職業では、近年、ある程度の男女平等化が行なわれてきた一方、女性の失業率は、30年にわたって男性の二倍のままであり、失業は、農業および地場産業での女性労働者の間では高いままであり、さらに女性の賃金にも性差が見られる」(ADB、2004年)。

#### 1.3.4. 内戦地域における貧困緩和および食料安全保障支援策

食料安全保障とは、人々が空腹および飢餓の恐怖なしで生活している状況である。途上国全体を通じて、何百万人もの男性、女性、および、子供が、極貧のために慢性的な空腹状態にある。同様に、何百万人もの人々が、自然のもしくは人工的な要因によって食料安全保障を得られないでいる。貧困および食料安全保障は、相互に連動した社会的および経済的な問題となっている。また、これらは、途上国における多くの政治的および社会経済的な問題の根源となっているものでもある。多くの途上国で人口が急速に増加するに従って、基本的な必需品、特に食料を供給する能力は脅威にさらされている。

活動的かつ健康な生活のために全ての人々の食生活のニーズおよび食料の嗜好を満たすために、十分に安全かつ栄養のある食料を、全ての人々が、常に利用できる状態を食

料安全保障を達成したと言える。貧困では食料不安を常にもたらし、貧困の根絶に向けて、食料の獲得をまず改善する必要がある。紛争、テロ、汚職および環境の悪化も食料不安に大きく寄与している。食料生産の増加は、食料不安を緩和するために取り組まなければならない(FAO、1996年)。

戦争で被害を受けた地域では、教育、保健サービス、教科書、学校の制服が政府によって無償で供給されているように、主に人的資本への投資に集中されている。戦争で被害を受けた北部および東部の各州の特定の地域における支援は、妨害によって不可能となっている。政府の支配下にある地域および最近解放された地域では、公的資金がインフラ開発のために投入されている。

紛争が農業、家畜、食料の流通および労働パターンを混乱させ、内戦で損害を受けた地域における交通機関、保健、および、教育などの基本サービスの不足をもたらし、これに加えて、女性と子供は嫌がらせ、いじめ、および、虐待等の被害を受けている。子供と女性、障害を持つ元軍人および孤児は栄養不良であり、さらに、若者のほとんどは失業中である。同様に、社会的および経済的なインフラは激しく破壊されている。

スリランカ政府は、LTTE が支配している地域に国家貧困削減および福祉プログラムを拡大することはできない。同様に北部および東部の国境沿いの村落にも同じことが言える。それらの地域に小規模な支援が入っても、最終的に誤った手を差し伸べる結果となる。なぜなら、地方自治体は脆弱であり、法律にも効力がないからである。OXFAM、CARE、GTZ、および赤十字などの機関は、大きな困難を抱えながらも、地域社会の復旧、避難所の設置、食料と保健サービス施設の供給等を行っている。ニュースでは、特に同国の東部の州で、多くの人々が反乱軍の支配する地域から政府の支配する地域に逃れてきていると伝えている。国内避難民の問題が深刻になりつつあり、スリランカ政府の対応能力を超えているため、係る状況から国際援助には、国内避難民支援への緊急圏援助だけでなく復興支援も行うことが緊急に求められている。

### 1.3.5 . 津波被災地域における貧困緩和および食料安全保障支援策

スリランカが直面したこれまでで最大で唯一の損害である津波は、2004年12月26日に、同国の海岸線の3分の2にわたる1,000kmの沿岸地域を襲った。推定される全体的な経済的損害は、10億ドルとなっている。損害の大部分は、家屋、観光施設、漁場、水の供給・排水システム、水産施設と漁船、学校、地域社会サービス施設、電話通信システム、および、交通機関に集中した。

この津波によって、35,000 を超える命が失われ、他に 443,000 人が移住を強いられた。また、約 88,500 の家屋が損害を受け、そのうちの 50,000 が完全に破壊された。更に、この津波は、同国の漁船の約 70%である 24,000 の船および 11,000 の零細漁民農家にも損害を与えた。しかしながら同国の経済の中核であるコロombo市とその港、および、周囲の産業施設は、奇跡的に助かっている。

津波後に平和と正常さに戻った地域では、かなりの投資が道路復旧、避難所建設、水と電気の供給、教育、保健、家畜の再入手に投資が行なわれた。津波で被災した家族には N G O 等が中心となって協同組合を通じて無償の食糧が毎週与えられた。

津波の犠牲者を支援するために実施されたプログラムは、以下のものがある。

- ・ インフラ施設の復旧
- ・ 失われた家畜を再入手するための無償援助および貸付
- ・ 避難所および家庭用品の供給
- ・ 沿岸地区および漁港の復旧
- ・ 損害を受けた所有物の補償
- ・ 自営の奨励
- ・ 地域社会組織の強化
- ・ 回転資金の振興および女性企業家の発掘
- ・ 中小企業向け貸付
- ・ 津波で被災した観光リゾートの復旧および振興

被災した地域社会の失われた家畜の再取得は、津波後の復旧支援の主要な挑戦事項の一つである。スリランカ政府は、このために多くの二国間および国際機関から資金を受け取っており、その中で「貧困削減のための日本基金 ( J F P R )」は主な財源の一つとなっている。同基金は、2つのプログラム、津波で被災した人々仕事を与え、賃金を払うもの、津波で被災した家屋に電気および水の供給施設を提供するもの、実施のために A D B を通じて 200 万米ドルずつの無償援助を提供した。

#### 1.4 . 貧困緩和および食料安全保障の政策における諸問題および対策

貧弱なインフラ施設によって貧困の緩和と地方の開発が阻害され、かつ、富の不平等な配分を引き起こした。公共投資は、これらの問題に対処するために、国家および地域のレベルでインフラ開発のための資金収集が行なわれてきた。現行の道路ネットワークの維持管理および復旧、高速道路の建設、国営バスの運行の再構築、鉄道各線の整備および改善、飲料水と衛生施設の利用拡大、電力施設の提供および漁港と空港の施設の開発

( SAARC 事務局、2006 年 )

#### 1. 4. 1 . 政府の政策に関連した問題

政策の策定実施においては、以下の課題を考慮することが不可欠である。

- ・ 真に貧しいことの識別
- ・ 貧困削減戦略の中での優先順位付け
- ・ 貧困削減の目的の数値化
- ・ 適切な配布体制の確立
- ・ 管理の能力の向上
- ・ 予算上の制約
- ・ 長期的および短期的政策間のバランスの維持
- ・ 国内での平和な環境の維持
- ・ 労働市場の不足

#### 1. 4. 2 . 政策からもたらされる対策

- ・ 適切かつ現状に即したデータベースの維持
- ・ 貧困の評価と優先化
- ・ 国家および地域のニーズを考慮した活動計画の策定
- ・ 全ての利害関係者と協力しての透明な体制の構築
- ・ 経営および管理能力向上に係る研修の提供
- ・ プロジェクトの適切な評価および公的政策の影響評価
- ・ 啓発プログラムおよび平和な社会の確立
- ・ 民間部門の参加を通じた市場志向職業訓練

#### 1. 5 . 貧困緩和および食料安全保障に対する政策

*Samurdhi* は、スリランカでも最も重要な国家レベルの貧困緩和プログラムである。このプログラムは、貧しい地域社会の収入レベルを高めるための財政の支援および様々なプロジェクトを通じ、その地域社会の栄養状態を改善することを目的としている。推定によれば、2004 年末までに 1,864,058 の家族が *Samurdhi* の恩恵を受けた一方、*Samurdhi* に基づいた乾燥食糧と栄養の各プログラムから、それぞれ 155,048 と 103,967 の家族が受益した。これに加えて、収入向上プロジェクト (*Janapubudu*)、地方の地域社会に権限を与えるための「社会動員プログラム」、遠隔地の基本インフラ整備プログラム (*Gemipubudu*)、さらに、貧しい家庭のための家屋の建設を支援する

ための家屋プログラムなども、*Samurdhi* に基づいたものであった（中央銀行、2005年）。

貧困を緩和するために使用される主要な戦略は以下のとおり。

- ・ 公共工事プログラム
- ・ インフラ開発戦略
- ・ *Samurdhi* プログラム
- ・ 農業保険および貸付の制度

*Janasaviya* およびその後継プログラムである *Samurdhi* などのいくつかの貧困削減プログラムは、スリランカにおける貧困層の資産および購買力を改善するために開発されたものである。GDP のほぼ 1%の支出額でほぼ 200 万世帯の受益団体を持つ *Samurdhi* プログラムは、同国最大の貧困削減プログラムである。同プログラムは、3つの主な構成要素、(1) 婚姻や死に関連した支出への対応や購買力強化のための給与からの貯蓄制度、(2) 経済および社会のインフラ、農業、栄養、零細企業への投資、(3) 金融機関による自発的な貯金制度、から構成されている。

2005 年にスリランカの現在の大統領のリーダーシップのもとで新しく発足した政府によって、*Gamaneguma*（村落の進歩）プログラムが導入された。村落レベルでのインフラ開発には、同プログラムで高い優先順位が与えられた。同プログラムでは、もしインフラ施設が整備されなければ、経済発展は失敗するであろうとしている。最小の行政機関である *Pradeshiya Sabha*（地域評議会）は、同プログラムの実施において主要な役割を負っている。政府は、同プログラムに基づいて各 *Pradeshiya Sabha* に対して資金を割当て、現地の政治的指導者や行政官は、この資金で地域の開発プロジェクトを実施している。地域に適したプロジェクトというのは、地域社会の参加があって識別されるものである。同プログラムは、2007 年末までに 4,000 の村落を網羅し、数年内に島全体を網羅することを目標としている。*Gamaneguma* および *Maganeguma*（道路の進歩）は、緊密に連携して、労働者階級のためのより良い交通機関を整備するための全国的な道路ネットワークを構築に協力して取り組んでいる。新しい政府の政治上の宣言である *Mahinda* ビジョンは、政府の計画の最終目的が繁栄と平和の時代を通じて同国を導いていくことであると主張している。



## 第 2 部 3 つのプロジェクトに関する調査

### A. プロジェクト I: *Samurdhi* プログラム

#### 2.1.1. 序論

スリランカの政府が、様々なプログラムを通じた貧困の削減を目指してきたことは、よく知られた事実である。無償の教育と保健サービス、小売業への助成金、インフラの開発、荒廃した灌漑方式の復旧、土地の再配分は、実施されたプログラムの一部である。1970 年代の政治的な独立以来、貧しい労働者階級のための基本的ニーズを満たすための貧困削減が優先された結果、社会福祉が中心に据えられ、他方で長期にわたる貧困削減の明確な概念に欠けていた。そのため 1980 年代および 1990 年代には福祉中心の政策は転換を迫られ、貧困削減に大きな重点が置かれるようになった。

スリランカで最初の公式な貧困削減プログラムである *Janasaviya* (1989 ~ 1994) は、1989 年に開始した。このプログラムの目的は、短期的な収入増加と長期的雇用創出であった。このプログラムの中心は、貧困層の資産を増大させるための人的資本の開発、収入創出活動、インフラの開発であった。*Janasaviya* は、低利率の貸付の提供、月毎の食糧供給による食料安全保障、インフラの開発、および、中小企業振興などの活動を行った。

*Janasaviya* の後継政策は、1995 年に新しく発足した政府による新しい国家貧困削減戦略である *Samurdhi* であった。「*Samurdhi* 省」と呼ばれる独立した省が、同戦略を成功裏に実施するために設立され、同プログラムは、過去 11 年間にわたって実施されている。現在、190 万家庭が *Samurdhi* に受益し、更に国内には 1,039 の「*Samurdhi* 銀行」が設立され、230 万人を超える人々が *Samurdhi* 銀行協会の株主となっている。株主は *Samurdhi* 銀行に LKR. 29 億 66 百万を投資している。

スリランカ *Samurdhi* 当局 (SLSA) は、プログラムを実施するために、2007 年に LKR. 21 億 6 千万を割当てられている。国家統計局によれば、現在、同国の全人口の 46% が *Samurdhi* の援助を受けており、この数字は人口に対する貧困率である 23% を上回っている。しかし、皮肉なことに、このプログラムは同国の貧困層の大部分に裨益していないということである。このような経緯から同プログラムの対象者選抜の過程が 2007 年 5 月から変更される予定である。具体的には受益者は「*Gemi Diriya*」プログラムから得られた経験に基づいて、村民が出席する会議において、村落の寺院 / 教会の聖職者、*Grama Niladhari* (村落 / 草の根レベルの行政官)、村落の学校長、および、*Samurdhi*

開発官が構成する協会によって選抜される予定である。

新しい受益者の選抜過程に基づいて、資格のある者のみが *Samurdhi* の援助を受けることが主張されている。このことにより、*Samurdhi* の受益者数を、より現実的に人口の30%にまで減らすことになるであろう。

### 2.1.2 . *Samurdhi* の行政枠組み

国家レベルでは、「*Samurdhi* 貧困緩和省」が最高の意思決定機関である。プログラムの日々の仕事をモニタリングするために、「スリランカ *Samurdhi* 当局」と呼ばれる特別な機関が設立された。地方事務局長および地方 *Samurdhi* 担当官は、地方レベルで各活動 / プログラムの調整役として活動している。地区レベルでのこれらのプログラム / 活動の責任は、地区事務局長および分区 *Samurdhi* 担当官のもとにある。

*Samurdhi* の草の根レベルでの受益者は、活性化担当者 (*Samurdhi Niyamaka* ) 傘下の村落受益者委員会である。一つの村落は、村落の人口の規模および貧困家庭の数によって一つまたは複数の委員会を設立することができる。4~5の委員会が、*Samurdhi* マネージャーと呼ばれる担当官の監督下にある。*Samurdhi* プロジェクトおよび地域社会のマネージャーは、地方事務局および地方 *Samurdhi* 担当官についての責任を負う。

活性化担当者は、草の根レベルの常勤担当官であり、各家庭の収入レベルを確かめるため同プログラムの福祉の要素に対して必要な受益者を識別するための体系化に基づいて村落で調査を実施するよう研修を受けている。この担当官は、以下の5つの明確に定義された活動分野を請け負うことを委託されている。

- i. 福祉を必要とする家族の数を決定するために家族概要調査を実施すること。
- ii. 村落の経済的および社会的なニーズに対処し、かつ、臨時雇用機会を提供する地域社会プロジェクトを識別すること。
- iii. 受益者の小グループを形成すること。その後、同グループは村落での貸付制度と信用の活動への参加を奨励される。
- iv. 自営プロジェクトを請け負う人々を奨励および支援すること。
- v. 栄養、保健、および、他の関連プログラムを実施すること。

### 2.1.3 . *Samurdhi* プログラムの目的

1995年の *Samurdhi* 法に述べられている *Samurdhi* プログラムの目的は、若者、女

性、および、弱者グループを経済社会活動に含むこと、ならびに、社会の安定を目指し、かつ、貧困を緩和することである。したがって、このプログラムでは「生産工程への貧困層の参加を確実にすることによる貧困の緩和」が最重要である。また、貧困層の保健および栄養状態の改善も示唆している。このプログラムの主な目的は、以下の通りである。

- i. 収入強化および雇用のための機会を拡大すること。
- ii. 国民のうちの若者、女性、および、他の弱者を小グループに編成し、かつ、彼らに、草の根レベルの意思決定や開発の過程への参加を奨励すること。
- iii. 人々の才能の開発を支援し、かつ、雇用を通じてその人々の資産基盤を強化すること。
- iv. 地方レベルでの雇用機会創出の資産を確保すること。

#### 2. 1. 4 . *Samurdhi* の主なプロジェクト

*Samurdhi* プログラムは、3つの主要要素から構成されている。第一は、世帯へのフード・スタンプの提供で、*Samurdhi* の総予算額の 80%を計上すると推定されている。第二は、*Samurdhi* の各銀行を通じて実行される貯金および企業家向けの貸付プログラムである。*Samurdhi* 当局が *Samurdhi* の各銀行の機能を管理および監督する一方、人民銀行およびセイロン銀行が貸付を担当している。*Samurdhi* の第三の要素は、地方のインフラ開発である。

表 05 : *Samurdhi* プロジェクト

社会福祉プログラム	貯金・貸付プログラム	地方インフラ・プロジェクト
福祉に関する資金供与	<i>Samurdhi</i> 銀行の設立と銀行間のネットワークの構築	地方のインフラの必要事項の識別
医療および家庭の緊急事態のための保険制度	<i>Samurdhi</i> 受益者からの貯金の集金	現地の地域社会によって実行される地方のインフラ開発
老齢困窮層、薬物常用者、障害者などに焦点を合わせた社会開発プログラム	他の村民からの貯金の集金	環境保護、若年層研修、栄養プロジェクトなどのプロジェクト
緊急救済プログラム	貸付制度の策定	<i>Gemi Pubuduwa</i> (村落の活性化)
貧困層に対する食料安全保障	貸付制度の推進	<i>Gemi Asiriya</i> (村落の輝き)

貧困中の最貧困に対する <i>Diriya Piyasa</i>	担保不要の小額貸付	<i>Jana Pubudu</i> (人々の覚醒)
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### 2.1.5. 本プログラムの利点

このプログラムは貧困層が直面する以下の中核的問題に対処するものである。

- i. 貧困層のための食料安全保障および栄養改善
- ii. 貯金の振興
- iii. 地域社会の参加
- iv. 受益者の能力向上
- v. 個人よりも家庭に焦点を当てた活動
- vi. 生計向上
- vii. 脆弱なグループの識別

スリランカでは、様々な地域社会開発プログラムが実施されている。*Samurdhi* プログラムは、地域社会開発のために導入された最良のプログラムの一つで、2005年までに、約200万の家庭が *Samurdhi* プログラムから恩恵を受けたと推定されている。このプログラムは、貧困地域社会の栄養状態の改善および資金援助を目的としている。他の多くのプロジェクトのうち、「*Jana Pubuduwa*」および「*Gemi Pubuduwa*」は、地域社会に権限を与え、遠隔の村落に基本的なインフラ施設を提供するために、スリランカ *Samurdhi* 当局によって実施されている2つのプロジェクトである。このプロジェクトでは、貧困家庭のために家屋を建設するための支援も提供している (<http://www.unescobkk.org>)

### 2.1.6. 本プログラムの課題

このプログラムは、以下のとおりの課題がある。

- i. 政治的な干渉と対象者選抜プロセスの不透明性
- ii. 受益者間の依存文化の植え付け
- iii. 協同組合を通じた非効率的な配布
- iv. 行政費用のコスト高
- v. 援助を受けている家庭の約2倍の目標値の設定
- vi. 不明確な案件終了の目安
- vii. 依存症の醸成

貧困層の脆弱性を低減するためには、適切なターゲット設定をすべきであると指摘されている。これらのプログラムでは、特に収入レベルに応じて、最低レベルの消費を確保すべきである。しかし、*Samurdhi* プログラムは、最貧困層の家庭の一部を除外している一方で、総予算額の 44% が貧困層の比較的中流の家庭に対して費やされている。なお、2005 年には約 200 万の家庭が *Samurdhi* の支援を受けたと推定されており、この数は、同国の総人口の 45% に近いものであった。2005 年に供与された平均の *Samurdhi* 援助額は、月額家庭当たり LKR. 393 であった（世界銀行、2007 年）。

## **B. プロジェクト II : *Gemidiriya* プログラム**

### **2. 2. 1 . 序論**

*Gemidiriya* は地域社会開発および生計向上を目指したスリランカの貧困削減プロジェクトの一つである。「*Gemidiriya*」を直訳すると、「村落の大胆さ」となり、このプロジェクトは、1999 年に北部中央省 *Pollonnaruwa* 地方で実施された「村落による自力救済プロジェクト(VSHLI)」の成功を受けて、2003 年に開始されたものである。VSHLI は、1999 年に、日本社会開発基金および Mahaweli 復旧プログラムの協力のもと、世界銀行によって打ち出されたものである。同プロジェクト開始以来、世界銀行は主要ドナーとして、12 年間にわたって 1 億 8,100 万米ドルを提供することに同意している。2004 年に開始されたプロジェクトの第一段階(4 年間)には、5,100 万米ドルの無償援助が供与された。また、このプロジェクトの第二段階を計画するための財政支援も行われた。

### **2. 2. 2 . 本プログラムの目的**

このプロジェクトの主な目的は、スリランカで「経済的および社会的に分権化された地域社会」を構築することである。この目的を達成するために、地方の貧困層の社会開発および生計改善に向けた意思決定、計画立案、資源の流動化、実行、評価ができる制度を構築するための権限が地域社会に授与されている。

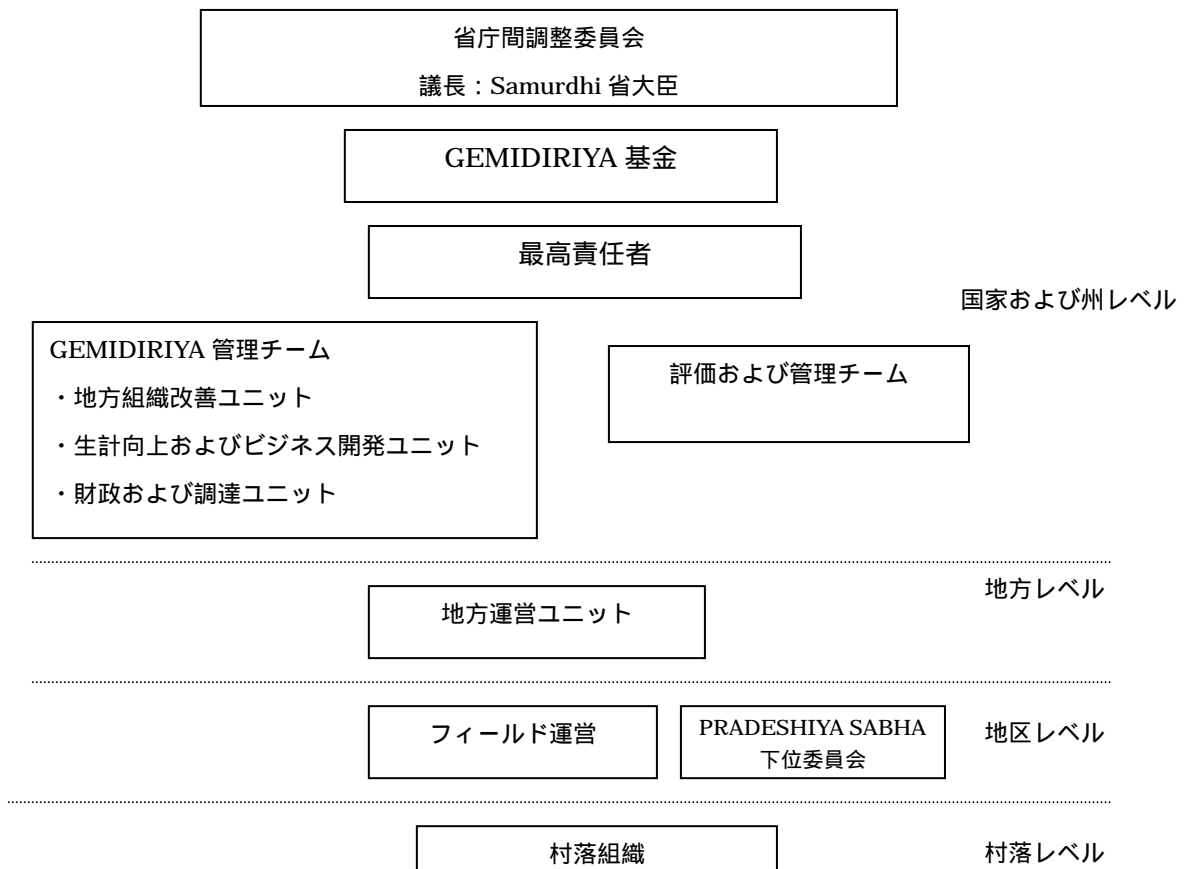
このプロジェクトの長期的な目的は、社会および経済の基本的なインフラ整備および基本的なサービスの提供による地方の貧困の削減、および、持続可能かつ公正な地方開発というスリランカ政府の戦略を支援することである。また、このプロジェクトには、資金を地域社会に投資し、生産活動に対する技術面の支援を行うシステム、手続き等の支援も期待されている。

### 2.2.3. プロジェクトの枠組み

このプロジェクトの実施機関は、その開始時には *Samrudhi* 省下の独立した組織であったが、ここ数年で省内の編成があったために、現在は、国家建設および大規模農園インフラ開発省のもとで自律性を持った組織として機能している。現在、このプロジェクトは、新しいスリランカ政府の開発の青写真である *Mahinda Chinthanaya* (Mahinda の哲学) における *Gama Neguma* (村落開発) プログラムに基づいて行われている。

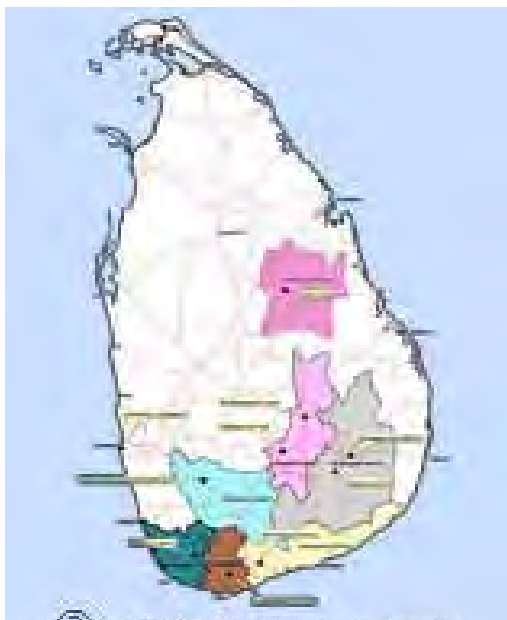
1999 年の開始時は、このプロジェクトは *Samurdhi* の実施を支援するために設計された「地域社会開発および生計向上プログラム」として実施されたものである。過去 2 年間、このプロジェクトは一定した成果を達成しており、今では、扱われた幾つかの地方の 535 村落を網羅している。このプロジェクトは、小額貸付 (MF) 制度を通じて、2007 年末までに 1,000 村落を網羅する予定である。

図 1：行政および組織の構造



プロジェクト当初の 5 年間において、説明責任を果たせる地方自治体を構築し、かつ、

持続可能な投資を維持するために、Uva、南部州、および、Sabaragamuwa 州 Ratnapura 地方を対象とされた。この状況において、(i) 地方自治体の意思決定権限および資産の委譲、(ii) 選定された地方自治体の強化、(iii) 生計向上のための村落組織、民間、非政府組織 (NGO) との連携が、このプロジェクトの戦略的手法であった。



地図 1 : Gamidiriva プロジェクトの対象地域

インドおよびブラジルにおける開発経験を活かし、Gamidiriva プロジェクトは、「村落開発のための GEMI DIRIYA 活動組織」および「GEMI DIRIYA 黄金則」を設立した。黄金則では完全な組織を作り上げるための 10 段階を示しており、この段階のいずれでも失敗すれば、活動は停滞し、村落開発も困難となる ([www.gemidiriva.org/](http://www.gemidiriva.org/))。

1. 誰もが、村落の生活状態を改善するための GEMI DIRIYA 活動を計画・実施するために、チームとして活動し、時間、金銭、および、労力を提供しなければならない。
2. 地域社会の構成員は自身によって労働を管理するとともに、他者へ依存しない。
3. 地域社会の構成員は、自身の意思決定および財政資源の管理において完全に自由であり、それ故、自身の全ての行動に責任を持ち、かつ、説明責任を果たさなければならない。
4. GEMI DIRIYA プログラムは、村民間、地域社会と他の関連機関との間での信頼に基づいて構築されている。いかなる裏切りは資金供与および支援の取消しをもたらす得る。
5. 発展は徐々に進む段階的なものであり、地域社会の構成員は発展に対応しかつ管理できるのかを検討しなければならない。

6. GEMI DIRIYA に基づいて提供された資金を地域社会の資金として扱うこと。地域社会の構成員が節約に努めたなら、村落のためにさらに多くのプログラムの実施につながることを認識すること。
7. 誰もが、村落開発に関連した全ての情報にアクセスできるべきである。村落の誰かによる GEMI DIRIYA 資金のいかなる違法使用も、即座に報告され、かつ、罰せられるものである。
8. 特に、土地を持たない人々、女性、失業中の若者など、最も支援を必要としている人々を開発の過程に関与させ、開発の恩恵を等しく分け与えられることを確実にする。
9. プロジェクトの次の支払いを速やかに受けられるように、地域社会の構成員は、一定の品質を維持しつつ、計画された期限内に活動を完了させるように努力しなければならない。
10. 問題や課題が手に負えなくなる前に、コーディネーターや担当官、NGO などの適切なタイミングで支援を求めること。

#### 2.2.4. Gemidiriya プロジェクトの概要

同プロジェクトは、1999 年末に 3 つの村落で開始され、2004 年末までに、30 の村落の 8,634 の貧困家庭、2006 年には 500 の村落、2007 年末には 1,000 の村落に達すると予想されている。現在では 535 村落のほぼ 50 万人に拡大し、7 つの地方に広がっている。71,000 世帯（約 36 万人）が 535 村落で 11,847 の自力救済グループを形成し、2 年間で、これらのグループの貯金総額が LKR. 4600 万に上昇した。これらの貯金の約 99% は、Gemidiriya 村落に投資された。村落への投資は、最後の 2 年間で LKR. 1,120 万を超える利息収入を伴って LKR. 1 億 4,200 万から LKR. 2 億 2,500 万にまで増加した。

表 6 : Gemidiriya の進捗および達成率

	目標	進捗	達成率 (%)
村落地域社会	500	535	107%
人民会社	500	535	107%

これらの成果は、Gemidiriya 村落の経済活動の改善、貸付を受けた人々の高い払い戻し率の維持によるものと見ることができる。因みに払い戻し率は 99% を超えている。このプロジェクトの主な要素は以下の通りに要約できる。

表 7 : Gemidiriya の活動および成果 / 便益

構成要素	活動	成果



収入増加および生計の改善	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・村落組織の形成・強化し、さらに、意思決定権限を授与する。</li> <li>・地方自治体の強化</li> <li>・村落における経済機会、規模の拡大および多様化</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・貯金が LKR. 4,600 万に増加した。</li> <li>・投資が LKR. 2 億 2,500 万に増加した。</li> <li>・利息額が LKR. 1,120 万となった。</li> <li>・村落の貸付の払い戻し率が 99%</li> </ul>
制度の開発	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・村落組織の開発を促進および支援する。</li> <li>・特に 50%を超える女性の参加機会の確保</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・7 地区の 71,000 世帯 (36 万人) が、11,847 の自己救済グループを形成できた。</li> <li>・貧困中の最貧困層の 93%を超える人々が村落活動に参加した (例えば、Badulla では 92%、Monaragala と Hambanthota では 95%、Galle では 94%など)</li> <li>・80%を超える世帯が 405 の村落組織の関係者となった。</li> </ul>
インフラ・プロジェクト	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・インフラ施設の開発 (74 の多目的施設、109 の道路、42 の飲料水プロジェクト、10 の灌漑プロジェクト、22 の衛生プロジェクト、15 の排水路、および、14 の他のインフラ施設)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・256 のプロジェクトが開始され、総費用は 1 億スリランカ・ルピーであった。</li> <li>・65 のプロジェクトが現在までに実施されている。</li> </ul>
生計改善のための資金	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・資金援助</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・179 の村落組織 (VO) が最初の払込みを受け、38 の VO が二回目の払込みを受け、5 つの VO が三回目の払込みを受けた。</li> <li>・5 億 1200 万スリランカ・ルピーが上記 514 の村落組織に拠出された。</li> </ul>
最貧困層への単発資金援助	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・1 回のみという条件で厳しい払い戻し条件を付けずに各村落の最貧困層に実施された。</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・508 の VO で 6,848 人が対象となり、4,147 人は収入創出活動を開始した。</li> </ul>
技能開発	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・村落社会の技能と能力を改善する。</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・2,255 人の若者に支払い猶予付の 2,437 万スリランカ・ルピーが供与された。</li> </ul>
ビジネスパートナーシップの推進	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・ビジネスのネットワーク構築</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・18 のビジネス組織と提携関係が構築された。</li> </ul>
小額有し	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・中小企業振興。</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>・11,847 の小グループが形成され、1</li> </ul>

		億 4,200 万スリランカ・ルピーの貸付が行われた。
地域社会対象の研修センター	・ 村民の中で専門家を養成する。	・ 8,822 の小グループのための研修プログラムが行われた。
ラジオ番組放送	・ 通信の開発	・ 技術的な準備が行われた。

### 2.2.5. 本プログラムの利点

- i. 貧困層に権限を授与し、地域社会に参画する感覚の育成。
- ii. 依存症からの脱出。
- iii. 地域社会によって選抜された受益者。
- iv. 柔軟なプログラム終了目安。
- v. 政治的干渉のないこと。
- vi. 女性と若年層の高い参加率。
- vii. インフラ開発に対する費用分担原則の遵守
- viii. 豊富な労働力および労働力の提供。
- ix. プロジェクト関係者による支援。
- x. 需要に応じた活動。

### 2.2.6. 本プログラムの課題

- i. 政治的な恵みの不足。
- ii. 行政上の調整不足
- iii. 他の類似のプロジェクトとの重複。
- iv. 長期的な国家の関心事項との不整合。
- v. 現行政権による地方分権化への消極姿勢。

## C. プロジェクト III : SANASA プログラム

### 2.3.1. 序論

セイロン(現スリランカ)の英国植民地政府は、最初の「儉約・信用協同組合(TCCS)」を1906年に設立したと報告されている。同組合は、主として、大規模プランテーションおよび経済の近代的経済活動に従事する裕福な家庭を支援するためのものであった。

現地の金融業者、特に同国のインド系貸金団体である「Chetties」によって課された高金利が、TCCS を形成する要因となった。当時は、これらの組合がエリートたちによって支配され、そのシステムは繁盛した。

最も大衆向けの形態である「消費者共同組合 (CCS)」および、「農業共同生産販売組合 (CAPSS)」は、特に第二次世界大戦中の食料を満たすために、植民地政府によって導入されたものである。その後 1957 年「多目的協同組合 (MPCS)」の設立、1961 年「人民銀行」の創設と共に TCCS の役割は少なくなっていく。MPCS は草の根レベルでの市場開拓、貯金の推進、投資を行う村落の銀行として機能することが期待されていた。人民銀行は、従来の銀行業務に加えて、TCCS の役割の一部で果たしていた。なお、1970 年代終盤には、TCCS はスリランカの国家共同組合システムの中でほとんど存在感を失っていた。1978 年に TCCS を蘇らせるために SANASA(シンハラ語名「Sakasuruwam Haa Nayaganudenu Pilibanda Samupakara Samithiya」の頭文字) プログラムが実行された。この時期に、同国は管理された経済システムから市場経済に移行しつつあり、経済の中小企業振興の波に乗り、SANASA などの協同組合は拡大していった。

SANASA 協同組合運動の最大の団体は、「スリランカ俵約信用協同組合全国連盟 (FTCS)」である。この組合には、現在、国内の人口の 20% が加入している 7,400 の一次組合が加盟していると推定されており、同国の全州にサービスを拡大している唯一の金融共同組合ネットワークであると言われている。さらに、856,000 の組合員は、同国の全ての民族および宗教にわたっているとされる。同国の平均的な家庭の規模からすると、SANASA のサービスは、300 万人もの人々に恩恵をもたらしていると推定されている。

SANASA は、1990 年までに女性を含めて会員の 50% が貧困層であるため、慎重かつ排他的ではなく、うまく目標を定めてきた。地域社会の貧困な構成員のために、多くの一次組合が形成された。以前は貧困な構成員のほとんどは、公的な銀行から貸付を得られず、非公的な金融業者に頼るしかなかったが、SANASA の貸付は小農のために有利なシステムとなっている。定期的な農業投資に加え、新しい作物の導入、最貧困層もしくは女性による家禽の飼育もしくは小商売などの収入創出活動の開始といった収入多様化のための貸付も行われるようになった。

### 2.3.2 . SANASA の行政枠組み

SANASA は、村落レベルでの一次組合、地方行政レベルでの地方連合、および、全国連盟の三層構造となっている。貯金、会員費が各組合で行われ、選ばれた代表が更に上

の連合に参加するというシステムになっている。一次組合は、20人の会員から数百の会員を持つグループまで規模が様々である。また、社会経済的な観点からは、最貧困層から中規模の収入がある会員と様々である。

一次組合は、多くの場合、預金に対して10～14%の利息を支払っている一方、貸付金には利息18～24%を課している。非常に短期間にわたって行なわれる場合、利息は毎月最大5%までとなっている。貸付に対する利率は、公的な銀行と同様なものである一方、後者は、非公的な貸付利率に近いものである。貸付を受ける人々は貯金口座を持ち、かつ、貸付が許可される前に二人の保証人がいなければならない。重要な強みは、各レベルの組合が完全に自律性を持っていることである。

### 2.3.3 . SANASA の目的

SANASA の目的は、後ろ向きの地域社会を強化および発展させることで、そのために地域社会を一つの傘の下に集めることとしている。SANASA は、創設時から、内戦によって荒廃した各地域を取りまとめる原動力となり、災害管理の対応も行ってきた。津波直後の数日間、SANASA は現地に入り、避難所、食料、および、衣服などの基本的な支援品を配布し、被害者の支えとなった。

### 2.3.4 . SANASA の主なプロジェクト

SANASA に含まれるのは、SANASA 開発銀行 (SDB)、全スリランカ相互保証機関 (ALMAO)、SANASA 生産者消費者連盟 (SANEEPA)、SANASA 工学開発会社 (SEDCO) および SANASA 教育キャンパスである。

#### 2.3.4.1 . SANASA 開発銀行 (SDB)

SANASA 開発銀行は、島全体で26の顧客ユニット(支所および普及センター)を持つ有限会社である。同行は、小額融資を中心に行う有限会社として1997年に設立され、SDBの使命は、倭約信用共同組合(TCCS)の最重要の信用機関として機能することである。SDBの主要な目的は、自営のための貸付を行うことにより地方の持続可能な開発と地方の貧困層の生活水準を向上させることである。

SDBは、具体的に一次組合を強化することや、貧困層に対し金融および無料のサービスを提供すること、地方と金融市場を拡大することを行っている。SDBの貸付へのアクセスの向上により、地方社会や農家もしくは漁業世帯による貯金および信用を含

めた金融サービスの利用機会が増えることになった。

SDB は、SANASA 一次組合のために能力構築プログラムを実施している。また、SDB は、顧客のために起業家精神およびビジネス経営などの分野の研修プログラムも実施している。また、同国の他の多くの公式金融機関とは異なり、利益追求が同行の唯一の目的ではない。

SDB の預金全体は、2006 年には 51%も増加した。同国の他の公的な銀行および金融機関が預金推奨キャンペーンを実施したにもかかわらず、SDB による高齢者、未成年者、および、女性のための特別な預金制度が預金者を引き付け、SDB の預金額が増加した。銀行の税引き前利益は、2005 年に 5,800 万スリランカ・ルピーであり、2006 年 12 月 31 日終了の年では 1 億 2,500 万スリランカ・ルピーにまで急成長した。

#### **2.3.4.2 . Lanka 相互保証機関 (ALMAO)**

同国の低収入世帯は保険に加入するのは困難であったため、ALMAO は、少額保険制度を開発し、障害、入院および死亡に対して会員のために保険金を支払っている。同保険では、満期になったら完全給付も行っている。ALMAO の保険料設定は、貧困層が払えるよう、毎月の保険料は LKR 10 ~ 100 (0.1 ~ 1 米ドル) の範囲である。保険契約の最高額は、LKR 3,000 (30 米ドル) から LKR 50,000 (500 米ドル) まで様々である。ALMAO は、SANASA 組合に、従業員のための貸付、生涯貯金、損害保険および健康保険などのサービスも提供している。また ALMAO は三輪車およびオートバイに対する保険等も開始した。

#### **2.3.4.3 . SANASA 生産者消費者連盟 (SANEIPA)**

スリランカの中小企業振興部門が経験した最大の困難の一つに、同国の生産物の市場開拓があったため、SANASA の主な柱の一つが市場開拓となっている。SANASA は、当初、小規模生産者の交渉力を高めるために、グループに組織するとともに、一次組合を通じて生産者と消費者をリンクさせるようなプログラムを実施している。

1996 年、SANASA は、生産と市場開拓の問題を解決するための地域社会による機関「生産者消費者連盟 (SANEIPA)」を設立し、技術移転、市場開拓、ビジネス・コンサルティング・サービス、および、情報の共有などの活動が行われている。市場開拓の分野では、地方、全国、国外の市場の間の連携を改善するために、卸売業者、輸出業者および開発市場開拓部局との提携を進めている。これに加えて、SANEIPA は、都市の卸

売業者から生産物を購入するための SDB から短期貸付も手配している。SANEEPA の関与の結果、生産者は、地方の市場において生産物を高い価格で売ることができるようになった。また、同連盟は、買い手に出荷すべき商品を手配し、かつ、利幅を追加することによって利益も得ている。これらの市場開拓の他に、一次組合はレンガ工場、木工品店、および、現地の商品および生産物のための小売り直売所を開設した。さらに、SANEEPA は、貧困層のための英語とコンピューターの教室を提供し、コメ製粉所を運営し、農業用投入資源をまとめて購入し、より低価格で会員に配分している。

#### 2.3.4.4 . SANASA 工学開発会社 (SEDCO)

これは、SANASA プログラムの子会社である。SANASA による最も革新的な行動の一つは、1998 年にこのコンサルタント・サービスを開始したことでありと指摘されている。これは、SANASA 運動自体によって資金供与されている。SEDCO は、技術および金融の専門知識およびサービスを利用できない一次組合の会員および他の地方住民に助言するために、このような知識を持った専門家を雇っている。同社は、貧困層が、伝統的な経済活動に従事するよりも、より優れた将来の展望を持つ新しい分野に従事することに役立っている。自身と他者のために雇用および収入を創出しつつ、地方で小規模ビジネスを開始または拡大したい会員は、SEDCO に相談することができる。さらに、SEDCO は、自身の企業経営における自身の支払いのための株主持分を受け付けている。これは、同国の遅れた分野の新しい分野への投資に対するインセンティブを提供するだけでなく、ビジネスの成功を確実にするものでもある。SEDCO が支援している企業の運用資産からの収入は、SEDCO が職員に給与を支払い、および、新しい分野ならびに新しいベンチャー企業に SEDCO のサービスを拡大するうえで役立っている。

#### 2.3.4.5 . SANASA 教育キャンパス

SANASA 教育キャンパスは、1986 年に設立された教育、研修、および、研究の施設である。現在同キャンパスは Kegalla の 50 エーカーの敷地に所在し、市民社会を強化するために必要な人的資源を育成することが期待されている。また同キャンパスでは、紛争解決、戦略計画の立案、リーダーシップ、組織の分析、新しい市場開拓戦略、および、ビジネス計画の策定などの分野で研修コースが行われており、更に定期コースの他に様々な顧客のためのオーダーメイドのプログラムも実施している。

#### 2.3.5 . SANASA の利点

- i. 社会の最弱者グループの主要な問題に対処している。

- ii. 組合自体を通じた資金集め
- iii. プロジェクト間での適切な連携
- iv. 会員への研修の提供と啓発
- v. 一次組合および地方連合に与えられた自律性
- vi. スリランカ政府および国際組織と取決めにより、組織の独立の維持

#### **2.3.6. SANASA の課題**

- i. 政治的支援の不足
- ii. 少人数による行政の幹部ポストの独占
- iii. 市場によって提供される機会の活用不足
- iv. 大規模民間企業との継続的な連携不備
- v. 草の根レベルの適切なモニタリングシステムの不足

## 第3部 2つの貧困農村に関する調査

### 事例研究 I : Monaragala 地方 Tanamalvila 地区 Mahawewa 村

#### 3.1.1. 序論

この調査の主な目的は、2つの貧困村落の貧困農民支援に関する情報を収集することで、本章では、Moneragala 地方 Mahawewa 村落を取り上げる。同村は天水混合型の営農村落であり、Uva 州に位置している、スリランカでも最貧困の地方の一つである。選ばれた Tanamalvila 地区には、3つの村落、すなわち、Kalawelgala、Kivulagama、および、Mahawewa があり、その中の1村である。

#### 3.1.2. 方法論

Mahawewa 村ではデータ収集のために無作為に対象者が選定され、一次データおよび二次データの双方ともが収集された。二次データは Tharamalwila 地区事務所、および関連する GN 事務所および文献から収集された。一次データは、(1) グループインタビュー、(2) 5つの貧困層世帯、5つの中級世帯、および5つの裕福階級世帯の合計15世帯に対する世帯調査から収集された。世帯調査では、数種類の食料安全保障指標、具体的には (a) 本調査の時点と5年前における一年間にわたる世帯の穀物の入手量、(b) 過去5年間の世帯の食料消費量(穀物および非穀物)の変化、(c) 一年のうちの不作期に対処する世帯の能力、および (d) 深刻な食料危機に対処する世帯の能力、が使用された。最初の二つの指標が食料獲得のレベルおよびその変化を測定する一方、最後の二つは、不足事態への対応能力に言及している。村落の基本的情報、教育と医療の状況、公共インフラ施設、村落の営農および他の収入創出活動、耕作の種類、ならびに、社会資本および世帯構造についての情報を、世帯調査を通じて集めることができた。

#### 3.1.3. Mahawewa 村

Mahawewa は、1958年に創設された地区では最も新しい村落で天水依存型の農村である。同村は規模は約5平方キロにわたっており、耕作可能な土地の85%を超える部分が農業活動のために使用されている。Mahawewa の現在の人口は885人、210世帯で構成されている。

表8：人口統計上の特徴

人口統計上の情報	Mahawewa
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総人口	885
男性 (%)	52
女性 (%)	48
年齢構成 (%)	100
18 歳未満	33
19 ~ 35	24
36 ~ 60	32
62 歳以上	11
障害者人口	62
教育レベル (%)	100
公式教育を受けていない	0
O/L レベル未満	85
O/L の資格あり	9
A/L の資格あり	5
学位レベル	1

出典：Tharamalvila DS 事務局

男性の人口は全人口の 52% を占め、残りの 48% は女性である。また、村落の全人口のうち、18 歳未満が最大の割合を示している。村落の人々の 85% を超える人々が普通教育修了試験 (GCE) の O/L に満たない教育しか得ていないため、村落の若者の失業率が高い主な原因となっている。村民の大多数はインフラ施設および公共サービスを利用できない。具体的には村民の 48% は電気がなく、76% は恒久的な居住施設がない。公共サービスを提供している多くの機関は、村落から遠く離れており、例として公共交通機関のサービスは、村落から 2.5 km 離れたところでのみ利用可能である。

表 9：基本的なインフラ施設

	Mahawewa	利用可能であれば、村落からの距離
電気 (利用可能な世帯の%)	52	
水 (利用可能な世帯の%)	86	
道路ネットワーク	満足できる	
トイレ (満足しているレベルの%)	63	
恒久的な家 (%)	24	
保健センター	1	2.5 km
病院	なし	
小学校	1	9 km
モンテソーリ式の学校	2	2 km
地域社会センター	あり	1 km
警察署	なし	-

市場センター（小売商）	あり	6 km
銀行	なし	-
通信センター（施設）	あり	19 km
公共交通機関	あり	1 km
宗教センター	あり	0.5 ~ 1 km
協同組合売店	あり	0.5 ~ 2 km

出典：Thanamalvila DS 事務所

村落では農業部門が支配的で、経済は停滞している。村落の被雇用人口の 80%以上が農業に従事するか農業の臨時労働者として雇用されている。村民の約 49%が毎月 1,500 スリランカ・ルピー未満の収入しか得ていない。

表 10：収入および収入源

	Mahawewa
月次収入（SLR）（％）	
1,500 未満	49
1,501 ~ 4,500	44
4,501 ~ 10,000	7
10,001 以上	0
営農収入総額（SLR）	45,000
職業（総雇用者の％）	100
農家	30
自営（建設産業）	2
自営（他の部門）	7
教師	1
民間部門被雇用者	2
日雇い労働者（臨時労働者）	30
年金生活者	0
失業者	28

出典：Thanamalvila DS 事務所

同村は、Monaragala 地方では最も収入レベルの低い貧困村落の一つで、この地域社会に有する資本および財産を見れば、なぜ彼らが貧困のサイクルに飲み込まれているのかが分かる。

表 11：村民に所属する資産（台数）

	Mahawewa
バン	1
ローリー	0
手押し自転車	200
オートバイ	10

トラクター（四輪）	1
トラクター（二輪）	3
テレビ	101
洗濯機	0
害虫駆除装置	16

出典：Thanamalwila DS 事務所

他の多くの村のように、この地域社会の有する社会資本は以下のグループに分類することができる。

- ・ 農民組合、Samudhi 組合、女性組合、葬儀支援組合、子供組合

しかし、葬儀支援組合を除いて、他の組合は村落の生活水準を向上させるために機能發揮しているわけではない。

### 3. 1. 4 . 村落における経済発展に関連した問題

村民が直面している主な問題は、以下のように要約することができる。

- ・ 水の継続的な供給の不足
- ・ 電力および他のインフラ施設の供給が不適切
- ・ 土地の所有に関する問題
- ・ 新しい技術およびノウハウの不足
- ・ 貧弱な保健施設および他の衛生施設
- ・ 道路ネットワークおよび市場施設の不足
- ・ 失業率の増加および人的資源の活用機会の不足
- ・ 労働力の急速な流出

村落が主に農業活動に依存しているため、村民にとっての一番深刻な問題は耕作活動のための安定的な水の供給である。

表 12：Mahawewa 村落の資源の基盤

資源	指標
高地	585 エーカー
・ 耕作済み	312
・ 耕作可能	273
稲作用地	311 エーカー
・ 耕作済み	39
・ 耕作可能	273
灌漑水貯水池	1 (500 ユニット)

鉱物資源	利用可能
森林	500 エーカー
乳牛	593 頭
人口	885
労働力	56%
世帯	210 世帯

出典：Thanamalwila 事務所

### 3.1.5. 食料安全保障と貧困

有形および無形の資産は、食料の獲得レベルを決定できる最も重要な要因である。この村落が持つ強みは、土地の利用可能性であり、耕作は収入をもたらすことになる。同村での主な耕作物はイネであり、また畜産も盛んである。上の表は、村落には未耕作の稲作地が多くあることを示しており、この面積は他の二つの村落よりも多い。労働力は足りているものの、水、近代的な技術、ノウハウ、市場の不足が主な問題となっている。その上、Monaragala 地方の他の地区のように旱魃期における耕作用の水の欠乏、飲料水の不足も問題となっている。最近では、通常の水源が枯渇し、更に井戸は硬度が高く可溶性フッ化物が検出されており、この地域の貧困状況を更に悪化させている。

未耕作地はまだあるものの、大きな問題は土地の法的所有権は不明なことである。加えて、農民は近代的な技術を習得できず、質の悪い土地で非効率な耕作を行なっている。彼らの一ヶ月の収入が相対的に非常に低いため、彼らは生産物の取引において非常に不利な立場に置かれている。

これらの世帯の平均収入は約 SLR 4,500 で、その他に政府が後援する Samurdhi の恩恵があるにもかかわらず、現金収入の不足で生産物の輸送が困難となっている。これらの世帯は、寄付も受けられず権利も主張できないため、更なる食料貧困の状態に陥っている。

### 3.1.6. 食料安全保障への女性の関与

食料安全保障は、女性の時間の確保と保管施設の有無、食料の調理方法に左右される。女性の収入向上を目指したプロジェクトの成功は、女性がいかに家事で費やす時間を短縮できるかにかかっている。家族の他の女性が家事を手伝うことによってある程度の短縮は可能である。しかし一般的に貧しい女性は時間がなく、他の活動を行うためには食料の調理も含めた家事または育児にかかる時間を節約しなくてはならない。育児病人看護センターの設立は女性の時間を節約し、余分な時間を良い食品を調理するために使用することができるようになるが、これらの世帯は食料保管施設が不足しており、時間が

できたとしても食糧安全保障にはつながらない場合も多い。貧しい女性がどのような選択肢を選択したとしても、女性の直面する時間の確保と健康上の改善が前提となる。

女性のための自営プロジェクトでは、特に女性の収入が増加した結果家庭の収入が増加しているのは事実である。しかし、ここで、強調が必要な点は、女性が時間を確保し、健康状態が改善されなければ、世帯の食料安全保障に関する能力の全てを發揮できないことである。

しかし、女性による資源の利用を改善すると、世帯の食料安全保障に様々な形で貢献することができる。まず、貸付、農業用投入資源、市場などの生産的資源を利用する機会が増えると、食料の確保が簡単になる。次に、電気および水などの資源を活用すれば、女性の時間を節約することができ、収入創出活動や、食料の上手な利用といった家事に多くを充てることができる。さらに、保健施設を活用し、安全な水にアクセスができると、女性の健康状態を改善することができる。このことで、女性が収入を得る活動および家事の双方に従事することで、世帯の食料安全保障が確保される。最後に、資源を活用することで女性に対する社会経済的制約を取り除き、女性は家庭内での意思決定権を持つことができるやめ、世帯の食料安全保障は重要な要素である。

一般的に、作物の生産量が増加すれば、より多くの食料を獲得できるようになる。食料の獲得の能力は、世帯の収入の多様化および消費の程度によって左右される。しかし貧困世帯には収入を多様化する可能性がほとんどない。なぜなら、これらの世帯は基本的に第二の収入源を持たず、かつ、主に稲作に依存しており、稲作は天候状態に大きく左右されるからである。表5が示すように、少数の世帯のみが第二の収入源を持っている。その代わりこの村は社会ネットワークが豊かである。なぜなら本世帯調査では、親戚および友人が被害を受けた家族に迅速な支援を提供していることが明らかになっているからである。具体的には、主食、日々の生活費のための現金、農業の人的労働力、助言を提供が挙げられる。

### 3. 1. 7 . 本村落の貧困および食料安全保障に関連した問題

- 1 . 水の不足
- 2 . 象使い間の対立
- 3 . 害虫と害獣による作物の損害
- 4 . 農業普及サービスの不足
- 5 . 市場施設の不足
- 6 . 人的資源の能力向上機会の不足
- 7 . 道路および輸送施設の不備

8. 農業開発のための財政的および物質的な支援の不足
9. 政府および外部からの無償援助 / 支援への過剰な依存

## 事例研究 II : Anuradhapura 地方 Kebutigollewa 地区 Medawewa 村

### 3.2.1. 序論

Anuradhapura 地方 (7,128 km<sup>2</sup>)は、乾燥した熱帯性気候の中に位置し、スリランカの北部中央省に属する2つの地方のうちの一つである。この地方は経済的に開発されておらず、人口密度も低く、農業が支配的なセクターとなっている。

### 3.2.2. 本研究の目的

本研究の主な目的は、貧困農家の村落における貧困緩和および食料安全保障に関する現状、問題、および、対策についての村落および地域社会のレベルの情報を収集することであった。

Madawewa 村は Anuradhapura 地方 Kabathigollawa 地区にあり、混合営農システムを有する。この村落は 1990 年以来、戦争で被害を受けた村落である。

この村落は Gonamariyawa 地分区に属し、同分区には 4 つの村落、すなわち、Madawewa、Kolobandawawa、Guruhalmillawa、および、Gonamariyawa から構成されている。

### 3.2.3. 方法論

Madawewa 村で対象者を選ぶために、層別無作為抽出法が使用され、一次データおよび二次データの双方ともが収集された。二次データは、Kabathigollawa 地区事務所、および、関連する事務所から主に収集された。しかしテロリストの攻撃がしばしばおこり、村民がこの村落を離れることによって、いくつかの情報の正確さおよび連続性が見られない。また、様々な文献も活用された。一次データは、前述の事例研究で説明した二つの主な手法を使用して収集された。

### 3.2.4. Madawewa 村落の社会経済的背景

Madawewa 村は乾燥地帯で天水農業を営んでおり、この村には二つの小さな灌漑用貯水池がある。この村落の総人口は 99 世帯の 512 人で、総人口の 55%は男性であり、残りは女性である。地域社会の構成員のほぼ 100%がシンハラ族であり、同じく仏教徒である。耕作可能な土地の 90%を超える部分が、農業活動に使用されている。これらの土地のほとんどは、稲作に使用されている。村落の規模は約 4 km<sup>2</sup>に広がっている。こ

の村落の歴史は、Dewanampiyathissa 王の時代にまで遡る。

国家レベルの貧困線によれば、村民の多数は貧困で、村落の総人口の 44%以上は、Samurdhi の受益者である。

村の総人口の約 70%が村落内で働いており、扶養人口はほぼ 38%、失業率のレベルをこの依存人口比率に上乘せると、この比率は約 55%となる。村落での一人当たりの土地の利用可能性は 2~3 ヘクタールで、これらの土地のほとんどには、法的な所有権がない。

総人口の 78%を超える部分は、GCE O/L 教育未満であり、この地域社会のかなりの部分が、戦争状態のために中等教育を受けられなかった。総人口の 98%が初等教育に就学したものの、初等教育修了者は 88%未満である。

この村落では、様々な経済活動が収入を生み出している。地域社会収入の 80%を超える部分が農業、10%が家畜によって産み出されている。農業活動の 85%が稲作を中心とし、野菜はも栽培されている。レンガ産業が村落収入の約 5%を構成する。移民労働者は、村落人口の総収入の 6%を産み出している。加えて、57 人を超える若者が治安維持サービスに雇用され、村落の外で働いている。僅か 4 人が雇用のために海外に渡っている一方、4 人が公共部門に雇用されている。

表 13：人口統計上の特徴

人口統計上の情報	Mahawewa
総人口	512
男性 (%)	55
女性 (%)	45
障害者人口	8

出典：kabathigollawa DS 事務所

インフラ開発施設および公共サービスの不備が、村落における社会経済的開発の大きな障害物となっている。特に Kabathigollawe でのバスの爆破事件後は、村落で利用可能な公共交通機関がない。家庭の 30%以上に電気が供給されておらず、村民の 95%が水供給施設を有しているが、安全な飲料水が利用できないために、村民の多数が健康の問題に直面している。総人口の 33%が恒久的な居住施設を持っていない。公共の医療、教育、市場、および銀行の各サービスは非常に貧弱である。

表 14：基本的なインフラ施設

	Mahawewa	利用可能であれば、村落からの距離
電気（利用可能な世帯の％）	70	
水（利用可能な世帯の％）	95	
道路ネットワーク	不満足	
トイレ（満足できるレベルの％）	80	
恒久的な家屋（％）	67	
保健センター	なし	
病院	なし	
小学校	なし	
モンテソーリ式の学校	1	寺院の中
地域社会センター	あり	寺院の中
警察署	あり（警察警備センター）	-
市場センター（小売商）	なし	-
銀行	なし	10 km
通信センター（施設）	あり	-
公共交通機関	なし（村落内部にはない）	1 km
宗教センター	あり（一軒）	0.5 ~ 1 km
協同組合売店	あり	2 km

出典：Kabathigollawa DS 事務所

村民の約 50%が 1,500 スリランカ・ルピー未満/月の収入であり、村民の約 90%の収入は 4,500 スリランカ・ルピー未満である。家庭の総支出の 70%を超える部分が基本的な食料に充てられている。

表 15：村民に所属する資産（台数）

	Mahawewa
バン	1
ローリー	0
手押し自転車	250
オートバイ	9
トラクター（四輪）	2
トラクター（二輪）	7
テレビ	80
洗濯機	0



害虫駆除装置	3
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出典：Kabathigollawa DS 事務所

他と同様に、この地域社会に属す資産も以下のグループに分類することができる。

- ・ 農民組合
- ・ Samudhi 組合
- ・ 女性組合
- ・ 死亡寄付金組合
- ・ 仏教徒組合
- ・ 子供組合

しかし、死亡寄付金組合の場合を除いて、これらの組合の業績は外部の支援および無償援助に大きく依存している。

### 3.2.5. 村落における経済発展に関連した問題

村落が直面する主な問題は以下の通りに要約することができる。

- ・ テロリストの攻撃の脅威
- ・ 電力施設および他のインフラ施設の不備
- ・ 灌漑施設の老朽化
- ・ 土地の所有権
- ・ 新しい技術およびノウハウへのアクセス
- ・ 医療施設および他の衛生施設の不備
- ・ 道路ネットワークおよび市場施設の不足
- ・ 失業率の増加および人的資源の開発機会の不足
- ・ 労働力の村落外への流出

この村落は主に農業活動に依存しているため、住民の大きな問題は、年間を通じた耕作地への水の供給の不足となっている。

### 3.2.6. 食料安全保障と貧困

村落の資産基盤の重要な強みは土地の利用可能性であり、村落は未耕作だが耕作可能な土地を多く有している。

未耕作地の大きな阻害要因は、この島の北部での戦争による治安の脅威であり、村落の治安状況を改善するためにいくつかの対策が取られたところである。

他の問題として未耕作地の法的所有権の欠如であり、これらの土地の多くは寺院、およ

び、スリランカ政府の野生生物局に属している。

さらに、貸付制度が整備されていないことや、近代的な技術を習得していないこと、その上、質の悪い土地で耕作等から労働者の一日の賃金の額が低くなっている。

その上、Anuradhapura 地方の他の多くの村落におけるように、旱魃期間中の耕作用水および飲料水不足から生じた問題は頻発する問題となっている。

### **3.2.7. 本村落における食料安全保障に関連した問題**

1. 害虫と害獣による作物への損害
2. 市場の不足
3. 人的資源の向上機会の不足
4. 貧弱な道路および輸送施設
5. 農業開発のための財政的および物質的な支援の不足
6. 政府および外部の無償援助 / 支援への過剰な依存